

SUMMARIES

Studies of the Social Basis of Support for Movements of the Radical Right: A Critique

By David K. Matheson

The problem of the social basis of the Right-Wing movements is first illustrated with conflicting results from the existing empirical studies. It is indicated that the Middle Class Model (i.e. the hypotheses that these movements derive their support from the middle class groups) gets its empirical validation from studies of voting behavior or mass mobilization, and the Upper Class Model (the support comes from the upper class groups) on the other hand is supported by studies focusing on more active non-electoral political behavior. On the basis of these observations a paradigm that relates the observed behavior (response to an interview, casting a ballot, participating in a working place organization or voluntary organization, participation in a professional association) to conditions of attachment, saliency of organizational objectives, frequency of participation, and social position is outlined to alert the students of right-wing movements to the existence of possible biasing effects in research design. For that purpose the following suggestions are made:

- (1) Steps should be taken to insure that results from different investigations are compared according to the same principles of inclusion.

This means essentially that in order to compare the findings of several investigations, survey data should be compared with survey data and aggregate level electoral studies with aggregate level electoral studies. By holding these elements constant the reliability of comparative generalizations could be improved, *ceteris paribus*.

- (2) Discovery of different forms of affiliation and participation should be viewed as a possible first clue giving an indication how various strata are reacting to a political idea.

This dictum is concerned with the need for knowing how and under what circumstances new social forms appear. If a movement, as a group rallying to endorse and propagate an ideological viewpoint, shifts its social form from say direct street tactics to voluntary associational activity (as in the case of White Citizen's Councils in the southern part of the United States), might it not be possible to make some hypotheses about the direction of change in the composition of social class characteristics in that movement?

- (3) Different forms of affiliation and participation in the life of a movement should be studied and analyzed separately and then compared as a whole.

This suggestion is intended to introduce a control on the analysis. The results may be comparable from one form to another, but the inferences of the results can be improved by attention being paid to this suggestion.

The Finnish Conceptions of Society

By Raimo Blom

The Marxist idea of the ideological hegemony is first elucidated to serve as a frame of reference for an interview study on the Finnish conceptions of society and their structural determinants. The sample of the interview study ($n = 1895$) is representative of Finnish adolescent and adult population (age 19—66). The conceptions of society were measured by five point items where the respondents had to evaluate the usefulness or harmfulness of societal groups standing for different societal values (e.g. workers, commercial banks, communists, sivil servants). The operational definitions of the societal conceptions were obtained by factor-analyzing these evaluations (principal component analysis, Varimax rotation). The four factor solution that was easiest to interpret was used.

All four dimensions were equally predominant. Three of them were distinctly bourgeois and one reflected obviously the working class ideology. The factors were called: I Traditional bourgeois conception of society, II Conception of leftist-progressive cooperation, III rightist private property-oriented conception, and IV law and order-oriented conception.

In order to obtain the dependant variable for the analysis the individual factor points of these four factors were calculated. The analysis was continued by using class theoretical independant variables: objective class position, class membership, subjective class consciousness. Subcultural factors (domicile, age) and political identification (party affiliation) were used as specifiers. The conceptions operationalized by factors I, III and IV were based on bourgeois classes, the conception operationalized by factor II was based on working class. Conception I had its special support among the agricultural population, III and IV found their support among all bourgeois classes. The explanatory power of the subjective class consciousness over and above the objective class position was rather significant. The subcultures on the other hand (except the impact of rurality on the acceptance of the traditional bourgeois conception) had only insignificant influence on these conceptions.

The impact of the political identification on the acceptance of these conceptions was very significant. The traditional bourgeois conception was distinctly more accepted among the supporters of the agrarian parties than among the supporters of other parties. The other conceptions varied along left-right dimension, although in case of individual parties one could discern significant and interesting variations.

Three relevant additional specifications for the dependance of these conceptions on the societal structural factors can still be made: 1) If we control the domicile, the traditional bourgeois conception correlates with the lack of societal ties and identification, 2) rightist private property oriented conception correlates better than any other conception with high education, 3) the avant garde of the law and order oriented conception are workers of middle income who support the Conservative Party.

The bourgeois conceptions of society can still be elucidated according to the appeals they use to manipulate the individuals. In this respect the traditional bourgeois conception and the law and order oriented conception came close to each other. The former used appeals of expertness, the latter appeals

were based on the necessity to maintain respect of authority and order in society. The rightist private property oriented conception was somewhat different. There the appeals were those of the bourgeois (especially rightist) parties insisting on protecting private ownership for the benefit of the whole nation.