Zur Lage der Soziologie

Sociology in Finland
Notes on Main Traditions in Sociology and on Some of their Exponents with an Emphasis on the Period since 1945

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Soziologie in Finnland


Abstract: Finnish sociology can be characterized by its main traditions: social anthropological and ethnological research since the 1890s, concrete sociostatistical, sociohistorical, positivistic research, and research based on historical materialism, and by its division into three academic subjects: general sociology, social psychology and social policy. In this presentation both aspects are employed. At the risk of somewhat distorting the picture, the person-centered approach of the recently published history of Finnish sociology (ALAPURO et al. 1973) is used. The present status of sociology in Finland and the research orientations of some of the numerous but small institutes of teaching and research are discussed.

1 Introduction

A foreign reader is probably primarily interested in the main traditions prevailing within sociology and influencing it. Traditions here, however, will be understood in a more limited sense as directing research and molding the picture of society (ALAPURO et al. 1973). The foreigner will be perhaps more interested in notable recent contributions, maybe also in the institutional setting in which they have been created. On characterizing the state of modern sociology in Finland, a note of caution is due: the the modes employed for the expanding proliferation of sociology, particularly mimeos, make it unreasonably laborious to cover the period after the 1950s (ALLARDT 1975a) Thus a bird's eye view of a very complicated landscape has to suffice for both the periods of the 1950s and 1960s¹ and for examples of works that have appeared since 1970.

The space available does not allow any treatment of the socioeconomic background and reduces also data on institutes to sparse tables which must even be read with reservations. My comments on the present status of sociology in the country, which amounts to the refutation of the optimism of the 1960s, would require more thorough research.

The most important traditions in Finnish sociology can be characterized as follows: 1. Social anthropological and ethnological research since the 1890s; 2.a) concrete sociostatistical research as inspired by German "Kathedersozialismus" before World War I; 2.b) sociostatistical research between the wars and in the 1940s and 1950s; 3. sociohistorical research; 4. positivistic research, the epistemological foundations of which can be traced to logical empiricism, and finally, 5. Marxism or historical materialism².


² In Finnish cultural life also other paradigms have appeared, viz. Hegelianism, the tradition of law and the tradition of systematic social sciences: economics and politology (ALLARDT 1973a:8—9, 19ff)
It has been said that the golden age of Finnish sociology prevailed between 1890 and 1920, when WESTERMARCK and some of his students won international fame with their studies of various social institutions (PIPPING 1957: 286). Interest in sociology waned in the 1920s and 1930s, partly because evolutionist thinking receded in the face of functionalist ideas, and partly because the working conditions of such sociologists changed radically after Finland had gained independence in 1917 and thus separated herself from Russian rule. Finland suffered from a crippling inflation at the time which caused decrease in the monetary value of the existing scholarships. At that time Finnish sociologists were interested mainly in distant primitive societies, for instance those in Siberia. Finnish academic life during World War II and during the immediate post-war period became intellectually rather isolated from the international academic contacts. After the war there was a break in tradition and Finnish sociologists turned almost overnight into studying topical problems of their own society. Thus the period from 1945 to 1959 can be called the formative years of modern sociology in Finland. Modern industrial society then became the main focus of attention of Finnish academic sociology (ALLARDT 1966: 5).

The 1960s are characterized on the one hand by the development of a strong empiricist, positivistic "normal science", which was so dominating that it could be called a paradigm (cf. KUHN 1970), and on the other hand by changes undermining this paradigm. In the early 1960s the greater part of research was concerned with the measurement of attitudes, values and the analysis of social norms and the emphasis on subjective factors changed gradually to concern with the needs of society, social planning, decision-making etc. At the time, however, much research was also done on social problems. The "normal research approach" of these years has been called a "society-centered technocratic research" (ESKOLA and LITTUNEN 1973: IX, PIMIÄ 1974: 130). Another trend of the 1960s was the change from theories concerned with integration or order to the theories on coercion or conflict, inspired particularly by DAHRENDORF (1959).

Some of the most influential in these years were DURKHEIM and MAX WEBER. A shift from the liberal to the Marxist "paradigm", that had begun in the late 1960s, has been intricate (ESKOLA and LITTUNEN 1973) and proceeded at a slower pace than wished for by some sociologists. Historical materialism, however, has now come into the focus of study in the universities where it, until then, was virtually disregarded, although historical materialism was eagerly studied outside universities by the working class and its leaders and theorists (cf. ESKOLA & al. 1973).

Since WESTERMARCK introduced sociology in Finland, Finnish sociology has been characterized by quite a strong positivistic orientation. In the postwar period including the 1960s, the influence of American sociology was strong. This helped to improve the methodological image of sociology, but it tended to hamper the flow of independent ideas (ALLARDT 1971: 286). Since Marxist thinking began to gain ground in the universities, the few empirical results published rarely meet the methodological standards of Marxist dialectics. Its main significance is in the influence it exercises in formulating societally relevant problems and directing the general approach employed in a number of recent research undertakings.

Finnish sociology as represented in the institutions has always been scattered. There are chairs and institutes of sociology, social policy and social psychology (for instance STOLTE-HEISSAKA-NEN and ALLARDT 1970), which all are engaged in sociological research though with slight deviations of emphasis. Many sociologists are employed in other academic fields, such as in urban and regional planning and mass communica-

Most of the existing sociological research institutes, both within the universities and outside have centered around certain key personalities, who have, each in his own fashion, made their contribution to the development of Finnish sociology. Although the picture may become to some degree ambiguous by such a technique, I think

3 "One of the more ironic results of the simultaneous lack of national traditions of social speculation and dependence on American sociology has been that knowledge about the works of the European 'founding fathers' has been imported to Finland from the United States". (ALLARDT 1971, 286)
this paper is made more intelligible if arranged according to the "schools" or the "traditions" which these key personalities have developed and promoted. As pivotal representatives I shall present HEIKKI WARIS specializing in social policy, ANTTI ESKOLA in social psychology and ERIK ALLARDT in general sociology. The criterion I have employed is my evaluation of their relevance to general sociology, their contributions both qualitatively and quantitatively as well as their influence on their students and on research in general. They can also be deemed to represent different and important research traditions and to be their mediators. Furthermore, all of them have worked within more than one tradition. There is, however, not enough space available even to mention by name many merited researchers or include and discuss their interesting and influential works.

II Social Anthropology and Ethnology

Finland remained under Swedish rule for seven centuries. Wars raged between Sweden and Russia. Finland became a part of the Russian empire in the turmoil of the Napoleonic wars in 1809. Under the czar Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy which enjoyed relative independence. On the other hand, Swedish and Scandinavian influences had a stronghold maintained by Swedish speaking elites. Swedish law prevailed traditionally and also the present Finnish legislative system is based on it. Sweden and Finland also have the oldest regular records of population statistics in the world (initiated in 1749), and a strong empirical tradition of social studies, induced mainly by concern for internal development and by domestic administrative needs. But economically the loss of Swedish capital meant a considerable delay in the industrialization of the country (KNOELLINGER 1960: 27–28). Finland gained her independence by the end of World War I and in the wake of the Russian Revolution but at the cost of the Civil War and a German intervention at the invitation of the victorious ‘white’ conservative groups.

During the great economic and spiritual upheavals of the 18th and 19th centuries Finland remained an outsider of the mainstreams of European thought and Finnish scientists did not enjoy the same opportunities as their colleagues elsewhere in Scandinavia to participate in the discussions and to mold the embryonic behavioural sciences, although notable advances were made in the fields of the natural sciences, history and economics (cf. ALAPURO et al. 1973, ALLARDT 1975a).

1. From the 1890s to the 1920s

The development of sociology in Finland began with EDWARD WESTERMARK (1862–1939), one of the best known Finnish scientists outside Finland. He wrote his doctoral thesis on the origin of human marriage (1889); he is also known for his study of the origin and development of the moral ideas (1906, 1908) and for his theory on ethical relativity (1932). WESTERMARK became a lecturer at the University of Helsinki in 1890, where he became professor of moral philosophy in 1906. He then worked as professor of philosophy at Åbo Akademi (Swedish university of Turku) from 1919 to 1932. From 1907 to 1930 he was also professor of sociology at the London School of Economics, sharing his time between Finland, England and Morocco, where he did field research until his death.

Students and followers of WESTERMARK were ROLF LAGERBORG, GUNNAR LANDTMAN and RAFAEL KARSTEN. LANDTMAN (1938) and KARSTEN (1926) carried on his...
tradition at the University of Helsinki, UNO HARVA at the University of Turku and K. ROB. V. WIKMAN at Åbo Akademi. The sociology taught at Finnish universities until 1945 consisted mainly of social anthropology and ethnology.

2. The bridge builders between the old and the new sociology

WESTERMARCK and his students were strong adherents of British empiricist tradition (ALLARDT 1973b: 10). Their research during the first decades of the young republic concerned mainly primitive societies. HARVA and WIKMAN, however, did much research also on Finnish society. Particularly WIKMAN functioned as a bridge builder between the Westermarckian and the new sociology, orientated towards modern industrial society (ALLARDT 1973a: 3).

UNO HARVA (1882—1949) was a follower of WESTERMARCK and was mainly an ethnologist. His specialties were comparative religion, folklore and sociology. He was the first professor of sociology at the University of Turku (1926—1949). The instructions for his chair at this new university included the obligation to give courses on comparative religion with an emphasis on the beliefs of the Finno-Ugric peoples. He did field work among several such peoples, but he was not acquainted with the functionalists of his time. His method was historical. His main works are a book on the religion of the Altai tribe (1933), the erudite comparative study: Der Baum des Lebens (1922) and, in sociology, a book on The Finno-Ugric system of relationship (1947).

K. ROB. V. WIKMAN (1886—1969) was the only one of WESTERMARCK’s followers who used Scandinavian materials. In his main work, Die Einleitung der Ehe (1937), he describes courtship practices and ceremonies of the Nordic agrarian society. WIKMAN was simultaneously a

Westernmarckian social anthropologist, Nordic ethnologist and modern sociologist, who did not feel alien to American sociology either. HARVA and WIKMAN did not themselves do any research work in the new sociological style, although they appreciated it. When after 1945 the institutes of Finland began to centralize around certain personalities holding professorship, WIKMAN was the professor of sociology at Åbo Akademi (1938—1955). Because of WIKMAN and due to his successor KNUT PIPPING, sociology at Åbo Akademi was more weighted towards the study of social anthropology than at any other university in Finland.

KNUT PIPPING (born 1920) is a student of WIKMAN. His doctoral thesis about the sociology of a machine gun company (1947) is a product of a transitional period. It is a monograph of the fighting unit in which he served in the 1941—44 war; it is a community study in the positivistic tradition. The way he arranges his observations and develops his theoretical ideas as to possible associations between civilian and military attitudes are clearly influenced by American literature. Although the main body of the thesis is built on participant observation under field conditions, his arguments are supported by the returns of an enquête and statistical analysis of archival data.

PIPPING acted as the director of a UNESCO research group in the F. R. G. in 1950—52 and jointly with RUDOLF ABSHAGEN and ANNE-EVA BRAUNECK wrote a study of authority problems among postwar German youth (1954).

8 WIKMAN was an erudite scholar of comparative religion, social anthropology, cultural history and philology (PIPPING, oral communication).

9-10 The dilemma of sociologists in a small country with modest resources is the requirement of an exceptionally wide erudition, which many notable sociologists have acquired. But the wide scope of tasks for persons and institutes borders to the superhuman. It causes a dilemma in presenting the works. For instance PIPPING’s studies (1947, 1954) mentioned afore can be placed within social psychology (HOLM & IMMONE 1966, 52). Sociology at Åbo Akademi is as many-faceted as at other universities in Finland, but in view of the space and intelligibility it is listed here under social anthropology. In the same terms I discuss some sociologists at the University of Turku under general sociology (V) and the Institute of Sociology in chapter VI.

7 This academic sociology in Finland was at its time called ethnology or sociology. To call it social anthropology reflects present terminology. The collection of data and research on society and culture that was carried out within the so-called national sciences — such as Finnish language, literature and folklore — is called ethnology (HAAVIO-MANNILA 1973, 27). Ethnology in this sense is older than social anthropology in Finland.
In 1970–1972 he was a visiting professor in Dar es Salaam and he has recently published a study of *Landholding in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania* (1976). After having been professor of sociology at the Helsinki School of Social Sciences in 1957, PIPPING became professor of sociology and statistics at Åbo Akademi in 1959. The Institute of Sociology has been developed further during his tenure. In addition to working in the fields of social anthropology with an emphasis on the Swedish-speaking population and the problems of developing countries, the sociology at Åbo Akademi has followed the rapid development of Finnish sociology and several new fields have been covered in studying modern industrialized society. During the last ten years PIPPING has published papers on general systems theory (1969), rural sociology and sociolinguistics. With the Institute of Sociology is affiliated a small research group financed by the Swedish Literature Society (Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland), which is at present engaged in a major project concerning bilingualism in Finland (e.g. BROO 1971) and a project on migration (e.g. SANDLUND and SUNDEN 1975).

Very generally speaking, not only WIKMAN but sociologists at Åbo Akademi and the University of Turku could be considered — to some extent — to be bridge builders between the old and the new sociology. As complete as the break with the ethnosociological school during the first decade after World War II may have been, ethnological data have still been used, particularly by sociologists in Turku.

HARVA’s successor ESKO AALTONEN (1893–1966) was at first hand an ethnologist and historian, specializing in local history. His doctoral thesis was about joint (cooperative) mills and their disappearance between 1860–1920 (1944), whence his study interests widened to comprise the cooperative movements in Finland in general (1953). His interests then turned more and more towards the study of modern sociology. In addition to social anthropology and ethnology he lectured on social psychology, social ecology, family sociology and rural sociology. Due to his life-work, at the University of Turku sociology has been studied with a special emphasis on community description and folk life and traditions. Disciples of AALTONEN followed his main orientations. In studying ethnic minorities they emphasized the structural strains and effects of modernization (ASP 1966, VEHMAS 1961). AALTONEN was professor of sociology at the University of Turku from 1951 to 1963. ERIKKI ASP, the present professor of sociology, was appointed to his office in 1968. During the 1960s he specialized in the study of ethnic minorities, particularly concentrating on the Lapps and their acculturation. This research is currently done within the frame of the International Biological Program (IBP) and the Human Adaptability (HA) studies.

This short introduction to sociology in Turku is not meant to mislead any reader to conclude that modern sociology does not have reached Turku, nor that sociology in other parts of the country does not comprise social anthropology as well. The last student of WESTERMARCK (ESKOLA 1973: 275), ARNE RUNEBERG, is the only teacher at (associate) professor’s level in social anthropology in Finland, and he works at the University of Helsinki. He has investigated witchcraft and fertility rites of various ethnic groups (1947), as well as the motives of savior and crucifixion (1952). His colleague ELINA HAAVIO-MANNILA used an ethnological quantitative approach to treat social functions of folk-traditional and institutionalized fights that used to take place between villages (1958).

### III Concrete Social Studies

1. **Social policy and concrete social studies**

Social policy when discussed from the point of view of sociology, can be linked with sociostatistics as this is considered a research tradition in Finnish sociology too. Traditionally, this research is directed at the researcher’s own society and is mainly based on statistical data (cf. WARIS 1957, STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ALLARDET 1970). The border-line between social policy and sociology has been vague. For clearer presentation, sociostatistics and social policy can be referred to under the common name of concrete social

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11 ASP's research in (the sociology of education and) industrial sociology are described more in Chapter V.
studies. As a research tradition these have been thoroughly treated by ALAPURO and ALESTALO (1973). I rely mainly on these as well as on HAATANEN's chapter on social history in the history of Finnish sociology (ALAPURO et al. 1973) in the following exposition.

A great common denominator has been seen by exponents and critics of Finnish social policy for more than three quarters of a century in that social policy which was derived from "Kathedersozialismus" of the "Verein für Sozialpolitik" in Germany and which terminates in the inauguration of HEIKKI WARIS, the first professor in social policy at the University of Helsinki from 1948 to 1968. The corresponding association in Finland was the Economic Society (Kansantaloudellinen yhdistys), founded in the late 1800s. The dependence of the sociostatistical research of the time on contemporary politics is exemplified by statistical research on economic conditions in Finnish rural communities in 1901 (1908–1918), which to its scale can be compared with present censuses. To the tradition of the "Verein" belonged an accentuation of the position of the state, the improvement of the living conditions of the working classes and their reform, which was to keep the basis of society intact (URPONEN 1974, 144, ROOS 1973). The most pessimistic critics claim that no essential change has taken place in Finnish social policy since 1948. WARIS did not define social policy anew (ALAPURO and ALESTALO 1973). He accepted the definition of ARMAS NIEMINEN (1955), who, referring to the German tradition of "Kathedersozialismus", considers the concern of social policy to be different social groups, not only the working classes, nor does he stress the integrative role of social policy. Finnish social policy has been, through the influence of WARIS, a social policy of adjustment, which he defined as a central means of social policy together with social care, wealth redistribution and societal planning. Social policy has become an academic subject in its own right due to national historical factors. To have a sociologist's overall view on concrete social studies and social history I take WARIS and in addition to him I choose some studies considered relevant from the sociological point of view.

2. Heikki Waris as a student of modern Finnish society

HEIKKI WARIS (born in 1901) is a prominent figure in the first history of Finnish sociology. WARIS and his work are treated reverently not only within the tradition of sociostatistics but also within social history. He started his academic career as a teacher of social policy at the School of Social Sciences in Helsinki. In the first part of his doctoral thesis (1932, as part of a wider study) he treats the population of the workers' community in Helsinki, its structure and mobility and its environment and culture. The second part (1934) discusses the influence of the environment on the population and communal health problems. In this work as well as in the later works, the influence of American descriptive sociology

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12 Its journal Yhteiskuntataloudellinen aikakauskirja dates from 1905 and appears at present under the name Finnish Economic Journal (Kansantaloudellinen aikakauskirja)

13 Recent treatises and reviews often amount to a scathing critique of lack of theory and an ideological content of adjustment. ROOS' work (1973) has been hailed as the social policy of the 70s. See also ERÄSAARI 1973, URPONEN 1974, 134, f.

14 The term coined in the 70s (yhteiskuntasuunnitelu) entails more than one concept: community planning, social, regional planning, etc.

15 There are no difficulties then to get either works of WARIS's students or disciples (HEIKKI WARIS ja 15 tohtoria, 1961) or other studies he has influenced in one way or another. Cf. professor at social policy, Table 2.

16 It is the only history of the Finnish social sciences (ERÄSAARI and RAHKONEN 1973, 296), written by a team of experts on their specialties

17 GUNNAR SUOLAHTI (1876–1933) was a social historian, through whose work, particularly in the study of the Finnish clergy (1919), the cultural historical and collective method of LAMPRECHT made its breakthrough in Finland. As SUOLAHTI's student WARIS has been influenced by his school within social history (HAATANEN 1973, 163).

18 WARIS was in the USA 1934–35. His contact with American sociology remained the only social scientific one between the world wars (ALAPURO and ALESTALO 1973, 117).
and of the tradition of sociostatistics\textsuperscript{19} is obvious.

In the 1930s WARIS also wrote a paper\textsuperscript{20} on the general population development since the 1850s (1936), in which he applied the method of his dissertation, which means that he was the first in Finland who combined demography, economic and social history, and sociology\textsuperscript{21} (HAATANEN 1973, 172). WARIS’s approach differed from that of Finnish academic sociology, which was mostly social anthropology at the time.

In 1948 \textit{The Structure of Finnish Society} was published and proved, with its many reprints, as the most important guide to Finnish society for students of social policy and sociology. WARIS starts from the static society of the 1850s, which disintegrated by industrialization. With statistical categories he analyzes the society of the 1940s and finally the change of the structure. WARIS published the \textit{Social Policy of Finnish Society} in 1961, which became the most important textbook on social policy of the 1960s.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s WARIS launched and lead an extensive research project on the adjustment of war refugees (1952), a study of about the 400 000 Carelians from the areas seceded to the Soviet Union. They had to be resettled after the war in all parts of Finland. It is considered the first modern interview study including data analysis and not only simple percentage distributions. It employed teamwork and its methodology was modern as well: a historical and statistical treatment of refugee problems and policy and, as the core of the study, an analysis of the adjustment of refugees based on survey data. It lacked, however, a theoretical frame of reference, and its ideological contents come forth in a harmonization and lack of conflicts, typical for Finnish sociology in the 1940s and 1950s (ESKOLA 1973, 292, 294).

WARIS’s influence as a writer of textbooks, several editions of which have been used by most students needing a description of Finnish society and its central institutions\textsuperscript{22} and as an inspiring teacher over a long period, can hardly be overestimated. He was an active promoter and protector of research, figuring prominently in many organizations relevant for research and its financing (ESKOLA 1973: 302, MARIN, oral communication). When social science institutes, at the beginning gathering around the few professorships, began to take form in the mid-50s, his was among the first. Recently WARIS has figured as a conciliator in national collective bargaining disputes. He is interested in international aspects of social policy, notably in refugee problems, and peace research. In addition to teaching and leading, he was a supervisor of many doctoral dissertations so that the concept of social policy was stretched.

3. Students of social policy as macrosociologists and ecologists\textsuperscript{23}

Social policy can be regarded as a bridge leading from theory to practice. With strict scientific criteria social policy can be considered to be not workable effectively for macroproblems (URPONEN 1974: 172, 176). On the other hand, many subfields\textsuperscript{24} of social policy are without a proper niche in society without some major frame of reference. PEKKA KUUSI (1961) wrote a large scale plan for Finnish social policy in the 1960s. KUUSI's idea was that many traditional, detailed welfare programs should be redefined and re-

\textsuperscript{19} Sociostatistical research influenced WARIS in the form it appeared in HANNES GEBHARD’s works (cf. \textit{Economic conditions in rural communes in 1901}, ALAPURO and ALESTALO 1973: 135).

\textsuperscript{20} In the same volume of Finnish cultural history WARIS wrote an extensive paper on cities and other population centers (1936b)

\textsuperscript{21} Also in a study of the university as a channel of social mobility (1940) he employed the statistical method that is considered collectivistic and as such relevant in social history. Towards the end of the 1940s he wrote on the capital community (1950a) and its social care (1950b).

\textsuperscript{22} Compare also an abbreviated English version, WARIS 1958.

\textsuperscript{23} This I base mainly on ALLARDT 1975: 113–114, 116–117.

\textsuperscript{24} After the full-employment of postwar reconstruction, Finland suffered from a severe period of unemployment. This unemployment was found by TERHO PULKKINEN (1956), to be mainly structural, regionally concentrated in the northeast and seasonal, having its peaks in the winter. LEO PAUKKUNEN studied another facet of the labour force, labour mobility (1962).
constituted as activity eliciting programs. Thus traditional social welfare and striving for economic growth could be combined within the same plan.

There are several large scale ecological studies of differentiation in Finnish society. Some notable ones were done within social policy. OLOVI RIIHINEN (as well as PEKKA KUUSI) used MYRDAL'S theory of cumulative economic development, RIIHINEN both in selection of his variables and in interpreting data. His study (1965) presented very useful information and tools for others in sampling and construing contextual variables. Practically very significant was also URHO RAUHALA'S research on prestige ratings of occupations (1966), in which more than 1300 occupations were ranked by sampled judges.

IV Social Psychology

To write about social psychology from the point of view of sociology is somewhat problematic, as it did not before the 1960s become an independent academic subject in the country. For instance at the University of Turku it is still a part of the sociology professor's official duties.

This means among other things that there is only a modest amount of literature classified under social psychology in the bibliographies of Finnish sociology; in this, the emphasis seems to have been placed on research under other subtitles of sociology. In choosing examples of social psychological studies, I shall take the works of two professors, concentrating on those of ANTTI ESKOLA because of his key position in the changing sociology of the past ten years in Finland 25.

In social psychological studies it seems common that social psychology is delineated by the size of research objects. ANTTI ESKOLA deviates from this practice. 26 According to his definition, social psychology is characterized by investigations of interaction between personality and social system and interaction between personality and culture. It is, in a way, a boundary science between psychology, sociology, and anthropology (ESKOLA 1971a: 13).

1. Sociology, social psychology and Antti Eskola

If social psychology is a hybrid, ESKOLA is one of the most controversial personalities in Finnish sociology, to which he definitely belongs. Sociologically, his most intriguing feature is his interest and erudition in macrosociology as a professor of social psychology. He was a student and research assistant of ALLARDET in Helsinki in the late 1950s, wrote his doctoral thesis on influence and power in dyads (1961a) and worked as a research assistant and lecturer in the Helsinki School of Social Sciences. When Sosiologia, the journal of the Westernarck Society (Finnish Sociological Association, founded in 1940) was founded in 1964 ESKOLA was its editor for the first two years, and contributed numerous articles even in later years. He has been an active debater in societal occasions, being one of the few pamphleteers (e.g. 1972a) of renowned sociologists.

ESKOLA regards himself as one of the first academic Marxist sociologists in this country, but one can detect, in some of his writings at least, a deep religious undertone. In some phases, at least, of his personal development he has preferred the political rights of parliamentarian democracy to the economic rights in a socialist democracy (1968). In most cases he attempts to use the language that people with different ideological backgrounds can understand. His literary activities include even a novel on the academic life of teachers and students with a description of its ideological cleavages since the late 1960s (1974).

ESKOLA started with positivistic studies, experiments in social psychology and multivariate analysis. He produced several empirical studies in line with the development of Finnish society. He penetrated the cleavage between urban people and farmers with the underlying interests of producers and consumers and class cleavage (1970a, 1972b), and investigated attitudes towards art (1963). In his period of empirical sociology, 27 ESKOLA

25 Less space for RAINIO in this connection means by no means less significance in social psychology.

26 Social psychology is in danger of falling between sociology and psychology. An extreme simplification would be to state that psychology studies individuals, sociology societies and social psychology groups (PONTINEN 1972:87).

27 Before Sosiologia was established, ESKOLA wrote articles on methods and their applications in
became famous for his textbooks on research methodology (1926a, 1967), which compare well with the best textbooks in English on the same subject (ALLARDT 1975a). As an author of textbooks he is acknowledged by sociologists within different traditions, not the least because of his unusual clarity of expression.

After he had lost his interest and faith in the positivistic type of research and in its possibilities to obtain neutral and impartial results (1969a, 1971c, 1972a), ESKOLA expressed his criticism on the extensive and often unwarranted use of factor analysis in Finnish sociology. He also attacked the underlying positivistic philosophy of sociology (ESKOLA 1971b, 1973:312). His ambivalence as to the chances of liberal political democracy in the grips of the economic power of capitalism is documented by several works (1965, 1968, 1969b). He regards Marxist sociology as carrying more common sense and sound critique compared to the traditional Western sociological theory, while, however, in 1970 still admitting that Western sociology has produced more empirical results (though heterogeneous), and therefore considering an interaction of Marxist and Western sociology fruitful (1970b). It appears that since 1972 ESKOLA has not only adhered more to Marxist thought but moved more boldly over to Marxist research as well (1972a). This course in his personal development can also be seen in his textbooks originating in methods, going to general sociology with an emphasis on the material base of society and to social psychology (1971a), in which his affirmation is subtly reflected. This Marxist approach has also led him to macrosociological problems (1969b: 201–222), especially to those of economic power in Finland.

2. A model builder of social psychology

While teaching at the Institute of Industrial Management, KULLERO RAINIO wrote his doctoral thesis on the leadership qualities of foremen (1955). During that time he also published a book on practical psychology in two volumes (1956–57), which was to gain enormous popularity, appearing for the next 15 years, with a new edition almost every second year. In the early 1960s he developed a stochastic model of social interaction and experimented with a laboratory study and an application to sociology (1961, 1962). In the late 1960s RAINIO published a treatise on power. Jointly with HELKAMA he published a textbook on social psychology (1974).

RAINIO is one of the few who have worked with mathematical models on problems of interest to sociologists and he is known as an experimenter and simulator (e.g. 1965). He became professor of social psychology at the University of Helsinki in 1964. RAINIO has also published a collection of poems and in his works he has shown a deep respect for an individual and his development deep respect for the individual and his development. He participates also in politics being an M.P. of the right wing National Coalition Party.

V General Sociology

1. On logical empiricism (neopositivism) in the social sciences

The development of the social sciences after World War II took place in a scientific climate influenced by the positivistic philosophy of science. Positivism is characterized by the idea of a common method for the natural and the human sciences, by the effort to search for general laws which individual cases are subordinated to and explained by, and by the demand of founding true propositions on observations that can be checked. The philosophy of science influential in postwar Finland is called logical empiricism or neopositivism.

28 This move to Marxist sociology has so far meant industrious theoretical study without pretensions of mastering historical materialism. NORO, a Marxist with a theoretical bent and a student of Finnish sociology (1975), criticizes ESKOLA because of his deficiencies in Marxist theory such as ESKOLA practiced about the year 1972 (NORO 1973, 236 ff).

29 This I base mainly on ALLARDT (1973a, c) in the history of Finnish sociology.

30 The philosophical foundations of positivistic sociology in Finland originate in logical empiricism (ALLARDT 1973:226, 261, v. WRIGHT 1945).
The strong position of positivism in the social sciences was a general phenomenon in postwar Western and Northwestern Europe. Victorious American armed forces paved the way also for American positivistic sociology. For instance, it influenced Polish sociology. Science is an international phenomenon. Thus social factors shaping scientific development have to be sought for particularly in the influence of the great powers deriving from their scientific and international position. Considering the union of Sweden and Finland that lasted for centuries, and similarities of Scandinavian conditions, a comparison between Sweden and Finland should be particularly fruitful when studying the background of scientific development (cf. ALLARDT 1973c). In doing this, two differences between Finnish and Swedish sociology can be pointed out. In Finland it was not emphasized that science should assist decision-makers in their practical problems as it is in Swedish sociology. In Sweden the homo sociologicus (psychologicus) has been more influenced by behaviourism than in Finland. In accordance with this, Swedish more than Finnish sociologists have investigated socialization mechanisms. Finnish sociologists have in turn studied more of the social forces that mold society.

The pivotal scientist of the positivistic orientation in Finland was EINO KAILA (1890—1958), who analyzed the problems that have been called central in the thought of logical positivism. KAILA was professor of theoretical philosophy first at the University of Turku (1921—1930) and then at the University of Helsinki (1930—1948). In 1948 he was appointed as an academician to the newly established Academy of Finland. His most influential works are Personality (1934) and Human Knowledge (1939). He was a scientific mandarin, whose influence on what was considered valuable and what nonsense in science, was decisive. KAILA was a psychologist as well as philosopher. He started as a humanist, but moved towards the natural sciences.

ALLARDT describes KAILA as a searcher and his contemporary ROLF LAGERBORG (1906) as a sceptic, which are crucial characteristics of postwar positivism and the positivism he stands for.

2. Positivistic sociology and Erik Allardt

ERIK ALLARDT (born in 1925) has written two chapters in the history of Finnish sociology. He himself has played an important role in this history. In considering his voluminous production and the number and breadth of fields he has covered, it is quite a task to focus on the works and background data that are useful for a foreign researcher in order to grasp the crop of the scientist and their significance to Finnish sociology.

ALLARDT belongs to the generation that prematurely did his military service as a conscript while the war was still going on. The generation that went to universities in 1945, had a meager starting point and managed to do a more thorough job than

32 They were in a sense popularized science but as such master pieces (ALLARDT 1973c: 241).

33 Positivism has inaccurately been blamed for accepting wholesale the existing social system, though the doubting individuals and criticism such as that of LAGERBORG's, were typical. Logical empiricism, however, did not offer any means to analyze correspondence between values and facts nor between values and theories (ALLARDT 1973, 227, 264).

34 ALLARDT and modern sociology cannot be confined to positivistic sociology. He emerges in more than one tradition of research, not the least in a tradition of systematic social sciences, viz. politology. In the chapter on the institutes of sociology, I mention some features of sociology in the capital in very general terms. The works of ALLARDT and his students mentioned there may speak for themselves.

35 He has given us the advantage of an essay collection (1970), in which he also tells a bit about himself and his anchorages.
many consecutive cohorts. ALLARDT comes from a Swedish-speaking home, but he is fully bilingual so that he is a Finnish-speaking professor of sociology at the bilingual University of Helsinki (since 1958). In the early 1960s he led a social anthropological field expedition to New Guinea (cf. ALLARDT 1970, 132–139). Since 1970 ALLARDT has been a research professor at the Academy of Finland, being engaged in comparative studies on welfare and need satisfaction in four Scandinavian countries.

While being VERKKO’s assistant, ALLARDT wrote his doctoral thesis on the difference of divorce frequencies (1953), the first investigation in which historical materials (divorce cases from 1891 to 1950) were studied and interpreted sociologically (HAATANEN 1973: 187). This work has significance also sociohistorically. In sociology this thesis combines WESTERMARCK’s two great themes, marriage and morals. He adopts DURKHEIM’s theory of norms, employing it in a form developed by SEGERSTEDT, according to which norms are considered as causes of behaviour. In retrospect, one of the most interesting points in ALLARDT’s work is his approach to interview data, which sees them as descriptions of norms prevailing in groups, while the ordinary descriptions of individual differences differ theoretically from this; a second point is the established operationality of a method to study the influence of norm systems on behaviour. ALLARDT separates empirical and theoretical laws according to FELIX KAUFMANN (1944: 87) in his thesis. ALLARDT’s treatise How Disagreements in Sociology Arise from the Confusion of Empirical Propositions with Rules of Scientific Procedure (1953) is the first modern analysis of metatheoretical problems in Finnish sociology after World War II.

ERIK ALLARDT pioneered in ecological analysis in several ways. Using a hypothetico-deductive system (ALLARDT and HARTMANN 1956) of cross pressure hypotheses for instance, he investigated the relationships of social structure and political activity in parliamentary elections in the smallest Finnish administrative units, that of communities (1956).

Within a group of authors ALLARDT investigated the interests of youth and the structure of community (1958). In this investigation the survey analysis was established, which since has been employed in innumerable treatises of normal science.

Finnish sociology has been prone to quantitative analysis with all shades of methods, and correspondingly there is a dearth of qualitative methods. ALLARDT started his academic career by writing about survey methods and proceeded with methodological papers strongly weighted towards theory (ALLARDT 1950, ALLARDT and HARTMANN 1956). He argued that most informative results may be obtained by studies which employ both individual and contextual variables (1963) and wrote on different types of explanations (1971). Recently, while focussing on comparative research, he has treated its difficulties and dangers (1973d).

ALLARDT means by macrosociology the study of structure, change and institutional patterns in total, national societies (1975a: 113). He has outlined a theory (1964a) for explaining conflicts and solidarity:

"The basic idea is simple: it is assumed that strong social pressures in situations of undifferentiated division of labour cause solidarity, whereas the reverse is true for situations of a differentiated division of labour. The basic propositions are related to many central theories of social exchange, and the theories of legitimate conflicts in the field of political sociology. Division of labour and the degree of pressure toward conformity have also been applied as basic structural dimensions in other studies. Of these may be mentioned VERONICA STOLTE–HEISKANEN’s study (1967) on the conditions under which different kinds of kinship structures and patterns of personal influence within families occur" (ALLARDT 1975a: 114).

Recently ALLARDT has published a book on the investigation of living standards and quality of life in Scandinavia, the main dimensions of which he has coined as 'having', 'loving' and 'being'.

36 Professor without tenure since 1955 following his predecessor VERKKO.

37 Comments on ALLARDT are mainly based on ESKOLA 1973.

38 ALLARDT’s task has been to analyze the
Political sociology in Finland can be regarded as a pendant to macrosociology. ALLARDT discusses the relationships among sociology, politics, and political sociology. Sociology of politics emphasizes social class and political sociology is based on the increasing interest among sociologists in the institutional aspect. Prevailing political sociology is a hybrid that tries to combine the stratificational and institutional aspects (1969a). An institutional point of view is considered natural for politologists, while class is more sociological. Still in the late 1960s ALLARDT could state that the institutional aspect has been used rather seldom in Finnish sociology and politology (1967a: 152).

A loose interpretation would be that ALLARDT has, when measured in terms of his production in political sociology, developed the institutional aspect ever more. He has been interested in the institutional aspect since the 1950s, when he called for a historically oriented social anthropology, which would study institutions in modern society (ALLARDT 1954, cit. in HAAVIO-MANNILA 1973: 72–73). He wrote on social structure and political activity (1956, cf. under ecology) and on class conflicts and working class consciousness in Finnish politics (ALLARDT 1964, ALLARDT–PESONEN 1967), one of the basic cleavages of Finnish society. Later he discussed the decision-making elites and the legitimacy of authority (1967b) as well as evolutionary, structural and, institutional characteristics of societies (1969b).

ERIK ALLARDT is acknowledged to be a pioneer in several fields by renowned sociologists. This is particularly the case in metatheory, methodology, ecology and surveys (ESKOLA 1973: 275, 294, 295, 300, 301). He might even be endowed with the title of scientific mandarin. He has decisively influenced over the past twenty years decisions on what was to be considered worthwhile to investigate and which were to be the achievement standards for instance, several general textbooks have been written in sociology, but the foremost

authority among the textbooks in this field was written by ALLARDT and LITTUNEN and it has undergone several impressions since the first edition in 1958, after which it has also been revised twice (1961, 1972). ALLARDT’s influence in teaching and research in Finnnland cannot be overrated and is equal to that of WARIS.

3. Some contributions in major fields

When attempting to give an overall picture of the main subfields of general sociology of postwar Finland — some of the fields in which most contributions have been made (cf. ALLARDT 1975a) — some examples of the works have been mentioned (macrosociology, ecology and quantitative methodology). Thus I shall choose for the following presentation: research on deviant behaviour and the analysis of control systems, industrial sociology and sociology of work, and political sociology.

a) Deviant behaviour and the analysis of control systems

Immediately after World War II deviant behaviour and social disorganization were the main topics of Finnish sociology, which to a considerable degree was due to the first professor of sociology at the University of Helsinki, VELI VERKKO, whose

39 An additional aspect is his publishing activity in languages other than Finnish, which has made Finnish sociology more known beyond the borders over a considerable language barrier.

40 A considerable number of fields have been covered, although superficially. It is obvious that administrative behaviour and sociology of organizations have been neglected, but this neglect may be due to sociologists of this country tending to engage themselves in special, own fields or even regions of one's own, having little contact with other universitie; this may result in informational backwash effects. As less dominant fields in Finland can be considered the sociology of religion (HAAVIO 1963, KOSKELAINEN 1968), military sociology (RANDALL 1965), the sociology of education (ASP & al. 1969, MARIN 1970), rural sociology (TAURIAINEN 1970) and societal (urban and regional) planning (UUSITALO 1974).

41 This I base mainly on ALLARDT 1975a.
reputation was based on his sociostatistical treatment of homicides and suicides (1951). In the subsequent decade until the early 1960s they were not so popular, but after that time criminology again gained popularity among scientists as a research subject, with a reorientation toward control systems. In this subfield there are two important research institutes, the Research Institute of the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies and the newly reorganized and enlarged Institute of Criminology.

By focusing on the general problems of alcoholism, the Research Institute for Alcohol Studies had a central position in the development of sociology in Finland, having been, for instance, a kind of center for factor analysis. TOUKO MARKKANEN (1957, AHMAVAARA and MARKKANEN 1958) became well-known for his expertise in factor analysis, and YRJÖ AHMAVAARA invented transformation analysis, through which the factor structure within factor analysis of the same variables in different groups can be compared quantitatively (AHMAVAARA and NORDENSTRENG 1970). KETTIL BRUUN, the present director of the Foundation, treated the functions and patterns of drinking in small groups, which was important for the understanding of group behaviour. The widening interests of the institute for alcohol studies are comprising international comparative studies (BRUUN 1971).

Under the auspices of the Institute of Criminology, devoted to rational appraisals of the effects of criminal and penal policy, INKERI ANTITILA, its director, and PATRIK TÖRNNUDD have published an authoritative textbook on criminology (1970). PAAVO UUSITALO (1968) studied the effects of different forms of punishment on recidivism. Following a totally different line, FAINA JYRKILÄ has analyzed processes of alienation among recipients of social welfare and old people (1965) and cumulative patterns of alienation and applied an approach used in Elmira, N.Y. (1960).

b) Industrial sociology and sociology of work

A series of doctoral dissertations on sociology of work can be viewed as an expression of the postwar orientation towards the investigation of modern Finnish society. Thus, there is a study on industrial and construction workers’ satisfaction by SIPI (1954), a study on social relationships among the dock workers of Turku by KOIVISTO (1956), and a study on the allegiances to plant and union by SEPPÄNEN (1958). These were interview studies primarily analyzing subjective opinions, attitudes, and evaluations, and have very little to do with historical aspects or material collected by observation.

Due to the orientational changes in the sociology of the 1960s, a decline in the sociology of work can be noted, although ASP (1963) investigated the pride of trade among workers in metal and wood industries. He is studying currently, jointly with a team, shift work in process industry. Recently, TOIVONEN (1972, 1973) has studied strikes in their societal context in Finland associating them with class problems. The return of interest to this field is demonstrated by some bigger research projects. In accordance with interests shown by research in Turku, there is a medium sized project studying the economic conditions and societal significance of small enterprises (HONKALA and LEIMU 1974)42. At the University of Jyväskylä in a project named Meteli, a considerable number of researchers from several institutes have concentrated on studying working conditions and state of health, as well as behavioural patterns of workers in physical culture, of three metal industry plants, of which the majority of shares is owned by the state (see Meteli, 1975a, b, c).

c) Political sociology as a counterpart to macrosociology

Political sociology in particular has harboured well sized projects,43 primarily studying social and political inequality (Tandem-project, Deta-project 1973–1976, BRUUN 1972b)44. Sizable projects.

42 Small enterprises have been comparatively little studied in other respects than business economics. This small industry project tackles the problems of small enterprises, entrepreneurs and workers mainly from the macro- and microsociological points of view, using data from industrial statistics in 1954–1972 and interviews and enquêtes administered to about 300 enterprises and 600 workers in 1975.

43 The Social Science Research Council stands for the financing of most recent projects of social sciences.

44 Deta is primarily a politological project. A third
measured in Finnish dimensions, have embodied some of the changes in Finnish sociology since the 1960s. One of the characteristics of these projects is that the studies were made in cooperation instead of within the former strict boundaries of academic disciplines. The other is a persistent concentration on macrosociological problems in an effort to diminish the distance between the theoretical and the empirical parts of specific studies. Some researchers have sought solutions by turning to historical materialism; this can be detected in the approach employed in Tandem, for instance.

Under the auspices of the Peace Research Institute (established in 1970) in Tampere, the disadvantages of not employing the institutional aspect have been alleviated. Much of the work has been concerned with international politics and its institutions (e.g. AROSALO & VÄYRYNEN 1972, VÄYRYNEN 1974). The Institute publishes also a periodical, Instant Research on Peace and Violence, in English.

YRJÖ LITTUNEN, using material from the first national survey of Finnish sociology, has studied political activity and radicalism (1960) and worked on a theory of autonomous behaviour (1962).

RAIMO BLOM is a many-faceted researcher, whose production could be discussed under several headings, including Marxist research, towards which he has moved and within which he has consistently developed (KOSKE-LAINEN, oral communication). His political analysis is at its sharpest in his treatment of societal resources and classes. There is a fundamental inequality in the distribution of all societal resources. This inequality is wide even within separate classes as, for example, within the class of industrial workers (BLOM 1973: 33). BLOM's fame is mainly based on his research on the Finnish law and the juridical system. It has more and more clearly been directed towards the association of material conditions and ideologies and attitudes (1974)\textsuperscript{45}.

4. A note on general sociology since the late 1960s

Private discussions with teachers/researchers at Finnish institutes of sociology reveal certain characteristics of contemporary sociology in Finland which cannot be easily discovered if one only studies the literature. Thus, OSMO KOSKELAINEN and ARI HAAVIO report that as participants of planning of research and curricula and of research actually carried out, they have been able to observe a certain bending of the total field of sociology during the past ten years or so. This is not only an indication of criticism of some sociologists and their studies, representing research traditions of one kind or another. Very generally researchers have begun to question the value of their research, the role and quality of theories employed, the significance of societal criticism offered, the efficiency of methods used, and the legitimacy of procuring certain kinds of data for decision-makers\textsuperscript{46}.

The questions asked by representatives of all research traditions are reflections of the rapid societal development, highlighted by the increasing importance of public institutions (for instance in economy), the growing significance of national organizations (for instance in the labour market), and the pressure groups and more frequent international influences. This development can hardly be traced in this paper (because of its personcentered approach). But it is reflected in most recent scientific discussions. Some of its main points can be found particularly in Marxist criticism of the prevailing research traditions.

5. Notes on Marxist research in Finland\textsuperscript{47}

There has been a long-standing socialist and Marxist tradition among the Finnish working class and

\textsuperscript{45} Research by ESKOLA is discussed in Chapter IV.

\textsuperscript{46} Numerous questionmarks could be elaborated. It may suffice here with a simplified check of what has been understood by 'sociology' (as a science, a definition for it). The bibliographies of Finnish sociology, in which titles have increased manifold in subsequent periods, and the history of the subject currently give the impression of a general presentation of social sciences.

\textsuperscript{47} This historical sketch is based mainly on ESKOLA et al. 1973.
within its organizations. There has not been, however, much contact on the part of universities with this tradition. Legalization of the Finnish communist party did not (in 1944) mean an equal legitimacy to Marxist ideology at the scientific level. Not until the early 1960s did academic sociologists begin to acknowledge Marxist writers and engage in academic discussions with them on criticizing prevailing sociology. According to the history of Finnish sociology there are very few academic Marxists to speak of. If such are to be pointed out, one might mention first and foremost names like EDWARD GYLLING, O. W. KUUSINEN and, with some reservations, also ANTERO RINNE. GYLLING (1907, 1910) was a lecturer of statistics at the University of Helsinki in the beginning of this century studying mainly the problems of the landless farmworkers. KUUSINEN was a student of aesthetics and philosophy, who after the Civil War fled to the Soviet Union, advanced to a high political position in the central bureaucracy there and developed into a notable exponent of the Marxist-Leninist theory. RINNE was a teacher and researcher and rather difficult to place within any tradition of the history of Finnish sociology. He regarded himself as a philosopher of a transitional period, a bifrontal, partially under the influence of the capitalist economic system and partially under the socialist economic system (1937, cit. in ESOKOLA and al. 1973: 281–284). One of the rivals for the professor’s chair with HEIKKI WARIS and Veli VERKKO at the University of Helsinki in the 1940s, he finally succeeded as a sociology professor of the Helsinki School of Social Sciences. His posthumous textbook (1954) on sociology has been used to a limited extent.

The impacts of the existing Marxist tradition in this country remained outside the academic milieu. Interest in Marxist theory gained ground mainly among the students of social sciences in the 1960s when it was inspired mostly by such interests as were fermented abroad by various student movements and revolts. ALLARDT considers it impossible to summarize the influence of Marxism briefly at this stage:

"However, the volume of sociological studies directly inspired or based on those advanced by the student revolt is not yet large enough to merit very much attention in a paper focusing on already written sociological studies.

The most interesting studies are probably those focusing on the state and on the increased importance of the federal bureaucracy in operating the capitalistic system" (ALLARDT 1975a, 112).

He admits that Marxism has definitely influenced research projects which are presently being carried out. A certain influence is also discernible on theses on different levels, though this influence is rather an exception in doctoral theses (e.g. TOIVIÄINEN 1970, TOIVONEN 1972).

Marxist researchers in Finland agree that their research is only taking very first steps in this country (ESOKOLA, oral communication, ESOKOLA 1973). On the other hand, its indirect influence on recent sociological research in Finland can be considered substantial. A Marxist criticism of the (radical) positivistic approach calls for a more total societal approach as well as for the choice of more relevant problems to investigate, which means enriching of many studies, particularly research projects launched in the early 1970s under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council of the Academy of Finland. Those who have had an opportunity to take part in these projects, often carried out in a teamwork, and have participated in discussions mushrooming within and around the research projects at the institutes of sociology, hardly deny the indirect effects of Marxist thought which cannot be measured in numbers of publications.

An appraisal of the Marxist approach at the Finnish universities is bound to be a premature one. Perhaps three phases could be observed, in which certain differences from positivistic research have been emphasized, such as demands for purer Marxist methods of the 1960s (for instance ESOKOLA

48 There is another side for this coin: Often the projects have been striving for more than is possible in a short time period and with relatively meagre means of finance, as also salaries and not only material, EDP, etc costs have to be covered. The results have so far been comparatively modest and resulted in harsh criticism of being zero-research. The expectations of those using the services of sociology as well as the expectations of sociology students may have been too high and requirements for its applicability unwarranted (cf. PARTANEN and al. 1975).
1971c), Marxist contents of research (ESKOLA 1970b) and demands for Marxist methodology through a proper choice of variables in the early 1970s. These have been followed by a critical reappraisal of the position of theory and empirical research and their relationship.

VI The Status of Sociology and of Institutes of Sociology Within Teaching and Research

1. Sociology in universities and in society

Finland has proceeded with great steps in revising her educational system, including that of higher education, since the early 1960s. According to legislation for the development of higher education, several schools have been expanded, in some instances to universities, and new regional schools have been established as well. The position of the social sciences within this expansion has so far been ambiguous. In societal development sociology has been regarded as a useful subject in many fields. It has gained much popularity among the increasing number of students of the Finnish school system, but only relatively few students have majored in general sociology. In many specialized fields, a freshman course in sociology has been regarded as sufficient according to the claims for 'technical' specializations of various kinds, for instance within production and commerce, and also in medicine.

The institutes of sociology have grown to their present sizes approximately during the last few decades with full professorships, and maybe with one associate professor or a lecturer, and with a few scientific assistants (without tenure, cf. Table 2), while very little other assistant personnel has been admitted; the research funds allocated during this time have been quite negligible as well and the situation does not show any signs of improvement in the near future in this respect, either. If any resources are allocated to sociology, it is most likely in the form of an occasional employment of an associate professor or a lecturer at the faculty of law, that of medicine, etc. or in schools without postgraduate studies.

The question of research funds and their distribution between institutes, has been a controversial one. Teachers are also expected to carry out regular research work, which is more often than not a mere illusion in the present situation, with great

49 RANTALAIHO 1972. PIRTTILÄ (1975) regards these emphases on contents and methodology as faulty, or at least as insufficient from the Marxist point of view.

50 PIRTTILÄ 1975, iii ff. — Researchers not professing to Marxism have had a tendency to overemphasize the dearth of pure Marxist studies, particularly the lack of empirical research, as a certain stagnation. If true understanding and real knowledge are aimed at, the issue of the relationship of theory and empirical research should be considered seriously. It is possible that theory and empirical research will develop rather separately, as for instance in the Soviet Union (ESKOLA, oral communication).

51 The background for this development are favourable economic conditions the more stabilized position of Finland in her international relations since 1947–48. The number of universities and comparable institutions by this law is 17 (TK KO 1974: II). The result has been a rapid increase in the number of students and harder efforts to offer more opportunities regionally and on an equal basis. With the limited resources of a small country, this regional expansion in Finland has taken place at the expense of the older universities of Helsinki and Turku, which is the cause of much discussion and debate at present.

52 Sociology is usually the 2nd, 3rd or 4th subject out of 4 in the curricula of the students, while social policy seems to have more practical claims and thus is easily a major. Social psychology has recently come into its own being sandwiched between sociology and psychology within the humanities.

53 This would merit a discussion based on solid research. Research for instance in sociology can be regarded as technocratic, even when based on interests of society. Simultaneously, unreasonable claims on the applicability of the social sciences have been made, claims that hardly anyone would think of putting forward to the natural sciences (ESKOLA and LIITTUNEN 1973, GRONOW & RAHKONEN 1975).

54 Public funds granted for actual research work within institutes for social sciences are very modest. Funds, however, mainly come from public agencies for research in social sciences, but they are only to a limited extent directed to universities. The State Social Science Research Council has had a pivotal position. The Social Science Council and corresponding councils in the natural sciences etc. are according to a statute in 1969 functioning under the Academy of Finland.
numbers of students and a heavy claim for more administration and planning of curricula, etc.\textsuperscript{55} In fact, research takes place in the form of these at different level. Theoretical requirements and a long production time of these are not suited to the needs of public and private agencies. These agencies have increasingly either founded research institutes of their own, or employed occasional researchers of their own. Much of their practical needs for sociological information has been covered by people associated with university institutes, or by individuals recommended to them by these university institutes (STOLTE-HEISKANEN 1969). There is no larger institute that was engaged in social research in this country, although such an institute had been planned in the mid-60s.

The status of sociology differs according to the different angles it is viewed from by either a sociologist or other specialists or politicians. If it is assumed that the two main functions of sociology are social criticism and providing decision-makers with sociological information (in addition to meeting the needs for the advancement of theory, of course; ALLARDT 1971a), then some other specialists and decision-makers tend to expect more of the latter being less interested in the former or criticism\textsuperscript{56}, which they tend to view as destructive.

It seems reasonable to assume that sociologists in Finland enjoy a high enough status and that they are being appreciated as experts on the problems of many fields, although it has been stated, on the other hand, that this may be due only, from the part of a non-professional, to respect for the mere status of professorships instead of to the real appreciation of his science (STOLTE-HEISKANEN 1969). No doubt, many fields are demanding help and advice in their problems from sociologists.

55 The national plans to reform administration and studies in universities are so dominating on staff that OSMO IKOLA, the principal of the University of Turku has urged to favour planning not only at the expense of research but also at the expense of teaching (1975, III). This is an indication of the difficulties facing the educational system and the level of ambition of the plans and of the lack of resources of a small country.

56 Difficulties are accentuated by ideological controversies and by the economic depression affecting also the social sciences (PARTANEN and al. 1975).

There are, however, fewer appointments for sociologists than there are needs for sociologists and their research (ALLARDT 1973b: 14). In regional planning, however, the gravest problem is not an insufficient number of sociologists engaged in research, but the fact that there are so few opportunities for them to meet and the lack of communication among those engaged — or potentially engaged — in solving a variety of problems\textsuperscript{57}, this includes politicians who allegedly decide according to data and results collected by scientists and administrators, etc. — It is assumed that the doubts as to the efficiency of sociology shown by regional planners approximate those other specialists, administrators and politicians do show when deciding at the national level about education and about allocations to sociology. Then this subject and its disciples may be steering towards an ebb of status and performance.

2. Numbers of students and teachers/researchers

The number of students and teachers at the universities grew very slowly in Finland between 1945 and 1955. The growth amounted to an average of 12 per cent. annually in the 1960s, thus being comparatively much greater than that in the F.R.G. (5 \%) or in Great Britain (7 \%). This rapid increase in Finland is the result of the late and fast structural changes taking place in the economy and industrialization of the country, the big cohorts after the war and changes in the educational system, and above all a result of the expansion of senior high school (Gymnasium; cf. Fig. 1). The growth of student numbers has considerably slowed down in the 1970s.

In the following Tables 1a, b numbers of teachers and students in certain branches of studies and grand totals at the universities and in other schools of higher education in the autumn term of 1973 and in the autumn term of 1974, respectively, are shown.

In the social sciences the student/teacher ratio is higher than the corresponding ratio in other disciplines on the average (Table 1a, b). This resulted

57 As shown by experiences by Nordplan, the Scandinavian Institute of Regional Planning, and by the Regional Planning Bureau of South-Western Finland (Lounais-Suomen seutukaavalitto, LEIMU 1973).
in an alarming situation a few years ago when the post-war children became university students, and was at its worst in such crowded institutes like those of sociology, which were flooded — despite a screening system — with students also from the humanities. They were interested in sociology as an additional subject in their curricula. The institutes have become more and more teaching units instead of research institutes with teaching obligations.\footnote{The official total student/teacher ratios are not explanatory enough either subject-wise or institute-wise. As the Department of Education is trying to keep a stabilized ratio according to very rough averages (nationally 14.4 1950, 19.0 1965 and 16.8 1970, cf. fig. 1), even a reduction of the total ratio may temporarily still aggravate the ratio in some subject and institute. For obtaining some up-to-date and firsthand information, I contacted 10 teacher/researchers at some institutes and one research group. Some of my observations are valid only, however, in the case of Turku University in 1968—1974 before the recent administrative changes took place, such as the change into a state university from until then a private university, in the summer of 1974.}

I collected some data of the teaching/research personnel at the institutes of sociology, social policy and social psychology with an emphasis on the universities, which are shown in Table 2. Table 2 cannot be directly compared with Table 1 of the preliminary official statistics. It can be applied only to the academic year of 1974/75, and even that demands some reservations, for the remarks about the difficulties of any up-to-date data of the institutes are as true today as they were six years ago (STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ALLARDT 1970). Especially the position of 'scientific assistants'\footnote{"Wissenschaftliche Assistenten"}, corresponding to a position of assistant professor or instructor of American universities, roughly speaking (STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ALLARDT 1970, 69). Assistants are appointed ordinarily for one or three years. Before, they were expected to divide their working time equally between advanced research and teaching, etc., but this status has been changed so that the ratio is now 1:2 in the favour of teaching duties.

In their practices to publish their results, the institutes of sociology vary a great deal.\footnote{Docents = "Privatdozenten", of which 'Habilitation' after a degree of Ph. D. is mostly required. However, they do not have an actual salary but receive a fee for a limited number of lectures, plus possibly a small scholarship.}

Some...
TABLE 1a Number of teachers in the social sciences, pedagogics, (business) economics and in economics and administration at the universities etc. in the 1973 autumn term

(TK tilastotied. KO 1974:13, Table 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prof.</th>
<th>Associate professor</th>
<th>Lecturers &amp; teachers</th>
<th>Assistants</th>
<th>Part-time teachers</th>
<th>Other teachers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social sciences</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>326</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Business) economics</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics &amp; Administra-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of all branches of studies</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>1714</td>
<td>1331</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Part time teachers, part time assistants, teaching docents, calculated number

TABLE 1b Number of students in social sciences, pedagogics, (business) economics and in economics and administration at the universities etc. in the autumn term of 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All students</th>
<th>New students</th>
<th>New students in the autumn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social sciences</td>
<td>6746</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogics</td>
<td>5623</td>
<td>2618</td>
<td>1074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Business) economics</td>
<td>8142</td>
<td>1470</td>
<td>1471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics &amp; Administra-</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>22380</td>
<td>5190</td>
<td>3702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in all branches of studies</td>
<td>68135</td>
<td>12420</td>
<td>11053</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) At other universities than Åbo Akademi students transferred from the closed down teacher training institute are registered as new students

prefer to gain wide public attention and invest their efforts mainly in publishing books and articles for wider circulation while others regard only one series of mimeos necessary, although doctoral theses have always been printed. Since the serious lack of sufficient means has set in, most studies disappear into series of mimeos to the desperation of bibliographers and other source hunters. Pointing out the heterogeneity of the field, several institute heads were very little encouraging my efforts to collect a table of series of publications, off-prints, etc.

3. Institutes within teaching and research

Sociology in Finland is very scattered and decentralized in comparison to the other Scandinavian countries (cf. ALLARDT 1973b: 16, STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ALLARDT 1970). In Finland, sociology is represented at six universities and at several specialized schools, especially those of business economics and administration. There are also two research institutes and several research groups associated with universities and institutes within public and private agencies, within which sociological research is carried out.

VERONICA STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ERIK ALLARDT have discussed Finnish institutes of sociology quite recently (1970: 69—75). There-

62 Financially, printing requirements weigh heavily on doctoral candidates, though exceptions occur as to this obligation nowadays.

63 Many of the comments on institutes are based on this discussion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institute and Site of university etc</th>
<th>1st prof. chair (tenure)</th>
<th>Leader of institute</th>
<th>Present holder of chair</th>
<th>Prof.</th>
<th>Assoc. prof.</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Assist.</th>
<th>Part time teachers</th>
<th>others</th>
<th>Full time researchers</th>
<th>Researcher</th>
<th>Research ass.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Helsinki</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>SEPPÄNEN</td>
<td>1958^1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social policy</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>RIIHINEN</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social psychology</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>RAINIO^2</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>–</td>
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<td>Helsinki School of (Business) Economics</td>
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<td>VALKONEN</td>
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<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Jyväskylä</strong></td>
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<td>Sociology</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>JYRKILÄ</td>
<td>1964</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Societal policy</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>PAUKKUNEN1968</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td><strong>Oulu</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>KOSKELAINEN</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tampere</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>RANDELL</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social psychology</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>ESKOLA</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social policy</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>NIEMINEN</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research Institute of Social Sciences</td>
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<td>–</td>
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<td>3^4</td>
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<td><strong>Turku</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>1968</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social policy</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>PULKINEN1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology (Swedish)</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>PIPPING</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turku School of (Business) Economics</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>LUOMA</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>–</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaasa School of (Business) Economics</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>KOSKINEN</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) ALLARDT’s chair. SEPPÄNEN became professor later than ALLARDT, who is research professor at the Academy of Finland 1970–77.

2) RAINIO is off-duty while M.P. of the Coalition Party.

3) At the University of Tampere sociology is taught in both the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Business Economics and Administration with a professor of sociology in each. The divisions are more formal than real.

4) Belong to the very few research professor posts with tenure.

5) The researchers are financed by the Swedish Literature Society.
fore a shorter presentation seems appropriate here, with references to general 'institutional' aspects as discussed above and with some brief comments on the institutes of sociology in Turku University and Åbo Akademi, the Institute for Alcohol-Studies, Tampere Peace Research Institute and Institute of Criminology (see Chapters II and V). Nor is this the right place to introduce at length the institutes outside the universities. Some of these, however, which are more relevant for sociological research, will be briefly commented upon. On the whole, I am trying to keep an eye on possible changes, which the interviewed teachers/researchers made me aware of.

The Institute of Sociology of Helsinki University — as in other universities — has been centered around the professor's chair. The lines and speed of development have been dependent on the head of the institute or much influenced by his interests. This trend has prevailed while VELI VERKKO, statistician and criminologist, was the professor in Helsinki in the 1950s, and has continued with his successor, ERIK ALLARDET, taking over the professor's chair.

The Institute of Sociology at the University of Helsinki is the largest one in the country, even in comparison to the institutes of social policy. Especially the numbers of part-time teachers with doctoral qualifications (docents) as well as full time researchers have been recently increased (cf. table 2). ALLARDET has been a research professor since 1970, leading a group doing research on comparative sociology, and this group has further increased the number of full time research workers at this university.

To summarize and point out the main trends and orientations of universities is always a hazardous venture. Thus few introductory comments have to suffice. The Institute of Sociology in Helsinki carries out mainly basic research work like the other universities, although some studies may have been commissioned by interested sponsors, and often by public agencies. These studies, classified under applied sociology, are frequently carried out by advanced students partially in preparation for the degree of Master of Arts. According to an enquête made among the institutes in 1970 by VALKONEN on the behalf of the Westermarck Society, the institutes are much alike as to their fields of research and preferred tasks (JAAKKOLA 1970: 159 ff.). The Helsinki Institute was at that time clearly more theoretically oriented than others. Judged by the listed research interests, the sociologists in Helsinki were more concerned with research critical of society.

If the orientations of the Helsinki Institute have to be summarized with a couple of words in a general statement, social structure and change is the permeating trend and an emphasis on comparative research a more recent and important orientation of its research interests. Comparative sociology in Helsinki is exemplified by the study on the standards of living and on the quality of life in Scandinavia and by the research on Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland, as a part of an international project of territorial identities in Europe. In a comparison with other institutes, it is not easy to point out any such research aims that could be singled out as different from other institutes; the difference is rather in the time point when the projects and orientations were started, thus, for instance the studies in Helsinki became structural before they did so elsewhere (ALLARDET, oral communication).

The University of Jyväskylä, which used to be a teachers' college at the beginning of its history, has maintained its strong traditional bias towards the studies of the sociology of education. Within the University there is the Institute of Educational Research, a unit with a large number of research personnel and extensive research activities it works in extensive cooperation with school authorities. As can be expected, since a socio-

64 The development of these embryonic institutions was enhanced by close contacts between the professors VERKKO, WIWMAN, AALTONEN and WARIS of this period (KNUT PIPPING, oral communication).
logist is a professor of physical education (although he is not actually employed at the Institute of Sociology), there is a special interest focusing on studies in the sociology of sports. MARJATTA MARIN (oral communication) informs that since recently orientations have been towards community studies and farm economics and also to the study of gerontology. The position of associate professor was established at the Institute of Sociology in the 1970s.

At the University of Tampere the Research Institute of Social Sciences and the Institutes of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Psychology are officially separate so that the Research Institute, for instance, does not perform teaching duties and sociology is taught by both the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Business Economics and Administration, each having one chair for a professor of sociology. These divisions are, however, more formal than real (cf. STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ALLARDET 1970: 70). At present, many of these small institutes engaged in teaching and research are cooperating in close contact with one another, being physically close by in one building. These smaller units together with the Research Institute form a research and teaching group which in size is quite comparable to that of the Institute of Sociology at Helsinki University (cf. Table 2). This strong position at the University of Tampere is enhanced since the professorships in methodology and regional studies can be held by sociologists.

The main orientations at the Institute of Sociology are directed towards general social theory, sociology of work and production, cultural sociology in the context of urban sociology and societal planning (within the Faculty of Business Economics and Administration). The orientation towards the sociology of work and production is embodied in an international research project on automation. The study of urbanization is a sizable project of the Renewal of Living Environments, the Study of a Better City, which also adds to the number of research personnel of the institutes in Tampere (SEppo RANDELL, oral communication).

Within social psychology, the focus of study is on general theory and additionally on social consciousness and on small group research and group work. Sociology and social psychology have worked in particularly close cooperation. They have, for instance, published a joint series of research reports since 1973. As the curricula are being revised, the Institute of Social Psychology is cooperating with the Institute of Psychology to coordinate the education of psychologists (ANTTI ESKOLA, oral communication).

The Research Institute has grown service-oriented for the society in general. It is not easy to point out any specific research orientation, but a bulk of work has been done in the studies of mass communication and leisure time activities (STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ALLARDET 1970: 70).

Although the beginnings of sociology in Turku can be traced back to the start of Finnish sociology, the institutes of sociology were established after World War II, when the professors' chairs were held by WIKMAN and AALTONEN in Åbo Akademi and the University of Turku, respectively. Sociology at the University of Turku has been characterized by the studies of social anthropology and ethology, as well as by community description and study of folk traditions.

During ERKKI ASP's tenure there has been a stress on the study of the Lapps and their acculturation. Since the late 1960s the strongest incen-

66 In the efforts to overcome the limits of too small research units, several institutes of Turku University have cooperated, since 1967, by investigating the changes having started in Finnish rural life presumably during the course of the 19th century and still going on today. This village project ebbed out after the joint teams had scrutinized thoroughly a few villages. Although sociologists did not get chances enough to take as much part in it as they would have wished, the experience was valuable (ASP 1974:2, 9ff.).

67 HAAVIO compared the master's theses of sociology of Turku with those elsewhere in 1970, using as a point of reference the data collected by VALKonen on behalf of the Westernmark Society. Differences in the reference material were slight and this was evened out completely when compared with the master's theses in Turku 1968-1972 as classified by HAAVIO (Turku Inst. of Sociol. 1973, table 2). Freedom that teachers and students have enjoyed in choosing the topics of lectures and theses has been a very specializing and disuniting factor which seems to be neutralized by growing numbers of theses.
tive of study has been research on the sociology of work and industrial sociology; this project theme is repeated within several research projects (cf. V 3).

The Institute of Sociology of the University of Oulu is rather incapacitated by the lack of majoring facilities (so far not possessing a full professor). Theses consist in effect of such work as can be done by teachers and students of the institute carrying out research and teaching. According to a national division of work, main research themes are thus:

—research on education in humanities and social sciences and on skilled labour;

—research on the developing areas, directed primarily towards the problems of welfare of the population in northern Finland;

—research on public administration.

There is a host of independent, non-university-affiliated research institutes in social sciences, particularly in sociology. The institutes of law studies, alcohol studies and peace research touched upon above would certainly deserve more thorough treatment as well as many others. However, a mention only will have to suffice here, referring the reader to the works of STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ALLARDT (1970: 71–75) and NIEMINEN (1957: 19–29) and to the sources cited in the former.

The Research Division of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health dates back to 1968 in its present form, but it can be regarded as a successor of the Social Research Bureau founded in 1928. Its explicit purpose is to carry out research in social policy and applied sociology.

The Population Research Institute was founded in 1946 by the Finnish Population League for

68 Performed jointly with other institutes at the University of Oulu.

69 Joint enterprise within the University of Oulu and generally with institutes doing research on development.

70 I draw heavily upon this in the following notes.

basic research in demography and family sociology as well as applied studies in these areas.

The Social Security Research Institute of the National Pension Bureau performs applied research in the fields of retirement and social security.

The Marketing Research Institute of the Pellervo Society was established in 1932 and is a part of an association of agricultural cooperatives. Up to recent years it has collected and analyzed mainly statistical data, preferring the area of agricultural policy.

The institutes mentioned above are nonprofit units and independent in the sense that they are expected to make general contributions within their respective fields of specialization and serve the public interest in general rather than their immediate organizational interests (STOLTE-HEISKANEN and ALLARDT 1970, 75). There are several other institutes that to a large extent have been founded in the 1960s. Relatively few of them are state institutes and some of them are closely attached to their commissioners, like the Institute of Industry, and those of political parties. The contacts of the universities with these institutes are few.

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