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CONTEXTUAL ANALYTICAL STUDY ABOUT ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECT ON ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP AND THE CHOICE OF ORGANIZATION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Data	3
Variables	4
Organization membership and organizational	
effects	6
Direction of organization support and	
organizational influence	13
Summary and discussion	21
References	24

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In several connections the regional membership density of sport organizations in almost all Scancinavian countries is associated on the collective level with such environmental factors as the variation in the degree of industrialization and urbanization or in population density (Euler 1953; Kiviaho 1970; 1971a) Similarly, on the individual level, becoming a member of a sport organization or club is affected by such individual level factors as education, age, sex and occupational status (see e.g. Allardt et al. 1958, 20-21; Blom 1971, 22-23; Haavio-Mannila 1968, 92-108; Heinilä 1959, 105). Furthermore, the direction of organizational support or the choice of a sport organization has been found in Finland to be related to political climate (Kiviaho 1973b) on the commune level and to political opinion on the individual level (Kiviaho 1972; 1973a).

On the basis of these separate individual and ecological level findings, it is not possible to draw conclusions

about the relationship between the variables describing social structure and individual level behaviour. The effects of political climate and structural circumstances on the organizational conditions do not mean that organizational membership on the individual level would be associated with the structural factors. The connection between an individual's class or stratum position and choice of organization does not indicate such a relationship, either. In any case, the obtained results raise a question about contextual influence on individual level behaviour, which will be discussed in this paper.

On the basis of the above-mentioned results, it is assumed that the degree of industrialization of an area influences organization membership on the individual level, and the political and organizational climate of an area affects the choice of organization on the individual level. The assumptions about such relationships are based on the idea of contextual effect (for a discussion on the methodology of contextual analysis, see e.g. Riley 1963, 700-739; Valkonen 1970). This means that a preponderant consensus among supporters or members of a given organization or movement is assumed to reinforce similar support or membership even among such individuals who in view of their individual predispositions might support or belong to a different organization or ideology, because the majority is able to influence the minority by means of various mechanisms which enforce conformity in behaviour and attitude (cf. Valkonen 1969b). In addition to this kind of contagion effect, it can be assumed that such global contextual characteristics as economic and organizational resources as well as the degree of organization have also contextual effects (Valkonen 1970).

Data

The problem setting of the present study presupposes a situation in which both environmental and individual level data are available from roughly the same point in time, so that the individual level data represent people living in communes where environmental factors vary. Since it was not possible to collect data exclusively for such analysis, it was necessary to use existing data gathered for other purposes by combining ecological data with individual level data in a way appropriate for the problem setting (for a discussion on secondary analysis see e.g. Boudon 1969; Chandler & Hartjens 1969; Valkonen 1969a).

The individual level data have been collected in the spring of 1971 in connection with a monthly Suomen Gallup Oy survey, by interviewing 1073 persons out of the original sample of 1330 people representative of the whole Finnish-speaking population above the age of fifteen in terms of age, sex, place of residence and occupation. The ecological level data by commune are based on the information about the social and political structure of all Finnish communes at the beginning of the 1960's collected in a national census and secondly on the information about the organizational structure in the middle of the 1960's obtained from the organizations' own statistics. The collection and reliability of the data are discussed in more detail elsewhere (Kiviaho 1970).

The fact that the data about communes in part date back to a point in time some ten years earlier than the individual level interview data should be kept in

mind as a possible source of error. It is known, however, that the relations between communes in terms of structural factors often seem to remain relatively unchanged, at least over a span of ten years (see e.g. Piepponen 1968).

Variables

The measurement of the dependent variables has been limited to the organized sport activities, i.e. the membership in the central sport organizations of SVUL, TUL, TUK, CIF and SPL. One dependent variable was membership in a club of some one of the central sport organizations, and the other was the direction of organization support. Since the sample included

¹⁾ SVUL = The Finnish Central Sports Federation; TUL=The Workers' Sport Federation; TUK = The Central League of Workers' Sport Clubs; CIF = The Central Federation of Swedish Sports Organizations in Finland; SPL = The Finnish Football Association. The division of the sport movement into separate central organizations is in Finland connected with the linguistic and social class differences due to social conditions. The division of the Finnish sport movement occurred after the Civil War of 1918 when some clubs were expelled from SVUL (formed in 1900, 760.000 memebers in 1970) on account of the fact that they had fought on the red side and in 1919 founded TUL (340.000 members in 1970). In addition to these two big central federations there is a central sport association for the Swedish-speaking minority CIF (founded in 1912; 74.000 members in 1970), a special organization for football and bandy SPL (founded in 1907; 168.000 members in 1970) and TUK founded in 1959 (107.000 members in 1970) by the clubs that were evicted or withdrew from TUL.

²⁾ The respondent was asked about sport club membership with the following question: "Are you at the moment a member of some sport club?"

³⁾ If the respondent was a member of some sport club he/she was asked further: "What central sport organization does the club belong to?" The alternatives were 1) SVUL 2) TUL 3) TUK 4) CIF 5) SPL 6) Don't know.

very few other than SVUL and TUL members (2 TUK members, 5 SPL members, no CIF members) and since it was difficult to classify those who had not indicated that their club of central organization (total 29 persons) was part of any central organization on the basis of other characteristics, accordingly members of TUK, CIF and SPL as well as those who did not indicate their central organization were excluded in the case of the latter dependent variable. Thus the variable describing the direction of organization support became dichotomous, containing two classes: 1) TUL and 2) SVUL.

In analyzing the factors affecting organization membership, the contextual level independent variable was the degree of industrialization of the commune measured by the proportion of the industrially employed (manufacturing and service industries) of all those gainfully employed, according the census of 1960 (SVT VI C:103, IV).

Organizational policy and political climate have been analyzed separately as organizational level variables explaining the direction of organization support. The organizational policy climate has been measured with the proportion of SVUL support of total sport organization support in the commune at the cross-section point of time of 1965 (Kiviaho 1970, 2-5). Since there were relatively few members belonging to a Finnish-speaking organization other than SVUL and TUL (the mean of TUK support was 2.6 %, that of CIF 9.2 %, and that of SPL 1.4 %) with the mean of SVUL support being 59.1 % in the present data (58.1 % in the whole country) and that of TUL 30.9 % (28.7 % in the whole country) and with the

support of the other organizations remaining at roughly 10 %, the variables measuring the regional support of SVUL and TUL describe almost the same situation, their intercorrelation being -.77. Since the variables describing support were thus technically interdependent, for all practical purposes it made no difference which organization was chosen to indicate the organizational policy climate. Here the variable describes the regional support of the bigger organization, i.e. SVUL.

Political climate has been measured with the proportion of the votes of the political right of all valid votes in the commune in the national election of 1966 (SVT XXIX A:29). Since the dependent variables - organization membership and the direction of organization support - are individual level characteristics but the independent variables - the degree of industrialization as well as the organizational policy and political climate - are commune level characteristics, accordingly the independent variable value of each commune has been given to all subjects living in that particular commune. This was done in order to be able to analyze the relations between the independent and dependent variables.

Organization membership and organizational effects

The first problem concerns the effect of the degree of industrialization on organization membership at the individual level. Various methods have been recommended and used in analyzing an organizational effect of this kind from class correlation and partial correlation methods to crosstabulation techniques (cf. for instance, Tannenbaum & Bachman 1964; Valkonen 1970).

Originally it was planned to perform the analysis using the correlation and partial correlation techniques, but the relationship between the individual level organization membership and the degree of industrialization proved non-linear. Therefore the use of correlation coefficients was not possible (the correlation between organization membership and the degree of industrialization was -.04), and instead the cross-tabulation technique was employed. For analysis the independent variable - the degree of industrialization of the commune - was divided into three classes. The degree of industrialization is low if those in industry constitute 39 % or less of all the gainfully employed, intermediate if 40-69 % and high if 70 % or more.

The results are presented in Table 1. The relationship

There are
more members in intermediately industrialized communes
and the least in communes with little or no industry.

TABLE 1. The relationship between sport organization membership at the individual level and the degree of industrialization of the commune

Degree of industrialization	Organization members	N
Low	10	363
Intermediate	25	194
High	16 ·	516
	descourant pages, action in term of the intelligence pages, and the minister religious at the northern Hillian and	kan kilifordi makudan salamasahan narr 1907 miliar makundan dan dalama pengalain, gan meluman makunda mak

 $x^2 = 21.31$; df = 2; p<.001

The result does not, however, indicate a causal relationship between social environment and organization membership. It may be that membership is connected with individual factors which are associated both with organization membership and the degree of industrialization and which alone explain the observed relationship.

In the case of sport organizations at least sex and age have been found to be significant individual factors which affect organization membership, the sport organizations being mainly organizations of young and middle-aged men (see e.g. Allardt et al. 1958, 20-29; Haavio-Mannila 1968, 143; Heinilä 1959, 105). Education and social status have also been found to have influence. Those who have more education and have a higher social status are more frequently sport organization members than others (see e.g. Allardt et al. 1958, 20-29; Blom 1971, 22-23).

Instead, occupational status does not appear to differentiate organization membership significantly, at least in Finland (Kiviaho 1972). Besides organization membership the individual level factors are linked with the degree of industrialization on the communal level. An indication of this is the female majority in industrialized areas as well as the large proportion of young and work-age cohorts and of highly educated people as compared with less industrialized areas (see e.g. Riihinen 1965, 31-39, 134). Before final analysis there is reason to examine the relation between individual factors and first the individual level organization membership and secondly the degree of industri-

alization. The product moment coefficients of correlation describing these relationships are presented below.

Individual variables	- Marie Branch (Barrier Branch (Barrier Branch (Barrier Branch (Barrier Branch (Barrier Branch (Barrier Branch	Organization members (-> members)	Degree of indust- rialization (→ high)
Sex (→ male)		.21	08
Age (→ old)		08	11
Social status	(→ low)	09	.01
Level of education	(→ high)	.07	.27

The correlations .05 and .07 (N = 1071) are significant at the 5 % and 1 % level of confidence, respectively (one tail test).

The results support earlier findings and show that all individual factors are connected with organization membership: there are more members among men, younger people, and among those who have higher education and higher social position. The results indicate further that with the exception of social position, there exists a clear statistical correlation between idividual factors and the degree of industrialization of the commune. There are more women, young people, and highly educated people in industrialized areas than in less industrialized areas. On the basis of this it seems that it is necessary to hold sex, age and level of education constant in the analysis of the influence of the degree of industrialization on organization membership. On account of the tabulation technique and the small sample, the analysis is made here separately for each class of the dichotomous individual factors.

TABLE 2. The relationship between sport organization membership at the individual level and the degree of commune industrialization, when the individual level factors - sex, age, and level of education - are controlled.

Degree of industrialization	Women		Sex	Men	
	Members %	N		Members %	N
Low	6	161	ŧ	13	202
Intermediate	13	85	**	35	109
High	6	263		25	253
	$x^2 = 6,52$			$x^2 = 20,86$	
	df = 2 ; p<.05	5		df = 2 ; p <.	001
		*	Age		_
	Young Members %	N		Middle—ag Members %	jed N
Low	14	126		8	237
Intermediate	25	53		26	141
High	18	254		13	262
	$x^2 = 3,55$			$x^2 = 21,30$	
	df = 2; ns.			df = 2 ; p<.	001
		T 1	- E - J	- 1.3	
	Primary sch		of educa Ma	<u>ation</u> ore than prima	ary school
	Members 🕏	N		Members %	N
Low	7	254		17	109
Intermediate	24	130		29	64
High	11	226		19	290

 $x^2 = 3,42$

df = 2; ns.

 $x^2 = 21,86$

df = 2 ; p<.001

The results indicate that the relationship between the degree of industrialization at the environmental level and the sport organizational membership at the individual level remains unchanged in all groups in spite of the control of individual factors. The relationship is not significant only in the groups of young people and highly educated people, but even in these groups the direction is the same as in the other groups.

On the basis of the above, it appears that the degree of industrialization is related to the organizational behaviour of individuals in the field of organized sport activities. The control of merely individual level factors does not exclude the possibility that some contextual factors associated with either the degree of industrialization or organizational support on the individual level might specify or explain this relationship. As one such factor we can examine organizational structure or rather the extent of some organization's dominance in a commune, which has earlier been found to affect the membership density on the ecological level (Kiviaho 1971b). Membership density is usually lower in areas dominated by one organization than in communes in which the organizations are roughly equal. Besides the dominance of the largest organization, the choice of a sport organization may be influenced by factors that in some way increase the prevalence of Factors of this kind are at least the number of central organizations active in the commune and perhaps also the number of clubs and participation in events (Kiviaho 1971b). When predominant, the support of one organization roughly overlaps the number of central sport organizations so that it is not crucial to measure

the latter varibale, because most of the communes in which one organization is dominant have clubs belonging to only one central organization or only one club (Kiviaho 1971a).

It has been established earlier that the degree of industrialization correlates both with the amount of clubs (.37) and the number of practised events (.67) (Kiviaho 1971b). It is also connected with the degree of dominance of the larger organization ($\mathbf{x}^2 = 250,70$; df = 2; p < .001). On the other hand, organizational support on the individual level, according to the present data, is not related to the degree of dominance ($\mathbf{x}^2 = 0.42$; df = 1; n.s.), neither to the number of clubs ($\mathbf{x}^2 = 1.83$; df = 1; n.s.) nor to the number of practised events ($\mathbf{x}^2 = 0.26$; df = 1; n.s.), so that a more detailed analysis in terms of these variables would not seem to influence the observed relationship.

Although it is not possible on the basis of this analysis to discuss with certainty the causal relationship between the variables, it is assumed that the influence operates from organizational factors to individual behaviour. Since neither the examined individual level factors nor any third factors appear to explain the observed relationship, we can on the basis of performed analyses conclude that the degree of industrialization of a commune influences sport organization membership.

Direction of organization support and organizational influence

The second problem concerns the relationship between the direction of organization support and the political and organizational policy climate on the environmental level, which on account of limited available data is examined through correlation of the environmental variable values ascribed to individuals with the individual level variable. Nor can the analysis examine only the relationship between the stated variables, because individual level factors connected with the direction of organization support or the political or organizational policy climate on the ecological level may cause the observed relationship. These individual factors on the basis of earlier studies might include at least political opinion (see e.g. Kiviaho 1972; 1973a) but also such factors as sex, age, social position, and level of education, all of which may help relate the direction of organization support and organizational policy or political climate (see for instance, Kiviaho 1973a. When we compute the correlations between these factors and variables measuring the direction of organization support as well as the political and organizatonal policy climate, we note that only political opinion is clearly related to all the three variables as do social position and sex to some extent; whereas the level of education correlates clearly only with the direction of organization support, and age has a low order of relationship with all three variables.

 Individual level variables	Direction of organization support (→ SVUL)	Organizational policy climate (*> SVUL)	Political climate (→ right)
Sex (→ man)	20	17	08
Age (→ old)	.04	04	.02
Social position (→ low)	38	10	17
Level of education (→ high)	.31	.09	02
Political opinion (→ left)	 56	22	34

Correlations .15 and .21 (N = 129) are significant at the 5 % and 1 % level of confidence, respectively (one tail test).

In order to obtain a more exact picture of the controlled variable, a further analysis was made to study the effect of these individual level variables on the correlations between the direction of organizational policy or political climate. This was done by using the partial correlation technique and holding each individual factor constant successively, while computing the change in the amount of explained variance (in percentage) as compared with the original proportion of explained variance.

- contract of the contract of		Partial () correlation	Change in explained variance		Change in explained variance
-	Original correlations	(.27)		(.43)	
	Sex	.25	 15 %	.44	+.06 %
	Age	.27	00 %	.43	00 %
	Social status	.26	00 %	.42	00 %
	Level of education	.26	00 %	.47	+ 23 %
	Political opini	on .16	- 58 %	.31	- 45 %
	All the above	.15	- 72 %	.34	- 34 %

- 1) Partial correlations between the direction of organization support and organizational policy climate.
- 2) Partial correlations between the direction of organization support and political climate.

The results indicate that the correlation between the direction of organization support and organizational policy climate is affected most by political opinion and sex; whereas the correlation between the direction of organization support and political climate is influenced by political opinion and level of education, which must be controlled in further analyses. It should be noted, however, that the control of these factors does not eliminate the original correlations, although it diminishes them to some extent.

The control of the individual level factors does not justify drawing conclusions about the existence of causal relationship. In addition to individual level

factors the relationship may be influenced by environmental qualities that are connected with the direction of organization support as well as with organizational policy and political climate. In the light of earlier findings, at least the degree of industialization and organizational policy and political climate should be taken into consideration (Kiviaho 1973b), depending on which of the latter two is related to the direction of organization support.

Before final analysis we still have to study to what extent the direction of organization support, the organizational policy and political climate, and the degree of industrialization correlate with each other.

	Direction of organization support (→ SVUL)	Organizational political cli- mate (→ SVUL)	Political climate (> right)
Degree of industriali- zation (> high)	30	 38	73
Organizational policy climate (→ SVUL)	. 26	1.00	.59
Political climate (→ right)	.43	. 59	1.00

Correlations .15 and .21 (N = 129) are significant at the 5 % and 1 % level of confidence, respectively (one tail test).

Both the direction of organization support and political and organizational policy climate have a clear relation-ship with the degree of industrialization. Furthermore, the direction of organization support correlates with both organizational policy and political climate, and

the latter two correlate with each other. The results indicate that in industrialized areas the sport club members on the average are more often TUL members, the organizational policy climate is on the average more TUL-dominated and the political climate on the average more left-dominated. In the strong support areas of SVUL, naturally individual members belong to SVUL, and the areas are dominated by the political right. In any case the correlations show that degree of industrialization and political climate should be controlled when one analyses the relationship between organizational policy climate and the direction of organization support; whereas in examining the influence of political climate, organizational policy climate should be controlled in addition to the degree of industrialization.

Table 3 presents the correlations and partial correlations between organizational policy climate and direction of organization support by holding constant two individual level factors - political opinion and sex - as well as the degree of industrialization and political climate.

TABLE 3. The correlations between the individual level support of sport organization, and the organizational policy climate, when the individual level factors and the degree of industrialization and political climate are controlled vs. when not controlled (N = 129).

Independent variable	Dependent variable	COLLCTICA	artial correlation	Explained variance %
Organizational political cli-mate (> SVUL)			.27	07
11	n	Individual factors	.15	02
II	п	The above + degree of indus alization (→ hi		00
11	"	The above + political clima (→ right)	te 05	00

Correlations .15 and .21 (N = 129) are significant at the 5 % and 1 % level of confidence, respectively (one tail test).

The result indicates that the relationship is almost totally eliminated when the degree of industrialization is controlled in addition to the inclination factors, and that the relationship becomes negative when political climate is also controlled, even if the correlation is not nearly significant. On the basis of this it seems that at least organizational policy climate does not appear to be connected with the individuals' choice of sport organization. This result may, however, be due to the central role of political climate in the formation of a region's organizational policy climate (Kiviaho 1973b), which means that political climate should predetermine the individual choice of a spot organization.

Table 4 presents the relationship between political climate and the direction of organization support, holding constant two individual level factors - polical opinion and level of education - and the degree of industrialization and organizational policy climate.

TABLE 4. The correlations between the individual level support of sport organization and the environmental political climate, when the individual level factors and the degree of industrialization and organizational policy climate are controlled vs. when not controlled (N = 129).

Independent variable	Dependent variable		Partial correlation	Explained variance %
Political cli- mate (→right)	Direction of organization support (→SVUL)	_	.43	18
n e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e	· ·	Individual factors	.34	12
H	п	The above + the degree of industrialization (→ high)	;- .16	03
н	п	The above + orga zational policy climate (→SVUL)		02

Correlations .15 and .21 (N = 129) are significant at the 5 % and 1 % level of confidence, respectively (one tail test).

The results show that a correlation exists and that the relationship between a region's political climate and the individuals' choice of sport organization remains even when the individual level factors are controlled. Control of the degree of industrialization and organizational policy climate does not seem to eliminate the relationship, either. However, it should be noted that

after control the explained variance is only two percentage units, which indicates that only a relatively small part of the choice of sport organization is accounted for by political climate alone. In any case, the rightist dominance of political climate increases the probability that even those join SVUL who in view of their individual orientation might otherwise join TUL. On the basis of this it is not possible to say that leftist dominance of the political climate increases the choice of TUL even among those who otherwise might join SVUL. A closer examination indicated that when the support of TUL was used as the measure of the organizational support on the individual level and the support of the left as the measure of political climate the correlations were in the same direction but clearly smaller. The reason can be that the sport organizational support of the political left is divided between TUL and SVUL (Kiviaho 1972; Seppänen 1972).

The correlation between the choice of organization on the individual level and political climate on the structural level does not as such constitute a final proof of causal relationship between these two variables. In order to do that we should also have to show that orientation consistent with political climate precedes individual choice of organization. As for the primacy of the influence of political climate, it is reasonable to think, as is indeed often done, that various voluntary organizational activities (particularly politically coloured) decisively affect the formation of the commune's or region's political climate. the direction of influence would go from the choice of organization to political climate. The present data do not make it possible to analyse this problem area in depth.

Summary and discussion

The contextual analytic methodology of the present investigation focuses on the relationship between structural effect and individual level behaviour. On the basis of earlier research results, the investigation started from the assumption that organizational membership at the individual level is related to the degree of regional industrialization as well as to its organizational policy and political climate. selection of the degree of industrialization as the organizational agent instead of the extent of urbanization or population density was based not only on earlier studies (Kiviaho 1973b) but also on frequently stated assumption that industrial culture preconditions the prevalence and popularity of modern sports (see e.g. Plessner 1956; Korckow 1972, 16-17). In any case as regards the first problem, the results support a correlation between the degree of commune industrialization and the extent of sport organization membership. The observed correlation is curvilinear, however, for the proportion of member peaks in intermediately indusrialized communes, not the most industrialized areas.

Similar findings with environmental level analysis have been made elsewhere but not in a contextual analysis. Euler (1953) found that the membership density of sport organizations in Sweden was highest in medium-sized towns and townships but not in the urban centers. This finding also applies in Finland, when the analysis concerns organization membership at the commune level, in which the correlation between the variables measuring the degree of industrialization (cf. Riihinen 1965, 7-8) and urbanization was .76. The result is not equally

clear-cut, although in the same direction, when the result is examined on the individual level in the light of the present investigation, in which the correlation between the degree of industrialization and urbanization was .73.

Type of commune	Individual Organization members %	level N	Commune level Organization members %	N
Towns with 100.000 inhabitants or more	13	195	21	3
Other towns and townships	s 17	344	27	70
Rural communes	15	534	15	455

The observed relationship indicates that the size of a commune is associated with features which preset the mobilization of organizational activities. The structural heterogeneity of urban areas as well as the scattered population of the countryside do not seem to create optimum conditions for sustained organizational activities. Organizational activities appear to flourish best or at least to draw relatively more members in communes which can sufficiently support modern sport and are socially homogeneous enough to sustain solidarity in organizational activities. This interpretation is tentative and will not be articulated here despite the fact that a further analysis would be possible.

Separate analysis was made of the effects of organizational policy and political climate as organizational level variables which influence the choice of organization on the individual level. Earlier it has been shown that organizational policy climate is largely due to the general political climate (Kiviaho 1973b). Thus

it was found that organizational policy climate was not directly related to individual preference of sport organization. This derives from the political nature of sport organization, so that political climate would directly have a greater affect on the individual preference of sport organization than organizational policy climate which at most serves an intervening variable.

Irrespective of the accuracy of the above interpretation, the empirical data show that there is a statistically Significant relationship between political climate and the choice of a organization, although the proportion of explained variance remains rather small. case, the result means that in areas where the political right dominates, some of those who in terms of their individual orientations might join TUL actually join SVUL from social pressure. Besides confirming the assumption about social pressure, the outcome strengthens earlier observations on the environmental and individual levels about the central role of political climate and opinion in organizational sports preference in Finland. It indicates that social context qualities the choice of an organization and, depending on the situation, can either strengthen or weaken the effect of individual predisposition. Moreover, these as well as earlier findings point to the social nature and significance of the organizational sport activities in addition to its athletic value and this observation applies both to SVUL and TUL.

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