

STUDIES IN SPORT, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND HEALTH 4.  
UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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SPORT ORGANIZATIONS AND THE STRUCTURE  
OF SOCIETY

PEKKA KIVIAHO

FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND PLANNING  
FOR PHYSICAL CULTURE  
AND  
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## PREFACE

This report summarizes the background, methods and major results of seven earlier reports by the author dealing with the relationships between the organizational activity of sports and the structure of society on the individual and ecological levels.

1. Kiviaho, Pekka, Urheilujärjestöjen kannatuksen alueellinen levinneisyys Suomessa vuonna 1965, Report n:o 74, Institute for Educational Research, University of Jyväskylä 1970  
<http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-39-9606-2>

2. Kiviaho, Pekka, Urheilupoliittinen aluejako Suomessa, Stadion, 8, 3, 1971, 90–118

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5. Kiviaho, Pekka, Järjestökannatus ja poliittinen mielipide, Publications n:o 19 of the Institute of Social Science, University of Jyväskylä, 1973  
<http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-39-9572-0>

6. Kiviaho, Pekka, The regional distribution of sport organizations as a function of political cleavages, Research Report n:o 1 of the Department of Sociology and Planning for Physical Culture, University of Jyväskylä 1973<sup>1</sup>  
<http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-39-9582-9>

7. Kiviaho, Pekka, Contextual analytical study about environmental effect on organization membership and the choice of organization, Research Report n:o 2 of the Department of Sociology and Planning for Physical Culture, University of Jyväskylä 1973  
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The purpose of this report is to analyze separate research findings within a broader social and theoretical framework and in relation to

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socio-political decision-making in the area of sport and physical culture.

The major part of the research has been carried out at the Institute for Educational Research and at the Research Institute of Physical Culture and Health. I wish to express my thanks to the personnel of both institutes for their valuable help. At various stages of the research project I have discussed many problems with several persons, all of whom it is impossible to mention here. I wish, however, to thank Professor Kalevi Heinilä, who initiated, guided and supervised my work. I am indebted to Associate Professor Tapani Valkonen, whose advice with regard to methods and contents at various stages has greatly influenced the final form of the dissertation. For valuable advice I am also grateful to Professor Raimo Konttinen and Associate Professor Risto Sänkiaho, whom I have on several occasions consulted on methodological problems.

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Jyväskylä, October 1973

Pekka Kiviaho



## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Research area

The topic of the present study concerns the domain of sport sociology. The research task was to analyze the relations between modern sport and the structure of society. The selection of the particular theme was influenced by several factors. Modern sport and the sport movement has become an essential feature of our culture during a relatively short period of about a hundred years. Sports have gained a prominent social position in all industrialized countries whether we use as a criterion the amount of active sportsmen, public interest, the amount of time or space that the mass media devote to sport, or funds allocated for sport. As a form of national and international activity, sport affects the life of almost every citizen through education and mass communication, but also as part of the economic, cultural and social activity of states and social groups. For this reason, it is pertinent to examine and analyze sport not only as a relatively independent sub-system but also as a part of the entire social system, since the needs and problems are sociopolitical and comprehensible only when related to the social context in which they occur. Since one of the tasks of sociological research is to fathom and weigh the nature and functions of sport in different societies (cf. for instance, Erbach 1965; 1966), sociology may in this respect offer appropriate models in the area of sport research as well as in practical physical education and sport.

Although social scientists occasionally have given some attention to sport since the turn of the century (cf. for instance, Risse 1921; Weblen 1970, 255–274), the sociologists became more decisively involved in sport as late as the 1960's.<sup>1</sup> This arousal of interest was largely due to the profound changes in international sports after

<sup>1</sup> The International Committee of Sport Sociology was founded in 1964 and the first issue of the committee's journal »International Review of Sport Sociology» was published in 1966.

World War II. Particularly the entry of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries into international sport life at the end of the 1940's made sport more salient for international politics but at the same time also socially more problematic. In any event, there has been relatively little discussion about the social problems and effects of sport as compared with the extensive discussion about its biological effects (cf. for instance, Evang & Lange-Andersen 1966; Johnsson 1960; 7-416; Åstrand & Rodahl 1970). This is probably due in part to the low application value of societal knowledge in sport policy for the particular reason that earlier sports did not have the social, economic and political significance that it now commands. A contributive factor stems from prevailing attitudes, which have underestimated the social significance of sports and regarded it as a purposeless pastime which does not deserve equally serious scientific attention as several other social phenomena (cf. for instance, Dunning 1967; 1971; Heinilä 1968).<sup>1</sup>

It is naturally not possible to examine all aspects of the relationships between sport and society in a single investigation. For this reason, the discussion is limited to only those socially central connections that are believed or known to be significant for understanding sports and physical culture or for the application of knowledge about them. Obviously the investigator's personal values affect his decisions about the selection of problems as well as the concepts and methods of analysis (cf. for instance, Asplund 1968; Israel 1970). In this respect the author's conceptions of society and sport as a reflection of social reality (cf. Allardt 1970a; Seppänen 1968) but also the prevailing sport-organizational situation in Finland and related social factors have determined the selection of the research problem.

This general summary will not discuss in detail all the separate empirical analyses by the author. Instead, it will attempt to place separate research findings within a more general frame of reference, which essentially means a conceptual analysis of the nature of sport and physical culture and of the relationship between sport and society.

<sup>1</sup> Dunning (1971) thinks that such views are based on the value structures of our more or less work-oriented protestant culture which sets some leisure-time activities, and often sport in particular, against 'serious' work and 'serious' leisure-time interests which enjoy higher prestige. In writing about sport, this attitude according to Dunning is manifested in that the contrary-to-real-life nature of sport is emphasized as being a waste of time, energy, intellect, skill and often also money.

## 1.2. Special features of the Finnish sport movement

Sport is a form of physical culture typical of an industrialized society in particular, or at least the most visible of its organized physical culture (see e.g. Betts 1969; Johansson 1953; Krockow 1972; McIntosh 1971, 5; Plessner 1956; Wohl 1964). Movement as associated with certain values, customs and expectations is interpreted and understood as sport and physical culture in general and justifies discussion about sport as an institution. As a form of institutionalized activity we can also talk of sport as a social system, which as a social sub-system is concerned with the recreation and continuity necessary for production as well as with socialization. In practice not all movement is necessarily sport nor all sport necessarily physical activity (see e.g. Telama 1972, 3-8), and modern sport is not regarded only as a heritage of national plays and games or as play guided by instincts (Lorenz 1967, 271-273). The latter, however, belong to the domain of physical culture.

The problem of the present study concerns only one aspect of modern sport and physical culture, namely the organizational activity of sport in Finnish society. Voluntary organizational work in sport is a vital if not the most important part of organized physical culture in Finland. Sport activity was organized into a regular sport movement during the early years of this century when numerous new clubs were established all over the country. In 1900, the year when the present Finnish Central Sports Federation (SVUL) was formed, there were more than a hundred sport clubs in our country (Halila 1960, 48).

In concrete terms, the relationship between organizational activity and the structural changes of society in Finland is reflected in the organization of all so-called leisure associations but particularly of sport associations and in the proliferation of members during the past fifty years (Waris 1968, 92-93, 106-107). This is due to industrialization and the mechanization of production which have gradually brought about a quantitative and qualitative change in work and leisure as well as the improvement of structural preconditions essential for sport. The latter includes the increase in general wealth, the improvement of physical conditions, facilities and communications and positive attitudes towards sport (Seppänen 1967; Wohl 1970).

TABLE 1. The amount of members in the two largest sport associations (SVUL and TUL; see p. 13) and the proportion of urban population and industrial employees of the total population in 1910-1970.

Year	Members in sport associations		Proportion of urban population of total population <sup>3</sup>	Industrial employees of total population <sup>4</sup>
	SVUL <sup>1</sup>	TUL <sup>2</sup>	%	%
1910	14 300	-	14.7	12.2
1920	25 000	20 000	16.1	14.8
1930	43 600	30 300	20.6	16.8
1940	115 100	44 600	26.8	21.0
1950	320 700	230 300	32.3	29.2
1960	418 700	279 300	38.4	30.9
1970	760 200	330 000	50.9	37.3

Although it cannot be shown that industrialization and urbanization are the only correlates of the expansion of sport movement, the coincidence of changes in Table 1 gives some indication of the close interrelations between these variables. Noteworthy is the multiplication of membership in sport associations especially after World War II (cf. SOU 1969, 29; Halden 1970, 61), a period which has also witnessed a considerable increase in the amount of employees in industry, commerce, transportation and service industries, i.e. a radical change in the economic structure of the society. The simultaneous strong development of communications and technology as well as urbanization and increasing leisure-time have created the direct preconditions for the expansion and elaboration of the sport movement. Sport became a really widespread interest only towards the middle of this century. The Finnish sport organizational life cannot adequately be described only by pointing out the quantitative growth trends, the picture must be complemented with a description of organizational differentiation. The organizational life of sports as

<sup>1</sup> Halila 1960, 260 (1910), 482 (1920, 1930); Sirmeikkö 1960, 549 (1940, 1950); Suomen Voimistelu- ja Urheiluliiton . . . 1961, 47 (1960); Suomen Valtakunnan Urheiluliiton . . . 1971, 200 (1970)

<sup>2</sup> Kolehmainen 1972 (1910-1970)

<sup>3</sup> Strömmer 1970, 40 (1910-1960); SVT VI C:104, I, 37 (1970)

<sup>4</sup> Suomen Tilastollinen . . . , 1951, 30 (1910-1940); SVT, VI C:103, IV, 14 (1950, 1960); SVT VI C:104, II A, 326-327 (1970)

well as other organizational activity in Finland is split at least on linguistic, social and sport grounds into Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking sport associations, into workers' and other sport associations, and into competitive and physical fitness associations.

The birth of separate central sport federations is also in Finland connected with the linguistic group and social class differences brought about by societal circumstances. The workers' sport movement became part of the political labour movement as early as the last decades of the 19th century through clubs founded in connection with workers' associations and trade unions (Halila 1959, 84-87) although the political labour movement did not view sport very favourably at first. The origin and ideological contents of sport was considered to run counter to the goals of the working population (Halila 1960, 301; Johansson 1953). In spite of that, Halila (1959, 117) estimated that in 1917 c. 20 per cent of all SVUL clubs and c. 22 per cent of all their members could be identified with the labour movement. In a similar manner, sport also spread first among the middle and upper social strata through their own organizations, and through youth and school clubs (Halila 1959, 73-84).

The division of the Finnish sport movement into the Workers' Sport Federations (TUL) and the Finnish Central Sports Federation (SVUL) took place after the civil war of 1918. The latter (SVUL) was founded in 1900 and the former (TUL) in 1919 by clubs evicted from SVUL.

In addition to the above-mentioned federations, there is in Finland a Swedish-speaking central sport league, The Central Federation of Swedish Sports Organizations in Finland (CIF), established in 1912, the football and bandy special league, the Finnish Football Association (SPL)<sup>1</sup>, founded in 1907, and the Central League of Workers' Sport Clubs (TUK), founded in 1959 by clubs which withdrew or were expelled from TUL.

Historically, the division of the sport movement into separate central federations is thus related to the differences between linguistic and social groups, paralleling social cleavage. On account of this the birth and stabilization of the Finnish political system and that of the sport organizations are related events both in time and substance.

<sup>1</sup> In 1972 the supporters of bandy founded a separate central organization called The Finnish Bandy Federation (S JL), and SPL now is the central organization for football alone.

The social set-up brought about by industrialization at the beginning of the century – the differences between linguistic groups and social classes – is reflected in and affects both the organizational activities of sport and the present political life (cf. Lipset & Rokkan 1967, 50).

In Finland political tradition is one of the most central factors that determine and account for political behaviour (Allardt & Pesonen 1967; Jansson 1963; Sänkiaho 1968, 112–173) together with structural features describing social class, linguistic group identification as well as differences between rural and urban areas and between eastern and western Finland (Allardt 1964; Allardt & Pesonen 1967; Rantaia 1970; Sänkiaho 1968). Since political or organizational tradition cannot survive in a structural situation of deficient social support (Allardt & Pesonen 1967), the political and organizational situation may be considered to be due to different structural and traditional factors. It seems, therefore, natural to assume - and the results of a preliminary study (Kiviaho 1970a) also support the view - that political tradition has a strong independent effect also on the organizational activities of modern sport beyond organizational tradition.

The present study has been based on a frame of reference in which the change and function of social structure are related to the expansion and organization of the sport movement. The purpose has been to analyze the structural and social connections and preconditions that determine the organizational activities of sport. On the one hand, special attention has been given to the structural factors that determine organizational support and, on the other hand, to the historical origin and the societal function of the various sport federations. In this connection, it has been necessary to discuss present-day sport policies and especially the nature of central sport federations as well as the preconditions and opportunities for their union or co-operation.

## 2. PROBLEMS

The investigation was concerned with the following problems:

1. What is the distribution and location of the total support of the different sport federations in the whole country?
2. What is the distribution and location of the support within the different sport federations in the whole country?
3. What is the relation between the total support of sport federations and the regional predominance of sport federations, or, in other words, is the relative total support larger in areas where one sport federation is dominant than in areas where no federation is considerably more widely supported than the others?
4. To what extent is the location of the different sport federations explained by factors of political tradition and situation and by factors of social structure?
5. To what extent are class position, political ideology and political party support related to the direction of sport federation support on the individual level?
6. What is the relation between organization membership on the individual level and the social structure of a commune, and, on the other hand, between the choice of a federation on the individual level and the environmental variables measuring federation and political climate?

### 3. DATA, EXECUTION OF STUDY AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

#### 3.1. Research data

Since the investigation is limited to organized sports activities, in other words, to central sport federations and their membership, several less official associations, organizations and clubs are not included in spite of the fact that sport activities may play a considerable role in their activities. The study dealt with the following organizations: The Finnish Central Sports Federation (SVUL), the Workers' Sport Federation (TUL), The Central League of Workers' Sport Clubs (TUK), the Finnish Football Association (SPL), and the Central Federation of Swedish Sports Organizations in Finland (CIF).

Since the problems have been approached from the point of view of both individual and organizational level analysis, the collection of data has been carried out with the demands of ecological and survey research in mind.

The ecological data concerning the support of sport federations have been collected from the club records gathered and filed by the central sport federations and their district organizations in 1964, 1965 and 1966. A special drawback in this respect has been the fact that the information needs of the central sport federations and their district organizations do not on all counts coincide with the kind of information that would be important from the point of view of the problems of the present investigation. Besides, the heterogeneity and gaps in the available data about the central sport federations has



created several problems (see e.g. Valtion tilintarkastajain . . . 1966, 45-56).

The research material covers all Finnish communes (with the exception of the island of Ahvenanmaa and four minor communes) according to the commune division of 1960 (Commune level data). The material consists of 73 towns and townships, 455 rural communes, or a total of 528 communes. The variables that describe the number of federation members by the commune are mainly from the cross-section situation in 1965. In some cases the data had to be complemented with corresponding data from 1964 and 1966. A more detailed description of data collection and its reliability has been presented elsewhere (Kiviaho 1970b).

The individual level data are based mainly on two materials: one was collected in connection with a monthly survey by Suomen Gallup Oy (Gallup data) in the spring of 1971 on a sample of the total Finnish-speaking population above 15 years of age, which was representative in terms of age, sex, social group and type of residential location (N=1073, return 77.4 %), the other material was collected by means of a mail survey to the employees of the three state-owned Valmet Works in Jyväskylä (METELI data) in the autumn of 1971 (N=1330, return 81.0 %). Because the samples had been drawn mainly for other purposes and there were relatively few sport association members in them, the possible chance effects due to limited data were »controlled» by using two sources of data whose congruence may be regarded as an indication of their reliability. For the same practical reason, the questionnaire data will be analyzed only as far as the members of SVUL, TUL and TUK are concerned. However, the district and local networks of SVUL, TUL and TUK alone cover almost all the communes of the country, thus creating an almost equal opportunity to be a member in any one of them. Moreover, the three federations represent both in terms of regional distribution and size of membership the great majority of organized sport activities in Finland (Kiviaho 1970b; 1971b). The data gathered in a mail survey of Finnish sport leaders in the autumn of 1967 were also utilized; its collection, representativeness and reliability are discussed elsewhere (Heinilä & Kiviaho 1968, 2-6). Table 2 presents a summary of the data used in the present study, broken down by sex and sport federation, and the figures indicate both the absolute sizes of membership and percentages from the entire population (of the study).

TABLE 2. Research data broken down by sex and type of sport federation

Studies in which data have been used	Central sport federations	Percentages			Members from the total population		
		Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
	Sport club members from whom	11	28	19	264700	607100	871800
1, 2, 3,	Members of SVUL	52	55	54	138100	333900	472000
4, 6, 7	Members of TUL	36	31	32	95300	187800	283100
<i>Commune level data</i>	Members of TUK	06	06	06	14500	34500	49000
	Members of CIF	05	05	05	14300	30000	44300
	Members of SPL	01	03	03	2500	20900	23400
	Total	100	100	100	264700	607100	871800
		Women (37)	Men (128)	Total (165)	Women	Men	Total
	Sport club members from whom	07	23	16	128800	382300	511100
4, 5, 7	Members of SVUL	73	57	61	94000	217900	319000
	Members of TUL	05	21	18	6400	80300	86700
<i>Gallup data</i>	Members of TUK	03	02	02	3900	7600	11500
	Members of CIF	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Members of SPL	03	03	03	3900	11500	15400
	Don't know	16	17	16	20600	65000	85600
	Total	100	100	100	128800	382300	511100
		Women (22)	Men (194)	Total (216)	Women <sup>a</sup>	Men <sup>a</sup>	Total <sup>a</sup>
	Sport club members from whom	08	19	16	(81)	(711)	(790)
4, 5	Members of SVUL	36	42	41	(29)	(299)	(328)
<i>METELI data</i>	Members of TUL	50	55	55	(41)	(391)	(432)
	Members of TUK	—	01	—	—	(7)	(7)
	Members of CIF	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Members of SPL	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Don't know	14	02	4	(11)	(14)	(23)
	Total	100	100	100	(81)	(711)	(790)

a These figures concern a sample of three factories, and therefore the figures indicating absolute memberships are not comparable to the Commune level and Gallup data figures, which describe absolute amounts of membership for the total population of the whole country.

### 3.2. Execution of study

#### 3.2.1. Temporal and regional delimitation of study

As far as the data about social ecology are concerned, the unit of research or unit of observation was the commune. The commune is not, however, from the point of view of the formation of variables and the interpretation of results theoretically the best possible unit of research on account of the qualitative (town – country) and quantitative (range of population approximately from 150 to 400.000) differences that cause internal heterogeneity. However, the communes are administrative units within which sport activities mainly take place. Besides, an analysis at the level of communes makes it possible to compare similar Finnish studies dealing with other problem areas (see e.g. Allardt & Pesonen 1967; Rantala 1970; Riihinen 1965; Sänkiaho 1968). A third reason was the fact that most of the data could be best collected by the commune.

Another problem of the regional delimitation concerns the selection of the unit of analysis. In ecological studies the areas of analysis vary considerably, from city zone to entire country. When the whole country is used as the unit of analysis, there is a danger that some factor which explains organizational activity may have a different pattern of influence in different parts of the country. In such a case, the mean result would describe an unreal situation (Allardt 1966). In the present study, the whole country has been used as the unit of analysis only in descriptions, in which the unit of research has been the commune (Kiviaho 1970b; 1971b) and also economic area (Kiviaho 1970b); whereas, in explanatory studies the units of analysis have been formed in accordance with the particular needs of analysis (Kiviaho 1971c; 1973b, c).

Instead of a longitudinal approach it was necessary to be content with cross-section data describing only one point of time, because collecting data about organizational activity over a longer period of time is hampered by the lack or incompleteness of data describing the sport movement in the units of research (in this case the communes), by the differences in available data about the various central sport federations, and by the difficulties in tracking down missing data over a longer period of time. There were no practical possibilities for follow-up or repeated surveys, either.

### 3.2.2. *Methods of analysis*

By research tradition, there is according to Rantala (1967) a choice of two methods of description and analysis in social ecology. In the French tradition the results might be presented only as chartograms describing, for instance, the regional distribution of political support (cf. for instance, Rantala 1970; Sänkiaho 1968, 38–92). Chartograms can then be used both in description and explanation by comparing independent and dependent variables. Another way is to give up chartograms entirely or to use them only for description and to describe and explain the causes of regional differences by means of statistical methods (see e.g. Allardt 1964; Riihinen 1965; Sänkiaho 1968).

In the first part of this study (Kiviaho 1970b; 1971b), the chartogram technique was used mainly to describe regional differences, in which chartography illustrated and simplified the observed phenomena better than the statistical methods. In the later stages, however, the relations between sets of variables have been analyzed by statistical methods only.

The purpose of explanatory analyses has been to examine the regional and individual differences in the support of central sport federations by analyzing in particular how organizational support is related to social structure, political tradition and situation, and political opinions. For this reason, the methods of crosstabulation and partial correlation have been used to study the relationship between structural and political factors and organizational support on the individual and collective levels and between these two levels. Moreover, the causal relations between variables have been examined with the partial correlation (Blalock 1962; 1964, 61–94) and the path analysis techniques (see e.g. Boudon 1965; Duncan 1966; Roos 1972; Valkonen 1971, 101–102).

## 4. RESULTS

### 4.1. The distribution and location of the regional support of sport federations

The first research problem was concerned with the distribution and location of the total regional support of the sport federations in the whole country. The results indicate that in terms of total density the communes are distributed on a five-class scale of equal distances in the whole country as follows (Kiviahho 1971c).

Members per 100 inhabitants	N	% of all communes
– 9.9	116	22.0
10.0 – 14.9	132	25.0
15.0 – 19.9	108	20.5
20.0 – 24.9	80	15.2
25.0 –	92	17.3
Total	528	100.0

The mean of the membership density in the whole country was 16.8 members and the median 15.1 members per 100 inhabitants. The rather great differences in total support (Figure 1) are associated in industrialized societies with the regional variation in the degree of industrialization (Euler 1953; Wohl 1970). In the case of data concerned with a cross-section situation, this means in Finland that there is a proportionately greater accumulation of sport federation members (and, at the same time, of all sport activities) in the industrialized south and urbanized areas (Kiviahho 1970b; 1971b).

FIGURE 1. Total membership density by commune (Source: Kiviaho 1970b)

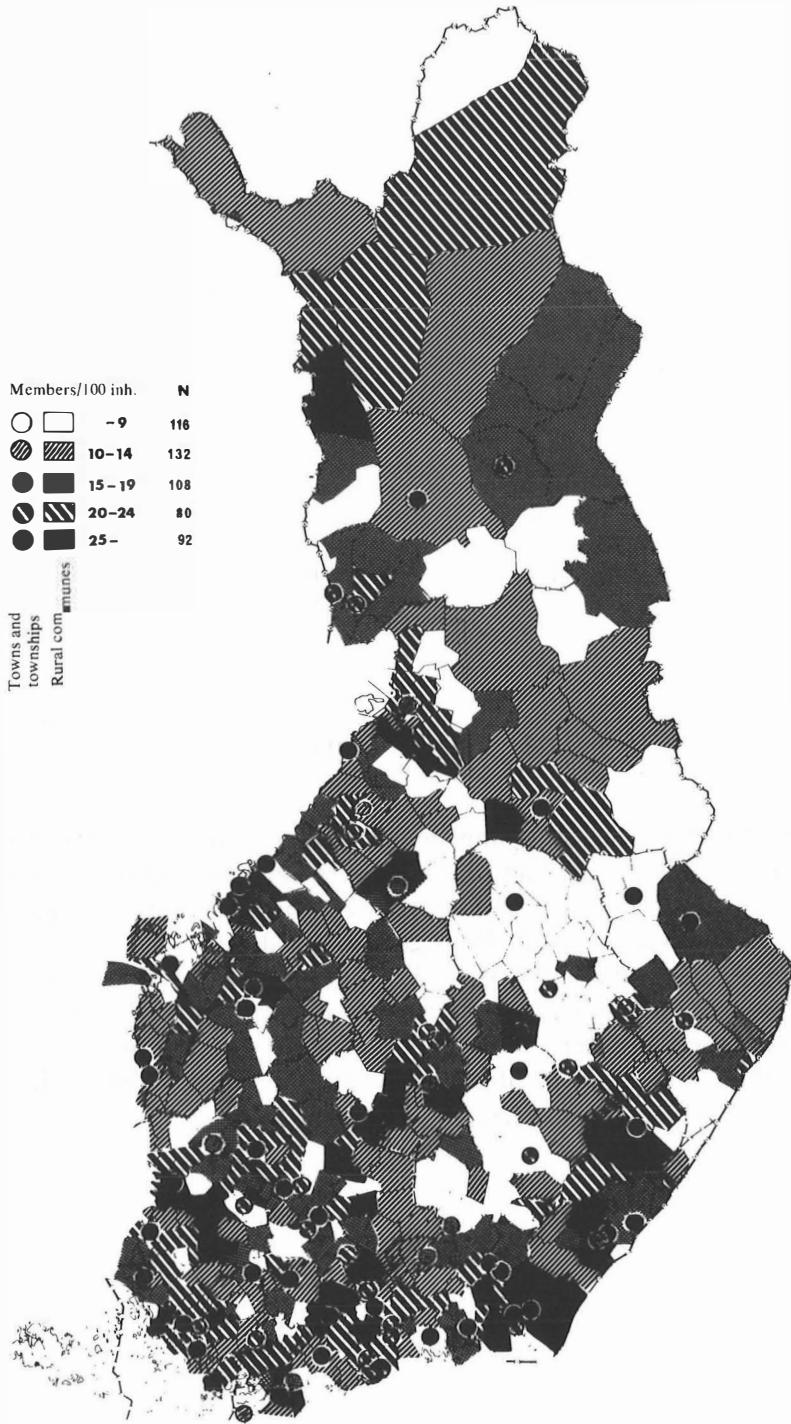


TABLE 2. The membership density of sport federations in industrialized Finland, the rest of the country and in the whole country grouped by type and size of commune

Type of commune	Industrialized Finland		Other parts of Finland		Whole country	
	Mean	% N	Mean	% N	Mean	% N
Towns and townships	27.1	42	25.7	31	26.7	73
– over 100000 inhabitants	21.0	3	–	–	21.0	3
– other towns and townships	27.2	39	25.7	31	26.9	70
Rural communes	16.8	218	13.6	237	15.2	455
All communes	18.4	260	15.2	268	16.8	528

The differences in membership density are clearly larger between different types of communes than between different parts of the country. The differences between rural communes are more distinct than between towns and townships. The relation of membership density to the degree of urbanization is not linear, because membership density is the highest in medium-size towns and the lowest in rural communes. The result was similar in the analysis on the individual level (Kiviahio 1973c).

#### 4.2. The distribution and location of the regional support within sport federations

Regional variation is observed in the distribution of social activity, which is manifested not only as quantitative regional accumulation but also as qualitative specialization. Besides, quantitative organizational differentiation is reflected also in the regional structure of support. In a previous examination by region, the relative support of central sport federations was found to vary rather much on the regional level (Kiviahio 1970b, 25).

FIGURE 2. The support of SVUL by commune (Source: Kiviaho 1971b)

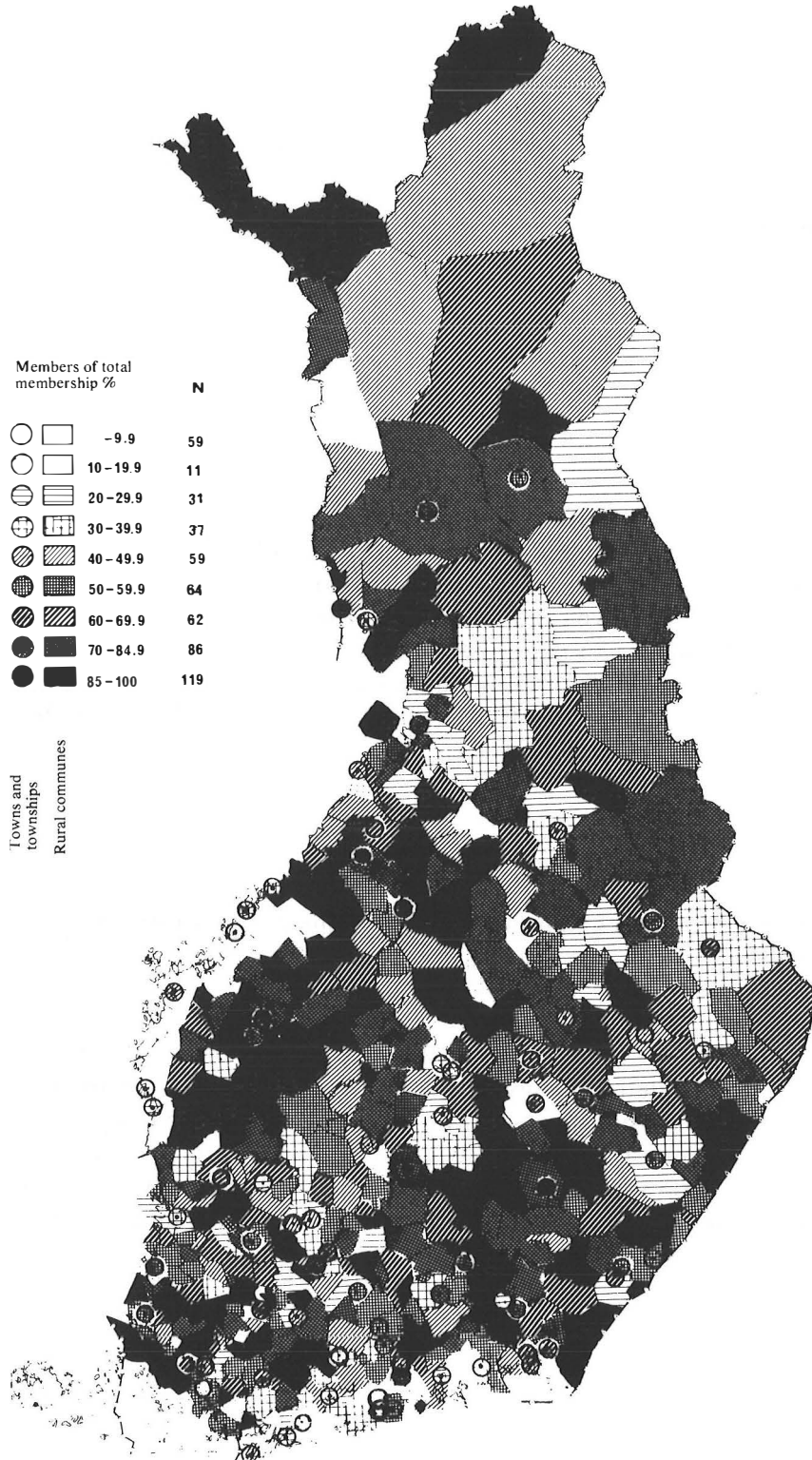




FIGURE 3. The support of TUL by commune (Source: Kiviaho 1971b)

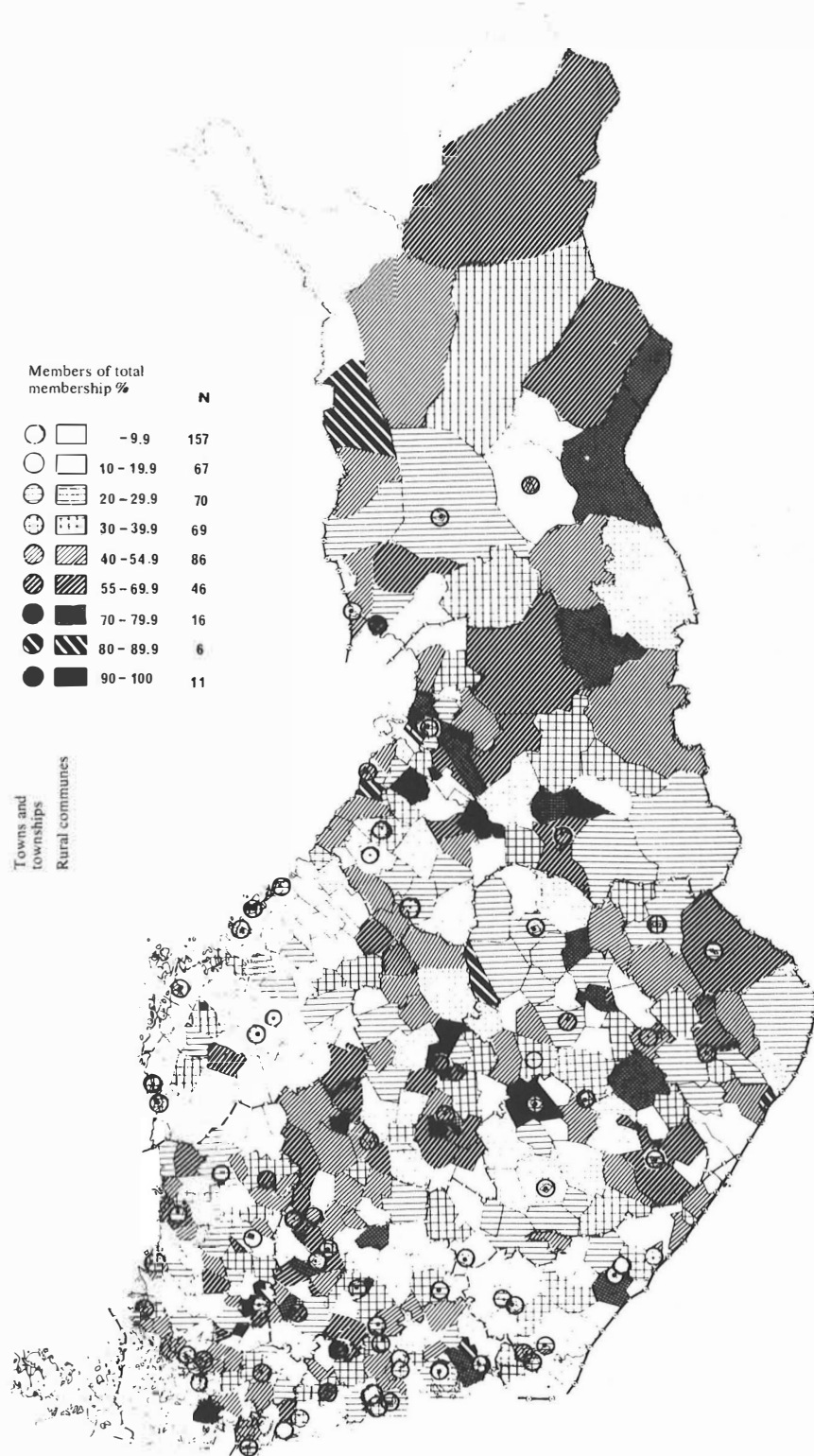


FIGURE 4. The support by TUK by commune (Source: Kiviaho 1971b)

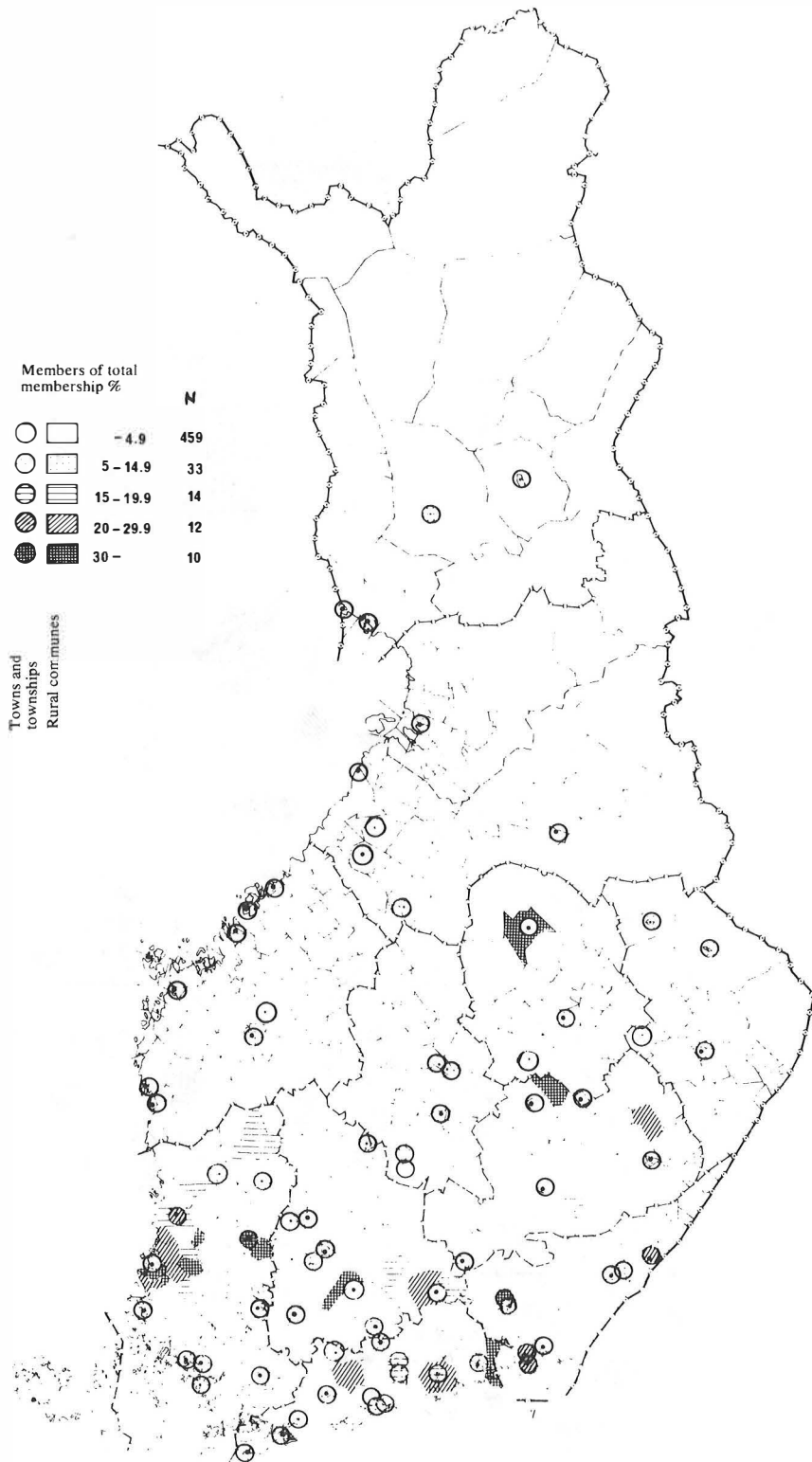


FIGURE 5. The support by CIF by commune (Source: Kiviaho 1971b)

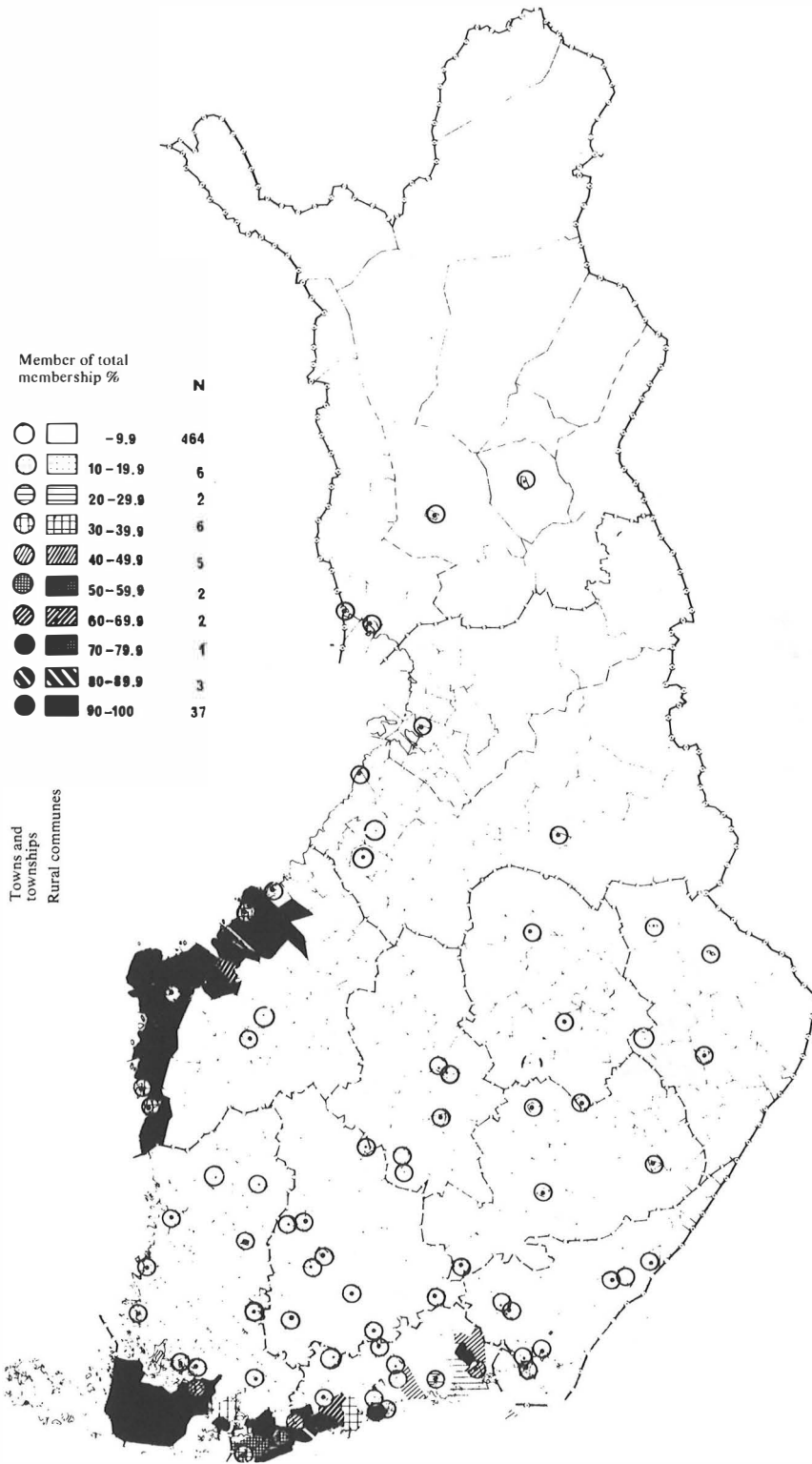


FIGURE 6. The support of SPL by commune (Source: Kiviaho 1971b)

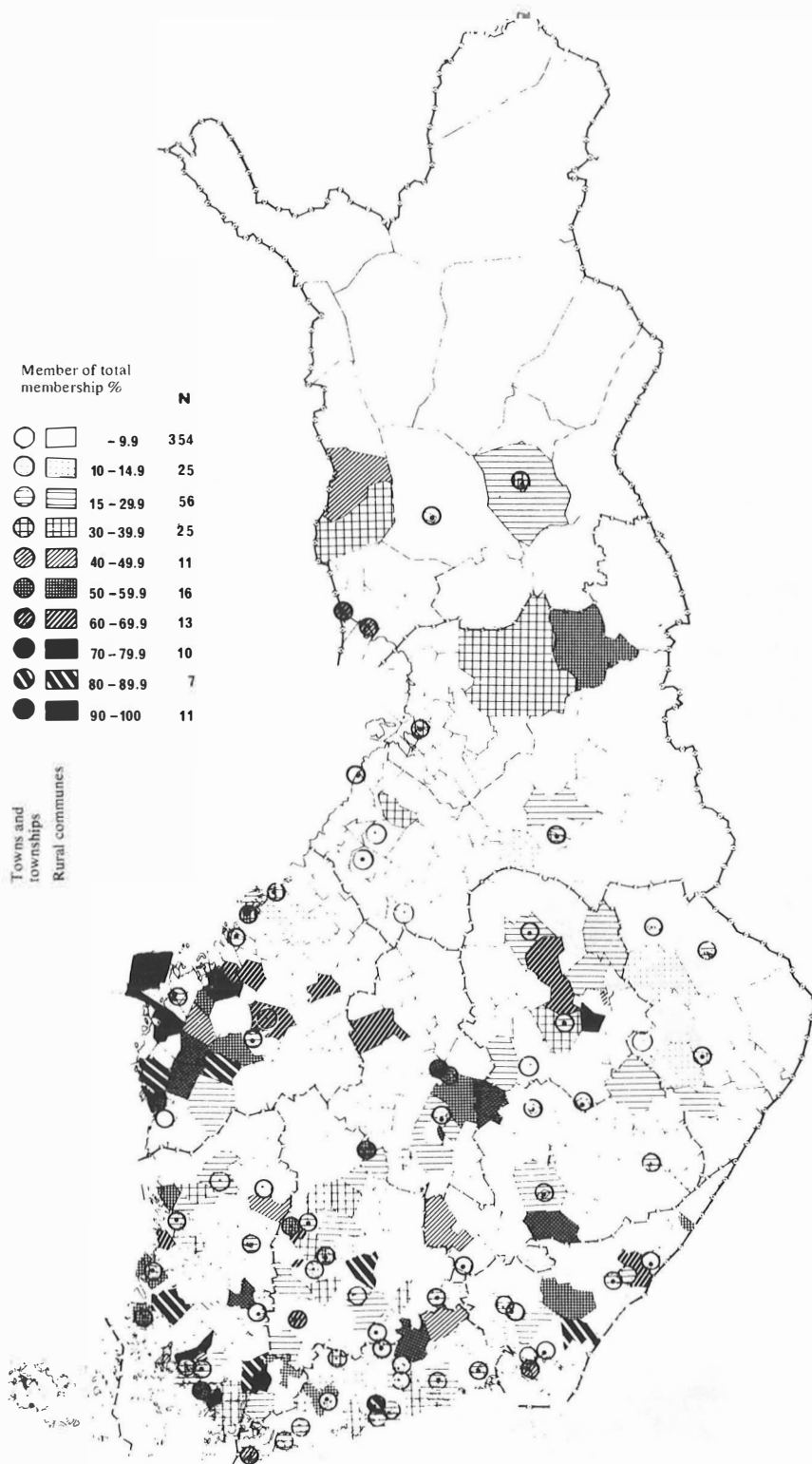
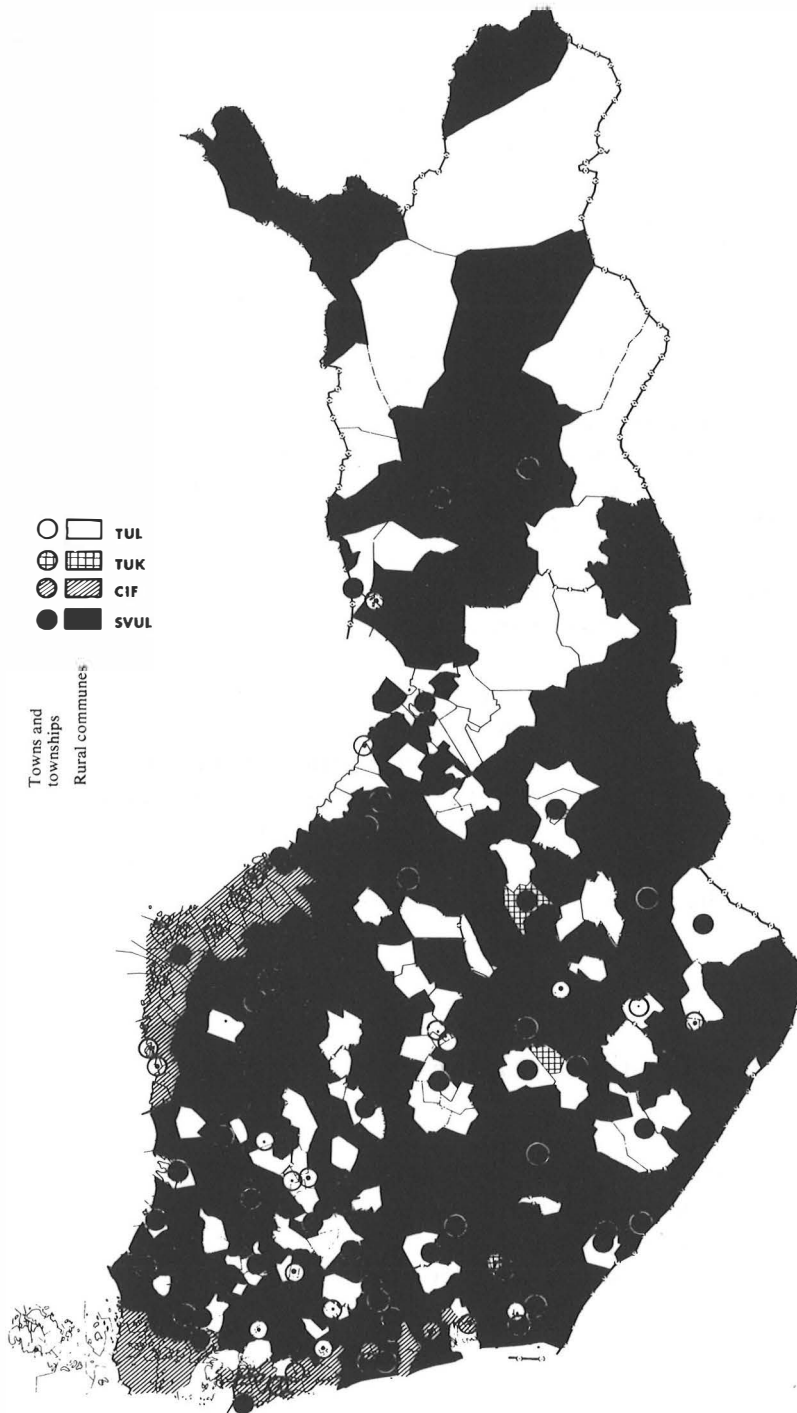


FIGURE 7. The most widely supported central sport federation by commune (Source: Kiviaho 1971b)



A detailed examination of the support and core areas of the central sport federations by commune (Figures 2–6) also showed, first that the regional support of different central sport federations is to a large extent independent of the distribution of total support (membership density) for federations, and secondly that support is regionally clearly differentiated in regard of all federations (Kiviaho 1971b). The result indicated that the communes where each central organization is strongly supported (or weakly supported) are grouped into one or several support areas. The results may be summarized as follows:

- 1) SVUL is the largest organization in almost two thirds of all communes, TUL in slightly less than a third, and CIF in the remaining Swedish-speaking communes (Figure 7).
2. The strongest support of SVUL is concentrated in the rural communes of southern, southwestern, and southeastern Finland (Figure 2). The support of TUL is strongest in the towns and industrialized centres of southern and central Finland as well as in the rural communes of eastern and northern Finland (Figure 3). TUK support lies in southern and southwestern Finland and in the southern towns (Figure 4). CIF support reflects Swedish-speaking regions (Figure 5). SPL support dwells in the towns and industrialized centres or their neighbouring communes in southern and central Finland (Figure 6).
3. Altogether it was found that SVUL had five areas of strong support, TUL six, TUK two, and CIF three.
4. Within support areas a differentiation of support could be detected. In almost all areas there were communes which considerably surpassed the lower limit of the support area and which, in the same way as support areas but usually within them or in their close proximity, formed uniform core areas.

### **4.3. Organizational structure and organizational support**

The differences between social groups are reflected in the organization of sport even at the club level in most parts of the country. In organizational policy at the commune level this usually means that there are two sport clubs, one belonging to SVUL and the other to

TUL. If the relative size of the total support of sport federations or membership density is regarded as an indicator of the effectiveness of organizational activity, it is possible on the basis of the ecological data to clarify the effects of the regional overlap of organizational activity on the effectiveness of that activity. It is assumed then that the membership density does not depend only on the above-mentioned structural factors, but also on such factors of organizational structure as the number of members and regional overlap, which either increase or decrease organizational activity.

The effects of the regional competition between organizations on organizational activity has been measured here in the light of hypotheses derived from the cross pressure hypothesis (see e.g. Allardt 1956, 144) and the model of conflict behaviour (see e.g. Coser 1956, 148), at the same time attempting to link these theoretical considerations with a practical discussion about organizational policy.

On the whole, the results lend support to the assumption about the effectiveness of organizational activity (which has been indicated here with the amount of members in relation to the number of inhabitants) in areas where more than one central federation is active. When the number of federations is not controlled, the results indicate that organizational activity is usually highest in those communes where no single federation is predominant and lowest in those communes where some federation is overwhelmingly larger than the others in terms of support (Kiviaho 1971c).

When the number of federations is controlled and only such communes are examined in which at least two central federations are active, thus enabling competition and norm conflict, or when also a factor of supply is controlled such as the number of sport events practised, then the differences are smaller, but the results are still rather consistently similar.

It appears that both the number of central sport federations as such and the competition between them increases organizational activity and total support, at least in a situation in which their action is directed at different groups in the population.

#### 4.4. Direction of organizational support and political climate

The influence of the social context on the birth of sport organizations and the effect of the political situation on their differentiation have been considerable in Finland. One of the problems of the present study was to clarify to what extent sport federations at present reflect the current social and political situation and to what extent »the past in the present» (Kekkonen 1971).

Table 3 indicates the distribution of organizational distribution<sup>1</sup> by commune in those communes where in 1965 both SVUL and/or TUL clubs were active, holding political tradition,<sup>2</sup> social structure<sup>3</sup> and political situation (political cleavages)<sup>4</sup> controlled.

TABLE 3. The distribution of organizational support in communes in which SVUL and/or TUL were supported when the support of the left in 1966 and in 1929, and the degree of industrialization are controlled

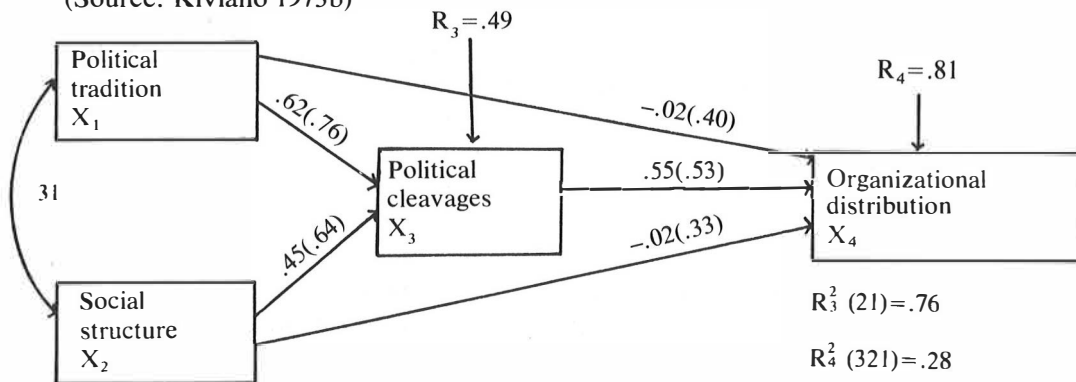
Support of the left in 1929	Degree of industrialization	Support of the left in 1966					
		Large		Small		Total	
		%	N	%	N	%	N
Large	High	78	40	63	8	75	48
	Medium	57	35	44	9	55	44
	Low	70	33	28	32	49	65
	Total	69	108	37	49	59	157
Small	High	71	34	36	11	62	45
	Medium	52	29	30	33	40	62
	Low	43	23	19	57	26	80
	Total	57	86	25	101	40	187
Total	High	74	74	47	19	69	93
	Medium	55	64	33	42	46	106
	Low	59	56	22	89	37	145
	Total	63	194	29	150	48	344

<sup>1</sup> Organizational distribution has been described here by communes in which the support of TUL in 1965 was at least 30 % of all sport club members in the commune, which indicated that its support surpassed the



The results of Table 3 indicate that social structure, political tradition and political situation each have a considerable main effect on the distribution of organizational support: the support of TUL is the bigger the more industrialized, the more left-oriented the commune is, and the older its left traditions; and correspondingly, the support of SVUL is the stronger the less industrialized the commune is, and the larger the support for and the older the traditions of the right are in the commune. The results indicate, further, that when political tradition is controlled, the relationship between political distribution and organizational distribution is diminished but not totally eliminated. In the same manner, when social structure is controlled, the relationship between political distribution and organizational support is diminished but not totally eliminated.

FIGURE 8. Path coefficients indicating the relations of political tradition, social structure and political situation to organizational distribution (Correlation coefficients within brackets and path coefficients without brackets) (Source: Kiviahio 1973b)



national average or median. The data have been gathered from the files that central sport federations had collected from local clubs in 1964, 1965 and 1966.

<sup>2</sup> The variable measuring political tradition indicates the support of the left by the commune in the national election of 1929 (SVT XXIX A:14).

<sup>3</sup> The variable measuring social structure indicates the proportion of the population employed in industry (manufacturing and service industries) of all gainfully employed by commune, according to the census of 1960 (SVT IV C:103, IV).

<sup>4</sup> The variable measuring political situation (political cleavages) indicates the support of the left by commune in the national election of 1966 (SVT XXIX A:29).

The analysis of the causal relations between variables by means of partial correlation and path analysis (Kiviaho 1973b) indicates that the politico-ideological distribution in a given area has a considerable role in explaining the distribution of support for sport federations (Figure 8). As the results of crosstabulation indicate, political distribution has a relatively large main effect on organizational support, but it seems to mediate a considerable part of the effects of political tradition and social structure as well.

#### **4.5. Direction of organizational support, class position and political opinion**

On account of the social and political background of organizational structure, it may be assumed that the choice of a sport organization on the individual level is also a political choice. In fact, the choice situation has two stages. In the first stage, the choice concerns the direction of activity, i.e. the field of organizational activity, and only the second stage concerns a choice among the available organizations. The present study focused only on the latter problem and examined the relationship between the choice of organization and political-ideological factors.

The setting of the problem of the present study was based on the notion that the membership of a sport federation is dependent on social class (as is party support), but mainly on political ideology. With regard to the two largest sport federations, the results indicate that SVUL is practically the only alternative for farmers and for the upper social strata, whereas workers are almost equally distributed to SVUL and TUL–TUK (cf. also Seppänen 1972). Thus all social strata are fairly equally represented in the membership of SVUL, but TUL–TUK membership consists almost entirely of workers and to some extent of upper social strata (Kiviaho 1972).

The correlation between political<sup>1</sup> alignment and sport federation<sup>2</sup> alignment (Table 4) indicates that before and after holding the individ-

<sup>1</sup> Political alignment is a dichotomous variable measuring the support of the left or the right.

<sup>2</sup> Sport federation alignment is a dichotomous variable measuring the support of SVUL or TUL.

ual level variables (sex, age, level of education, social status and residence) constant, the supporters of the right most likely belong to SVUL and the supporters of the left to TUL (Kiviaho 1973a). By tabulating the variables, it was found (Kiviaho 1972) that of those who had indicated their membership, hardly any of the supporters of the right belonged to TUL; whereas, a fourth or fifth of the supporters of the left who had indicated their membership belonged to a SVUL club. The large number of those who did not indicate their party identification, however, makes interpretation of the results problematic.

TABLE 4. The correlations and partial correlations between the direction of organizational support and political identification when individual level factors are controlled vs. when not controlled (Source: Kiviaho 1973a)

	Direction of organizational support (→ TUL)							
	Gallup 1971 (N=75)				Meteli 1971 (N=136)			
	Zero order correlation r	Explained variance %	Partial correlation r	Explained variance %	Zero order correlation r	Explained variance %	Partial correlation r	Explained variance %
Political identification (→ left)	.75	56	.63	40	.70	49	.54	29

The correlations .19 and .28 (N = 75) and .14 and .20 (N = 136) are significant at the 5 % and 1 % level of confidence, respectively (one tail test).

It is, however, reasonable to assume that not only the ideological borderline between left and right, but also party affiliation (i.e. the degree of left vs. right orientation) determine to what club a person belongs.

TABLE 5. The correlations and partial correlations between the direction of organizational support and political opinion when individual level factors are controlled vs. when not controlled (Source: Kiviaho 1973a)

	Direction of organizational support (→ TUL)							
	Gallup 1971 (N=129)				Meteli 1971 (N=205)			
	Zero order correlation r	Explained variance %	Partial correlation r	Explained variance %	Zero order correlation r	Explained variance %	Partial correlation r	Explained variance %
Political affiliation (→ SKDL) <sup>a</sup>	.56	31	.44	19	.59	35	.46	21

<sup>a</sup>Finnish People's Democratic League, a leftist party

The correlations .15 and .21 (N=129) and .12 and .17 (N=205) are significant at the 5 % and 1 % level of confidence, respectively (one tail test).

Compared with earlier results, it appears that not only political affiliation, but also the location of political opinion in the basic ideological pattern (cf. Borg 1965, 119–122), are connected with the probability of belonging to either of the two central organizations. The results support the assumption about the influence of party affiliation on the direction of organizational support: the more we move the left, the greater the probability that the person belongs to a TUL club; and similarly, the more we move to the right the greater the probability that the person belongs to a SVUL club.

This result becomes more definite when we, by means of cross-tabulation, examine the relationship between political identification and organization preference holding class position constant. We note then that in the case of farmers and workers, political identification, in fact, seems to determine which central federation a person belongs to. In the upper social strata, however, class position rather than political identification seems to determine membership (Kiviahho 1972).

The study also approached indirectly the problem about the causal relationship between political opinion and the choice of a sport federation, by examining how the political tradition of the home, the parents' political opinion and the parents' organizational tradition affect their offspring's choice of a sport federation. The results indicate that the direction of the children's organizational support is mainly determined by the direction of the parents' organizational support. The latter, however, as was noted above, is connected with the parents' political opinion. This holds true even when the parents' political opinion is controlled. When the parents do not belong to a sport club themselves, their political opinion seems to affect also the children's choice of a sport federation.

#### **4.6. Environmental effect on organization membership and the choice of organization**

The congruence between the results on the ecological and individual levels does not yet justify drawing conclusions about the connection between variables describing social environment

and individual behaviour. The results raised, however, a further problem with an attempt to analyze how the degree of industrialization influences the individual's joining a sport club and how the political and organizational policy climate of a commune influences the choice of a sport federation.

As far as the first problem is concerned, the results support the assumption about the relationship between the degree of industrialization<sup>1</sup> of a commune and the individual's sport club membership. The observed relationship is not linear, however, because there are most members not in the most industrialized areas, but in »medium-industrialized« communes (Kiviahio 1973c).

The effects of the political<sup>2</sup> and organizational policy climate were examined separately as variables affecting the choice of a sport federation<sup>4</sup> on the individual level. However, organizational policy climate was not found to be connected with the individuals' choice of a federation. This was interpreted to be due specifically to the political nature of the federations, in which case political climate would directly have a stronger effect on the individuals' choice of organization than would organizational policy climate.

Irrespective of the fact whether the above interpretation is correct or not, the empirical data indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between political climate and the choice of a federation (Table 6). The explained variance is only two per cent units, so that only relatively few choices are accounted for by political climate alone. The result indicates, however, that in areas where the political right predominates, part of those who in view of their individual orientations might join TUL, actually join SVUL on account of social pressure. But a closer analysis indicated that the converse relationship – in which those who with regard to individual characteristics might belong to SVUL would join TUL in areas of leftist dominance – does not appear to obtain, which might be due to

<sup>1</sup> As for the measurement of this variable, see p. 33

<sup>2</sup> The variable measuring political climate describes the support of the right by commune in the national election of 1966 (SVT XXIX A:29).

<sup>3</sup> The variable measuring organizational policy climate describes the proportion of SVUL club members of all sport club members in the commune.

<sup>4</sup> As for the measurement of the variable describing the direction of organizational support, see p. 34.

the fact that the sport organizational support of the left is divided between TUL and SVUL (Kiviaho 1973c). This finding complements earlier observations, on the ecological and individual levels, about the central role of political climate and opinion in the choice of a sport federation. At the same time, it indicates that social environment affects the choice of a federation and can either strengthen or weaken the effect of individual opinion.

TABLE 6. The correlations between the direction of individual support of federations and the political climate on the collective level, when the factors on the individual level (political opinion and level of education), environmental variables measuring the degree of industrialization, and the organizational policy climate are controlled vs. when not controlled (N = 129) (Source: Kiviaho 1973c).

Independent variable	Dependent variable	Controlled variable	Partial correlation	Explained variance (%)
Political climate (→ right)	Direction of organizational support (→ SVUL)	—	.43	18
“	“	Individual factors	.34	12
“	“	The above+ degree of industrialization (→ high)	.16	03
“	“	The above+ organizational policy climate (→SVUL)	.15	02

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

## 5. DISCUSSION

### 5.1. Data

In an investigation such as this in which the data have been gathered at different times, from different populations, with different methods, and on different levels of analysis, data problems are central and can be divided into at least two groups. One group of problems is connected with the collection and sources of research data; and the other with the reliability, representativeness and comparability of data.

The first problem in the present investigation concerns ecological data about membership in central sport federations at the cross-section of 1965. The research data were based on information about the clubs and members of central sport federations (SVUL, TUL TUK, CIF and SPL), which was gathered from the annual reports of clubs. Information about the amount, names and location of clubs was also obtained from the annual reports of the districts and central organizations and from central and district offices.

On comparing the collected data with the statistics for 1965 published by the central sport federations, we can observe slight deviations in the figures indicating total membership. These differences may be explained by the fact that the statistics of central federations concern only the year 1965; whereas, in the present study an attempt was made to include all clubs functioning in 1965, by completing the missing data with information from 1964 and 1966. Besides, the clubs of CIF and TUK have been counted only under their own central federation, even when they belonged to the special organizations of SVUL. By the same token, the observed overlaps – for instance, if a given club has been a member of two SVUL special organizations and thus entered twice in the statistics – have been removed. However, even these measures have not made it possible to avoid the overlap caused by the fact that a person may have been simultaneously a member of two or more clubs, particularly in the case of SVUL, which has several special organizations and clubs. It is

difficult to estimate this kind of overlap accurately; but according to some estimations, the overlap is 1.5 (cf. Seppänen 1972)<sup>1</sup>. The number of so-called ghost members is also difficult to estimate and has not been examined in the present study. Their amount has probably diminished since 1964 on account of the fact that the state auditors in their report for the year 1964 (Valtion tilintarkastajain . . . 1966, 45-56) took up deficiencies in the SVUL and TUL membership statistics for 1960 and 1962.

The use of survey data in a study like this is hampered by the fact that, in an ordinary sample, the amount of organizations often remains too small in order to allow reliable conclusions (cf. Hartenstein & Liepelt 1962). In practice the situation may be improved by combining the organization members of successive samples to facilitate analyses, but the errors due to small samples and the underrepresentation or overrepresentation of different groups also remain in the compound material and cause bias. Another possibility, which was used here, is to perform the analyses separately and regard the consistency of the results as one of the criteria of interpretation.

The fact that the data have been gathered at different points of time, with different methods, and from different populations, makes their mutual comparison problematic. This concerns, for instance, the picture of the proportion of the members of different sport federations that is obtained on the basis of different data. In spite of the fact that the differences in membership proportions are rather great, they may still represent the original populations rather well. For instance, it is evident that, in terms of population characteristics, the sample drawn from the employees of three Valmet Works in Jyväskylä differs from the sample drawn by Suomen Gallup Oy from the entire adult Finnish-speaking population.

Still, the membership proportion of TUL in the Gallup data is to be considered low, because, according to the federations' calculations based on their own statistics (cf. Table 2; p. 18), the relative share of TUL membership of all sport club members was c. 32 per cent in 1965. The reason for this underrepresentation may be

<sup>1</sup> The estimate seems large when we compare it with Euler's (1953) empirical findings in Sweden, which however, go back 20 years. According to him 14 % of male sport club members and 03 % of female members belonged to at least two clubs, and the overlap was 1.17 for men and 1.03 for women. It is to be noted further that overlap is not equal throughout the country but is larger in urban areas on account of the greater amount of clubs.



due to several factors. First, it may be that the TUL members more often than other central federation members refuse to indicate which central sport federation they belong to, particularly in an interview situation. This may be related to a similar fear which, in interviews about voting behaviour, has led many supporters of Finnish People's Democratic League to state that they had voted for the Social Democrats (Allardt & Littunen 1964, 191). If we, from this point of view, examine the interview data, where those who did not state their sport federation membership were fourfold compared with those in the questionnaire data, we note that in the working population there were relatively more of those who did not indicate their sport federation membership, which supports the proposed interpretation.

Occupational class	Total data N=1073	Sport club members N=165	Data missing N=27
Farmers	22	18	4
Workers	46	49	74
Managerial and professional occupations	32	33	22
Total	100	100	100

Second, it may also be that with such limited data, sampling errors may bias the results, particularly since the support of SVUL and TUL is not evenly distributed among different occupational classes and different areas. The TUL membership is overrepresented among the workers and in industrialized areas and underrepresented among other parts of the population and in the countryside; whereas, the SVUL membership (although it is more evenly distributed both among different parts of population and different parts of the country) is overrepresented among the middle class, farmers, and in the countryside (cf. Kiviaho 1971b; 1972).

Third, the reason may be that there are not TUL, TUK, CIF and SPL clubs in nearly all communes. In 1965 there were TUL clubs in 397 communes, SVUL clubs in 472, TUK clubs in 97, CIF clubs in 71, and SPL clubs in 212. It is possible that a national sample includes several communes in which there are no TUL clubs, and the results would be biased in this respect. In practice this possibility,

however, is rather remote because, of the 106 communes included in the interview sample, there were only five in which there were no TUL clubs.

Fourth, it does not seem a likely possibility that the observed differences would be accounted for by the large number of non-adult members in TUL, which would not be reflected in an interview of adult people, or that the membership density of TUL would have declined from 1965 to 1971. The former bias might cause some underrepresentation in the TUL sample, for the ecological data showed that the proportion of young people of total membership is 45 per cent in TUL and 38 in SVUL (Kiviaho unpublished data).

Fifth, the differences may be connected with the so-called ghost members, or double or manifold membership, which are possible when the membership is determined on the basis of the organizations' own statistics. But the reason may equally well be connected with the small number of members in the Gallup material and a consequent sampling bias, which if the materials are broken down by sex is the most clearly seen in the number of women belonging to TUL which, transformed into an absolute amount of membership (cf. Table 2; p. 18) remains clearly under the real TUL women membership.

## **5.2. Methods of analysis**

When organizational variables are used in ecological data, attention is usually directed to two methodological problem areas which raise difficulties for analysis and interpretation. One problem is linked with the technical relations between variables, and the other with a misguided interpretation of ecological correlations. The former implies a situation in which two or more variables are computationally interdependent and can usually be avoided by including only one of the variables in the analysis (Janson 1969). It is more difficult to avoid when it is necessary to use indices with a common denominator which may cause spurious correlation between the variables (McNemar 1962, 163; Riihinen 1965, 99). However, the original

variables of the units of analysis are usually less useful in terms of the amount of population and area than such index variables which are usually related to the unit of population and create better grounds for regional comparisons than original variables (Riihinen 1965, 98, 101).

The problem of ecological misinterpretations concerns the level of conclusions that can safely be made from ecological and aggregate data (see, for instance, Allardt 1969; Duncan et.al. 1961, 62–80; Robinson 1950; Valkonen 1969b; 1971, 134). It is usually not possible on the basis of ecological data to draw conclusions about correlations between the individual level variables, due to the differences between individual behaviour caused by structural effects. On the other hand, ecological correlations need not always correspond with the individual level correlations, although ecological correlations are often used because correlations between individuals' characteristics are not available.

Of the numerous problems in the use of individual level data (see e.g. Galtung 1970, 148–160; Sulkunen 1972; Valkonen 1970a; 1971, 138–142), the most important from the point of view of the present investigation were the confined sample and the fact that the data describe individual level behaviour which is sociologically less interesting, since it does not take into account the relation between individuals and the environment. In any case, the problems of survey data have restricted and guided the selection of the methods of analysis as well as theoretical arguments.

On the other hand, the environmental and individual level data gathered at roughly the same time permit analysis of the relations between social structure and individual level behaviour. Here contextual analysis (for a discussion on contextual analysis see, e.g. Riley 1963, 645–739; Valkonen 1970a,b) was made by combining data about ecological areas (communes) and individuals. Two conditions for such a secondary analysis (for a discussion on secondary analysis see, e.g. Boudon 1969; Chandler & Hartjens 1969; Valkonen 1969a) are, however, first that in survey data it must be possible to identify each subject's domicile area and secondly that all persons from the same area can be assigned the same regional variable value. Besides, this kind of analysis presupposes a certain minimum of regional units as well as a minimum of subjects from each area. The number of regional units depends to some extent on the problem and the nature of the regions. In the sample, there must be more regions, if they are

homogeneous than if they are heterogeneous (Valkonen 1969a). The use of several regional units is, however, desirable in order to avoid chance effects, because when few units are used (see e.g. Hirvas 1966; Stolte-Heiskanen 1967), the reliability of the results is to a large extent dependent on how well we have been able to control other structural traits than those under study. In the present study, there were always more than 40 regional units (communes), which may be regarded sufficient. On the other hand, it is more difficult to define the minimum amount of subjects for each regional unit. If we, in accordance with Valkonen (1969a), require that it should be possible to make analyses also within regional units or sets of units, the data offered some opportunities for such purposes as well.

### **5.3. Sport organizations and social structure**

The present project has had, in a sense, two separate although interrelated points of departure. On the one hand, since the investigation concerns the organizational policy situation in Finland, it has been necessary to pay attention to the historical and social factors that affected the birth of sport organizations. This, in its turn, has made it necessary to utilize the theoretical conceptions formed in politology and political sociology about factors influencing organizational life and about its social functions.

On the other hand, on account of the organizational policy theme this study has discussed topical sport policies and, particularly, the question about the nature of central sport federations and the pre-conditions and opportunities for their co-operation. For this reason it appears natural to examine briefly the role of sociological research for creating alternative solutions for basic practical problems in sport culture. This problem shall not be analyzed in any detail; instead, attention is focused on such questions of general sport politics that have influenced the contents of the present project or have been essential for the empirical definition of the problems of the previous studies by the author.

The project has analyzed regional characteristics of organizational sport activity and structural factors that influence them to explain the directions of influence that are linked with the process of becoming a sport club member and the choice of a sport federation. The purpose has been to create a descriptive model in which social behaviour and structure can be related to the support of central sport federations. Since organizational activities are split into separate federations following linguistic and social class divisions due to social change at the end of the 19th century, a question arises: to what extent do the present social situation and the organizational structure formed from decades ago correspond? Often social structure change diminishes the significance of organizations or organizational structure. For instance, in sport the increasing influence of political parties in national decision-making and also in sport enables different interests to be reflected directly in sport political decision-making without the existence of separate sport organizations (see e.g. *Valtion urheiluneuvoston . . .* 1969, 11). On the other hand, the organizations are not the same as at the beginning of the century, either. As far as sport federations are concerned, after organizational differentiation there was quantitative growth connected with social change, which has led not only to a change in the status of sport and physical culture but also to a greater role for central sport federations regarding the physical culture of the nation. When the socio-political significance of sport federations has increased, some political parties (SDP . . . , 1969; *Suomen Kansan . . .*, 1970; *Keskustapuolueen . . .*, s.a.; *Liberaalisen . . .*, 1972) have become interested in sport and physical culture and in its organization. More openly than before, federations have been conceived as political or social organizations which are aligned with social ideologies and even with political parties. For this reason in politology, sport organizations are referred to as being supporting organizations of political ideologies or parties, in which parties have own interests to look after (Duverger 1967, 51, 101–109; Jansson 1970, 51–54).

In this frame of reference, the quantitative support of sport federations was assumed to be linked with the degree of industrialization, and organizational differentiation with the support of political and social ideologies and parties. This was demonstrated by the location of organizational support, the membership density being the highest in towns and townships and in industrialized southern Finland. On the individual and communal level, however, membership density

proved non-linear, highest in medium-size towns and not in the biggest towns. The result points to the importance of the size of the commune for the conditions of organizational activity: medium-size communes are sufficiently homogeneous in order to reinforce cohesiveness for sport interest, and organized activity as compared with smaller communes; whereas, the structural heterogeneity of urban areas may deteriorate organizational activity. Since the question has not been analyzed in any depth, although the data in principle would enable this, the conclusions must remain tentative.

The amount of organizational support and the size of membership density are not affected only by the structural conditions for industrialization, but also by the organizational structure of sport. The political discussion about sports, in which divisive organization activity has been debated, closely parallels the alleged similarity between the organizational structures and activities of different sport federations. In this connection, economic redundancy and ineffectiveness have been emphasized, due to the overlap of several national sport federations from the level of central administration to local club level (see e.g. Valtion urheiluneuvoston . . . 1969, 57–60).

This view can be supported theoretically by the cross-pressure hypothesis of political behaviour: participation may be assumed to be the liveliest in situations in which there is no cross-pressure from different organizations, even though a situation in which there are no alternatives is the most conducive to passiveness. On the other hand, it may also be assumed that a conflict or competition between different organizations increases organizational alertness and responsiveness.

The existence of two or more organizations increases activity when the parties concerned are organized and about equally supported, but the potential members have in fact only one choice. On the other hand, the competition situation between two organizations in which potential members have a problem of choice between competing but in fact alternative organizations may decrease activity. The former situation is illustrated by the relationship between SVUL and TUL in which the two parties are separated by a basic social antagonism; whereas, the latter situation might prevail between SVUL and CIF or between TUL and TUK where the competition between the organizations is to a lesser extent characterized by basic social antagonism. The result is understandable also on the basis of Rose's (1955) observations about organizational activity, according to which

the conflicting organizations (the organizations have different goals, and the means of attaining the goals are scarce) are more active than the competing organizations (the organizations have the same goals but the means of attaining them are scarce). Due to data limitations, it has not been possible to analyze the problem in more detail, except with regard to two conflicting organizations.

On the whole, it may be that the dichotomy or trichotomy in the Finnish sport life has been an advantage not only in terms of the growth of the total membership of sport federations, but also as a channel for training talented sportsmen from different social and linguistic groups. In any case, there is reason to assume that the division has promoted the effective social utilization of sport, in other ways: for instance, in improving the feeling of solidarity among the Swedish-speaking population and among workers, in improving their living conditions, and in transmitting their cultural heritage.

Historically, the organizational division of the Finnish sport movement is based on political and linguistic factors which influence regional support of central sport federations, which derives from the support of political ideologies and political parties and related structural factors. The sport federations do not seem to be totally overlapping in terms of regional support. Although CIF is the only central federation that is limited to the Swedish-speaking communes alone, the support of other federations is not evenly distributed over the country, either, but exhibits regional differentiation. Thus the strongholds of SVUL and TUL are located in different parts of the country, where regional differentiation is readily explained by just politico-structural factors. In this connection there is no need to go into the details of the special features of the Finnish political ecology (see e.g. Allardt 1964; Allardt & Pesonen 1967; Rantala 1970; Sänkiaho 1968). In any case, studies have revealed relatively stable regional differences in support of the various political groups. Comparing them, the SVUL support is relatively strongest in the support area of the political right, and TUL support comes from the political left (Kiviaho 1971b; 1973b).

Structural factors, social class, class consciousness and political tradition are considered the main factors in explaining individual political behaviour. These factors were also reflected in the organizational activity of sport, both on the commune and individual levels, due to the political nature of the organized sports.

A commune cannot, however, be analyzed only in terms of individ-

ual behaviour which is influenced not only by individual characteristics, but also by the social environment. Thus political climate would appear to affect individual choice of a sport federation. When the political climate of a region is dominated by the political right, support of SVUL is enhanced, even among those who, with regard to other characteristics, might join another sport federation. If the matter is examined in a wider perspective, the political climate of the country explains why SVUL has such a relatively large proportion of total sport organization membership as well as why some supporters of the political left belong to SVUL as compared with the proportion of TUL members from total sport organization membership, and the virtual non-existence of the political right in TUL. SVUL is the largest organization for the reason that the general political climate of the country favours the support of SVUL.

The relationship that was observed between political opinion and the direction of organizational support on the collective and individual levels does not justify drawing conclusions about the causal directions of influence, i.e. whether party support precedes organizational support or vice versa. On the ecological level the direction of influence, however, would seem to be from party support to organizational support (Kiviahio 1973b). On the individual level the direction of influence might be the reverse, for it may be assumed that those who join the sport clubs young adopt part of their political opinions through the federation or club. Indirectly, the results indicate that the direction of influence is from political and organizational identification to the choice of sport federation between generations, which points to the primacy of political factors in the choice of a federation.

On the basis of these results, we can also examine the cooperation between different sport federations or the advisability of one national sport organization, which has repeatedly been in the focus of the political sport discussions (Valtion urheiluneuvoston . . . 1970; Urheilun valtakunnanorganisaatio 1971). The history of cooperative negotiation reveals that from the start it has been difficult to transcend social conflicts between sport federations. At first the language feud created difficulties (Halila 1960, 45), and when it simmered down, the class conflict intervened. It has not been possible to establish permanent cooperation between the federations due to the social origin of sport conflicts. Conversely, this would mean that general coopera-



tion might be realized by first acknowledging the social origin of the impasse.

The situation is naturally different when all clubs and members belong to only one national organization either within one country, region, or linguistic group. Even then a division between social groups in the formation of clubs of upper and lower class may become significant in the organizational life of sport at least in two respects. Although, for example, CIF includes almost all organized Swedish-speaking sportsmen and sport supporters, earlier part of its clubs seem to have identified with the working class and lower middle class in terms of membership and supporters and partly with the upper class, where conditions existed for differentiation (Allardt 1970b). The situation has remained much the same, **although** in agreement with Allardt (1970b), superior athletic ability **increasingly** weighs more in the choice of sport favourites than language identification.

Stratification is also reflected in sport interests, since economic and attitudinal restrictions prevent the existence of equal opportunities for sport interests (Euler 1953; Kiviaho 1971a; Lüschen 1963). In organizations in which the membership is heterogeneous in regard to class and stratification composition as in SVUL and CIF, the corresponding differences are probably reflected in the membership of sport clubs and through it, in the organizational structure of the whole federation, even within one sport federation (see e.g. Euler 1953; Kiviaho 1972). In any case, an organizational structure which consists of specialized clubs or associations tends to moderate social problems arising within the organization, by making it possible to transform or explain them as conflicts between different sport events.

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