



## The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare

Volume 3  
Issue 2 *November*

Article 6

November 1975

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### Recommended Citation

Wiseman, Stanley F. (1975) "Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft in a Finnish New Town," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 3 : Iss. 2 , Article 6.

Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol3/iss2/6>

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## GEMEINSCHAFT VS. GESELLSCHAFT IN A FINNISH NEW TOWN

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### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The New Town has been long in the discussion stage and short in terms of actual development in the United States. In Western Europe, however, it has been a major developmental force in urban housing. Briefly, the plan is one of large-scale developments to provide housing, employment, and a system of integrated facilities and services within a self-contained environment, but with emphasis on the inter-relatedness of people rather than the alienation-producing "tower apartment" complex.

Ideally, the concept involves a free-standing community, somewhat isolated from the major urban centers, with all of the local jobs matched to the resident work force so there is no need to travel elsewhere to gain employment. Emphasis is on social mobility, compatibility, and diversity. Design and size constraints encourage personalized relationships and discourage organizational complexity, as does the relatively self-contained economic system, which also tends to inhibit social alienation.

The aspect of New Town planning on which the research being presented here was primarily focused is the goal of social balance, that is, balance between the need of a community for efficient services and the need for people-sensitive responsiveness. The approach accepts the view that the New Town should be visualized as a micro-cosmic cross-section of society, encompassing diversity of social status, income, occupation, age, education, and religious, racial and ethnic categories. It is believed that here may be an environment which can encourage the creation of community cohesions and reverse the trend of isolating minorities. (Huttman and Huttman, 1972):5)

Most New Towns follow the Garden City model. This was originally suggested and promoted at the turn of the century by an English inventor, Ebenezer Howard, who believed a totally planned, new community could be the answer to the slum conditions he saw being created in the growing industrial urban centers. The New Town has remained primarily the tool of the private developers, planners, and architects, rather than social scientists. They take as their goal creation of a good living environment that can be built as profitably as the dull, one-class, one-color, dormitory subdivision celebrated in the song satire, "Little Boxes".<sup>2</sup> (Osborn and Whittich, 1963: p. 23-40)

New Towns such as Columbia in Maryland, Reston in Virginia, Johnathan in Minnesota, Lake Havasu in Arizona, and Irvin in Southern California are planned with the hope that this new suburban "clean dream" will induce people to leave the rotting inner city. Emphasizing belonging and togetherness in communities designed to draw workers and their families back together, New Towns have a clear appeal to families seeking to live in less alienating circumstances than are currently available in metropolitan centers. (von Eckardt,

1971:21-23)

This article has a dual purpose: (1) to describe report on the creation and progress of one of the most famous New Towns, Tapiola, in Finland, and (2) to "operationalize" in this scene the dual concepts of Ferdinand Tönnies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, or as they have come to be identified modernly, community and contract bureaucracy.<sup>3</sup> (Tönnies, 1963:12-25) This approach is used because the major attempt in the world today to restore the people-oriented element of Gemeinschaft to local government is being taken in the New Town setting, and one of the most successful (according to published reports) has been the New Town of Tapiola. (von Eckhardt, 1971:21-23).

#### METHODOLOGY

This paper examines the Finnish New Town of Tapiola, using a case study approach because of limited comparative data, but essentially seeking to define and isolate the elements that create feelings of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft,<sup>4</sup> and to see if they are present to a greater degree in the New Town setting.<sup>4</sup> It was my hypothesis that where the social ambience at the local level is highly politicized, the various institutions of political access will tend to have characteristics that are more Gemeinschaft-like (people/community oriented) and less Gesellschaft-like (efficient bureaucracy oriented). To test this hypothesis a survey was made of a sample population representative of the larger whole. Sample subjects were selected from clustered, randomized groupings of adult residents, and requested in a structured questionnaire to recall and compare feelings about their new homes and their old. Because Tapiola is approximately 80 percent multi-story apartment buildings, 10 percent town houses and garden apartments, and 10 percent detached, one-family dwellings, the sample was similarly proportioned.<sup>5</sup> Tapiola was selected as the site because, in addition to being a New Town, it had achieved an unusually stable, neighborhood-like community, yet had reportedly maintained an economic cross-section. As noted, the New Town setting was considered the independent variable and the gemeinschaft/gesellschaft ambience the dependent variable. Because previous studies have indicated the variables of sex, age, education, occupation, and income affect political participation and feelings about government on a gross-cultural basis, these potential supervening factors were cross-tabulated.<sup>6</sup> None of these proved to have a significant causal effect on the results of the survey, however, and are not included here. Initially, each respondent was asked a number of questions designed to ascertain the degree of politicization as compared with where he lived previously. It was a major assumption of the study that there might be an increase in the gemeinschaft-like quality where political self-help was encouraged, and a decrease towards gesellschaft-like where the efficient government, "you can't beat city hall" attitude prevails. Using such indicators as party affiliation, non-partisan political activity, length of residence, self-rating of interests and political efficacy, and feelings about group action to obtain political goals, it was concluded the New Town was more highly politicized than the area in which the individuals questioned had previously resided. It was felt that it was a fair inference that the New Town of Tapiola represented a more politicized setting than the non-New Towns.

## BUILDING A NEW TOWN IN FINLAND

As stated, the concept of the New Town, and particularly the Finnish New Town, Tapiola, was considered an essential construct in the research into the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Before proceeding further into the findings of the study, a brief description of Tapiola as an entity is appropriate. After World War II, Finland was one of many countries in Northern Europe facing a tremendous housing shortage with limited capability to solve the problem. In addition, Finland as a nation was on the losing side of the war. Under the Armistice agreement, Russia had to be paid \$8 million in war reparations, and one of the most beautiful sections of Finland, Karelia, located on the Russo-Finnish border, was ceded to the Communists. As a result, Finland found it had hundreds of thousands of Karelian refugees who rejected the Russian's offer to stay, and who fled their homes. Somewhat naturally, the government had to adopt a national policy of economizing across the board, and housing was no exception. There was, however, some encouragement by the government to private entities, particularly the corporate cooperatives that are a special feature of Finland's semi-socialist economy. In 1950, the director of one of these cooperatives located a family estate tract of 660 acres near the outskirts of Helsinki. It was ideally located on a picturesque site on the Bay of Helsinki, and seemed ideal for the kind of housing development he had been thinking about. The price of 180 million old Finnmarks (about \$563,000) was the major obstacle, since he was not independently wealthy. He approached the board of his Cooperative Association, the Finnish Family Welfare League, and they agreed to support the project. Another segment of the downpayment came from the State Football pool board of directors, in the form of a loan at reasonable interest. When the initial money-raising phase was completed, and the land purchased, five national organizations came together to form a development foundation, the Asuntosaatio.

In the design phase, it was decided that the New Town concept should be adopted, but with special Finnish emphasis. The director had definite ideas: he wanted a town for "everyman", a place where all kinds of people could live and work together. This meant catering to the desire of many Finns for "flats" of an economical mode for daily living, recognizing that extra money would be allocated to the atavistic summer holiday splurge so much a cultural characteristic in the Scandinavian nations. The planning also involved detached homes of a first residential nature for those who wanted something more expensive and more private. As a consequence, the Asuntosaatio adopted a policy of selling sites for low prices and seeking to attract state subsidized housing projects. The goal was to bring together various kinds of people in the same community, as contrasted with the atomized situation of the urban centers. Eighty percent of the sites in Tapiola were thus sold under long-term, low-interest state-guaranteed loans, allowing buildings to be erected at a price about half of the land's market value. Despite a temporary setback when the rural commune (a combination of city and county) government indicated disinterest in helping finance public utilities, Tapiola was constructed on schedule and the first occupants moved in two and a half years after the land was purchased.

Today, with all of the land loans repaid by the Asuntosaatio, Tapiola is a viable community of 16,000 residents, a cross-section of low-, medium-,

and high-income families in nine sub-neighborhoods; each with its own community shopping area and community center. The building development that has come into being with minimum disturbance of the natural surroundings is pointed out with pride to visitors from all over the world. An award-winning technical university complex has been located nearby. The government has adopted similar plans elsewhere in the Helsinki area. A new tourist hotel has been started, and the central town plaza features an olympic-sized indoor-outdoor swimming pool and sauna bath complex.

The feature that distinguishes Tapiola, however, remains the Asuntosäätiön's firm commitment to the idea of the cross-section community, the idea of high density apartment buildings interspersed with town houses and detached ranch-style homes so all have sufficient individuality as to avoid looking "mass-produced". Neighborhoods are connected by landscaped, patterned open spaces and groves of trees, with pedestrian and bicycle circulation emphasized over vehicles. Community facilities are designed to promote personal interaction rather than atomized to create alienation. The elementary school, the movie theater, and the main shopping area were designed and built as essential elements at the same time as the first home units. Every effort was made to have a variety of housing types. Each segment was the result of a national competition among the nation's finest architects.

As sub-neighborhoods took shape, promenades were built connecting them with the town center, with no through vehicular traffic being allowed except by the main circular access drive. Play spaces for children of all ages, from sandboxes to soccer fields, were developed. There was a special "children's town". The indoor-outdoor swimming complex featured special competitions, and there were expert water sports teachers. Despite a high percentage of children in the development (about one-third), there was little vandalism to the shrubberies and flower gardens, which are community owned and maintained. When there is trouble, it is taken care of within the community, with representatives drawn from constituent groups within Tapiola to work out solutions with the Asuntosäätiö.

Realizing that clean light industry would have to be attracted to Tapiola to create a stable population, the Asuntosäätiö made a special effort in this area. All of the New Town developers have had trouble with this problem of creating work opportunities for the residents. In Tapiola, they had somewhat more success than most, although not 100 percent of the projected employment need. In 1968 there were over 3,000 working places, enough to provide jobs for about half of the economically-active population. About 40 percent of these jobs were industrial, while 20 percent were in trade, 35 percent were in service, and 5 percent were in transportation. The Asuntosäätiö expects this total to double by the end of 1975.

Because of the low down-payment, low-interest loan policy, the goal of a socio-economic cross-section was apparently achieved, and as a result there is a fairly good political cross section of Finnish society, as illustrated by results of the 1970 parliamentary election. There were 45 percent voting for left parties, which was about the same percentage as nationally. The Asuntosäätiö admits the proportion of low income persons is still below average, and an attempt is being made to correct this as a long-term goal.

The reason apparently lies in the fact that of the 10 percent rental buildings in Tapiola, most are owned by industrial firms and are rented to firm employees. At this writing, about 55 percent of Tapiolans were white collar and 45 percent were blue collar. More explicitly, this breaks down as 24 percent professional, 24 percent managerial, and 42 percent skilled labor.

#### FINDINGS

Having once ascertained that the people who lived in Tapiola had become more politicized as a result of moving into the New Town, that is, more aware and responsive to political causes and action, we next addressed the question of whether the political ambience was more Gemeinschaft than where the residents had lived previously. From the number and variety of organizations and activities available in Tapiola, as compared with a list of national organizations (Allardt, 1960, 27-32), there seemed to be a correspondance with the activity level of Finnish society generally. There were local sections of all major parties, and voting participation was extremely high. In the parliamentary election in 1970, for example, the voting percentage exceeded 90 percent, as compared with the national average slightly above 80 percent. Similarly, Tapiolans were active politically at the local level, coming to dominate the Espoo Commune Council with a 32 percent representation, more than any other part of the commune. (Laine, 1973, 3).

Formal party affiliation among Tapiolans proved not to be exceedingly high, reaching only 24 percent. However, as suggested by Allardt, the Finns take their politics in the form of special interest and sports groups, rather than by participation in ideologically-oriented, official parties. (Allardt, 1960, 27). Thus, 72 percent of the sample said they belonged to one or more such groups, all of which they found to be comparatively politicized. Interestingly, women had a higher participation rate than men in Tapiola, although they tended to see the New Town as being less politicized than where they had lived previously, contrary to the opinion of most of the men respondents.

My method of operationalizing the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft involved scaling felt personal efficacy in terms of the community's governmental structure. In other words, if the respondent felt he or she could more easily than not obtain a solution to his felt political needs, then the inference was that the political ambience could be considered more Gemeinschaft-like. To the contrary, if the interviewee felt needs, then the inference was that a Gesellschaft-like ambience existed. (Loomis and McKinney, 1956, 404-412).

Of course, the idea of a continuum (as pointed out in Loomis and McKinney) assumes a high degree of political awareness on the part of the respondents, since if there was little awareness then there would be little or no response to the request to distinguish between the two ideal types. To this end, the questionnaire forces a decision between two different ways of looking at government, following out the dichotomy of Tönnies. The results were that Tapiolans felt their Commune government was more Gemeinschaft than where they lived previously by almost a two-to-one margin.

Table 1

Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft as Expressed in Terms of Feelings  
About Local Government and Espoo Commune

	Men %	Women %	Totals %
<u>Gesellschaft</u>			
Not much real help when you have a problem; more a bureaucratic run-around; there are rules for everything except helping us.	34 (11)	28 (5)	32 (16)
<u>Gemeinschaft</u>			
On the whole they are helpful and understanding to the average person who has a problem.	59 (19)	61 (11)	60 (30)
<u>NA</u>	7 (2)	11 (2)	18 (4)

<sup>10</sup>In view of the usual report of sex differences reported in the literature, the findings indicated are interesting since more women than men felt political efficacy in terms of "city hall". Contrary to the usual situation where more men than women feel politically efficacious, in Tapiola 61 percent of the women felt the government of the Commune was helpful and understanding with the average person who had a problem, whereas only 28 percent were disappointed with the way city government responded to their problems. On the other hand, 59 percent of the men felt the Commune government was Gemeinschaft-like in response to problems, and 34 percent felt the local government was too bureaucratic and unresponsive. Two possible explanations suggest themselves to explain this difference: first, that it is a cultural phenomenon, and second, that suburbia itself is the change agent. (Milbrath, 1965, 136) In response to the first possibility, a report by Haavio-Mannila indicates sex differences in political participation have continued in Finland despite the fact women were enfranchised at the same time as men (in 1906 by order of the Czar of Russia). In the area of voting, great progress towards equal participation has been made in Finland and throughout Scandinavia. (Haavio-Mannila, 1970, 209-238; Allardt, et al, 1960, 27-39) The second proposed explanation, that moving to suburbia might overcome the model of the apathetic political women, tends to support indirectly the hypothesis of this study, that the New Town is the independent variable which would increase feelings of inter-relatedness in terms of political action. The countervailing argument, that because of the socialization process in which sex roles of women are congealed at an early age and therefore little change can be expected, (Hess & Torney, 1967, 32) would seem not to be supported by this data.

The fact that, while both men and women find the ambience more Gemeinschaft-like, women respond to a greater degree in terms of changing their previous attitudes, also supports the suggestion of a number of political theorists (Lipset, 1960, 216) that the intangibles of politics are cognitive elements of the feminine political model. Thus, changes in the ambience from urban to suburban would tend to affect a woman more than a man. In Tapiola, where the cross-pressures that would tend to reinforce the passive-apatetic model of political women are broken down, the women are more likely to break away from their early role training and become politically active. Support for this concept is found in the data which shows that women of Tapiola appear to be more active in political affairs than men. The women respondents had a 28 percent "active participant" level as compared with the male rate of 22 percent, and there were no apathetic women.

Table 2

Political Participation Levels in Tapiola, Male and Female

Sex	Political Participation Level								n=50	
	Active Participant		Voter Observer		Apathetics (Passive)		NA		Total	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Male	22	(7)	72	(23)	6	(2)	-	-	100	(32)
Female	28	(5)	67	(12)	-	-	5	(1)	100	(18)

Source: Wiseman, 1973, p. 71

On the other hand, the men of Tapiola were stronger in the "voter-observer" category, having 72 percent as compared with the female rate of 67 percent.

Next, the respondents were asked their feelings about how political action groups get started, with the intention of finding whether political action groups are considered more Gemeinschaft or more Gesellschaft. A strong majority (66 percent) felt political action groups were more Gemeinschaft, and less Gesellschaft (24 percent). Also, there was no distinguishable sex differential, as might be expected where the female role as a participant in political action has been equalized.

We also had a validity check on the way Tapiolans feel about government, as contrasted with political groups. Whereas in the above question, the goal was to distinguish the Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft dichotomy by identifying the origin of political action groups, another question gave data about the same feelings, but as applied to local government; 64 percent of the respondents made the same choice as in the above question declaring that local governments started when people gathered to work their civic problems out together. Only 24 percent felt local government was the result of a Hobbsian contractual arrangement between the Elites and the people.



Again, as might be expected, although both men and women felt local government to be more Gemeinschaft than Gesellschaft, a 12 percent sex differential did appear; the men's belief in this was stronger (68 percent) in comparison to that of the women respondents (56 percent). It might be speculated, in this connection, that the further the phenomenon being investigated is from the personal level, the more likely a sex difference will appear. Thus, where the political anxiety is closely related, the sex differential disappears, and to the contrary when the problem is remote.

The final segment of this study involved a multi-phasic question posing a series of situations requiring the respondent to answer on a ten-point, plus-minus scale, with plus being Gemeinschaft-like and the minus Gesellschaft-like.<sup>11</sup> The respondent was not made aware of the complexity of the question, or that individual answers were to be assigned a cumulative weight. The situational problems were constructed on a continuum from fairly trivial to a serious threat, but all within the range of problems likely to face a householder in Tapiola. None of the situational problems were obviously political, nor were the solutions offered obviously either Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft, thus providing an additional validity check. The composite score was cross-tabulated with interest in political matters.

The results of this question, with its built-in controls, were that the hypothesis was supported. Both those who rated themselves as having little or no interest in politics and those who rated themselves as having moderate or great interest in politics responded in a Gemeinschaft-like way to home crisis situations. There was no indication of a sex differential among the answers, further evidence that the political ambience of the New Town was substantially more Gemeinschaft than the previous place of residence. Those having little or no political interest were found to have 36 percent pro-Gemeinschaft responses as opposed to 30 percent pro-Gesellschaft, and 33 percent neutral responses. Those who were moderately or greatly interested in politics, as might be expected, had 55 percent pro-Gemeinschaft responses to crisis, 22 percent pro-Gesellschaft, and 23 percent neutral.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on the data obtained and presented in the previous section, it would seem a fair inference that Tapiolans are more highly politicized than they were before they moved to the New Town, and that the New Town ambience is conducive to a greater degree of political awareness and efficacy than a non-New Town.

The developers of the New Town of Tapiola were at least partially successful in creating a political ambience that was more Gemeinschaft-like than is usual in other types of housing developments. They did this despite the heterogeneous population that featured a cross-section of workers, white collar, and middle- and upper-class citizens. The Asuntosaaio director, in fact, commented that a sort of false homogeneity was created by the New Town and this also tends to support the concept that the New Town is an aid in promoting Gemeinschaft-like political ambience. (von Hertzen, 1971, 169-170)

In this, he was supported by many of the residents of Tapiola during pre-test depth interviews. As one man who had brought his family to Tapiola from Kotha, an industrial port town, commented:

Here we dress up more, and take better care of everything. People are more interested in each other in Tapiola, and we all pitch in if one of us has a problem.

On the other hand, a housewife and mother of three who had moved from Kapyta, another neighborhood in Helsinki, and who now works as a shop assistant in Tapiola, declared standards she was used to had somewhat deteriorated in Tapiola:

You had to dress better in Kapyta. Here one is more free. Ten years ago everyone could walk around Tapiola in shorts . . . I mean, all social classes. They really did. The Helsinki people are just one step behind, but they are making progress. We have a special style in Tapiola. You can't label class here.<sup>13</sup>

The reason these opinions are mentioned here is because of the possibility that one way of creating Gemeinschaft-like ambience may be just that - to overcome heterogeneity by creating one homogeneous middle-class community in terms of political and social normative standards, de-emphasizing differential standards of employment, income, and education. Clearly a part of the increased feeling of Gemeinschaft can be attributed to the increased political awareness and political participation of the women who moved to Tapiola, although the same phenomenon was reported as the men in a lesser degree. The exact basis for this sexual differentiation is hard to pinpoint, although there has been a great deal of speculation about the effect of women moving into a subdivision atmosphere where middle-class virtues of political activity and awareness are the standard rather than the exception.

The physical location of Tapiola certainly helps create a feeling of community, although it is located sufficiently close to the main stream of inter-city traffic to have metropolitan access. Great efforts were made to retain the forests of birch to help screen the roads and various commercial enterprises. The care that was lavished by the Asuntosäätiö on not disturbing the natural environment, and on creating a new community with a special way of life, was also a part of the ambience. Respondent after respondent mentioned the feeling that the Asuntosäätiö really cared about the quality of life in Tapiola and wasn't merely interested in making a profit from housing.

It is also clear from the data that most Tapiolans feel politically efficacious about dealing with problems, whether through the political party organizations, or through nonpartisan special-interest associations and clubs. Although political party affiliation was not as high as might have been expected, the commitment to political response and to Gemeinschaft-like ambience was clear and positive.

My final comment lies in the area of a personal opinion. This was a case study, a tentative investigation of a phenomenon which I believe to

be important to the future of the society. Too many municipal reformers seem to prefer the elite-controlled, bureaucracy-dominated Gesellschaft-like governmental approach. They seem to fear "uncontrolled" popular demands made by "unrestrained" groups of citizens, believing that they inherently know what is really best for all the people. Thus, they opposed more participant democracy and advocate more representative democracy, a "reform" that tends to reduce the Gemeinschaft element in government. I see in the New Town approach a melding of both the Gemeinschaft and the Gesellschaft, and possibly in this direction lies a better reform for local government.

#### NOTES

1. I wish to acknowledge help from Professors Eric Allardt, Research Institute, University of Helsinki; Elina Haavio-Mannila, Sociological Institute, Dr. Kettil Bruun, Director of the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Research; Officials of the Asuntosäätiö (Residence Foundation); Sirkka Kauppinen, Public Information Assistant at the Asuntosäätiö, and Ullica Sagerstråle, University of Helsinki graduate student, my interpreter and pre-tester. In addition, prior to my field work in Finland, and upon my return to the United States, I was helped by Emily Stoper, Sherman Lewis, Daniel Graves, Beth Huttman, and Margo Franz, professors at California State University, Hayward.

2. "Little boxes, little boxes, all in a row," a modern American folk song, copyright by Malvina Renolds, San Francisco, 1963. Of course, it is obvious that this standard of the "clean dream" caters to the middle-class ideal, as many critics charge. But then isn't that also the dream of the poor and the minorities, despite the best efforts of the ideologues. Reports from Columbia and Reston, where an estimated 10 to 20 percent of the population is Black, are that integration has proved a viable social set. Most whites, whatever income group, have no objection, it seems, to racial integration where the white group remains in the majority. (von Eckardt, 1971:21-23)

3. In the context used here, "operationalize" refers to the defining of an abstract concept in terms of simple, observable procedures. The measuring procedure constitutes the full extent of the definition as well as the method of observation of the phenomenon. Thus, concepts are tied to readily measurable and readily communicated phenomena and, in a sense, the researcher determines what he or she wishes to define by finding an acceptable way of measuring it empirically. It is not claimed here that all aspects of the concept will be measured; only those aspects relating to political action. (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969:284)

4. For a more detailed exposition of methodology, and the place of Tönnies' concepts, see the report of which this paper is a condensation (Wiseman, 1973, pp. 25-47)

5. It should be noted that Kish (1965, pp. 161-65) suggests there is a danger of increased homogeneity in cluster sampling. To decrease this effect, as Kish suggests, we increased the randomizing of both the cluster and the sample.

6. See generally, Lipset, 1960, p. 205; Tingsten, 1937, p. 146-7; Almond and Verba, 1965, pp. 324-335; Haavio-Mannila, 1970, pp. 209-238; Milbrath, 1965, p. 118.

7. This section is based on the von Hertzen-Speiregen book on Tapiola, and conversations with Asuntosaaatio officials during my visit in 1973.

8. Because of the short summer period, a great deal of planning revolves around this period, in which the Finns seek to pack special memories. Many spend the period in a shamanistic return to nature on an island summer home, of the family farm. Others flee the city at every opportunity, renting or living with friends.

9. The Asuntosaaatio initially petitioned the central government to have Tapiola created as a market communal borough separate from the rural Espoo Commune, which would have permitted issuance of interest-free tax bonds to finance public improvements. When this was rejected, and the Espoo Municipal Council proved unhelpful, the Asuntosaaatio had to obtain the financing from private sources. Help was finally obtained from the Postal Savings Bank which approved a medium term loan so that the first streets, roads, water pipes, sewage and storm sewers, and street lights could be installed.

10. Most of the literature on sex differences in political efficacy has reported a 10 percent differential between men and women, with women being less involved, more apathetic, parochial, conservative, and response to the personality, emotional, and esthetic aspects of political life. See (Almond and Verba, 1965, 324-335; Lane, 1962, 209; Duverger, 1954, 199; Greenstein, 1961, 353)

11. Each segment of the question here was so constructed as to allow a predetermined weight to be assigned, each answer in the series having a cumulative weight which would be either Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft. Thus, in one typical response, given two choices as to a response to crisis, a minus was recorded. On the second crisis, a plus was recorded, and a plus on the third, a minus on the fourth, and a minus on the fifth. The composite weighted score for this individual was a minus 1, which was in the Gesellschaft area.

12. Pre-test interview, April 10, 1973, Tapiola.

13. Ibid.

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