

## SUMMARIES

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### **The Sports Organizations and Politics in Finland**

by Pekka Kiviaho

The purpose of this report is to observe relations between the sports institution and the political institution in Finland. The primary research problem is to analyse the extent to which sports organization membership depends on social class division or stratification and the extent to which it is determined by conscious, political choice. The analysis is based on data gathered in various connections and for practical reasons the author concentrates on the two largest national sports organizations, The Finnish National Sports Union (SVUL) and The Workers' Sports Union (TUL).

The results indicate that:

1. Sport activity is widely spread through all social classes and strata, which can partly be interpreted as a consequence of the organizational division. This reflects the social structure in that SVUL is supported mainly by middle- and upper-class people, functionaries and those in leading position as well as by agrarian sections of the population. TUL is respectively supported by lower class people, the industrial population. Nevertheless the membership structure of SVUL is rather heterogeneous and includes all social strata and classes while TUL membership is almost solely composed of workers.
2. To join a sports organization in Finland is a political choice at least in low and middle strata and in agrarian and working classes, where the duality of sports policies follows not only the class division but also the division between Right and Left. On the other hand, in the upper classes and strata the class position rather than political consciousness determines the choice of organization.
3. The activities of sports organizations cannot be evaluated only by »the sports approach»; at least equal significance seems to attach to the organizations' task within each social class as a means of integration and socialization for youth and adult population.
4. All in all the results show that to describe and to understand national sports culture and national sports organizations is in some socially essential respects possible only within the political frame of reference.

### Some Notes on International Trends in Mass Communication Research

By Tapio Varis

The author summarizes his impressions of the state of communication research on the basis of material presented in three international symposiums (Ohio State University 1971, Bled 1971, and Annenberg School of Communications 1972). The approach to conceptualize the present trends in communication research is not strictly political but rather a communicological one. Though no clear streams or schools can be distinguished and any mode of categorizing communication research must be overlapping, the following trends can be mentioned:

1. The group of researchers who concentrate on the socio-technical questions of rapidly developing mass media apparatus. They are openly enthusiastic about the technical possibilities of new media techniques but do not perceive social or political implications of these problems. This trend could be called a *technocratic tendency* or a *tendency to deify technology* in media research. There are so many researchers ascribable to this category that it is difficult to mention any specifically. A non-typical case in this group would be Marshall McLuhan, who studies the whole of human history from a media viewpoint.
2. The second group of researchers is composed of those who continue with the *old type of experimental and empirical studies* developed during the 1950's and 1960's. This trend implies a certain neopositivistic idea of man and society. Since communication research was developed in the area of Anglo-Saxon positivist philosophy this tradition of research is more or less institutionalized and continues to exist. This type of studies also give useful concrete results (administrative research) which can be utilized for practical problems. Many studies of this type have much social relevance and even allow speculations (as e.g. Elihu Katz).
3. The third trend could be seen to arise from a *critique of the previous ones*. It includes the following subgroups:
  - a. A tendency towards a hermeneutic approach to perceive mass communication and society as a whole. Much promising criticism has been presented e.g. by James D. Halloran.
  - b. A reflection of a new left-type radicalism in mass communication research. The attention of research centers on the imperialistic character of the American hegemony in forming the world's consciousness and on the problems of new socialist nations. An interesting example here is Herbert I. Schiller. Marxist influence is also observable in the ideas of Dallas Smythe and some others.
  - c. A Marxist approach exercised both in socialist countries and in countries of socialist transformation (e.g. Armand Mattelart in Chile). One of the most fruitful impacts of the marxist approach seems to be a coherent system of concepts and general theory (Willy Walther, Klaus Vieweg, Georg Klaus, Boris Firsov, etc) that has also influenced the Western new-left approach (e.g. H. M. Enzensberger).

**The Prediction of the Distribution of Political Power by Social Variables:  
A Comparative Study.**

by Tatu Vanhanen

In this study it was assumed that the nature of a political system is related to its social environment and that this relationship makes it possible to predict the direction in which the political system concerned is going to change. A theoretical proposition according to which power is always based on sanctions and the distribution of power on the distribution of sanctions was assumed to explain the nature of this relationship.

The operationally defined indicators of the distribution of power used here were the percentage shares of the smaller parties in the votes cast in parliamentary elections and in the seats in parliament. Power was assumed to be the more widely distributed the larger the share of the smaller parties. Ten operationally defined social variables were used to measure the distribution of resources used as sources of power. The study concerned 114 independent states in the 1960's.

It was found that the share of the smaller parties correlates according to the hypothesis with most of these social variables and that the seven best social variables explain together 57—61 per cent of the variation in the political variables. Multiple regression was used to indicate how much the estimated shares of the smaller parties (Y est.) deviated from their actual shares in individual countries in the 1960's. Residuals indicate directly the sizes of deviations. Because a large residual means that the distribution of political power is not in balance with the degree of social pluralism it was assumed that in these cases the share of the smaller parties would rise (if residuals are negative) or fall (if residuals are positive) until a better balance is reached. By comparing the residuals of 1960 and 1969 we can see to what degree the residuals changed in the expected direction in the 1960's. It was found that in the group of countries where the estimated share of the smaller parties was very high (45 per cent or more) or very low (14 per cent or less) the share of the smaller parties correlates strongly with the best social variables and that the predictions based on the residuals of 1960 were realised very well in the 1960's, whereas in the group of countries with moderate estimated shares of the smaller parties (from 15 to 44 per cent) these variables correlate weakly and the residuals of 1960 predicted only poorly the political development in these countries in the 1960's.