

SUMMARIES

Proportional methods of representation and fragmentation of the Finnish party system

By Markku Laakso

Representative democracy ideally requires that the strength of every opinion in the representative assembly should be proportional to its share of popular support. Various electoral procedures have been devised to achieve near-proportionality between popular votes and the number of assembly seats of political parties. The most widely used methods are d'Hondt, the Sainte Laguë and quota (the largest remainder) procedures.

But representative assemblies must also maintain a fair level of efficiency in their decision-making. Such efficiency may be impaired when there are too many parties represented in the assembly. An increase in the number of splinter parties lengthens and complicates the legislative process. It is more difficult to form government coalitions, and these last for a shorter time. The need to restrict the mushrooming of political parties has been widely recognized by statesmen and scholars alike, although the connection between the number of parties and political stability is by no means clear and simple.

This paper has presented a method to measure the degree of disproportionality involved in near-proportional (and any other) electoral rules which can be calculated from the formula

$$\text{Prop}^{\alpha} = \sum_{i=1}^n \left| q_i - \frac{p_i^{\alpha}}{\sum_{j=1}^n p_j^{\alpha}} \right|$$

where q_i = the seat share of the i -th party, p_i = the vote share of the i -th party, n = the number of parties. α can take on any positive value. With $\alpha = 1$ perfect proportionality is obtained. With $\alpha = 3$ we obtain the »cube law» of simple majority systems which discriminate heavily against small parties. In general, the larger the α value, the more the large parties are favored. For α less than one, on the contrary, small parties would be favoured.

Studies of the effect of electoral laws on fragmentation of party systems

have often made use of the Rae-Taylor fractionalization indices. Fragmentation of an assembly into party shares q_i can be expressed by

$$F_q = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^n q_i^2$$

In this paper the more informative form of the Rae-Taylor index called «effective number of parties» is calculated from the formula $1/(1 - F_q)$.

Antti Jaakkola has applied various electoral rules to the actual votes distribution in nine Finnish parliamentary elections (1945—1972), and has calculated the seat distribution among parties that would have resulted. In this paper his basic data have been analyzed further. Perhaps the most interesting result is shown in Figure 2 (Kuvio 2) where the effective number of parties on seats level ($1/(1 - F_q)$) is plotted versus the disproportionality indicator (α), for perfect proportionality and for various electoral rules. There is a clear tradeoff between the two, and the relation is almost linear for the 1945—1972 averages shown. The linear correlation coefficient is very high ($r^2 = .96$).

Figure 3 presents in a nutshell the dilemma of efficiency versus proportionality: how much disproportionality would a polity be willing to tolerate in order to reduce the number of parties to a manageable level? It is largely a matter of philosophy. However, it remains to be solved also in Finland because of the electoral reform in the near future.

Macro-economic factors and the development of public administration

by Mikko Eklín

The paper is addressed mainly to administrative officials in a seminar discussing the various aspects of the development of administration.

To begin with, the paper presents schematically an administrative unit as the user of resources and provider of public services. The need to develop administration may arise because there is need to change a) the volume or b) the quality of services provided, or c) the efficiency in the production of services.

Then the role of political decision-makers is examined. When they want to respond to demands for more and/or better public services, they are to take into consideration economic growth and resources thereby available for the public sector at the desired level of taxation. In addition, the decision-makers are to carry out general economic policies to promote economic growth and prevent or remedy economic imbalances, either through special measures or

through adjustments affecting the provision of public services. The weighting of all these factors results in legislative and budgetary decisions that determine the volume and quality of services and efficiency to be achieved. Through these decisions macroeconomic factors have an indirect bearing on individual administrative units, requiring them to develop their administrative organisations and procedures accordingly.

However, the position of an individual administrative unit is not as subordinated as might appear from the above considerations. Legislative decisions regarding the volume and quality of services often leave considerable scope for flexibility, and several other factors strengthen the position of the unit vis-a-vis political decisionmakers, so that the unit may take measures of its own initiative regarding services it is providing, and develop its administrative structure and procedures correspondingly.

In conclusion it is suggested that increased understanding at the administrative level of general economic and social objectives, including macro-economic factors, helps to understand political decisions (including budgetary constraints) and gives better guidance for developing administration. On the other hand, increased knowledge at the political decision-making level of special problems regarding services or administrative organisations helps to weight the various alternatives, increases the effectiveness and the efficiency of administration and furthers a more rational use of resources.

Political scientists' professional practice

Leila Simonen

This article is based on an empirical survey of how social science graduates of 1971—72 and 1972—73 majoring in political science (altogether 195) found work, what kind of tasks their professional duties encompassed, which sectors of social life they were employed in and to what degree professional practice coincided with education. The study was carried out in connection with the ongoing renewal of social science curricula.

63 % of the political scientists were employed in the public sector (state, municipal organs and universities) and the rest in the private enterprises and organizations at the time of the study (1974). Economics, business economics and personnel administration, instruction and pedagogy, science and education policy as well as community planning were the sectors of social life that most frequently employed political scientists. Altogether 67 % of those studied were acting in these sectors. The most common position was that of an administrator (40 %), followed by that of a journalist, a planner, a teacher and a researcher.

28 % of the graduates majoring in political science studied economics as their minor subject. The next most popular minors were sociology, political history, social policy and journalism and masscommunication. According to the political scientists' personal evaluations the minor subject had influenced job-getting even more essentially than the major subject, i.e. political science.

Political scientists did not suffer from actual unemployment but quite a number of them were working in positions that did not correspond to their education. Political scientists were also rather dissatisfied with their profession, tasks as well as with their education. A considerable number of them hoped to have got more instruction for practical professional precedures, which, however, would be better suited to on-the-job instruction and job counselling. 38 % of political scientists would start to study the same subject again, 30 % would choose other subjects of social sciences and the rest would give up the whole field of social sciences.

**On neglected possibilities of labour movement — speculative comments on
»History of Finnish labour movement«**

Kari Palonen

It is often more important to change interpretations of the past than expectations of the future. The ideology of historiography contains a conception of history, a theory of historical knowledge and an interpretation of the »relevant« past.

This paper is a critique of the ideology of historiography in »Suomen työväenliikkeen historia« (History of Finnish labour movement), edited by Lauri Haataja, Seppo Hentilä, Jorma Kalela and Jussi Turtola (Joensuu 1976). This book contains a new perspective of totality and many provocative special interpretations in relation to the conventional academic historiography.

The critique of the present article is directed against the conception of history and the heuristics developed in its light. This conception of history contains two main ideas:

- 1) In every historical situation men have several (but not unlimited) real or realizable possibilities for action.
- 2) Every historical event or process contains possibilities for changes in contrary directions.

The first idea is based on the category of real possibility which is also applied to the past. The second one is an interpretation of the »internal contradictions of things« applied to history. The heuristic idea is through interpretation of the totality of historical situation to achieve knowledge of unrealized but real possibilities by constructing and testing alternatives. One can

always assume that real (or realizable) possibilities have existed and then ask, how, what kind, when etc. such possibilities have existed.

Such questions have, of course, not been posed in »Suomen työväenliikkeen historia». The book seems, still, in some occasions to assume such possibilities, but it tries too easily to »understand» the reasons why they have not been realized. In criticism of both conventional historiography and Kautskyan tradition in the labour movement the book explicitly rejects the deterministic interpretations of »economy» and understands the political character of capitalist actions. But its interpretations are, however, »economistic», in neglecting the role of the bourgeois ideological hegemony and in their commitment to Engelsian »in the last resort» -primacy of »economic factors» without analyzing the real connections between theories and social structures in historical explanations. The reality of unrealized possibilities is most strongly rejected on the basis of »the phase of capitalist development» or »the phase of conjuncture» without understanding the double possibilities — less quantitative or new qualitative changes — in every »crisis» situation.

The role of this critique for concrete historical interpretations is examined with the possibilities for abolishment of division of labour as example. »Suomen työväenliikkeen historia» contains valuable analyzes of the part played by the export industry in Finnish foreign and domestic policy. It still does not seem to have understood that a position in the periphery of capitalism also contains possibilities for rejection of participation in the international division of labour. To the best parts in the whole book belong the interpretations of the internal structural conflicts of the Finnish bourgeoisie between sectors or branches of production and their role in determining the situation of the working class. Because of economism the role of specialization in education and science is neglected and industrializations is taken as a priori necessity.

Even if the book also contains valuable remarks on the changes in relations between mental and manual labour, the division of labour at the workshop level and its individual and political importance is hardly at all examined. The epistemological and anthropological assumptions behind the alleged »rationality» of specialization is not questioned. The book also says nothing about when and how tayloristic techniques have come to Finland, neither about work psychology and sociology as means of pacification of the working class.

In spite of its novelties in perspective and in interpretations »Suomen työväenliikkeen historia» still remains rather conventional historiography. It has not rejected the unconditional dominance of »realized reality», and neither has it found possibilities of radical changes in society for the Finnish labour movement which would have been unknown earlier.