Economics, Education and Evolution

Essays in Honor of Olle Anckar

19.12.2006

Edited by Patrik Anckar
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FOREWORD

In this book, a number of colleagues, friends, and even close relatives, have contributed to honor the lifelong achievements of Olle Anckar, professor of economics and vice-rector emeritus of Åbo Akademi University, on his 65th birthday.

The title of the book, “Economics, Education and Evolution” refers to Olle Anckar’s wide span of interest and accomplishments, and points out his role as an integrator of several disciplines. Although his academic research and teaching has primarily focused on economics, his agenda has also included administration of higher education as well as tinkering with issues like educational quality, globalization, welfare and socio-political matters. This edited volume is thus multidisciplinary, multinational and bilingual, and the essays all, in one way or another, reflect Olle Anckar’s professional themes and passions.

The three first essays focus on the emeritus himself. Contributions by Gustav Björkstrand, Christer K. Lindholm and Anders Kjellman not only give insight into Olle Anckar’s achievements within the administration of the Åbo Akademi University as well as within the Finnish and European higher education in general, but also portray the man subject of this book.

The next papers move into the theory and practice of economics and international business. Christer Carlsson and Ralf Eriksson dwell on the very core of economic theory, that is, rational decision-making; whereas Patrik Anckar and Saeed Samiee discuss topical issues in international business administration.

The following section focuses on the quality of education and the role of the university, issues that Olle Anckar devoted much of his later career to. Johan Wijner and Sonja Grönblom start by an evaluation of the newest challenges of the universities, and Markus Jäntti continues with the challenges of today’s researcher. Claes-Göran Wenestam and Sven-Erik Hansén, as well as Joanna Anckar, give us examples of modern teaching and learning methods.

In his strive for best-in-class quality for the Åbo Akademi University, Olle Anckar often encountered competition among institutions of higher education. Hence, Leif Nordberg’s and Jan Otto Andersson’s thoughts of ranking fell well within the context of this book. Macro-
economic quality is, however, only achieved through individual quality, health and well-being, a topic elaborated by Pontus Anckar.

The last section of the book deals more with evolution and socio-political issues. Dag Anckar and Carsten Anckar examine development and democracy in different settings, and finally Torsten Modeen discusses how university professors may contribute to political decision-making. One could hope that these last papers encourage Olle Anckar to become more involved in local politics, thus, for instance, taking an active role in putting the economy of his home town in better shape.

The editor wants to thank all the contributors who more than willingly wanted to take part in this book to show their appreciation of Olle Anckar. With this book we all want to wish Olle a happy birthday and a prosperous status of emeritus.

SK 847, November 2006

Patrik Anckar

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enheterna med olika kulturer skulle sammansättas. Ända fram till pensioneringen avlöstes sedan de administrativa uppgifterna varandra, alla skötta med ansvarsknäsliga, sakkunskap och skicklighet.


I arbetsoverlåtelsen mellan rektorerna fungerade Olle Anckar under hela perioden som rektors ställföreträdare, vilket var naturligt också mot den bakgrunden att han hade ersatt rektorn Bengt Stenlund under hans sjukdelsperiod. Som första prorektor fick han ansvaret för personalutbildningen och personalpolitiken, arbetarrskskyddet och sikrethsfrågorna. Han skulle vidare bestä rektorn i frågor som gällde utvärderingen av akademins verksamhet och utvecklandet av samhällskontakterna. Den andra prorektorn ansvarade för lärarutbildningen och de pedagogiska frågorna vid hela akademien samt bistod rektorn i frågor som gällde forskarutbildningen, forskningsverksamheten och dess internationalisering vid fakulteterna i Vasa.

Personalfrågor

Redan i sin första intervju i Meddelanden efter valet till prorektor år 1995 uttryckte Anckar sitt bekymmer över situationen när det gällde forskarekrityingen. Osäkerhet präglade unga akademikers liv på grund av korta anställningstider och stipendieperioder. Det fanns, hävdade han, en växande klyfta mellan dem som fick fasta tjänster och försvarade sina uppnådda positioner och dem som leverde under ett ständigt hot om arbetslöshet. Unge begåvade mäniskor med familj och studiedukal måste kunna planera sitt liv för mer än sex månader i taget. Samma


Den omsorg om personalen som karakteriserade hela Olle Anckars verksamhet som prorektor togs också uttryck i att han engagerade sig i att försöka lösa de speciella problem som alltid uppstår mellan anställda i en arbetsgemenskap som innefattar långt över 1 000 personer.

Ofta blev det frågan om ett betydande antal samtal i enrum och per telefon innan situationen fick en lösning. När antalet anställda ökade blev det uppenbart att det behövdes en större personal inom förvaltningen som hade just personaladministrationen som sin specialuppgift.

Att det frågan fick en god, positiv lösning innebar dock inte att rektoratet befriades från sitt ansvar för personalförvaltningen.

Kvalitets- och utvärderingsfrågor

Anckars insats i anslutning till den utvärdering av akademin förvaltning som CRE gjorde år 1998 var av avgörande betydelse. Han ledde den grupp som genomförde akademinens självtvärdering som underlag för utvärderingen och deltog senare flitigt i den internationella utvärderingsgruppers arbete. Gruppen förövligande bland annat att universitetet skulle pröva vilken dess optimala storlek var. Det resulterade bl.a. i att man i strategiplanen slog fast att antagningen till universitetet borde skärpas så att andelen antagna studerande av de sökande skulle uppgå till 40 %. Av de studerande skulle 65-70 % vara svenskspråkiga, 20-25 % finskspråkiga och 5-10 % utländska. Ett annat förslag, som förverklagades med en viss fördröjning var nedskärningen av antalet styrelsemedlemmar och institutioner.

Arbetarskydd och säkerhetsfrågor


Universitetets ekonomi

Som nationalrådthen kom Ancker naturligt nog att intressera sig för universitetets finansiering både genom sin forskning och genom praktisk verksamhet inom universitetet. Han uttalade sig ett flertal gånger kritiskt om det nuvarande resultatsyringssystemet. I avskedstal dominerade han att det visst behövdes ett slags fördelningsmått när det gällde att fördela medel till universiteten från den nationella budgeten. Men han betonade att man borde få fram en annan modell än den där huvudviktens läggas vid antalet magister och doktorer. Också den fria forskningen borde beaktas och finansieras eftersom det är på den innovativa forskningen som Finland måste leva i framtiden.

Inom akademin använde Olle Ancker sakkunnig på det ekonomiska området i olika slag av utredningar. Framför allt gällde det att finna en intern fördelningsmodell för akademin som både beaktade den historiska situationen och samtidigt gav impulser till en utveckling som gagnade universitetet som helhet när det gällde att få en så stor del som möjligt av den nationella universitetsbudgeten. Inom styrelsen satte man stort värde på de förslag som han eller arbetegruppen som han ledde gjorde. Att akademien under ett visst motstånd från enheternas sida gick in för att också interna beaktar resultaten när det gällde examina var en av förklaringarna till att antalet datorsexamina inom universitetet mer än fördubblades under hans prorektorsperiod. Däremot lyckades vi inte lika bra när det gällde att öka antalet magisterexamina alla ansträngningar mot trots. Förfrårande ter det sig svårt att förstå varför ökningen på detta område blev så liten.

Internationell aktivitet

Olle Ancker har under hela sin aktiva tid vid akademin varit starkt internationellt orienterad.

Den nordiska dimensionen var alltid närvarande i hans arbete och han deltog aktivt i nordiska möten, seminarier och symposier både när det gällde hans eget forsknings- och undervisningsområde och universitetsallmänna frågor. Hans sakkunnig användes i olika sammanhang, bland annat när det gällde att skriva programtexten för det samordnade forskningsprogrammet Norden och Europa, som senare administreras från Åbo Akademi. Under senare år förslädd han flitigt i Norden om det finländska universitetsystemet, dess finansiering, examensreformen och kvalitetssäkringsfrågor. När det gällde det sistnämnda området kom hans sakkunnig att användas också inom European University Associations Quality Culture Project. Han deltog också i en Tempus-projekt vars syfte var att utveckla
Humor och medmänsklighet


Christer K. Lindholm
ED, forskare, Åbo Akademi

OLLE ANCKAR – ETT LIVSVÄRK INOM OCH FÖR DEN HÖGRE UTbildningen

I ett Finland som, i likhet med de flesta andra gamla industriländer, sakta men säkert bälter på att avindustrialiseras har kunskap, utbildning och humankapital blivit de nya hemörder. Då en allt större del av den finländska tillverkningsindustrins produktion utlocaliseras till länder med lägre löner och produktionskostnader aktualiseras frågan om var och hur nya arbetstillfällen skall skapas för att ersätta dem som går förlorade inom industri. Servicenåringarna erbjuder visserligen än så länge en avsevärd kostnadsnivå potential – dem andel av såväl BNP som sysselsättning är klart lägre i Finland än inom EU i genomsnitt – men tillsammans industrins lägre produktivitet innebär att även lönasvikt i regel är lägre än inom tillverkningsindustrin. Därför är det i allra högsta grad önskvärt att vi även i det ”postindustriella samhället” lyckas skapa högproduktiva och särskilt intressanta alternativ till att – som en före detta finansminister aningen föraktfullt uttryckte saken – ”västra varandras skjortor”.

Forskning och produktutveckling är de områden som erbjuder den största potentialen för skapandet av nya och välavlönade arbetsplatser i stället för dem som försvarna inom tillverkningsindustrin. En nödvändig förutsättning för att den här potentialen skall kunna förverkligas är ett högkvalitet utbildningssystem där såväl andervisning som forskning förmår hålla sig i en allt hårdare internationell konkurrens.

Mot den här bakgrunden ter sig Olle Anckars tidiga forskning inom utbildningssektorn och några relaterade områden synnerligen aktuell även idag. Redan i sin doktorsavhandling från år 1973, ”Kapitalbegreppet och nationalekonomins kris”, poängterade han att investeringar i
humankapital har fått, och kononer att få, en allt större betydelse vid sidan av "traditionella" investeringar i maskiner och anläggningar. Vid sedan av utbildnings-ekonomin omfattar Olle Anckars forskning även så pass vid skilda områden som doktrinhistoria – en ämne inom vilket han även i många år undervisade med stor inlivelser och goda sakkunskap – och makroekonomiska frågeställningar som kapitalbildning och utrikeshandel.

Av Olle Anckars publikationer på utbildnings-ekonomins område känns Finansieringen av den högre utbildningen (Stiftelsen för Åbo Akademi Forskningsinstitut, 1976) alldeles särskilt aktuell just nu, då debattens vågor gör höga kring möjligheterna att förbätta studietiden och därmed förbättra genomströmningen av studerande vid våra högskolor. Den kanske viktigaste enskilda orsaken till att studierna i detta nu har en tendens att dra ut på öden är att ett i reella termer allt knappare studietid tvingar merparten av alla studerande att åtminstone tidvis förvärvararbeten vid sidan av studierna. Med beaktande av den osäkra framtid som dagens arbetsmarknad så ofta erbjuder är det också förståeligt att många studerande drar sig för att finansiera sina studier genom studielån, och nya finansieringsformer är därför nödvändiga om man på allvar vill förbätta den gammalnattiga studietiden.

En synergetic intressant alternativ finansieringsform som behandlas i Finansieringen av den högre utbildningen är en så kallad utbildningskass som skulle utformas på följande sätt:

- Till de studerande utbetalas studielön från samhällets sida, och studier jämställs med övrigt arbete.
- Efter avlagd examen inleds återbetalningen, som kan utsträckas över hela den yrkesverksamma perioden.
- Återbetalningen sker i form av en speciel skatt, som beräknas på skillnaden mellan realiserad inkomst och förväntad inkomst om högre utbildning ej hade erhållits.
- Återbetalning sker ej om inkomster saknas, eller om de ligger under en viss miniminivå som ungefär motsvarar den sannolika inkomsten utan utbildning.
- Skatten upphävs i samband med inkomstbeskattningen, men utbildningskassan görs dock ej progressiv. En progressiv utbildningskass kunde få förhindrande verknings på förjämstickeetten.

(Finansieringen av den högre utbildningen, s. 91)

Jämfört med det nuvarande finansieringsystemet skulle en utbildningskass utformad enligt ovanstående modell ha åtminstone två uppenbara fördelar. För det första skulle återbetalningen vara beroende av den "avkastning" utbildningen ger i form av högre inkomster, vilket skulle innebära en avsevärd tvurdare personlig ekonomisk risk än ett studielån. För det andra torde det faktum att en betydande del av studielönen återbetalas, om än över en längre tidsperiod, möjliggöra ett ekonomiskt stöd som är knäpptare högre än det nuvarande studiestödet.


En annan av Olle Anckars publikationer som dagens högskolepolitiska beslutsfattare med fördel kunde bekanta sig med är Ubildning och arbetsmarknad (Pensk Tidskrift, H. 7-8, 1979). I denna artikel ifrågasätter Olle Anckar det meningsfulla i att alltför långt utforma den högre utbildningen enligt arbetsmarknadens krav; en mer allmän utbildning är, enligt artikeln, mer flexibel än en direkt yrkesutbildning emedan den ger de nyutkamrader i såväl större villkosslikelihooder på arbetsmarknaden som större möjligheter att senare byta bransch. En tid där högskolorutbildningen blir allt mer yrkesinriktad och gränsen mellan universitet och yrkeshögskolor allt fluffrigerare – detta trots att den arbetsmarknad var krav den högre utbildningen förväntas motvaxa är stade i en snabbare och mer genomgjord förändring än någonsin tidigare – skulle den här synpunkten på relationen mellan högre utbildning och arbetsliv sannerligen förjaha att uppmärksammas.
Åven om Olle Anckars forskning på utbildningsekonomins område inte har fått den uppmärksamhet den skulle ha förjämnt ha han icke desto mindre lyckats ensamta sitt intresse för utbildningsfrågor i handling på ett sätt som har gett inspirerande och berättande resultat. Det är under hans tid som prorektor som Åbo Akademi på allvar har internationaliserats, vilket i praktiken har återspeglats i en kraftig ökning av antalet utländska utbytesstudenter och ett allt bredare utbud av engelskspåkig undervisning. Att Åbo Akademi i dag är ett populärt alternativ för utbytesstudenter från Europas alla hörner är i hög grad Olle Anckars förjämnt.

I om det internationella samarbetet har de så kallade transitionsekonomierna i Östeuropa och i det forna Sovjetunionen legat Olle Anckars hjärta särskilt nära. Under hans tid som prorektor medverkade Åbo Akademi i ett flertal samarbetsprojekt inom ramen för EU:s PHARE- och TEMPUS-FACIS-program. Vid sidan av utbyte av studerande och personal utgjorde också utveckling och kvalitetskontroll av undervisningen ett viktigt inslag i de här samarbetsprojektens.

Vilken roll Olle Anckars personliga engagemang i de här samarbetsprojektens spelade kunde jag själv bilda mig en uppfattning om då jag i egenskap av hans assistent fick möjligheten att besöka några av Åbo Akademi:s samarbetspartners i Polen och Ryssland. Den respekt och i många fall - beundran som våra kolleger i transitionsekonomierna hyste för Olle Anckar gick inte att ta miste på, vilket är desto mer anmärkningsvärt då man beaktar att behovet av utländsk hjälp för att utveckla undervisningen inte alltid var alldeles lätt att acceptera för universitetet som under det gamla socialistiska systemet hade åtnjutit en mycket hög status. Helt säkert hade Olle Anckars lysande sociala färdigheter och diplomatiska förmåga en avgörande betydelse för att han bemöttes på en helt annat sätt än de västeuropaiska kolleger som ibland - tyvärr - såg det som sin plikt att på ett något skolmästarskt sätt tala om för de "utvecklade" samarbetsuniversitetens professorer och läsare hur saker och ting bör göras. Att Olle Anckar dessutom hyste ett genuint intresse för transitionsekonomierna och deras problem bidrog utan tvivel också till att underlätta samarbetet.


Tidpunkten för kursen - vilken i och för sig närmast var resultatet av en lycklig slump - kunde knappast ha varit bättre vald. Det hade då gått knappt två veckor sedan det misslyckade kuppfrösk mot Boris Jeltsin genom vilket en konservativ klick inom det sovjetiska kommunistpartiets ledning hade försvårt rådva vad som räddas kunde av såväl Sovjetunionen som partiets hegemoni. Endast en vecka senare skulle den sovjetiska folkkongressen definitivt sätta punkt för den kanske svåraste perioden i Europas historia genom att rösta för en upplösning av Sovjetunionen.

Suset av historiens vingar var således påfallande starkt då ett tiotal inhemska och utländska experter samlades i Mariehamn för att, inför en nyfiken och förvåntansfull publik, ge sin egen syn på det nya Östeuropa som ännu vid det här laget knappast hade börjat växa fram ur det gamla östblockets rykande ruiner. Trots den stora osäkerheten som ännu rådde - det gamla sovjetgardsets sista, desperata motstånd mot Jeltsins bräckliga demokrati låg som sagt mindre än två veckor tillbaka i tiden - anades samtliga föredrag ändå en försiktig optimism; vad den närmaste framtiden än skulle förda med sig måste det per definition vara bättre än den vederstryggande terrorregim som i nåtjan ett halvt sekel hade hållit hållet av den europeiska kontinenten i ett järnhår grepp. För mig personligen, liksom för alla andra deltagare som hade varit upp med VSB-Finlands totalt okritiska sovjetvänliga liturgi, var det också en ny upplevelse att få ta del av en öppen och rättvänd kritik av det realistiska "paradis på jorden" som för det stora flertalet medborgare i Sovjetunionen och dess österbaltiska lystnader nog hade haft betydligt mer gemensamt med paradiset diametrala motsats.

Med färd på hand går det knappast att förseka att den optimism som gjorde sig gällande i Mariehamn under de vackra augustidagarna strax innan Sovjetunionens slutliga sammanbrott var befogad. Vissentiga har omvandlingen från centralstatlig planekonomi till marknadsekonomi ofta varit svår och ibland olyckligt smått, men de flesta transitionsekonomier har ändå klarat av den med häpnadsväckande snabbhet. Det är knappast orimligt att anta att transitionsekonomiernas satsningar på den högre utbildningen, av vilka det EU-finansierade internationella högskol samarbetet har utgjort en del, har bidragit till den snabba och framgångsrika övergången till en välfungerande marknadsekonomi.

I vissa fall har högskol samarbetet också brutit frukt på ett mycket konkret sätt på det personliga planet. En kvinnlig studerande vid ett av de statliga universitetet som Åbo Akademi...
samarbetade med i Jena-ernburg blev genast efter avlagd examen erbjuden posten som marknadsföringschef vid Rysslands ledande tillverkare av parfym och kosmetika. Det som fällde avgörandet var, enligt hennes arbetsgivare, de nya och värdefulla kunskaper hon hade förvärvat under sin tid som utbytesstudierande vid Åbo Akademi.

Förutom att Olle Ancker under sin tid som prorektor spelade en synlig och oerhört viktig roll i samband med Åbo Akademiis internationalisering hade han dessutom en officiell och mindre synlig men minst lika viktig roll då det gällde att göra Åbo Akademi populärt bland utländska utbytesstudierande. Bäst kan den här rollen sammanfattas med Olle Anckers egen hälsoinnehavare vid ett informationstillfälle för nyanlända utbytesstudierande i vilket jag själv medverkade: ”kom ihåg att vi är här för att hjälpa er”.

En sådan hälsoinnehavare från universitetets prorektor väckte naturligt nog en viss häpnad bland de utländska studerande som var van vid en mer hierarkisk högskolekultur, där professorer – för att inte tala om prorektorer – låt upplevas som avlägna och kanske till och med aningen skrämmande auktoriteter. Mycket snart kunde våra utländska studerande emellertid konstatera att Olle Ancker verkligten menade vad han sade: oberoende av om deras problem gällde studierna eller några mer praktiska frågor med anknytning till deras vistelse i Finland var han alltid beredd att hjälpa dem enligt bästa förmåga. Även de utbytesstudierande vars enda problem var en tillfällig släng av hemsända kunde alltid räkna med att i Olle Ancker finna en förstående och empatisk lyssnare.

Anders Kjellman
PD, Ander Kjellman Consäting & Turun Kauppakorkeakoulu

ADMINISTRATÖREN

Inledning och syfte

Olle Ancker besitter många beundransvärda egenskaper. Han är artig, tvetydig, saklig, familjekär, motiverande, pålitlig och mycket mer. Men det som jag tror att de flesta av oss, som har arbetat med honom kommer att komma ihåg honom för, är hans administrativa förmåga. För mig representerar han ursprunget för den effektiva och kunnskapsadministratören. Förvisso är professor Olle Ancker även en erövrad vetenskapsheterrel och det är troligtvis för sina administrativa och förvaltande åtaganden som han kommer att bli ihågkommen. Delvis som akademisk administratör t.ex. institutionsöverståndare, dekan och prorektor men även som ordförande för många föreningar och samfunds t.ex. Ternbyföreningen och Orgeldagarna i Pargas.

syfte är att fundera kring vad det är som bidrar till att skapa en framgångsrik administratör. Den primära forskningsfrågan lyder: vilka är de kritiska faktorer som har bidragit till att Olle Anckar kom att bli en så bra administratör?


Teori, data och metod


1) det som man har gjort tidigare (utbildning, föräldra, färskommenhet, erfarenhet mm),
2) en nuvarande livssituation (familj, arbete mm),
3) det som man önskar göra i framtiden (förväntningar, drömmar mm).

Dessa tankar är på inget sätt nya utan har presenterats av Kurt Lewin och kartas ofta för fältteorin. För den intresseerde kan man läsa mera om detta i "Entrepreneurörskap och utveckling" (Sundnäs, Kjellman och Eriksson 2002). En indivd kan komma att välja och/eller påverkas att bli företagare eller administratör om hon anser sig ha de rätta resurserna samt anser att det skulle
vara opportunt. Men det ha självlivet mera komplicerat än så. Så en liten förklaring kan vara på sin plats före vi börjar analysera vad som kan tänkas liga bokom en god administratör.


Notera att ett fältteoretiskt angreppssätt gör att vi inte behöver förkasta de traditionella nationalekonomiska, beteendevetenskapliga, företagsekonomiska och kulturella teoriinriktningarna utan kan använda dem till att förklara delar av en mera omfattande entreprenörskapsteori. Ett fältteoretiskt angreppssätt på entreprenörskap är baserat både på inre psykologiska och yttre samhällsomgivande faktorer.


Utgående från vårt resonemang kan entreprenörsksapaval eller administratörskapsval ses som en form av yrkesval och man bör då med lämpliga metoderna kunna hända detta val. Om man dessutom utgår från att föstran, utbildning och t ex. yrkesväxlingstid kan stödja yrkesvalen rent allmänt bör detta också gälla för entreprenörsval. Då det saknas en tydlig definition på entreprenör och företagsägare och evidens för hur valet upptäckte måste man gå tillbaka till det teoretiska resonemanget kring livsrutnet och kartlägga detta mera i detalj. Detta kann antas gälla för valet att bli administratör eller förvaltare. Bild 1 visar i stora drag hur och med vilka detaljer detta resonemang kan byggas.
Bild 1. Individens entreprenörskapsval liksom andra val tex. att bli administratör påverkas av individens livsrum, som i sin tur påverkas av eller byggs upp av yttre faktorer (kultur, miljö m.m.) och inre faktorer (tankar, attityder, jagbild, förväntningar mm). Källa: Sundnäs, Kjellman och Eriksson 2002, Kjellman och Ehrström 2005.


Resultat eller vad anser Olle Anckar om den framgångsrika administratören?


Jag bad Olle Ancker nämna de faktorer som gör att en individ blir en bra administratör. Han valde att lyfta fram fem faktorer framstöd många andra tänkbara faktorer. Dessa kritiska faktorer bakom en framgångsrik administratör är:

- engagemang,
- en övergripande målsättning,
- gott minne,
- bra på personrelationer,
- bra på att alltid vara ett steg före


Avslutande kommentarer


De fem kritiska faktorer bakom en framgångsrik administratör är även något som jag kommer att lägga bakom mitt öra. Olle Ancker lyfter fram följande faktorer bakom en framgångsrik administratör; 1) engagemang, 2) en övergripande målsättning, 3) ett gott minne, 4) att vara bra på personrelationer och 5) att vara bra på att alltid vara ett steg före. Självfallet behöver man även litet tur. Låt oss avslutningsvis notera att man teoretiskt sett kan anta att jag, du och samhället kan påverka individens självuppfattning och därigenom vilja och förmåga att bli en framgångsrik företagare eller administratör. Olle Ancker är definitivt en man som har lyckats påverka sina livsram så att de har utfallit väl. Hans vackra hem i Pargas, Tennbygårds bara ett exempel på att han har kommit att lyckas betydligt bättre än professorsskälen överlag. Olle har således lyckats leva upp till det som hans inspirator Torsten Veblen skulle ha beskrivits som ett typiskt exempel på en man som har kommit att slå den samhällsklass som han jämför sig
Referenser


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Rationellt och annat beslutsfattande

Introduktion

Jag börde till den årskull som började sina studier för diplomekonomixamen är 1965 vid den dåvarande Handelshögskolan vid Åbo Akademi. Vi var en stor årskull som varit sig vid att det var konkurrens om platserna både vid lycet och vid högskolorna så chansen att komma in vid HHÅ på basen av student- och dimissionsbetyg (om de var tillräckligt bra) var välkommen för mig, eftersom jag inte hade ekonomiska möjligheter att vänta på en studieplats.

Det första året vid HHÅ var oneklig en besvikelse för oss som kom från Vasa Svenska Lycetum och hade fått en bild av universitet som en plats där det bedrivs forskning och skapas nya kunskaper och där näringsliv är avancerade forskare som ständigt skapar nya utmaningar för de studerande, samtidigt som de publicerar och deltar i det internationala forskarsamfundets debatter om nya vetenskapliga resultat. (Detta är förvisso ett ideal vi fortsättningsvis borde leva upp till). Första årskursen ännu utställde sig i september 1965 på angiven tidpunkt på Henriksatan 7 och kommerenderades av vaktmästare Frelander till Auditorium II för den första föreläsningen i nationalekonomins grunder, som hölls av lektor Håkan Sandström. Så småningom blev det en studieplan klar och det första kassert lättade och vi fick klart för oss att vi skulle gå på föreläsningar i bokföring, stenografi, språk, handelsmatematik, kemio och varukunskap, och företagsekonomi I och II. Vi skulle inte få akademiska vitsord utan avlägga kurser för 1 och 2 roster, vilket väckte våra kollegers skämtlytne vid ÅAs fakulteter där man studerade "på riktigt" för approbatur, cum laude och laudatur. Våra kurser det första året var alltså inte riktigt
vetenskapliga men vi fick snart vara med om den första examensreformen som införde de akademiska vitsordinavarna också för ekon. så att när vi blev diplomsekonomer våren 1968 hade vi faktiskt 3 kammer i vår huvudlämne och minimum 3 approbaturer i våra bälgman.

Olle Anckar var assistent i nationalekonomi, han var ekonomisk kandidat och i våra ögon en riktig vetenskapsman, vilket framgick med all tydlighet när approbaturrens i nationalekonomi började. Professor Heiner Björkqvist höll en föreläsning och visade på alla de stora forskare som hade skapat nationalekonomins grundteori och på alla de komplexa frågeställningar nationalekonomerna hade att brottas med. Nu kom för första gången riktig vetenskap med i bilden och för oss på andra årskursen blev det klart att det också inom de ekonomiska vetenskaperna är möjligt att brottas med riktiga vetenskapliga problem. Olle Anckars approbaturseminarier – där vi skrev forskningsrapporter (mitt ämne var Federal Reserve systemet i USA) – besätte intrycket att nu får vi själva arbeta med forskningsfrågor "på riktig". Nu 40 år senare kan jag slåa att min egen vetenskapliga bana (om ett så högstidligt utsmyckat tillåts) fick sin början i Olle Anckars seminarier trots att jag halkade in på operationalsanalys och tillämpad matematik och gick en annan väg än nationalekonomerna.

**Operationsanalys och rationellt beslutsfattande**


Vi lärde oss tidigt i ekonomisk teori att det finns en konstruerad beslutsfattare som aktör i ekonomiska samhällen – denne homo economicus är alltid fullt informerad och helt rational varför hans beslutsdögn och de beslut han fattar kan förutsetes. Inom operationsanalysen arbetade vi till en början också enbart med rationella beslutsfattare, men vi gav efter på attändanter om full

information och problematiserade både tillgången på information och metoderna för att få fram tillräcklig information för beslutsfattande. Drivkraften var (och är) övertygelsen om att det för alla problem i en företagskontext går att hitta en bästa lösning, att det är dumt och ekonomiskt oförsvarligt att inte söka denna bästa lösning och att en bästa lösning ger insikter som gör att företaget kan skapa konkurrensfördelar. Operationsanalysen är en intressant forskningsinriktning eftersom många problem är av den arten att vi tycker oss vara i ett lösen som intuitivt är både bra och övertygande men som vi vid en närmare analys kommer att se är klart underlägsen den bästa lösningen, dvs. den som vi kan få fram med hjälp av operationsanalysens metoder. Inte minst är detta fallet om vi ersätter den enskilde, svarande beslutsfattare med en grupp av beslutsfattare som bör kortha överens om en handlingslinje – gruppens medlemmar har olika intuitiva uppfattningar om hur ett problem skall angrapas och den som är bäst på att argumentera för sin övertygelse blir tagna för gruppens beslut. Inte sällan utarbetar diskussionerna inom gruppen till att den mest högljudda blir tagna, vilket inte alltid som sammanfallar med att det beslut tas som kunde ha varit det bäst om gruppens samlade förståde hade fått råda; ännu mera sällan sammanfaller det med ett bästa beslut som man kunde få fram med operationsanalysens matematiska metoder. Situationen är inte obehag ens inom beslutsfattandet inom akademisk administration.

Operationsanalysens problem har nämnsvärt samtids och organisering av klasser av problem för vilka det utvecklades en gemensam teoribas, en gemensam uppsättning av modeller och en ständig växande mängd av algoritmer för problemlösning inom ramen för modellerna. I en företagskontext kan det handla om resursallokeringar inom produktionen, vi kan placera och utnyttja de bäst lämpade människor resurserna för olika uppgifter, vi kan distribuera produkter från fabriken tåg på parti- och detaljhandelsplan så att efterfrågan tillgodoläses och kostnaderna minimeras, vi kan skapa optimala ruter för transport av gods av olika slag, vi kan lasta allt från fästa till långt andalkombinationer och fartyg så att lastkapaciteten utnyttjas på bästa sätt, kostnaderna minimeras och lastnings- och lossningsoperationerna blir så effektiva som möjligt. Inom operationsanalysen är uppgift- och problemkomplex av denna typ kända som programmeringsproblem, och de första modellerna och algoritmen för att komma till tals med dem var de lineära programmeringssystemen och Simplex-algoritmen, som utvecklades i ett stort antal varianter under decenniernas gång (jfr t.ex. listan på referenser). Det är klart att
möjligheterna att arbeta på dem med datorer fick en avgörande betydelse och vi kom tidigt igång i slutet av 1960-talet med att köra linjärt programmeringsproblem på en IBM 1130 för vilken vi programmerade Simplex-matriserna i Fortran. Det avgörande var att vi kunde ta stegen från problem med 10-tals variabler, som vi kunde lösa manuellt, till problem med 100-tals variabler som vi inte kunde hantera med annat än datorer, och som började närmast sig den typ av problem vi hade att tackla ute i företagsvärlden. Åbo Akademi och Turun Yliopistos gemensamma IBM 1130 hade ett centralminne på 32 Kb, ett skrivkast på 128 Kb, kortläsare, skrivare och ett konsoförbindelser vilken datorn kunde styras i maskinspråk; som kontrast kan nämnas att den barbara dator jag använder för denna artikel har ett centralminne på 1 Gb, en processor på 1.6 GHz, en härddisk på 80 Gb och att den kan med lätthet lösa linjära programmeringsproblem på 1500-2000 variabler på några timot minuter. Vi har m.h.o. beräkningsmöjligheter vi på intet sätt på 1970-talet kunde förstå bättre att någonting skulle vara tillfällig – att nuvarande generation använder sig av dem i allt minne utsträckning är en annan sak. Vid sidan av problem som kunde hanteras med programmeringsmodellerna, och de algoritmer som utvecklats däremot, gav sig operationsanalyticerna in i kast med många andra typer av problem: käpproblem som först formulerades för telefonsystem men som sedan utvidgades till nya former av köer och nu t.ex. har användning för dimensioneringskassafunktioner i supermarketer och trafikkorridorer till större flyttplatser; lagerproblem som går ut på att avgöra vilken den optimala ordervariankten är när efterfrågan varierar och den totala kostnaden för att hålla lager skall minimeras; nätverksproblem som går ut på att finna det bästa sättet att förena ett antal arter med fiberoptiska kablar eller det bästa sättet att dra ett elnät så att spänningsfallet och kostnaderna skall minimeras; sökproblem eller det bästa sättet att hitta objekt i en oförändrad eller förändrad omgivning när objekten har olika egenskaper; tidsplanering när det gäller att organisera arbeten eller händelser parallellt eller i sekvens så att uppgifter fullgöras inom tidsperiod och platsidén minimeras, förhållandet mellan omgivande delar när det gäller att hitta ett optimalt kompromiss i en statisk eller dynamisk omgivning. Dessa problem är alla sådana som kan avbildas med matematiska modeller och för vilka vi kan utveckla algoritmer med vilka vi kan arbeta fram matematiska lösningar på problemen. Dessutom har operationsanalysens metoder funnit användning inom finansiell planering, investeringsplanering, aktiemarknadsplanering, logistik, marknadsföring, personalplanering, strategisk planering, etc. - dvs. i princip överallt där vi kan formulera ett problem som innehåller med hjälp av matematiska modeller.

Liksom allt vetenskaplig verksamhet har också operationsanalysen tidvis varit mycket populär och dominerande – så att den dragit till sig stora skador av forskare – och tidvis har den varit satt mer eller mindre på undantag. På 1990-talet var operationsanalys (operational research i England, operations research i USA, management science på de flesta håll) inte populärt eftersom planering och besluts fattande skulle stödas av avancerade och intelligenta informationssystem och den dominerande forskningen gick ut på att ta fram nyare och bättre varianter av dessa för allt mindre och mer avancerade datorer. Denna typ av forskning lockade också mycket av forskare eftersom det var ett nytt område som t.ex. en doktorand snabbt kunde komma in i utan att sätta sig in i hundratals referenser, nya resultat var ofta banbrytande (vilket är vanligt inom nya forskningsområden till skillnad från operationsanalysen, som är ett etablerat forskningsområde sedan flera decennier) och det fanns både intresse för och upphoppning från industrin för de nya metoderna och för den nya teknologin. Nu under 2000-talet upplever operationsanalysen en renässans eftersom intelligenta system ofta inte formår att fram de bästa lösningarna i ett problem komplex, och kostnads- och produktivitetsövervakning företag anat sig att att olika verksamheter kan göras bättre än vad alla andra gör. Om man kan finna och utnyttja de bästa lösningarna ger det ofta bestämda konkurrensfördelar, som på sikt ger överläggen avvägning på investerat kapital och ökande dividende till aktieägarna (parat med förädlning, omfattat av företagsledningen). Det är intressant att notera att många av de projekt IAMS idag genomför i samarbete med industrin går ut på att ta fram optimala lösningar på komplexa, ibland synnerligen svåra problem och att arbeta in dessa lösningar som en del av det stöd ledande beslutsattare får från avancerade och intelligenta informationssystem - lösningarna ser därför ut som om de produceras av smarta informationssystem, eftersom ingen har tid att sätta sig in i de matematiska modellerna eller vill sätta tid på att förstå matematiken som ligger underlag för algoritmerna. Den nyaste given är att stödet skall produceras på avancerade mobiltelefoner så att intelligent beslutstöd och problemlösnings- och planeringsstöd kontinuerligt skall vara tillgängligt; operationsanalysmodellerna kommer bara till en del att realiseras för telefonerna eftersom de mera resurskrävande delarna kommer att köras på en nätserver, eller t.o.m. på en såkallad serverfarm som beskrevs tidigare.
revolutionsarande är att de avancerade telefonerna kommer att fungera som nåttomater med access till lokala infra- eller internät. I Åbo finns redan SparkNet och OpenSpark som ger dessa möjligheter och som redan nu används för att köra olika former av intelligent stöd för sina användare (en biprodukt är att avancerade mobiltelefoner kan användas över OpenSpark för att ringa internationella talsamtal över hela världen, med rätt programvara sker detta till en kostnad som är försumbar och under 1% av vad det kostar att anlita en nätverksoperatör).

Om detta har jag kunnat ge besked för att jag var med – om det tillåts en lätt förvägning av Runebergs ord i Fårrik Ståls Sånger. Mina olika forskargrupper - och sedan 1992 IAMSR - har varit verksamma inom området, vilket jag försökt visa med ett olock av referenser. Tyngdpunkten ligger idag på optimiering med flera mål och tillämpningar inom produktionsplanering, logistik och finansiell planering. Algoritmerna har utvecklats till mycket snabba varianter på linjärt programmering, delvis med optimiering av heltal, som kan köras på bärbara datorer och med inlag av såkallade genetiska algoritmer och snabba simuleringssidor. Den fullt informerade och helt rationella homo economicus är ett minne blott och är ersatt av en synnerligen mänsklig aktör med fragmenterad och spredig information, en aktör som ibland arbetar med icke-rationella alternativ i sitt beslutssättande. Han eller hon är tvingad till snabba beslut i en värld av webbproducerad data, information och kunskap som är tillgänglig för alla konkurrenter påstår i samma ögonblick som den är producerad och ofta levereras till avancerade mobiltelefoner; eftersom snabba beslut inte kan kunna på att informationsunderlaget är tillräckligt har vi under de senaste 15 åren arbetat med metoder och algoritmer som fungerar med ofullständig information (en ansats som kallas approximate reasoning) och som ingår i en storre forskningsinriktning som kallas soft computing där IAMSR skapat sig en ledande position i samarbete med forskargrupper i Europa och vid UC Berkeley i USA).

Om placeringen av Åbo-hallen och inte helt rationellt beslutsfattande

Jag skall visa ett exempel på hur beslutsfattande går till i verkligheten genom att relatera beslutssättning omkring den såkallade Åbo-hallen (som är bättre känd under ett antal sponsornamn). Eftersom tiden gått sedan beslutet fattades och de ansvariga inte mera befinner sig i positioner där fakta om beslutsprocessen kan få konsekvenser för deras fortsatta politiska karriär är det möjligt att relatera händelserna så som de i verkligheten ägde rum.

Om vi går tillbaka i tiden så var det första forsöket att bygga en modern ishockeyarena i Åbo så tidigt som 1979, men det torpederades snabbt och grundligt av politikerna som påpekade för entusiasterna att det fanns andra behov i staden som bör tillgododes först. De borde skänkas – sades det – för att föreslå att staden skall bygga en lyxig ishockeyhall när det finns fattiga, äldre människor som borde få stadens stöd som inte skall ges till ett fåtal, välämnande ishockeyfanter som inte har något bättre att göra än hänga på ishockeymatcher. De åskade budgetmedlen ströks därför snabbt och med starkt understöd – de fattiga, äldre människorna fick inte heller budgetmedel, men det är som vi väl förstår en helt annan historia.

Snabbutredningen visade att arenan kunde fyllas med sportevenemanget bara 80-100 dagar per år och att ishockey-VM skulle bilda med bara 12 dagar under år 1990; tillgängligt material visade att sportevenemanget skulle stå för 31% av användningen, showäventyren på is för 19%, konserter (utan is) för 29%, utställningar för 16% och hälsovårdsmässan för 5%. De flesta arenor ute i Europa bekostades den tiden med skattehyvor men Åbo-hallen planerades så att den kunde bli ekonomiskt självfinansierande eftersom socialdemokraterna gjorde det klart att projektet inte kunde räkna på något större finansiellt stöd och åtminstone inte under någon längre tid.

En grupp konsulter (med anknytning till samlingspartiet) hade i tysthet arbetat på utredningen redan i flera månader innan utredningsuppdraget gavs och kunde därför lägga fram utredningen innan utsatt tid. Utredningen klargjorde vilka faktorer som skulle beaktas när beslut skulle fattas både om att arena skall byggas och i så fall var den skall placeras. Med en del förutsättningar var det följande faktorer som var centrala: (i) IIHF krävde att arenan skall byggas för 12 000 åskådare; (ii) omställningen från ishockey till andra sportevenemanget på is skall kunna genomföras på minst 12 timmar – till konserter och kulturella tillställningar på 24 timmar; (iii) omställningens kostnader kräver lyftansordningar och trafik med tunga lastbilar – konstruktionen skall kunna bära detta; (iv) opera och rock-konserter kräver god akustik, vilket bör beaktas; (v) arkitektur skall vara av världsklass och ett gott exempel på fisk arkitektur när den är som bäst; (vi) arenan skall byggas på mark som ägs av staden; (vii) arenan skall kunna kombineras med existerande sportdefinitions- och konferensutrymmen; (viii) det skall vara möjligt att komma fram till arenan till folks, med allmänna kommunikationer och med bil; (ix) det bör finnas parkeringsutrymme för 2500-3000 lastbilar; (x) byggnadsarbetet får inte kräva omfattande och dyr grundläggningsarbete; (xi) de flesta evenemanget kräver bar- och restaurangtjänster av tillräcklig kvalitet och serviceiväg och, förstås, (xii) de totala kostnaderna för olika placeringalternativ. Det fanns sex olika placeringalternativ (Artukais, City-Market, Ikiturin, Impivaara, Korois och Kuppis) som hade utvärderats på basen av alla tolv kriterier.

Vi har här att göra med ett verkligt beslutssammanhang med många begränsningar och kriterier och med många intressenter av vilka de flesta inte är rationella beslutsfattare, eftersom de på förhand binds till olika värdningar på basen av partipolitiska beslut. Dessutom kommer beslutet att fattas under ofullständig information eftersom det inte var klart vilka kötskvenser de olika placeringsalternativen kommer att få för staden. Det sista och svåraste hindret är att det inte är klart har de 12 kraven och kriterierna skall vägas mot varandra och om det alls kan göras. Det är man inte klart om det ens med rationella överväganden finns något bästa beslut att sträva till.

Stadsfullmäktige sked till verket och det blev genast klart att det enda man kunde ens om att jämna för de sex alternativen var totaltstöderna: Artukais (108 MFMF), City-Market (107 MFMF), Ikiturin (99 MFMF), Impivaara (118.5 MFMF), Korois (119 MFMF) och Kuppis (112 MFMF). Konsultutredningen rekommenderade Ikiturin som placeringalternativ och det som följde var ett tysepexeml på den dåtidiga beslutskulturen i Åbo: först misstänkliggjordes Ikiturin som placeringalternativ, eftersom socialdemokraterna anade kopplingar till grundenässans och menade att alternativet framställdes som det billigaste eftersom det fanns möjligheter att ta ut vinster genom olika arrangemang med byggnadsträder och en utbyggnad av infrastruktur i anslutning till hallen. Slutligen torpederades Ikiturin eftersom hallen kunde tänkas stora studenterna i Studentbyggnadens bostäder - eller alternativt studenterna stora evenemanget som arrangeras i hallen - det blev slutligen inte helt klart vad som var det största problemet. Men klart är att den följande debatten i lokalen var både förvirrad och hetig, och alla politiska grupperingar försökte dels profilera sig med åsikter om hallen och dels mäta ut understöd för sina egna projekt som ett pris för att stödja antingen samlingspartiet eller socialdemokraterna eftersom de representerade de centrala åsiktsskillnaderna. Eftersom det var brättnar för förhållningssättet i alla detaljer ett synnerligen verksamt instrument och Åbo-politikerna visade sig synnerligen påhängiga och effektiva med att förhala beslutsfattandet. Till slut tröttnade IIHF och gav 1990 års ishockey-VM till Schweiz, men de finländska ishockeyföreningarna var duktiga på att arbeta i kulisserna och Finland fick option på att arrangera 1991 års ishockey-VM - om Åbo-politikerna kunde ensa så mycket att det skulle vara möjligt att få arenan klar i tid.

kompromiss med IIHF); (ii) den skulle placeras i antingen Artukais eller Kuppis, och (iii) totalkostnaden skulle inte få "väsentligt" överskrida 90 MFIM.

Om vi lite reflekterar på beslutsgången såhär långt så ser vi att Åbo-politikerna missam inte är några homo economicus: all information är inte tillgänglig, man kan håva att det gjordes effektiva ansträngningar att både begränsa tillgången på information och att se till att det del fakta förblev okända, eftersom de kunde ha kallkastat en elegant politisk argumentation – både samlingsspartiets och socialdemokraternas vara lika skyldiga på den punkten. Processen var inte heller speciellt rational eftersom ett beslutsproblem med 12 kriterier förenklades så långt att det hela förvanskades: goda placeringssalternativ förkastades med grumliga motiveringar för att någon av politikerna inte tyckte om dem av orsaker som inte helt kunde redovisas och ingen gjorde någon ansträngning att ens i lokalpressen föröka utvärdera de olika kriterierna mot varandra (som vi alla gör åtminstone när vi skall köpa bil) eller placeringssalternativen i termer av den 12 kriterierna.

Konsulturenredning var inte överraskande: den visade att inga större kostnadsbesparingar kunde göras genom att skära ned på antalet åskådarplatser så konsulterna minskade på antalet servicepunkter och den planerade serviceområden för att nå ned till kostnadssäker. Det visade sig att Kuppis som placeringssalternativen kunde utvecklas i tre varianter med lite olika kostnadsseffekter, att Artukais var ett dåligt alternativ och att Ikitsuri fortfarande var det bästa alternativet (trots att det hade uteslutits i planeringsuppslaget).


I enighet med vad som är brukligt inom operationsanalysen förklarade vi först teorin bakom AHP-metoden (parvisa jämförelser som göras med en verbal skala översätts till en numerisk skala i intervallet [-1, 1] och rangordningen sker genom att egenvärden bestäms approximativt för matrisen som innehåller de parvisa jämförelserna) och visade med exempel hur modellen konstrueras, samt körde ett par demonstrationer med programvaran så att deltagarna kunde förvisa sig om att kalkylera gen rimliga och rättvisande resultat. När det gäller beslutsfattande är det sistnämnda mycket viktigt – om kalkylera inte motsvarar känt faktor eller vad som intuitivt är riktigt välkänd misström och sedan är det ofta svårt att övertyga beslutsfattarna ens med många exempel. En poling i sammanhanget var att vi kunde använda IBM PC-maskiner som då hade introducerats och som lyckades fånga deltagarnas intresse så till den grad att de inte märkte hur tiden gick medan de jobbade fram parvisa jämförelser av kriterierna under inriktad, stundtals,hetisk diskussion.

Processen resulterade i en hel del överraskningar. Den första överraskningen var att beslutsalternativen var fem (Artukais, Ikitsuri, Kuppis, Västra äsanden och Idrottsparken) av vilka två aldrig hade förekommit i den offentliga diskussionen, vilket var typiskt för Åbo-politiken under 1980-talet. Den andra överraskningen var att tjänstemännens tydligt gick in för att få en överblick av hela problemet och att de var medvetna om att de olika kriterierna för en god placering borde vägas mot varandra och att utfallet skulle få avgörande i platsbeslutet fattas. Den tredje överraskningen kom vid diskussionen av kriterier som nu var delvis helt andra än de som hade förekommit i de båda utredningarna och var dikterade av samlingspartiet och socialdemokraterna.
- Nåbarhet i termer av allmänna kommunikationer, egen bil, gångavstånd, parkeringsplatser;
- Stadsbilden i termer av hur hallen kan anpassas till den omgivande staden, störningar för invånarna, förändringar i stadens silhuett;
- Krav på grundarbeten där lerlagret under staden ställvs kräver omfattande påfyllningsarbeten; grundvattennivån som är besvärlig i Kupps då den medeltida Kupps sjö ligger under den nuvarande parken; sprängningsarbeten som blir omfattande för Idrottsparken;
- Användarnas behov som identifierade följande intressenter: TPS, TuTo, kulturforeningar och samhällsorganisationer (inkluderade politiska föreningar, kyrkosamfund, ideella föreningar, etc.);
- Kommunalteknik som var tillskoglig på lika villkor för alla fem placeringssalterativ men krävde en del modifikationer och anpassningar för Västra äranorden och Idrottsparken, som inte var dimensionerade för aktiviteter med omkring 10 000 deltagare;
- Arkitektur som preciseras till standardarkitektur, dvs. lösningar som stadsarkitekten kan åstadkomma (han var en av de 15 deltagarna) eller Casagrans arkitektur (efter arkitekten Antonio Casagrande), som beskrevs som innovativ och stiligt och något Åbo kan vara stolt över; stadsarkitekten uppskattade inte diskussionen av detta kriterium;

I den första omgången – för vilken vi användde omkring 1,5 timmar – avgjorde deltagarna viktighet orderedningen för de olika komponenterna i varje kriterium genom parvisa jämförelser. Vi gjorde några iterationer för varje komponent tills rangordningen var konsistent, dvs. deltagarna var ensa (vi hade delat upp gruppen så att 2-3 deltagare gjorde varje komponent). Processen underlättades av att AHP innehåller ett konsistensmått som mäter hur många jämförelser som görs ologiskt: "a bättre än b, b bättre än c, c bättre än a". Detta konsistensmått bygger på samma matriksevenvärde som används för rangordningen och som en turegler skall dell vara var < 0,1. Deltagarna lärde sig snabbt att tala sig samman så att de fick detta mått att nå den önskade nivån, vilket bl.a. visar vilken styrande och fokuserande effekt en modell och en kriteri subjekt kan ha för att åstadkomma ett rationellt beteende.

I den andra omgången deltog hela gruppen i att rangordna de 6 centrala kriterierna. Oenigheten var stor och debatten var livlig och konsistensmåttet var långt långt borta från det önskade < 0,1. Efter ca 2,5 timmars diskussioner enades deltagarna så småningom om att den rätta rangordningen var [viktorna är relativa så att summan av dem är omkring 1,0]:

1. Stadsbilden och areans betydelse för denna bör få den största vikten [0,433]
2. Krav på grundarbeten visade sig vara en dyrbare affär [0,208]
3. Nåbarhet var en central faktor i den offentliga debatten men inte så för gruppen [0,122]
4. Arkitekturen var lika viktig som nåbarheten [0,122]
5. Kommunaltekniken skapade den största oenigheten och fick liten vikt [0,037]
6. Användarnas behov fick mycket överrakande den lägsta prioriteren [0,020]

Plock i de relativa viktorna för komponenterna visar att: för stadsbilden (1) var den viktigaste komponenten möjligheterna att passa in arenan i stadsbilden [0,433], för (2) gav lerlagren det största bevämmet [0,633], för (3) gavs högsta prioriteren åt att arenan skall kunna nås till fots [0,417], för (4) gavs högklassig arkitektur den största vikten [0,640] vilket är konsistent med bevämmen för stadsbilden, kommunaltekniken (5) ägnades liten uppmärksamhet, men för användarna (6) gavs högre prioriteren åt kultur [0,435] och annan verksamhet [0,379] än åt TPS [0,135] vilket onödigen var mycket överrakande (vår grupp ansåg att TPS redan får allt stöd föreningen kan bekräfta genom samlingspartiets starka engagemang).

Efter att processen genomförts begrundade de 15 tjänstemännen resultatet och många av dem medgav att det var första gången som de varit med om en process där alla faktorer som har en betydelse för hur Åbo-hallen skall placeras hade ventilerats och där de systematiskt hade prövat och debatterat den relativa vikten för alla kriterier. De flesta var mycket tillfreds med diskussionen - en minoritet var missnöjda och vi hade inträffat att de fått sina förväntade menningar kunnat kastas och nedröstade. Största delen av gruppen avslutade arbetet men en liten grupp specialist ställde kvar för att utvärdera de fem placeringssalterna för var och en av de sex kriteriekomponenterna på basen av fakta från utredningarna och från den diskussion som forts. Vi mataste in bedömningarna i modellen med hjälp av programvaran och kontrollerade inkonsistensfaktorn för varje kriterium (programvaran sommerade komponentbedömningarna) och gjorde nya iterationer så snart inkonsistensen blev för hög. När alla omgånger genomförts
stannade inkonsistensfaktors på 0.117 för hela modellen, vilket är ett mycket gott resultat med
tanke på att problemen är komplex- och att det innehåller ett flertal svåra värdingsfrågor.

Sedan på kraven kunde vi en konsolideringsökning med AHP-modellen tillsammans med
specialisterna och fick fram en rangordning mellan de olika placeringstransferen:

1. Kuppix [0.304]
2. Idrottsparken [0.276]
3. Artukais [0.177]
4. Ikituri [0.154]
5. Västra åstranden [0.091]

Vi noterade speciellt att Ikituri inte fått mycket understöd trots att konsultgruppen lyfte
fram det alternativet; vi noterade också att Artukais som lyfts fram som ett bra alternativ i de
politisiska diskussionerna klart distanserades av både Kuppix och Idrottsparken; gruppen var enig
- den optimala platsen för Åbo-hallen är Kuppix, vilket också en bred opinion bland Åbo-borna
företrädde (de som alltså betyder sig om hela frågan). Vi kunde rapportera i både grafisk och
numerisk form åt specialisterna och vi genomförde en känslighetsanalys som visade att resultatet
är stabilt för olika typer av förändringar i faktorvägar. Specialisterna tog med sig allt material
för att följa dag sätta ihop fördragningen för både stadstyrelsens och stadssfullmäktiges
möten. Fördragningen skulle gå ut på att Kuppix är det bästa alternativet. Vi tillsatt en studie
av granseringar och ställa frågor – rationalitet och god teori hade segret i en situation där
förhandssuddsden för den utgången var minst sagt svaga.

Stadstyrelsen och stadssfullmäktige sammantäckte en vecka senare till ett brådskande möte
och beslut enhälligt att förlägga Åbo-hallen till Artukais. Artukais som hade varit involverade i
arbetet med det rationella beslutsfattandet var slagna med häpnad – varför måste man välja ett
klart sämre alternativ än de ökade främsta alternativen: Kuppix och Idrottsparken, speciellt som en
del av folklig opinion förordade Kuppix som det bästa alternativet?

Några veckor senare var jag i tillfälle att intervjuas en medlem av stadsstyrelsen som hörde
till ett annat parti än de två ledande partierna. Han var väl insatt i det verkliga beslutsfattningen
och det visade sig att det verkliga beslutet hade fattats flera månader tidigare i en mindre grupp där
samlingspartiet och socialdemokraterna gjorde upp om Åbo-hallen. Socialdemokraterna såg det
som en politisk förlust om hallen byggs eftersom den så klart identifierats som ett initiativ av
ledande samlingspartister. De kunde dock ge sig med sig om de fick kompensation i några politiska
utnämningar i staden, och om hallen placerades så långt borta att den inte var synlig i
stadskärnan – "som en påminnelse om samlingspartiets seger". Som synes var detta inte något
beslut under flera beslutskritiker och ingen hänsyn togs till om stadsborna kan ta sig fram till
fots till arenan, om den är bra för kultur- och samhällseveneman eller hur den passar in i
stadsbilden (eftersom den inte alls ingick i stadsbilden). En konsekvens av beslutet har också
varit att Åbo under det senaste decenniet inte varit ett seriestöd alternativ för större internationella
eventen, som mer eller mindre automatiskt placeras i Helsingfors (i en motsvarande arena
som ligger på stadskärnan) eller i Tammefors. Detta har inte stört socialdemokraterna, som
upplever en stilla seger varje gång stadens invånare irriterar sig på biltåren ut till Elysee Arena
(eller vad den nu heter) och irritationen fokuseras på samlingspartiet "som byggde arenan". Ur
politiset perspektiv går det alltså att spåra rationella element i beslutsfattandet trots att det ur ett
vardags- och praktiskt perspektiv ser ut att vara ett praktexempel på dåligt beslutsfattande – att
strunta i Åbo-bornsäkerhet trots att de som skattebetalare skul stå för finansieringen.

Slutresultatet blev att arenan kostade 145 MFMF men stadens andel stannade vid 95
MFMF; att samman en 12 000 beställare (9500 på ordinala sittplatser, 1500 på extra sittplatser
och 1500 tillfällig sittplatser för konsert) den var huvuddelen för ishockey-VM 1991 och vid
invigningsfesten holl stadstygrelsens ordförande – en socialdemokrat – huvudansändandet där han
bl.a. nämnade att Åbo kunde träna framtog nog att driva igenom projektet "trots kraftigt
motstånd från politiskt håll". Omöjligt åter kunde inte undgå intresse om socialdemokraterna
varit den ledande kraften i bygget av arenan.

God teori och rationell beslutsfattande

Åbo-hallen kom alltså att placeras på fel ställe, vilket vi alla som besöker den också
intuitivt har sett. Det var ett rationellt beslut för de få medverkande politikerna men beslutet
upplevs som foga rationell av Åbo-borna som fortfarande får skjuta till sina skattepengar för att
hålla den felplacerede arenan ekonomiskt flytande.

AHP-metoden tillåter känslighetsanalyser de olika kriterierna får varierande vikter –
utgångspunkten är att det bästa alternativet fortsattor skall förbliva dominerande trots att
kriteriernas vikter ändras inom rimliga gränser.
För kriteriet näbarhet är Kuppis och Idrottsparken de bästa alternativen; då kriteriet får en vikt > 0,3 är Idrottsparken > Kuppis.

För kriteriet stadsbild är Kuppis och Idrottsparken fortfarande de bästa alternativen; om vikten är < 0,35 är Idrottsparken > Kuppis; om vikten är > 0,7 är Artukais > Idrottsparken. Alternativet Idrottsparken förefok inte i diskussionen i offentligheten men planen gick ut på att förlägga arenan i berget under Idrottsparken i en jättelek konstruier grota; detta skulle kombineras med 2000 parkeringsplatser och 2-3 broar över Aura å för lätt näbarhet för förgängare.

För kriteriet krav på grundarbete är Kuppis och Idrottsparken de bästa alternativen; om kriteriet får en vikt > 0,25 är Idrottsparken > Kuppis. För kriteriet användernas behov och kriteriet arkitektur är Kuppis och Idrottsparken de bästa alternativen för alla vikter.


Liksom alla metoder har AHP-metoden också sina fel och brister som man bör vara medveten om då metoden används för att komma till beslut i komplexa beslutsituationer. Det första att ge akt på är de parvisa jämförelserna och de skador som används för dem. Våra 15 gruppmedlemmar använde sig flitigt av skalanerns extremvärden (7 = mycket viktigt och 9 = extremt viktigt; 3 = inte alls viktigt och 1 = oviktigt) i början men fann snart att detta låt resulterade i inkonsistenta jämförelser, varför de snabbt modifierade sina åsikter och började använda mitten av skalanern. Det är numera känt efter att AHP-metoden används ett par decennier att beslutsfattare har svårigheter med att göra parvisa jämförelser med en skala som ligger i intervallen [1, 9]; betydligt bättre resultat har satts med intervallen [1, 5] och [1, 7] (jfr. Dyer (1990)).

Vi noterade också att de 15 gruppmedlemmarna hade lätt för jämförelser när de kunde basera sig på fakta men att deras tveksamhet ökade när de var tvungna att lia till intuition och erfarenhet; detta sammanföljde med att oemotivitet i gruppen ökade och diskussionen ökade i volym och intensitet. Parvisa jämförelser hindrade deltagarna att utveckla längre kedjor av beröendeförhållanden – stadsbild hänger samman med arkitektur som tjänar användarnas behov (speciellt om kulturen prioriteras) som hänger samman med näbarhet. Ett annat bekymmer med parvisa jämförelser är att de utgår från ett startalternativ, eftersom vi presenterade alternativen i alfabetisk ordning när Artukais att vara jämförelsealternativ, vilket uppenbarligen fungerade till Kuppis fördel eftersom Artukais uppfattades som ett omöjligt alternativ.

Avslutning


Olle, du gjorde en stor insats i dina många vårv – vilket du inte gärna framhåver – och jag vill tillägga dig goda och lyckosamma emerosidor.

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JUSTIFYING THE USE OF HOMO OECONOMICUS

One of the more intensively discussed methodological questions connected to modern (neoclassical) economics is the question of the "realism" or "realisticness" of economics: It is certainly no news to say that the assumptions of economics have been criticized both from within and without for being unrealistic and abstract, i.e. not much concerned with how the assumptions correspond to circumstances in the real world. The most criticized assumptions are related to the character of economic man (homo oeconomicus, hereafter HO). This question is as well-known and there no need to go into that in detail here.*

It may seem that the question of how to relate HO (and economic theory in general) to reality nowadays is a settled one. However, a glance at the literature shows that this is necessarily not the case. On the contrary, the economic literature, textbooks and other, seems to be flourishing with different legitimizations and motivations for the use of HO. In the folklore of economic teaching there also thrives different variants of justification for HO – relating the concept to reality in different ways – that as a matter of fact may form an effective protective shield for economics assumptions, e.g. HO. However, this (to explain the thought relation between HO and reality) is one pedagogical alternative. The other is that this relation between HO and reality (let us call this HO-R for convenience) is not touched upon at all, or sometimes, as we shall see below, "postponed" to a later stage in the study of economics.

Either way, looking at the situation from the student's point of view, the picture might appear quite confusing. Although many economists must certainly themselves sometimes have

* A picture of this can be acquired from Caldwell (1984, p. 136).
experienced doubt as to the applicability or "realisiness" of economic theory, this does not always show up in teaching. One gets the feeling that the student is often left alone in his contemplations about HO-R. I mean that students, leaving their everyday understanding of the economy behind them and learning the scientific economic way of thinking would surely sometimes be in need of clarification as to how the relation between these two ways of looking at the world should be understood. Whether or not a textbook writer believes that micro theory has anything to do with reality, this should be stated. Of course pedagogy is a complicated thing, and not everything can be stated, some knowledge is implicit, tacit, and so on. It can also be thought that sooner or later the student will understand the (non-)relation between theory and reality anyway. Such a principle, sometimes seen articulated, cannot be pedagogically sound. And, if one is of the opinion that economics is an empirical science, these claims are of course even more obvious.

Besides this, very important pedagogical side, the problem of justification of HO is, I believe, of interest in its own right. In general, what types of justifications are there? Are the justifications consistent with each other, and so on? Also, the justification (the HO-R), may take different shapes in different forums. In the lecture room it might look different than on a scientific congress, for instance.

In this paper I intend to take a somewhat more limited look at the problem, by reading some microeconomics textbooks with HO-R in mind. A glance at economics textbooks will soon reveal that it is a rather dry field if one is interested in methodological discussion. In most books, basic as well as advanced, the use of the word "methodology" is usually restricted to mathematical notation and such questions. There are some areas however, where methodology really is discussed, let it be in a rather "lip-service" or minimalist fashion. This view is usually centred rather close to the field of "realism", "realisiness" and/or the question of normative/positive economics. As it happens, this is just what we are interested in.

Thus one could say that this paper is concerned with empirical methodology, i.e. I try to figure out how textbook authors relate their texts to reality. As far as I know, no such study has been undertaken yet. To be able to think that this is a worthwhile approach it is necessary to believe at least two things: firstly that the textbooks have influence. Here the books studied are not equal: some books are without doubt more influential than others. From here, however, we come to the second point: is the book representative for what economists think, and consequently, what they teach and write in textbooks. As for the study done below (i.e. on textbooks (mostly in) microeconomics) one thing could be said: in the field of mainstream microeconomics books appear (almost) like clones (because of competition?). One could actually expect that the second book is quite much like the first one.

From here we come to a third problem: because of the international streamlining of the books' content nowadays it might be likely that authors may be averse to express more colourful opinions, which may lead to, and in fact has done so, to a thinning of the methodological questions at the expense of the format content. But this is obviously something we have to live with, with this point of departure chosen.

Further, as for the stated point of departure, it might be claimed that what textbook writers say in forewords and footnotes is but a small part of the "economics teaching folklore". This is surely true. However, the present paper can only be seen as (a very small) first step in a possible investigation concerning this.

Before we begin to look at the books there is reason to ponder upon what there is to be expected from the textbooks on the question of realism and realisiness of HO. We might distinguish between some main forms of expected HO-R:

I. Human beings always act in the ways that they take to be maximally conductive to their own interest. This is what could be called the omniscience view of the model of HO.
II. While people do not always act in such way as to maximize their own interest, the outcome of their actions in the aggregate converges on that result. The effects of deviations will be negligible, either because they are comparatively small, or because they tend to cancel each other out. Here we have the presupposition of the sufficiency of HO. One form of this standpoint could be the Weberian ideal type.
III. The assumption that people act in an HO- way provides one model among several possible others that may be useful for describing and explaining social reality. Here we are dealing with a pluralistic notion of HO. If we can get good predictions starting from the HO assumptions, we should use it. This view is best known within economics as the as if view or the instrumental view.
IV. HO-behaviour is the type of behaviour that is thought to give the best result for society at large (or spheres of it). This interpretation we may call prescriptive.

V. HO does not really describe or predict human behaviour. HO is just one among some assumptions necessary to build models (such as the perfectly competitive market model), e.g. for analyzing equilibria. After deriving the results for such a model we can turn the searchlights back to the real world and compare as to how and whether the model's assumptions correspond to real-world conditions. If it can be noted, say, that, man is not perfectly rational, this may have some interesting implications for the practical implications of the market model. This could be called the measuring rat argument.

VI. HO does (in some sense) reflect the fundamental powers or essence of economic (or perhaps all) behaviour. Everyday behaviour may not look like this, but this is deceptive. If we look beyond this deceptive reality, the real powers are those described by HO. This view is realism.

Let us now turn to the textbooks.**

Samuelson

A good point of departure would seem to be Paul Samuelson's textbook *Economics,* "the mother of all basic economics textbooks*. Samuelson also being a central figure in the debate about "realistic assumptions" against Milton Friedman it would seem to be especially interesting to look at what he has to say.

Compared to newer clones of *Economics* the contrast in style is quite sharp. In his exposition Samuelson does not even mention the word assumption (although there is a geometrical appendix on the consumer choice). Consumer choice is explained in an (cheatingly?) simple commonsense language. The methodological starting points are stated in chapter one. In passing we may here note two points: the focus on distributional, policy, and macroeconomic questions, which should be seen as making macroeconomics a decent part of economics. The second main characteristic is the repeated references to physics, mathematics, chemistry, physiology etc.

There is no doubt here: economics is perfectly comparable, and belongs among the Sciences. More data does not help, because economics as every science, must

"simplify, to abstract from the infinite mass of detail. No mind can apprehend a bundle of unrelated facts. All analysis involves abstraction. It is always necessary to idealize, to omit detail. Every theory, whether in the physical or biological or social sciences, distorts reality in that it oversimplifies. But if it is god theory, what is omitted is greatly outweighed by the beam of illumination and understanding that is thrown over the diverse empirical data." (p. 8)

"Certainly the economists must know a good deal about how businessmen, consumers and investors behave and think. This does not mean that those individuals must use the same language and methods in coming at their decision as economists find useful in describing their behaviour — any more than the planets need to know that they are following the elliptical paths traced by the astronomer. This unawareness is not necessarily to be deplored. It does not help a baseball pitcher to know the laws of aerodynamics; in fact, if we become self-conscious about how to button our shirts, we may find it harder to do so." (p. 9)

However, this seems to be as close as one can get in answering questions about HO-R from this book. But even on the basis of this general exposition we can note a clear tendency towards realism, i.e. Samuelson indicates that there are fundamental characteristics to be discovered or sorted out in the economy, which cannot be seen with the layman's bare eye. Especially the latter passage — from a somewhat less general perspective — is telling: it may be interpreted as that economists have the language and methods for seeing the essence of consumers' of
businessmen’s behaviour. In light of this, Samuelson might be classified as a realist (version VI of HO). On a more detailed level it is impossible to say on the basis of this exactly how this relation — i.e. – more exactly what kind of realist Samuelson is – should be interpreted. Judging from the references and style it does not seem unlikely that Samuelson has taken impression from natural science.

Kreps

Kreps starts straight ahead by saying that:

“These models of consumer and firm typically strike people as fairly omenous. We don’t find consumers strolling down the aisles of supermarkets consulting a utility function to maximize when making their choices, nor do we typically think of business executives being guided completely and solely (or even mainly) by the effect of their decisions on business profits.” (Kreps, p. 4)

Still, Kreps admits that he will mainly be using the standard models for consumer choice and firm behaviour throughout the book. Why is that? Kreps refers to three “often given” rationales: 1) the as if argument, 2) the “aggregately right” argument and 3) the possibility to assume away systematic violations.

1) “If the models are not falsified by our observations, then our models are good positive models — perhaps not descriptive as to why things happen, but good in describing what happens." (Kreps, p. 4) This might mean, e.g., that a model which gives good predictions is seen as a good model even irrespective of how crazy the assumptions seem to be (as the assumptions behind HO are considered by some critics) This is clearly the as if argument described above. As noted already this view and the discussion around that, has had a very long run, and I shall not go into the advantages and shortcomings of this. As for Kreps it seems clear that he does not have much confidence for this (as if) rationale: “Unhappily, rather a lot of data has been collected, especially experimentally, which falsifies the models which we will employ.” (p. 4). Thus, Kreps falls back on the next rationale.

2) “The standard models may be good approximations of individual behaviour and the conclusion of models from such approximations may thus be approximately valid.” Furthermore, “In many (but not all) of our models, the behaviour of the individual is unimportant; instead the aggregate behaviour of many individuals matters. If we believe that violations of our models then to exhibit no particular biases and cancel out at the level of aggregate behaviour, then the model may work well.” (p. 4-5)

This clearly conforms to version II of HO above (sufficiency view).

3) The third line of defence is the most subtle:

“Even if we know that there are systematic violations of our models by individuals, violations that do not cancel out, we can still get insight into questions of interest by studying models where we assume away those violations. This line of defence is delicate because it requires the theorist to have a deep understanding of which assumptions drive the conclusions that are generated by the theory” (p. 5)

A bit more reading shows that this is Kreps’s favourite argument for the use of economic models (HO). That is, Kreps explicitly admits that economic models are falsified. Thus this clearly can be seen as a version of V above (the measuring rod argument). It is quite uncommon to state one view of argument for the use of HO (economists often tend to want to hide themselves behind a wider arsenal of arguments). Even more interesting is the case that Kreps is unusually talkative about the reasons for his standpoint. I shall here discuss some of them.

The point of departure for, (the purpose of) (micro) economic theory is to gain better understanding. After admitting that many economic theories “have not been subjected to a rigorous empirical test, and some of them may never be!” Kreps says “Yet, I maintain, models untested rigorously may still lead to better understanding, through a process that combines causal empiricism and intuition” (emph. R.E). With this he means the following:
"Look at any given model or idea and ask: based on personal experience and intuition about how things are, does this make sense? Does it help put into perspective things that have been observed? Does it help organize thoughts about a number of "facts"? When and if so, the exercise of theory construction has been useful." (p. 7) (emph. R.E)

The reasons for the emphasis put in above is that the word "useful", is a word held in height esteem by the instrumentalists. "We do not know what is real or true, and maybe cannot know. Therefore what is of interest is what is useful. Science gives us instruments, not the truth." As noted already above Kreps is not an economist to whom we can attach the unfashionable epithet "instrumentalist". Speaking about two competing theories Kreps says:

"Neither fits the data perfectly, but the first does a somewhat better job according to standard statistical measures. At the same time, the first theory is built on some hypotheses about behaviour by individuals that are entirely ad hoc, whereas the second is based on a model of behaviour that appeals to our intuition about how people act in this sort of situation. I assert that trying to decide which model does a better job of "explaining" is not simply a matter of looking at which fits better statistically. The second model should gain credence be because of its greater face validity, which brings to bear, in an informal sense, other data." (p. 8)

The reason why we cannot classify Kreps view as a realistic view (claiming that we should choose a theory in which explaining variables are supposed to describe more permanent powers instead of choosing "data fit") is the following: A (scientific or critical) realist would not find Kreps's argument convincing. This is because Kreps relies on "intuition" and "informal data". Such data, i.e. observation based on every-day experience and intuition, may be deceptive in the same sense as, say, the ancient Greek thought that fire was one of the elements. A thorough realist standpoint would require that the essential, fundamental powers should be laid bare. Intuition cannot be trusted upon in this work. Therefore, Kreps seems to take a kind of middle position between realism and instrumentalism, believing on one hand on usefulness, on the other hand on some stable structures (described by, e.g. HO).

An additional principle to know whether 'falsified theories are right' is what Kreps refers to as "something of a 'market test', that is: "one's ability to convince others of one's personal intuitive insights arising from specific models" (p. 8). Especially "less theoretically and more empirically inclined colleagues (and sometimes, even better, practitioners) are typically good and sceptical judges of the value of a particular model." Probably, if the purpose of microeconomics is to gain more knowledge, discourse with other colleagues (and laymen) cannot but contribute to that goal. This requires of course, that the circle of peers is big enough.

But Kreps goes further by insisting that "sometimes a model whose predictions are clearly falsified is still useful" (p. 8). Three reasons are given. The first is rather short: "insofar as one understands how the assumptions led to the falsified conclusions, one understands which assumptions don't lead to the "truth". Knowing what does not work is often a good place to begin to figure out what does." (Indeed, it is difficult to see the point distinguishing Kreps's view from competing views (i.e. one who claims that you should abandon a theory if it is falsified. In other words it is no argument for not abandoning the HO.).

Second, an argument ("theory building as a cumulative process") is made for using theories that are "better understood, both by the theory creator and by the audience", i.e. an adherence to a conservative principle in econometrics. However, Kreps admits that:

"Economists are well-known among social scientists as imperialists in the sense that economist attempt to reduce everything to economic notions and paradigms. But a real case can still be made for tradition and conservatism in the development of economic and other theory." (p. 9)

It is difficult to know exactly what Kreps has in mind here. But if the appeal to "tradition and conservatism" is to be interpreted as a argument against economics imperialism – which seem plausible – he might have a case here: if economic theories are seen as falsified in the traditional field of economics, i.e. the market, it seems clear that the matter must turn more incomprehensible (in terms of HO) the further you go from the market. In other words, if you rely on the measuring rod argument, you should stick to the market.

"Thirdly, models that fail to predict because they lack certain realistic features can still help clarify the analyst's thinking as long as the analyist is able to combine intuitively and informally what has been omitted from the model with what has
been learned from it as long as one can understand and integrate informally what is missing formally" (p. 9-10).

Here this – unfortunately – very short passage indicates, that even a false model may serve as a tool, or a mental map ("a personal intellectual assistant ("PIA"—as it where)"), which can support and be amended by. This variant of the measuring rod argument is not a new one and can be traced at least to the Cambridge school, stemming from Marshall.

One interesting question is whether frequent use of this mental (amended) map may take place with the risk it changing place with the real word. Economic theory, being, according to Kreps, difficult or impossible to test, this does not seem only a science fiction scenario. I believe that this is an important, real – and delicate question. Unfortunately, there is not space for a discussion about this problem here.

Although one would have liked to see the argument somewhat more explicitly elaborated, it indeed appears very rich and informative on matters methodological in comparison to other textbooks, as will be confirmed below. One can easily imagine that some economists feel uneasy with Kreps’ exposition in its openness. Yet Kreps exposition, I believe, is quite near the stuff that scientific knowledge and belief is made of in many an economist mind of this inclination, i.e. of what we called the measuring rod argumentation. Above all, the text leaves us in no doubts about that Kreps clearly is an adherent of the measuring rod argument.

Jehe and Reny

These authors sacrifice the following passage to a discussion of HO-R:

"Often you will notice we make certain assumptions purely for the sake of mathematical expediency. The justification for proceeding this way is simple, and it is the same in every other branch of science. These abstractions from "reality" allow us to bring to bear powerful mathematical methods that by the rigor of the logical discipline they impose help extend our insights into areas beyond the reach of our intuition and experience. In the physical world, there is "no such thing" as a frictionless plane or a perfect vacuum. In economics as in physics, allowing ourselves to accept assumptions like these frees us to focus on more important aspects of the problem and thereby helps to establish benchmarks in theory against which to gauge experience and observation in the real world. This does not mean that you must wholeheartedly embrace every "unrealistic" or purely formal aspect of the theory. Far from it. It is always worthwhile to cast a critical eye on these matters as they arise and to ask yourself what I gained and what is sacrificed in the abstraction at hand. Thought and insight on these points are the stuff of which advances in theory and knowledge are made.

So much for the small talk:

From here on, however, we will take the theory as it is and seek to understand it on its own terms, leaving much of its critical appraisal to your moment away from this book" (p. 3)

One cannot escape the impression here that "unrealisticness" is seen as a virtue which helps us to get "insights into areas beyond the reach of our intuition and experience". This, on the other hand, together with the reference to physics vacuum and frictionless plane indicates that the authors have in mind truths that can be discovered by assuming things that do not exist on a superficial level in the real world. In the same vein, the authors seem to think, (e.g.) the HO functions: one might express this as the following parallel: gravitation exists (as a fundamental power) even if the windy sometimes lifts a leaf upwards, rationality and self-interest exists (as fundamental powers) even if man sometimes co-operates. If my interpretation is correct, we clearly are dealing here with some form of realism (HO version VI).

Varian

The place where Varian (2003) comes closest – which, as soon will be seen, is not very close – to the HO-R problem is probably the following passage in chapter 4 on "Utility":

"In Victorian days, philosophers and economists talked blithely of "utility" as an indicator of a person’s overall well-being. Utility was thought of as a numeric measure of a person’s happiness. Given this idea, it was natural to think of consumers making choices so as to maximize their utility, that is, to make themselves as happy as possible."
The trouble is that these classical economists never really described how we were to measure utility. How are we supposed to quantify the “amount” of utility associated with different choices? Is one person’s utility the same as another’s? What would it mean to say that an extra candy bar would give me twice as much utility as an extra carrot? Does the concept of utility have any independent meaning other than its being what people maximize?

Because of these conceptual problems, economists have abandoned the old-fashioned view of utility as being a measure of happiness. Instead, the theory of consumer behaviour has been reformulated entirely in terms of consumer preferences, and utility is seen only as a way to describe preferences.” (p. 54)

This is, of course, the common story told in tens if not hundreds of economics textbooks. Like most stories it has many sides to it. I shall not go through them all. But one important one is the one of the triumph of rationality when economics turns from “blithe” old-fashioned, primitive thinking into a Science. This is, of course, a very important message to be told to the students. What is hidden here (and this gives the story a tragic nuance) is that while the early utilitarianism’s vision of measuring, i.e. relating the theory of is seen as “blithe”, nothing whatsoever is said about what would be the relation of the theory of consumer behaviour” is to reality. That is, this side-steps, or actually hides, altogether the question of the operationalisation of economic models, as if such would not exist at all. Well, it obviously seems to exist, and in these applications, economics suddenly turns very “old-fashioned”, that is — to get something empirical out of economics — it has to be assumed that people maximize utility of some particular cardinal form (mostly money). An even more important application, where “old-fashioned utilitarianism” lurks in the back-door, hidden behind the pure magnificent façade, is cost-benefit analysis, where peoples’ cardinal valuations are even additional.

Facing the fact that this is all Varian has to say about HO-R, it seems necessary to add a further category on how HO (economic theory) is related to reality: “in no way” or “not important”? A close reading of, Varian, however, shows him saying:

“The conventional first chapter of a microeconomics book is a discussion of the “scope and methods” of economics. Although this material can be very interesting, it hardly seems appropriate to begin your study of economics with such a material.”

(p. 1)

So maybe we have misjudged Varian? A look at Varian’s advanced Microeconomics, however, shows that there is not actually any more on “scope and methods” than in the intermediate book above, that is, nil. This case, I believe, is telling as to my question: i.e. it is difficult to judge this evidence otherwise than in a way as to answer in affirmative: some writers simply do not care about “the scope and method”, i.e. HO-R. It is not improbable either, that this opinion could be quite widespread, because so is the use of Varian’s textbooks.

Gravelle and Rees

This, book intended for the intermediate/graduate level, at first glance seems almost as stripped bare of methodological talk as Varian’s above. However there is a section on “rationality” where some words are dropped on our subject. After stating the assumptions of rationality for the consumer, the authors note that the requirements seem to be quite consistent with the everyday sense in which rationality is used. People can behave irrationally, the assumption of rationality is a hypothesis, rather than a tautology — we can quite well conceive of its being false for a particular decision-taker (Gravelle and Rees, p. 7).

They further note that behaviour:

“May be labelled irrational by a careless observer (or one determined to prove that homo economicus does not exist. For example, a consumer may habitually use the same supermarket rather than shopping around other supermarkets to find better bargains. This might appear to violate principle (a) [consider all feasible alternatives], but could be explained by the argument that habit is essentially a way of economizing on time and effort, and that the consumer’s expectation of the gain he would make by shopping around does not seem to justify the cost and bother involved.” (p. 7)

However, the authors do not accept this conclusion:

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“The danger in this kind of explanation is apparent in the example: with a little ingenuity, just about any kind of behaviour could be made to appear rational. This is a danger we have to avert, if the concept of rationality is not to become an empty tautology—we have to accept that people may at times be irrational. This therefore suggests that it is very difficult to test the hypothesis of rationality by actually observing individuals as they go through the process of decision-taking. For many purposes we may not even require that every individual act rationally, as long as in the aggregate enough people act with enough rationality to make our theories of the behaviour of these aggregates (e.g., all the buyers in a market) applicable. This suggests that the best practical test of the rationality hypothesis is by testing the further hypotheses which are derived from it, especially those further hypotheses which could not be derived from a postulate of “irrationality.”” (p. 7-8)

Thus the authors are clearly against the simplistic view of HO as omnipotent (argument I) in explaining behaviour. They propose that, rather than looking at the process, the result should be emphasized. Thus although when we cannot expect people not to diverge from HO (rational) behaviour, on a higher, aggregate level, it is reasonable to expect that they are rational. Clearly, this is an instance of justification II (the “aggregate” type) of HO.

Cowen

This book, intended for advanced undergraduate level, is rather graphical in its expression. It is also relatively sparse—to make an understatement—in its methodological statements. In a short section on “motivation” we read:

“Cynics say that economics is about greed. In a sense cynics are right: most microeconomic models assume that somewhere deep in the mechanism is the driving force of self-interest. Are there useful alternatives? Certainly it is possible to imagine many cases where self-interest is not well defined because the ‘self’ may be a difficult concept. It is also possible to consider cases where individuals care about others’ consumption or others’ welfare. But in a sense even this can be seen as an extension of the standard paradigm of selfishness—I get personal satisfaction from observing a friend’s consumption increase. So, we settle for greed: but at least it is rational greed: for now we will take on trust the idea of rationality.” (p. 2)

The quote illustrates quite clearly the methodological cornerstone of the book: everything can eventually be turned to self-interest.∗ In fact Cowen is extraordinarily outspoken when he uses the word “greed”.

On basis on this evidence (which is all there is) it seems that we are obviously dealing with the omnipotent HO, i.e. argument I.

Maddala and Miller

This (intermediate level) book devotes relatively much space for discussing their methodological point of departure. Maddala and Miller note that “in actual life many consumers are partly rational and so are many firms” (p. 8). After explaining the reasons for this being the case, they, however, revert to rational behaviour. The reasons for this, they report, are two:

“I. Individuals can be rational in only one way, but they can be irrational in several ways. Furthermore, it is hard to predict the actions of irrational individuals. 2. Many of the important conclusions we derive in microeconomics theory are not substantially altered by irrational behaviour.” (p. 9)

This sounds convincing: something is hard to do and is not worth while anyway. However, let us go further to get something closer to the point:

“Given the complexity of the economy “some of the “unrealistic” assumptions made by the economist are justified on the ground that they enable us to concentrate on the essential aspect of the problem while ignoring irrelevant detail.” (p. 13).

∗ In fact, Cowen says that the “assumption of selfishness is not essential to economics, but it gets us a long way in formulating problems precisely and, even though it may go against the grain of the public-spirited people who study economics, it can be useful in specifying well-crafted models.” (pp. 2-3). However, this sophistication of his earlier formulation does not add anything to understanding how the model is related to reality.
However, the writers do not continue on the “essentialist” (realist) line of thought, but focus instead on simplicity. They refer to the authority of Popper in this connection and note that a model, if oversimplified, is better to start with first “and then progressively construct more complicated models. This is the approach that we will follow in this book” (p. 14). An open question remains whether and in what sense it is possible to build on models that are oversimplified from the very beginning. At least such a procedure would require some qualifying justifications to be plausible. The exposition continues with reference to Friedman’s classical defence of instrumentalism*, which they defend. They take great pains to illustrate this by an example using the perfect competition model in analyzing the market for cigarettes. Arguing the in some markets you cannot simply know when the assumptions for perfect competition are filled:

“The real world situation will always be a departure from the ideal situation postulated by economic theory, but the practical question is whether this departure is significant, given the problem a hand. This issue can be resolved only by checking the predictions of the model against reality.” (p. 15)

As against this view, they further broaden the scope by referring to nonsense-correlation, and admit that “many models “do not generate any predictions”. Maddala and Miller even admit that “some other economic theories are just exercises in pure deductive logic” (p. 15).

The positions discussed by Maddala and Miller cover some of the field of the questions related to the problem of realism, and it is evident that some effort is put into the question. It is not altogether clear whether this is enough for the student to feel this helpful. But, anyway, the problem is discussed, and, looking at the other books, comparatively comprehensively. As they say, they give a “value-free” and broad exposition of possible standpoints in the question of the relation between model and reality. However, the position which is given the most room in the discussion, and which they seem most sympathetic with is the instrumental (as if) view of HO.

* See Caldwell 1984.

Conclusion

With the material at hand this is about the maximal amount of methodological information (about HO-R) I have been able to squeeze out of it – hopefully without overworking the task. The general conclusions are quite obvious:

As expected, the “evidence” (discussion concerning the (possible) relation between the model (HO) and reality) was utterly sparse. The exception, Kreps, gets relatively much more room than the others, for the simple reason that he is much more explicit and eloquent on questions concerning HO-R.

One – actually somewhat unexpected – result is that the justifications of the HO-R were quite evenly spread along the spectrum. On the other hand, this may be seen as corroborating my “hypothesis” that the defence strategies (legitimations) for HO are many.

On the other side of the coin we have the observation that already in this limited material there were three books in which there was virtually no reference to the problem of HO-R. In fact a question for further work could be the following: perhaps there are two “schools” in microeconomic teaching (or textbook-writing): one that does not see any point in HO-R, and the other one which in some way or another still cares about this relation.

At least one book (Maddala and Miller) showed some explicit knowledge of the methodological (realism) discussion (this may reflect the fact that this book is of somewhat earlier date than most of the other books).

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INTERNATIONALIZATION ONCE AGAIN
- THEORY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

As a research stream in international business, internationalization has received attention for almost half a decade. At a first glance, the body of research may seem vast and, perhaps, close-to-replete, but internationalization still lacks a grand theory. It is characterized by a hodgepodge of models and middle-range theories that to some extent have become common and tacit knowledge. Internationalization is by no means a new phenomenon, but the globalization forces now at work push many firms to extend their activities across borders in a fashion that challenges the academic state-of-the-art. Without a close interaction between theoretical development and empirical reality, there is a risk that the international business research agenda will run out of steam (Buckley 2002). There is, probably more than ever, a need to upgrade, validate, and integrate existing paradigms as well as to initiate new paradigms of the internationalization of the firm.

The objective of this paper is to (a) assess the validity of prior research both from a contemporary world order perspective and a managerial perspective, (b) propose a comprehensive internationalization model that revitalizes common knowledge and incorporates empirical reality in describing, explaining and predicting the internationalization drivers, and (c) present a case study. My emphasis is on the small and medium-sized firms’ process of expanding abroad in a world of increased globalization of business.

The paper is organized into five sections. In the following section, we briefly review the internationalization research thrust, draw conclusions from prior research, and establish the state-
of-the-art. In the third section, there is an attempt to dismiss, upgrade and validate previously approved paradigms as well as to integrate old and new concepts into a meaningful framework. In the fourth section, we bring together the proposed constructs in an illustrative case study involving an internationalization challenge faced by a Finnish high-tech company. Finally, a number of discussion points are raised in the last section.

Internationalization – state-of-the-art

Internationalization Schools

Over the last decades, the theorizing on internationalization has developed from purely economic perspectives to behavioral perspectives, eventually to network perspectives, and most recently to globalization perspectives. At the same time, the international business inquiry has been guided by three paradigms (Toyne and Ngih 1997, 1998). The extension paradigm has focused on firms' adjustment to international business activities because of environmental differences between home and host countries. The cross-border management paradigm has studied the monitoring, coordination, and integration of operations and activities existing in more than one country. Finally, the interaction paradigm sees international business as a process that evolves over time as a consequence of the interaction of two or more socially embedded, multi-level business processes. Although a complete review of past internationalization related research is beyond our scope here (see, e.g., Calvet 1981; Hawkins 1984; Ricks 1985; Andersen 1997; Buckley 2002), the major schools of thought are shortly presented and evaluated.

The Economic School. The earliest work on internationalization theory was advanced in a time when economic transactions between nations were dominated by national governance mechanisms. The contributions relied on economic modeling and reasoning (national decision-making, economic man, perfect markets) in explaining why firms start to internationalize their operations. The most famous frameworks within the classical and neo-classical economic theory include the theory of the growth of the firm, the internationalization theory, the product life cycle theory, and the eclectic theory.

Penrose (1956, 1959) proposed that growth through finding new productive approaches could be seen as an explanation of why firms internationalize. The internationalization theory, evoked by Hymer (1960/1976), and further refined by, for instance, Kindleberger (1969), Caves (1971), Buckley and Casson (1976), and Buckley (1989), is often considered the dominant paradigm in research on the multinational firm (Buckley and Ghauri 1999; Rugman 1980, 1985). According to this paradigm, internally transferable advantages, the control of which gives firms opportunities to out-compete local firms, explain foreign direct investment. The product life cycle concept (Vernon 1966, 1974, 1979) tried to explain international trades flows by showing how product innovation and production spills over from one country to another. The eclectic model by Dunning is in a way a further extension of the internationalization theory, as internationalization advantages are combined with location-specific and ownership-specific advantages (Dunning 1977, 1979, 1980).

The Behavioral School. This school draws on ideas from the behavioral theory in developing a theory of the internationalization of the firm. Foreign direct investment is seen as a complicated process, where management issues and decision-making is at the core (Aharoni 1966; Buckley 1996). Key issues are different personalities, subjective expectations, perceptions of risk, presence of uncertainty, and social relationships. It is reiterated that a human being is not a "mathematical programmed machine" (Aharoni 1966). Accordingly, internationalization is seen as a combination of several motivating factors and market triggers, and firms either drift away abroad or strategically plan for going abroad. Many of the constructs have been used in later models of internationalization.

The Gradual Process School. The step-by-step model is chiefly associated with research at the Uppsala University (Carlsson 1974, 1975; Johanson and Wiedersheim-Paul 1975; Johanson and Vahlne 1997, 1990), although it has been developed and verified elsewhere as well as an innovation-adoption process (Bilkey and Tesar 1977; Cavusgil 1980; Czinkota and Johnston 1981; Reid 1981).

According to this model, firms move, on the one hand, from no regular exporting, to exports and other international involvement, and eventually to FDI, and, on the other hand, from international activities in countries nearby to countries at greater psychic distance through incremental steps. Market knowledge, learning, and market commitment are key in the analysis. The better the knowledge of a market, the more the commitment to that market will be. In other
words, when experience has been gained from one market or activity, a gradual commitment to other markets and activities will take place.

Although not associated with this school, the EPRG model also offers an evolution pattern in proposing that firms move from an ethnocentric (home country orientation), polycentric (host country orientation), and regiocentric view (regional orientation) to a geocentric view (global orientation) during the internationalization process (Perlmutter 1969; Wind, Douglas and Perlmutter 1973).

**The Network School.** The network approach builds on some of the constituents of the gradual process theory, but has another logic concerning the main driving forces for corporate internationalization (Håkansson 1982; Turnbull and Valla 1986; Johanson and Mattsson 1988; Forsgren and Johanson 1992). This school looks at a firm as being connected through different business activities to other firms in the value chain as well as to different institutional actors. Over time a firm manifests its position and gains new positions in the networks wherein it is connected. These exchange relationships of products, services, capital, ideas, and information extend over time across borders, thus explaining why and how internationalization takes place.

**Born Global School.** A quite recent internationalization model is the assumption that some companies may be international from the inception. These Born-Globals (Madsen and Servais 1997), Global Start-Ups (Oviatt and McDougall 1995), or International New Ventures (Oviatt and McDougall 1995, 1997) reach a very high share of foreign sales in a very short period of time, and their management tends to derive competitive advantage from selling and sourcing in multiple countries. The driving forces behind these firms are specialized markets, technological development and new human skills (Madsen and Servais 1997).

**An Assessment**

Based on the literature, it can be concluded that the approaches to internationalization research have followed different paths. First, whereas some of the work has been clearly macro-economic in nature, focusing on the determinants of trade between nations, other contributions have taken a micro approach, focusing on behavioral consistency at the individual firm level. Many of the early works fall within economics rather than business management (e.g., Penrose 1956; Hymes 1960; Vernon 1966; Caves 1971; Dunning 1977, 1979). Their concepts are based on assumptions on rational profit maximization, excluding irrational human behavior and imperfect market conditions, and the empirical evidence is based on aggregated data and trade statistics. In general, micro-level research offers more managerial value, since it is more relevant to actual decision-making including gut feel and imperfect knowledge.

One can also question whether growth is a universal prerequisite for an SME. The search for endless growth can destroy differentiation advantages through distracting product line extension and branding exercises (Trout and Rivkin 2000). At the same time, audacious market entries can easily be counter-productive.

Second, the unit of analysis has varied from MNCs to SMEs, and consequently also the implications. Although both streams originate in the early sixties (the first published article on SME internationalization is probably Tookey 1964), the international business agenda is clearly driven towards explaining flows of FDI and the existence of MNCs (Buckley 2002). Still, SMEs are more likely to use foreign entry forms requiring limited initial investment.

When the macro-oriented and FDI/MNC models are put aside, internationalization becomes rather thin in theory. The exporting literature based on extensive empirical studies is full of inconsistencies, and a conclusive theory of small business internationalization is far from being available (Albaum and Peterson 1984; Kaynak 1985; Miesenbock 1988). An empiricist methodology dominates, but as no attempt is made to apply this methodology within a conceptual framework, there is a lack of indigenous theoretical guidance (Schollhammer 1973; Bradley 1987; Kamath et al. 1987).

Perhaps the major conclusion of the reviews of the empirical exporting literature is that internationalization is a sequential process, during which the firm increases its export commitment (Bilkey 1977; Cavusgil and Nevin 1980, 1981; Kaynak 1985; Miesenbock 1988). However, the conceptual strength of this notion has been questioned. The criticism has focused on the unclear boundaries between stages (Cavusgil and Nevin 1981; Ford and Leonidou 1991; Leonidou and Katsikes 1996), the temporal aspect of stage transfers (Cavusgil and Nevin 1981; Leonidou and Katsikeas 1996; Andersen 1993), the reversal of stages (Turnbull 1987), the arbitrary measurement (Turnbull 1986; Andersen 1993; Leonidou and Katsikeas 1996), the lack of dynamics (Andersen 1993), and the linearity of the process (Hummerinta-Peltoniemi 2001).
The appearance of instant internationalization, born global, brings a new temporal dimension to the discussion. However, the dot.com hype proved that internationalization could be short-lived if built on over-optimism and too broad perspectives. Firms may have to withdraw from foreign markets due to unsuccessful strategies and limited experience, and try to re-internationalize in a more traditional way as well as based on core competencies and positioning advantages.

Third, research shows different internationalization behavior of firms whether they originate in large economies or in small economies. Many of the conceptual studies are biased towards large economies (e.g., Vernon 1966, Aharoni 1966), and their applicability for firms from smaller economies can thus be questioned. Vernon himself had problems extending his U.S. based models to other countries (Vernon 1974, 1979). There is a danger of assuming that models relying on, say, an American perspective, are universally applicable (Roback and Simmonds 1983; Albaum and Peterson 1984) Managers from large economies do not necessarily have the same interest and need to engage in international activities, whereas the role of the smallness and openness of the domestic economy may be a key driver towards internationalization (Luostarinen 1979). Research involving developing nations is also rare (Sammee 1996). Internationalization priorities in these countries are likely to differ from those encountered in more developed markets.

Nevertheless, today the dichotomy large economies - small economies has lost some of its relevance due to regional integration and trade associations that have expanded domestic markets. It is also noteworthy that in today’s information and communication age, everything seems to get smaller and faster and to reach more and more people around the globe. Inventions in one place are copied almost overnight in other places. A world of sameness undermines classic theory of competitive advantage.

Fourth, from a conceptual standpoint, internationalization can tackle different questions: why, when, where and how firms internationalize. Seemingly, the why question has received most attention, both at the macro and the micro level as well as in MNC-oriented and SME-oriented studies. But, as internationalization is a process of increasing involvement in international operations (Luostarinen and Wen 1988), the how question should be equally important. The when (e.g., speed and timing) and where (e.g., reach and direction) questions should also be better incorporated into internationalization frameworks. One can ask whether the questions can be treated separately anymore. Furthermore, Kutschker, Bürlè and Schmid (1992) argue that there is no such thing as an internationalization process, but rather several simultaneous processes.

Needless to say, most theorizing has been bound by time and existing economic and political conditions. Some momentous issues of today - including ICT and globalization - challenge existing modeling on firm-environment mechanisms (Törnroos 2002). In addition, the role of culture and the interplay between national, business, and corporate cultures has not received proper attention in international business theorizing (Buckley 2002). Neither has the relationship between environmental variables and international marketing activities (Cavusgil and Nevin 1981).

In conclusion, prior research has been able to portrait many of the essentials of internationalization, but the concept testing and model building documented in the literature is not sufficient for clear-cut, comprehensive and up-to-date pronouncements on how SMEs accumulate international expertise and become increasingly committed to international business. Most of the bits and pieces are available, although scattered, either in the internationalization schools above or in other areas of international marketing. Next we aim at compiling these pieces into a meaningful framework.

A framework

Constructs

The proposed framework of SME-internationalization is portrayed in Figure 1. It consists of two dimension (temporal and spatial), three dichotomies (intentional-unintentional, steps-leaps, lively-networked) and four drivers (consecutiveness, instantaneousness, events, and connectedness). Together they answer the why, when, where and how questions of internationalization.
The temporal dimension is the time or speed of internationalization; it deals first and foremost with when-related questions like timing of start of action and length of action. Relevant time and speed aspects are (i) the time lag between the establishment of a firm and its first international activities, (ii) the time between subsequent market entries, and (iii) the time lag between the decision to go abroad and the first order. Although internationalization often is defined as a time-related process of increasing foreign involvement, internationalization and time have not generally been linked with each other (Hurmerinta-Peltomäki 2001), and the speed at which firms move between stages is often ignored in internationalization models (Leonidou and Katsikeas 1996).

Another important aspect is the spatial dimension, which grasps the magnitude of internationalization in terms of geographical reach (where). For one firm international means selling to one neighboring country, and for another a global reach with activities in all of the world’s continents. In its most simplistic form, the spatial dimension is a sheer number of foreign markets served. However, a high percentage of sales can be generated from abroad even with a limited number of foreign markets. Therefore, the selection of target markets and the build-up of a desired portfolio of countries is one of the most important issues facing the international firm (Wind and Robertson 1983).

In times of increased boundarylessness (Parker 1998), one can of course question whether a nation or country is the right unit of analysis. For our purpose here, the discussion on globalization (see, e.g., Tomroos 2002) is not as relevant as the notion that the internationalization drivers discussed below will correlate with the spatial dimension.

The organizational form of international entry (e.g., exporting, agents, subsidiaries, licensing, joint ventures), the what of internationalization, is largely bound by spatial and temporal contemplation.

The internationalization literature would suggest that there are three paired opposites relevant for concept building. They by and large describe how internationalization takes place. The first is the distinction between intentional and unintentional measures to go international. Intentional or planned measures are well documented in previous frameworks, whereas the unintentional habitually is degraded to a mere notion of outside proposals, unsolicited orders, or chance. The second dichotomy is the steps and leaps axis, where the former has been the main contribution of the Gradual Process School and the latter has induced the Born Global School. Finally, there is the question of how networked the international firm is. Obviously, a lonely firm, with only a small number of network positions, will face more challenges with internationalization both in terms of temporal and spatial considerations.

With these dimensions and dichotomies in mind, we propose that there are four major drivers of internationalization, which may work separately, but more likely simultaneously and interrelatedly, at least over time and space. These drivers do not necessarily describe the underlying reasons for and advantages of going international, but they give a reasonably good understanding of the triggers of why firms engage in operations in certain foreign markets.
Consequeutiveness

Most internationalization efforts are still planned efforts to broaden the window of opportunity for products and services. Actions follow in a regular order, or in other words, one thing leads to another. Familiarity of market interest in international business, encouraged or discouraged by the performance of previous action, will influence the manner in which a firm views, negotiates, and consummates transactions with foreign players.

In general, the choice of markets follows three considerations. First, the attractiveness of a particular market, that is, the market potential or strategic importance of a market, should be the paramount reason for entry. Internationalization is worthwhile only as long as foreign markets can provide profits. Attraction is not only a function of market potential, but also a measure of how competitive the firm can be in that particular market. Usually it is not possible for an SME to penetrate several markets simultaneously, and therefore the attractiveness will decide the order of entry. Foreign activities can also be initiated by clustering markets instead of following a slower sequential process of one market at a time.

Second, experience in foreign markets can be gained gradually by starting out with “easier” markets. These are not necessarily the geographically closest ones, but rather culturally the closest.

Third, firms may choose markets or locations as they have become enclaves of growth, and/or to follow others, e.g., competitors, suppliers, or customers, who have chosen these locations. These hot markets (e.g., Silicon Valley and the Iohore Triangle in South-East Asia) could be referred to as “sticky places in slippery space” (Markvart 1997). This is close to the bandwagon effect presented by Aharoni (1966); foreign operations are triggered by successful activities abroad by a competitor, or by a general belief that investment in some area is a must.

Instantaneousness

Incorporating the temporal aspect of today’s world order, and some of the criticism against the stages construct, gives ground for quantum leap, based on inceptive advantages, as a driver for internationalization. Although a notion of born global is a bit too ambitious, some start-ups may be induced by international demand and thus experience rapid penetration of foreign markets. Globalization – the dissolution of hinders to a global geographic reach (Olmsted 1995; Törnroos 2002) – technology, and a new global generation, which has more market knowledge and who consider psychic distance shorter, has sped up internationalization at least in some industries. In smaller economies and in some industries, international business may also be a major pre-request for survival.

Another aspect facilitating internationalization from the inception is asset spillover, especially in spin-off businesses. This means that a start-up or an entrepreneur may possess technical or human skills, network positions, or customer relationships, which have been gained elsewhere. This past loadedness can facilitate and speed up the entry of foreign markets (Lindqvist 1994). Similarly, a larger corporation can establish new businesses that benefit from existing infrastructure and experience. For example, firms established as university spin-offs, e.g., in biotech, usually enjoy extensive international relations through world symposia and research activities.

Events

Internationalization is not always a consequence of a planned strategy. Unsolicited foreign inquiries and orders may be a result of international promotion activities (such as trade shows, advertising, www home pages, and word-of-mouth) or external events. Reality is loaded with events that are unforeseeable and take business actors by surprise, and, hence, events can be used as a construct in building a coherent framework for business markets (Törnroos and Hedau 1997). These events can be man-made (intended or unintended), nature-based (e.g., earthquakes, drought, flood, volcano eruptions, hurricanes, bird flu), or nature-based events caused and enforced by human acts (e.g., global warming and diseases). Man-made events can vary from macro events, like monetary crises, war, technology development, and new legislation, to micro events, like product launches, delivery problems, and price wars.

What is common for these outside, and seemingly non-connected and distant events is that they can affect entire markets and industries as well as individual firms either positively or negatively. New, increased, or reduced demand for a particular product can alter existing business networks and lead to supplier switching, which in turn may be the catapult for
internationalization. For example, an earthquake or factory fire may cause a severe shortage of key components, which may become the reason for computer manufacturers to miss delivery times, which, in turn, means that their distribution channels will consider other suppliers to be able to service end-users.

**Connectedness**

It is likely that network connections could both speed up the internationalization process as well as broaden the market portfolio of the international firm. Business networks are dynamic, temporally and spatially embedded socially constructed entities. They build on mutually beneficial gains and input constellations, and thus they offer a good potential for individual participants to extend business operations. Networks will eventually evolve in an intentional manner or indirectly via other actors and relationships in a way that firms become international. For example, a firm with little experience in international business is prone to rely on foreign trade promotion agencies or piggy-backing to get started. In other words, it utilizes the network position of others. Once it gets started, it will build a wider network. When it enjoys positions in several networks, it gets easier access to external resources as well as some influence over these resources (Johnson and Mattson 1988).

Although internationalization generally is seen as an outward activity, it can also include a backward element as well (Luostarinen and Welch 1988). That is, firms may gradually be drawn into international business operations through their input channels, mainly purchasing and logistics. These inbound networks thus deal with supply and sourcing management, contrary to the outbound networks dealing with channel management.

The internationalization move may be unintentional, as the initiative to enter a market may come from some other participants of the network. In this way, firms may be pulled abroad from purely domestic networks as well (Johnson and Mattson 1988). For example, a distributor in one particular market may decide to extend its distribution to another country, thus paving the way for its supplier to share the accomplishments in this new market.

**A case study**

The internationalization challenge faced by the following case company may serve to illustrate and integrate the constructs presented above.

**The Company**

Teleste Corporation is a global high tech company specialized in broadband communications networks. Established in 1954, Teleste has developed into a technology leader, today generating over €100 million and employing about 550 people. Its Broadband Cable Networks division is the European market leader in supplying networks for cable TV, cable telephony, and fast internet access applications. The other division, Video Networks, has positioned itself as a global leader in the market for advanced video surveillance networks. In 2001, Teleste made it to the Fortune 500 list of medium-sized companies.

Teleste Video Networks (hereafter TVN) was established in 1998. The corporate management wanted to expand Teleste’s broadband communication portfolio to get more mass for the pending flotation (Teleste was listed on the Helsinki Stock Exchange in 1999). On the one hand, the surveillance market was seen as a growth market, and, on the other hand, this was a chance to capitalize on Teleste’s core competence, fiber transmission technology, by bringing it into a new area.

TVN’s business concept is to provide advanced video transmission networks for CCTV applications in the fields of intelligent transportation systems (ITS), public security (city center monitoring) and private security (industrial and corporate surveillance). The solution provided by TVN is part of a larger entity, thus meaning that the typical customer base is a system integrator, operator or installer of CCTV systems.

**The Internationalization Process**

The objective set by TVN in 1998 was very ambitious, to become the global market leader in its niche business within three years. The competition was fragmented, and with a few exceptions, the players were small in size (annual sales less than $10 million) and with limited foreign business. Most of the competitors were US based, other key players came from Canada, Netherlands, UK, France and Australia. TSN was suffering from the, from a Finnish perspective,
typical small home market syndrome, meaning that the potential company size was directly related to the degree of internationalization.

The market portfolio increased year by year, and, as a result, TVN's sales revenue grew 50-100% per annum. In TVN’s field, business was not swift, meaning that the time from offer to agreement to actual delivery could take years, normally not less than a year. In its first year, TVN lived on two countries, the UK and Finland, and only a handful of customers. Nevertheless, one of the UK customers is still today TVN’s biggest customer by far. The business inception was facilitated by the early sign-up of a big customer. The following year, TVN struck its first deals in Germany, Netherlands, France and South Africa. In 2000, business was extended to the US and parts of Asia, and the year after that, operations covered Latin America, China and the Pacific.

By the end of 2001, three years after its establishment, TVN had reached its objective of being the global market leader in high quality video transmission networks. With 10 own sales offices around the world, value added resellers in the most important markets, and with reference projects in more than 60 countries, one can argue that TVN has succeeded in its internationalization efforts.

For most part, the mode of entry was own sales office (greenfield), value added resellers or local or international distributors. Acquisitions were not considered as a way of market entry in the early years, but rather as a weapon to be used later to extend the scope of business (for instance, by acquiring new technology or by integrating horizontally). TVN worked under a parable of global presence, local relevance. In some markets relevance entailed own operations, not only due to market size, but also due to requirements like local language, after sales, inventory, and technical support, as well as goodwill in general. The philosophy was to find a local manager, preferably one working for a competitor, thus having access to the market players, and equipping this person with a technical support person from Finland, thus facilitating the dialogue between the headquarters and the field.

The second important mode was to work through so called ATVARs (Authorized Teleste Value Added Resellers) in key markets were TVN did not have its own physical set-up. These VARs actively promoted, sold and supported products on TVNs behalf by adding value to the supply chain and thus earning revenue to TVN on a regular basis. Typically, they were representatives, contractors, or system integrators, and they ensured that TVN was aware of, and involved in, all major projects taken place in their markets. They received a certificate guaranteeing that they were TVN’s preferred partner in a specific market, meaning that they were offered full service, best conditions (e.g., delivery priorities), and insight into product roadmaps, and, in turn, they were not supposed to carry any competitive products.

In addition to these arrangements, TVN signed up a large number of distributors, both local (specific to one market) and international players, with whom the partnerships were on a much less formal level. For instance, they could represent several video transmission suppliers at the same time, and thus caution had to be used in all dealings.

TVN’s policy was not to offer any player exclusivity, although many VARs and distributors specifically asked for it. The reason for this policy was twofold. First, TVN could not guarantee that its products were not sold into a particular market by some of its international partners (e.g., a German partner selling TVN equipment into Malaysia without TVN knowing about it). Second, exclusivity would leave the other players in a particular market open for its competitors, which could be harmful for TVN’s partner as well. Instead, TVN offered preferred partner treatment, which meant that partners would get the best deal from TVN in their markets and that TVN tried to direct other possible customers and requests to the partners.

The internationalization analysis is divided into four sections. First, most markets were intentionally chosen, and thus a result of incremental steps. Second, whereas most markets were penetrated systematically and step-wise, some could be referred to as an acute leap, as they came onboard quickly. Third, some of the market presence was not part of the initial, intentional market selection, but rather a result of outside events. Finally, when the company extended its business network, it also intentionally or unintentionally got access to new markets through its new business partners.

Consecutive Steps

The internationalization of Teleste Corporation followed a very traditional pattern of going from close-by-markets (Scandinavia in the 1960-70’s) to more remote markets (UK and Central Europe in the 1980-90’s) along with increased knowledge of and commitment to exporting. However, for TSN, geographic closeness was not an issue, rather the consecutive steps taken
were based on market attractiveness. Nevertheless, cultural closeness was important, as some of the markets chosen in the first wave were considered easier and quicker to enter than others (for instance, from a Finnish perspective, the British business culture seemed easier to cope with than the French business culture). Also, the strategy was first to become a serious European contender before going full-scale into the Americas and Asia-Pacific regions.

One particular problem in many specialized industries is the lack of relevant market data. The TVN management could not rely on any specific source to assess the potential of different markets. The market selection was rather an outcome of a number of facts combined with educated guesses. The actual decision to enter a particular market was preceded by so called fact-finding trips, for instance, to meet market players or to visit local trade shows. Key markets were plotted on an attractiveness-competitiveness chart. Market attractiveness was a factor of market size and growth (measured in $), whereas the estimated competitiveness in each market was assessed based on number of competitors, technical status (analog or digital market) technical adaptation requirements (different technical standards, for instance, PAL versus NTSC), and other entry barriers. At TVN it was decided that two markets in particular had to be conquered. In Europe, the UK was by far the biggest market. On a global scale, the US stood for about half of the market.

Another consideration in the incremental process was the magnetism of certain places. This would also mean that several of the players in the field followed each other to benefit from these places. For TVN, the hot markets could be a result of pure market size (e.g., security market in the US) or the prospect of sizeable projects known to everyone followed open procurement processes (e.g., traffic projects in the UK), but also of logistics issues (e.g., Singapore being an entry point to the Asian market, or Texas being a central location for the US market) and know-how and innovation considerations (e.g., South-Eastern region of the UK). The hottest markets due to potential - US, UK, China – attracted all the main competitors. Different methods were used by the players (distribution arrangements, greenfield investments and acquisitions), and by the end of the day, only a few of the attempts really succeeded. For a technology company, the innovation spots were key in terms of access to skilled labor. TVN had to establish one of its R&D centers in Tampere in Finland to benefit from the software know-how in that area. In the UK, TVN was located in the South-Eastern region, this being the technology hot spot, even though this location made rents and salaries much higher.

In general, markets were divided into three classes. The first group was the must-be-in markets, or the broad-and-butter markets (referring to steady income enabling further expansion). These were systematically approached, and the mode of entry was own representation or sales office. The markets were UK, Germany, France, Spain, USA and China. In addition, an office in Singapore worked as a regional center for Asia-Pacific. All offices had a local manager in charge. The finding of the right person proved to be difficult, and the recruitment process was decisive for the location as well as the time of setting up the office. For instance, the operations in the US started with a distribution agreement with two of TVN’s competitors. These two players needed a particular product that TVN offered, but they did not promote other TVN products as they had similar products of their own. These arrangements were terminated immediately when a suitable person was found to run TVN’s own office.

The European offices were set up first, then the US offices (main office in Texas, the others in Maryland and California) and the Singapore office, and finally the Chinese office (Shanghai was picked due to its business climate). The Chinese market was first targeted from an office in Singapore, but eventually this proved to be insufficient, and the office in Singapore focused on other Asia-Pacific markets instead. One exception in this group was South Africa, which proved to be a real cash cow. In this country, TVN operated through a couple of resellers, but market selection was based on outside events, as described later.

The second group was the nice-to-have markets, that is, markets that were important, but not as main revenue generators on their own. In these markets, TVN was present through so-called VARs. Some of these markets were added to the portfolio by intentional moves and others by outside events or network connectedness. In 2001, TVN had about twenty-five VARs.

The third group was the lukewarm-markets. Some of the markets in this group were actually studied, but degraded due to unattractive market potential or high entry barriers. One example being India, for which plans of sales office were prevailing for some time, but after a rather lengthy and thorough on-the-site analysis all plans were dropped.
Inceptive Leaps

Although most of the international market penetration advanced through consecutive steps, some quantum leaps that enabled faster internationalization are noteworthy.

First, to some extent it could be said that TVN was born internationally as it was part of an already international company. All things did not have to be started from scratch as some of the key persons were experienced in exporting. For instance, two of them were transferred from the Broadband Cable division's subsidiary in the UK, and thus greatly facilitated a rapid penetration of the UK market. However, in the beginning the corporation tried to use the same offices, and in some instances even the same people, for its two divisions in the UK, Germany, Belgium and Holland, but this proved to be a dead-end. After a short trial, separate offices, people and concepts were established in all markets. Synergy was also sought in the choice of distributors, but this was also a waste of time. Semantically, either division could, of course, argue that Teleste was present in a certain market, thus possibly gaining some goodwill.

Second, although Teleste’s two divisions are totally different in terms of business conception and revenue logics, some kind of asset spill-over enhanced a few of the internationalization endeavors. The most important one was related to technology, as some of the advanced technology used for the CATV solutions offered by Teleste could be passed on to the CCTV solutions as well. This gave TVN a product edge, which importance cannot be stressed enough, especially in entering the US market. Some of Teleste’s existing CATV customers were also presented with the possibility of extending their business into CCTV. This possibility eventually faded away, as most of the CATV operators ran into financial problems due to wrong UMTS investments.

External Events

In addition to the planned, or intentional, moves to extend the market coverage, the process was impacted by unplanned events that created sudden exposure or pull. In general, the CCTV business was and is characterized by an ongoing debate on the propriety of camera surveillance. In times of tragic accidents, the debate becomes favorable. For instance, in the early 90’s, camera surveillance solved a British case, where two older boys kidnapped a four-year-old boy from a shopping mall and then killed him. This calamity kicked of a state sponsored CCTV born not witnessed in any other country. In a similar way, the 9/11 events initiated discussion about installing 10 million cameras in the US. Although these events impacted on the city surveillance industry in general, TVN managed to become the number one supplier in the video network schemes in the UK, thanks to being a supplier to BT, who picked up most of the integration orders. Another outside trend boosting CCTV was the environmental concern for traffic jams and consequent pollution. Here video surveillance could smoothen traffic and thus improve traffic conditions in urban areas.

The list of particular events that paved the way for TVN in foreign markets is long. In South Africa, TVN’s entry was sped up after local terrorists had blasted a bomb in the Planet Hollywood establishment in Cape Town. This started a chain, where TVN was called upon and eventually built up a strong position in the market.

Macro-economic conditions impacted both negatively and positively on the internationalization process. The economic downturn in the Far East put TVN’s aspirations in Malaysia on ice for a long time. China’s membership of the WTO, again, facilitated the Chinese market penetration, a direct consequence being TVN’s decision to open an own office in China. To some extent related occurred were the decisions of who would host the Olympic games. Sydney 2000, Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008 were all projects that suddenly brought a new dimension to TVN’s business in these countries as well as to business with international suppliers of equipment for the Olympics.

Mother Nature intervened in a few cases. The humidity in Singapore proved to be too much for a competitive product, and as the temperature specifications of TVN’s products were better, the Singaporean customer was not late to change supplier. In one Dutch application, the ventilation holes of the transmission equipment were so big that ants entered and damaged the equipment. Again, a change of supplier had to take place. The earthquake in Taiwan in 2000 was devastating for the local component industry, which in turn lead to global component shortages that ruined many equipment manufacturers delivery times. Thanks to its inventory buffer and subsequent short delivery time, TVN managed to mitigate customer churn and unsolicited orders.

An external event of relevance for TVN was the ongoing technological shift. Old analog transmission systems were upgraded to digital systems, and traditional fiber-based transmission solutions were challenged by new technologies like ATM and IP. In this technology revolution,
TVN was well equipped due to the technology know-how within the corporation. As a result, TVN could convince several of the players in those countries were new technologies were introduced to change to its own, more modern and less expensive solutions. In this process, the competitive climate of TVN actually changed, as it surpassed the traditional opposition with old technology and met new opposition from some of the big- league technology companies. However, as these big players primarily offered solutions for other applications than CCTV, they could not meet TVN’s cost advantage.

Unsolicited requests from new markets were also initiated through international trade show participation, internet-home pages and word-of-mouth.

Network Connectedness

The entire business of TVN was a mismatch of business networks. End-customers preferred to buy total CCTV solutions from one supplier, mainly a contractor or system integrator, who, in turn, sourced the needed elements – cameras, monitors, transmission, software, etc. - either direct from manufacturers or indirect from distributors.

Eventually, TVN started to have a network of end-users, system integrators, consultants, distributors, and other partners, of which most were rather local in nature, but some of them operated on an international scale. The latter ones could thus introduce TVN to new markets and players. In some cases this was a result of TVN’s intentional efforts to find international partners with whom several markets could be penetrated, and in some case the extension to third countries was pure coincidence.

When TVN negotiated a distributorship with an American based firm to supply its products to the US market, it also got access to the firm’s global network. The agreement with a key German distributor was important for business in Germany, but it also paved the way for the first deals in Switzerland and Hungary through the distributor’s subsidiaries. The headquarters of several other CCTV suppliers were targeted with the aim of being able to sell to these companies’ subsidiaries and distributors in foreign markets. Sometimes the process was initiated through discussion with one subsidiary, which was expected to introduce TVN to other subsidiaries or to the headquarters.

Whereas the examples above where based on intentional efforts, other networks were established unintentionally. In Europe, TVN was dealing with a Danish supplier of CCTV equipment. Thanks to this connection and the supplier’s subsidiary in Lebanon, TVN’s suddenly got a break through in the Middle East markets. With the Italian partner, TVN’s main purpose was to cover the Italian market. However, this partner introduced TVN to some of the Balkan countries as well. A similar case was the South African VAR who also distributed Teleste’s products into other Southern African countries.

Furthermore, TVN’s most important customer was the market leader in CCTV systems in the British market. Its solution, including the transmission element provided by TVN, was copied by operators in other countries like Iceland and the US. With a Swedish company, TVN established a joint R&D program. The manager of this company had his roots in Poland, and thus insisted on distributing TVN’s products in the Polish market.

Discussion

In this paper, I have tinted some of the weaknesses in internationalization theorizing, as well as stressed the importance of finding a new gear in building a simple model of managerial value. My ambition here was not to invent the all-time model of internationalization, but rather to contradict the missing tradition of building upon the findings of previous research found by Cavusgil and Nevin (1981), to glean knowledge from other disciplines as recommended by Leonidou and Katsikeas (1996), to avoid the common research replication trap found by Bradley (1987), and to reflect the business environment of today. It is interesting to note that this study was initiated both by an academic call to upgrade and validate internationalization constructs, and by an inductive call to anchor the empirical reality of one company within a conceptual framework. The analysis of my case company proved earlier internationalization frameworks to be insufficient. Although the presentation here is limited to one case study, my work with several other companies seems to validate the merits of the proposed framework.

In terms of the state and significance of internationalization research, several large issues remain to be settled.
What is international today? Much of the research thrust has been based on the assumption of existing and real national borders. However, these borders have become thin and sometimes almost invisible. Is, for instance, intra-EU trade international business? Contextual and conceptual considerations do need to change when the world is becoming if not borderless, at least more of a global-regional-local entity than a place of national systems (Törnroos 2002). At the same time, the term international seems to have different meanings and connotations to various researchers in the field of international business (Albaum and Peterson 1984).

What is internationalization today? The first aspect of the question is a practical one. Has internationalization become easier? Cross-border distribution and logistics systems are made easier by new technologies, information systems, infrastructure developments, and free-trade agreements. It may thus be easier to physically move products and services across borders, but winning a customer is still the fundamental business. Hence, many of the international marketing challenges remain, although with a new flavor. The other aspect of the question is more philosophical. There may be consensus that internationalization is an extension of business activities beyond a firm’s home market, but what aspects fall within internationalization and what aspects belong to a greater domain like international marketing or international business? Internationalizing is much more than a decision to enter a foreign market or a choice of entry mode. Therefore, one can ask to what extent internationalization can be studied as a separate paradigm anymore?

Is there a need for internationalization theory? Since neither international business (Toyne 1989; Toyne and Nigh 1997) nor international marketing (Albaum and Peterson 1984; Bradley 1987; Samiee 1996) has a theoretical foundation, how could there be a solid theoretical perspective on internationalization? For instance, to explain the selection of markets and the choice of entry form, one has to rely on location theory, industrial organization theory, property rights theory, and transaction cost theory (Calvet 1981). Prior research is thwarted by the vastness of the global environment, the pernicious number of uncontrollable variables, and the intricacy of their interrelations. Many still tend to subscribe to Hawkins’ (1984) observation that “international business is a potpourri of functional fields with occasional theorizing and conceptualizing which does not yet come together into a coherent package of received wisdom.”

Maybe it is time to admit that the mother of all theories is not possible to invent. Of relevance is the paradigm inquiry question posed by Toyne and Nigh (1997): what knowledge do we seek, for what purpose, for whose benefit, and why? Samiee (1996) argue that practitioner-oriented research is far more important than the more esoteric and theoretical aspects with limited managerial implications. But, as noted three decades ago (Schollhammer 1973), theoretical-abstract frameworks are needed to provide the focal point for extensive empirical research. The beneficiaries also depend on whether internationalization is treated at a macro-level or at a micro-level, or whether the purpose is to contribute to the body of knowledge or to give guidelines of how important problems can be solved.

From a managerial perspective, the key interest is on how different internationalization measures impact on performance. But, factors that are found to underlie success in one study are found not to be important in another, so that no clear and consistent picture emerges (Karnath et al. 1987; Aaby and Slater 1989). The reason could be that the quality of management is the single greatest determinant of a firm’s export success (e.g., Bilkey 1978). And, as long as the key, underlying factor is the individual decision-maker, normative generalization and modeling becomes awkward. In terms of internationalization, one could argue that a faster penetration of markets, a wider market portfolio, and a deeper establishments in target markets is likely to generate a higher level of economic performance. This, in turn, could be achieved through a systematically planned and implemented extension agenda, flavored with an active hunt for network positions, and an open and flexible mind in terms of event-induced possibilities. However, the business rationale for internationalization should be long-term growth and development rather than short-term profit, and hence the real profitability will be a result of the implementation of international marketing programs (see e.g., Madsen 1989; Samiee and Roth 1992; Cavusgil and Zou 1994).

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NON-EQUITY INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC ALLIANCES
AND RELATIONSHIP MARKETING: ISSUES AND
DIRECTIONS

Preface

I am pleased to have the opportunity to contribute to this volume in honor of Professor Olle Ancar, Vice-Rector, Abo Akademi University, on the occasion of his 65th birthday. As much of my research is centered on international marketing, I have chosen to share some thoughts regarding international marketing alliances in this essay. Since the rationale for engaging in marketing alliances is, at least to some extent, a reduction in transaction cost, the underlying theoretical footing for the topic is embedded in economics and, therefore, it is hoped that it will be of interest to Professor Ancar.

International strategic alliances have become increasingly popular during the last two decades. As competition intensified, firms sought to develop partnerships abroad with a variety of customers, suppliers, competitors, and third-party firms. A significant portion of alliances formed are non-equity in nature. Although a great deal is known about international joint ventures, literature dealing with non-equity alliances is scant and, thus, little is known about their strategic intents, types, durations, formality, and partners’ financial and managerial commitment. Additionally, the literature is impoverished with regard to the performance of non-equity alliances in light of such critical environmental factors as the dominant culture of participants and characteristics of the alliance. Information regarding the formation of alliances gathered for this study highlights the importance of non-equity forms of partnerships in the international arena. In the sections that follow, research challenges, conceptualization, and directions for future projects in the area are discussed.

Introduction

Ongoing relational exchanges are replacing short-term transaction-based trades at an increasing rate (Fournier 1998; Webster 1992), thus heightening the strategic importance of alliances and relationship marketing both in practice and as an area of inquiry. Marketing and international business scholars have demonstrated much interest in investigating exchange and collaborative relationships from this perspective during the 1990s. Alliances have gained widespread acceptance because they offer competencies or capabilities that one or more partners may be lacking. Domestic alliances may be aimed at greater efficiencies or performance levels which cannot be attained by alliance partners independently. The popularity of international strategic alliances (ISAs) is reflected in their significant annual growth rate which is estimated to exceed 25 percent since 1985 (Pekar and Allio 1994; Day 1995).

Although the literature dealing with equity-based alliances such as joint ventures has proliferated over the years, little effort has been expended to develop a comprehensive understanding of non-equity ISAs. As such, little is known regarding strategic intents, types, durations, levels of formality, and partners’ financial and managerial commitments of non-equity ISAs.* Furthermore, performance issues of non-equity ISAs in light of such critical environmental factors as the dominant culture of participants and characteristics of the alliance have not been explored. This article focuses on these issues. In the sections that follow, the nature of international alliances, their rationale, their characteristics, and the research challenges are discussed and a research agenda is proposed.

The Nature of International Strategic Alliances

Numerous advantages can result from a successful alliance. The advantages offered by ISAs include market knowledge, market access (including allowing faster access to new or

* Among others, alliances are critical in developing new products, establishing universal standards, or gaining market dominance in a particular niche. Alliances between Apple Computer, IBM, and Motorola to develop the PowerPC processor, between Philips and Sony to develop the format for Compact Disc, and between Kodak, Fuji, Nikon, Canon and Minolta to develop the Advanced Photo System are representative of this group.
saturated markets), technology, and spreading the risks associated with doing business abroad. Strategic alliances are dependent on relationships among partner firms working toward common goals. Internationally, the advantages of alliances are potentially greater than for domestic ones. Distance, time, language, and cultural, legal, and other barriers create information and resource asymmetries which enhance the attractiveness of ISAs vis-à-vis domestic ones. The lack of foreign market knowledge and expertise, and cultural and political differences offer added advantages to maintaining longer term relationships. Indeed, much of the investment and planning for distribution channels is rarely intended to be short term in duration. Finding new paths for distribution is oftentimes difficult as competitors are constantly vying to solidify their existing relationships. Available options for establishing new channel arrangements and relationships are few and expensive.

The list of firms and industries engaging in ISAs is long. As with domestic alliances, ISAs figure prominently in the strategies of high technology firms because the velocity at which newer products are introduced is generally much faster than in other industries. Whereas high technology firms are interested in the timely penetration of global markets before a particular product is superseded by the next generation of products, low-technology firms can also access the necessary capabilities through ISAs to enter highly competitive or saturated markets. Alliances between Nestlé and General Mills and between Nestlé and PepsiCo are but two examples of low-technology ISAs aimed at cultivating mature and highly competitive markets (Therrien 1992).

Relationships that define ISAs may take numerous forms and, at least in theory, may involve several partners. International joint ventures (IJVs) which require equity participation have a long history and much scholarly work has been devoted to studying the subject, particularly from the perspectives of market entry mode and performance determinants. At the other extreme are the informal agreements without equity participation between businesses in two or more countries to accomplish a common goal or a task critical to both firms. The latter form of ISAs is of particular interest in international marketing because many facets of marketing involve ongoing dependence on a number of firms, e.g., suppliers, distributors, wholesalers, retailers, export management firms and advertising agencies.

Presumably, the attractiveness of engaging in ISAs is its potential for greater long-term profitability. However, there is no empirical evidence that economic gains resulting from ISAs are superior in long-term relational exchanges. The absence of marketing studies aimed at assessing ISAs is in part understandable because numerous definitional and methodological issues remain unresolved. For example, what attributes differentiate an ISA from a transaction-based relationship? Should marketing relationships be based on shared vision, trust, and commitment or should they be contractually based? If not formalized in a contractual sense, what procedures will various parties use to alter or terminate the relationship?

A number of studies, largely within the management discipline, have examined various aspects of ISAs. However, little is known about non-equity marketing ISAs. The objective here is to explore issues pertaining to non-equity ISAs in marketing.

The Rationale for ISAs

The most common rationale for engaging in ISAs is the accelerated change in the international business environment, including the formation and enlargement of prominent trading blocks, accelerated technological breakthroughs, the intensification of global competition, and innovative distribution strategies (Ohmae 1989). Firms in high technology industries, for example, face relatively short product life cycles and, in an effort to recover their investment and profit from their innovations, form ISAs to rapidly penetrate relevant markets before their products become obsolete. That is, the time frame during which a particular technology is competitive is much shorter (Robertson 1993; Samiee and Roth 1992), and rapid international market access and penetration assist in significantly reducing the average total cost of the technology being marketed.

An issue of great importance for managers and researchers alike is why alliances, particularly non-equity ones, should be preferred to other forms of market presence. Though the advantages offered by ISA partners for greater competitiveness in world markets are probably real, firms with whom these alliances are expected to compete remain strong contenders even without such arrangements (Johansson 1995). That is, what underlying factors explain the intensity of competition without ISAs and why should ISAs be expected to be stronger competitors than firms entering the market independently? The main problem faced by
researchers and managers is that little information is available regarding the number, breadth and depth, success rate, or profitability of non-equity ISAs. Furthermore, there is no evidence that greater profitability results from ISAs vis-à-vis other alternatives.

Theoretical Frameworks

A number of theoretical frameworks for analyzing ISAs have been suggested in the literature. Das and Teng (1998a), for example, propose six possible approaches: transaction cost economics, game theory, exchange theory, strategic behavior model, dialectical model, and resource-based view. However, their very nature, the majority of these theories are not suitable for studying ISAs. It is not the objective of this study to examine each approach; however, weaknesses inherent in some theories are worth noting. The appropriateness of transaction cost economics for examining ISAs, for example, is open to question because of its focus on single transactions as the unit of analysis (Doh and Prahalad 1991). Strategic alliances, particularly the non-equity form of partnerships, rely on relational contracting (Dore 1983) as well as the reputation and expertise of partners. As such transaction cost analysis cannot explain the relationship between entities within a keiretsu or between Japanese auto manufacturers and their suppliers (Doh and Prahalad 1991). Agency theory, on the other hand, examines management control issues vis-à-vis relationships involving entities defined as principal and agent and offers a good basis for examining ISAs.

In general, much of the scholarly work in international alliance has leveraged off existing theories rather than attempting to develop appropriate paradigms for explaining alliance formations, behaviors, and outcomes. International business scholars have not adequately leveraged off existing theories (Doh and Prahalad 1991) presumably because the frameworks developed in organization theory based on simpler forms of organizations in domestic settings do not readily lend themselves to the complex nature of international business issues, activities, and problems.

Characteristics of ISAs

The centrality of relationship principles between entities has long been recognized in the marketing literature (Berry 1983; Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh 1987; Webster 1992). ISAs and the relationships that emerge among partners are aimed at tapping into partners' resources and capabilities, improving the level of inter-firm communications, and realizing joint goals. In turn, ISAs are expected to result in improved business process and plan development and implementation, leading to superior organizational and financial performance for all parties in the arrangement.

Conceptually, non-equity marketing ISAs should be viewed as a central component of the relationship marketing paradigm. For one thing, as the power in the distribution channel has gradually shifted from the manufacturer to the distributor (Weitz and Jap 1995), the need for closer ties between channel members has intensified. For another, firms seeking to enter global markets frequently lack the necessary capabilities which are expensive and time-consuming to develop internally. Thus, it makes strategic sense to identify areas in which the firm can benefit from ISAs and to selectively allocate increased resources to alliances that have the promise of producing improved results. IBM has hundreds of non-equity alliances (Hit, Tyler, Hardee, Park 1995), mostly for product development (customized software development which later become a part of the firm's portfolio of products and services). The firm allocates both human resources and the necessary finances to ensure the success of these products (Bruten and Samiee 1998).

The much touted ISA between General Mills and Nestlé, for example, involved an investment of $80 million by each partner (Knowlton 1991). Additionally, research has demonstrated that such alliances are ideal for firms facing intense competition, seeking avenues for growth, and as means of bypassing high market barriers to entry (Dickinson and Ramaseshan 2004).

The lack of a systematic method for identifying and tracking non-equity alliances has made scholarly inquiries in this important area difficult. It is clear that some firms depend heavily on non-equity international alliances whereas others have none. However, alliances are not routinely reported and when reported, their purpose is frequently unknown. An examination of alliance announcements offers evidence in this regard. The Wall Street Journal Index was screened for news of alliance formations for a 5-year period. Approximately 200 alliances of which 100 were of non-equity type between U.S. and non-U.S. partners were identified. This relatively low number demonstrates the difficulty researchers face when seeking to identify and study the full range of non-equity alliances.
Additionally, the very limited information offered in each announcement makes a comprehensive classification of alliances difficult. Nonetheless, the data reveal some basic information about non-equity alliances. As shown in Table 1, the majority of alliances are among high technology, chemical, and pharmaceutical firms.

Table 1
Non-equity International Strategic Alliances Formed by U.S.-Based Firms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry*</th>
<th>Incidents</th>
<th>Industry*</th>
<th>Incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Computer &amp; Office Equipment</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Holding Companies</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical &amp; Pharmaceuticals</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Rubber &amp; Plastic Products</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wholesale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronic Components</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aircraft</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum Refining</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Electrical Industrial Apparatus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Kindred Products</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Electric Transmission</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications Equipment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Health Services</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel &amp; Lodging</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Heavy Construction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Audio &amp; Video</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Household Appliances</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Vehicles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Industrial Machinery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgical &amp; Medical Instruments</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Measurement Instruments</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco Products</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Natural Gas Distribution</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical Machinery</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Oil &amp; Gas Extraction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass &amp; Gypsum Products</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Resins</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship &amp; Boat Building</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Parent firms’ primary industries.
Source: The Wall Street Journal Index. The data base contains about 500 alliances and joint ventures of which 100 are non-equity based between American and foreign partners.

A number of issues regarding non-equity ISAs need to be addressed in order to accommodate future research projects. As noted earlier, available information regarding ISAs is scant and attention to key aspects of such partnerships will assist in this regard. In order to better structure and organize the subject matter, attention to key components of ISAs, i.e., definition, strategic intent, alliance type, the influence of culture, the degree of formality, duration, finance and managerial commitment, and performance issues is necessary.

Definition. A wide range of terminologies is used to describe strategic alliances and its various aspects have been examined using such terms as partnering, business or strategic alliances, strategic networks, inter-organizational linkages, inter-firm cooperation, collaborative agreements, quasi-integration strategies, cooperative strategies, coalition strategies, collective strategies, corporate linkages, relational marketing, symbiotic marketing, and co-marketing alliances (Morgan and Hunt 1994; Varadarajan and Cunningham 1995). ISAs are based on cross-national inter-organizational cooperative arrangements which are expected to accomplish goals which, in theory, are thought to be unattainable by individual members of the alliance. The definition offered by Parke (1991, p. 581), i.e., "relatively enduring inter-firm cooperative arrangements, involving flows and linkages that utilize resources and/or governance structures from autonomous organizations, for the joint accomplishment of individual goals linked to the corporate mission of each sponsoring firm" captures this notion and is representative of the academic understanding and expectation of the nature of ISAs.

The data available through various sources give no indication as to the nature of the alliances formed. However, alliance partners and their headquarters are frequently identified. As shown in Table 2, virtually all non-equity ISAs reported in the business press is among larger firms. Firms such as AT&T, GE, IBM, and Merck are reported to maintain large numbers of alliances are thus figured prominently on this list. About one-half of the alliances were with firms based in Western Europe. However, U.S. firms possess more alliances with Japanese concerns than with any other country. As shown in Table 3, among European alliance partners, the U.K., Germany, and France were reported to have formed more alliances with U.S. firms than other European nations.

Table 2
Non-equity International Strategic Alliances Partners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Number of Alliances</th>
<th>Foreign Partners</th>
<th>Number of Alliances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Warner-Lambert</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT&amp;T</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>NEC</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merck &amp; Company</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Toshiba</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Microsystems</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mitsubishi Electric</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texaco</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>BASF</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson &amp; Johnson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>British Petroleum</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apple Computer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chi-Chie</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorola</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cie. des Machines Bull</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford Motor Company</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fujitsu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compaq Computer Corp.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hitachi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Electric Company</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kia Motors</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Morris</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Samsung Electronics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas Instruments</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1U.S. and Foreign partners with two or more alliances are shown.
Table 3
Non-Equity International Strategic Alliances: Most Active Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Partner</th>
<th>Number of Alliances</th>
<th>Foreign Partner</th>
<th>Number of Alliances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Strategic Fit and Intent.** Two strategic aspects of ISAs are of critical importance. First, alliances must fit within the strategic framework of each partner. The strategic importance of the ISA to a partner governs the extent to which the firm commits and focuses on the alliance. Thus, alliances that more closely match a firm’s mission and strategy are afforded greater attention. In distribution channel arrangements, for example, some dyad (e.g., supplier-firm) or triad (e.g., supplier-producer-customer) relationships are more important to the strategic goals of the partners than others and firms naturally gravitate toward developing long-term relationships with these firms (cf. Arndt 1979). Therefore, a common strategic thrust is critical in nurturing the relationship (Bagozzi 1974), and ISAs succeed only to the extent that partners share a single vision with regards to the importance of the alliance and its objectives vis-à-vis their own strategic goals. Furthermore, there is some indication that smaller and simpler alliances which tend to be more focused have a higher likelihood of success (Patch 1994). Once a successful working relationship between alliance partners is shown to be possible, larger projects might be more likely to succeed as demonstrated by the Goodyear-Sumitomo partnership.

Second, alliances are important and should be pursued only to the extent that they offer partnering firms a competitive advantage in the marketplace. Thus, strategic arrangements or relationships that can be duplicated or imitated by competitors do not offer a sustainable competitive advantage. For example, Varadarajan and Cunningham (1995) point out that the EDI (electronic data interchange) arrangement between supplier and customers has become common industry practice and, therefore, it offers no competitive advantage. However, suppliers can use the EDI capability resulting from an exchange relationship to develop non-transparent proprietary processes for sustainable competitive advantage. In other words, it is not the mere presence of the EDI technology within the partnership that offers a competitive advantage. Rather, the key to a sustainable competitive advantage is in the manner in which any technology is deployed.

The strategy of alliances is critical and frequently remain confidential though in some cases partners may find it beneficial to announce their partnerships for one or more stakeholder groups. IBM and AT&T maintain hundreds of alliances with a variety of clients and suppliers (The Economist 1998; Daly and Sullivan-Trainer 1991; Hitt et al. 1995). Oftentimes, the purpose of the alliance is proprietary to one or both partners and, thus, no announcement regarding the project is made.

**Alliance Type.** In practice, inter-firm cooperative strategies take many forms. In the business press, the term alliance is used to represent a wide assortment of arrangements ranging from a “warm” handshake with an existing distributor or a formalized cooperative agreement involving a contract and financial commitment to an equity-based JV. Thus, the term “alliance” often implies different things to different people which, in turn, inhibits the appropriate classification and analysis of ISAs.

Several types of marketing alliances are identified in the literature. Morgan and Hunt (1994), for example, identify 10 non-equity dyadic-type relationships. However, alliances are not always dyadic and complementary capabilities of firms may bring multiple partners together. Partnerships involving non-profit organizations or the government (e.g., to set industry product or safety standards) may involve several firms that may or may not be competitors.

In general, non-equity ISAs may be horizontal or vertical. Horizontal or lateral ISAs involve firms that do not primarily buy or sell to one another (Kelly and Fort 1992). Varadarajan and Cunningham (1995) identify competitors, non-profit organizations, and the government as potential

*In this discussion, the term strategic intent is used to convey alliance purpose and direction. This represents an informal interpretation of the strategic intent of an ISA and its dominant partners. However, the term has also been used to express the development of an understanding of the strategic intents of most competitors (Hamel and Prahalad 1989, Hitt et al. 1995).*
partners. The manufacturing agreement between Goodyear and Sumitomo is an example of a horizontal ISA between two global competitors. Sumitomo makes Goodyear-brand tires for Nippon Goodyear in Japan and Goodyear supplies Dunlop-brand tires to Sumitomo’s U.S. factories (The New York Times 1999). The Philips-Sony alliance (product development) is another example of this sort of alliance between two competitors. Horizontal ISAs, however, can also occur between substantially non-competing firms that possess complementary capabilities, for example, between General Mills and Nestlé (market entry and distribution).

Vertical ISAs involve supplier-customer relationships (up or down stream in the distribution channel or facilitating business services) and may involve two or more partners. The definition of strategic alliance used in a portion of the literature excludes vertical channel partnerships (Urban and Vendemini 1992; Lorange and Roos 1992; Blecke and Ernst 1993; Faulkner 1995; Yoshino and Rangan 1995). However, inasmuch as a distinction is made between an ad hoc transaction-based exchange and a proactive and explicit effort to form an alliance with suppliers and customers, the analysis of channel partnerships from the perspective of strategic alliances is appropriate.

Vertical partnerships parallel the keiretsu-style partnerships which are commonplace in Japan.

Not surprisingly, when entering the U.S. market many Japanese firms sought to develop similar alliances with U.S. firms. For example, for over two decades some key firms in Japan found it easier to market their products in the U.S. through ISAs with U.S. firms that had strong marketing skills and commanded dominant positions in the market. By leveraging off the U.S. firms’ brands, reputations, and distribution channels, Pentax, Ricoh, and Sanyo accessed the capabilities and competencies of Honeywell, Savin, and Sears, respectively, which they lacked at the time.

Marketing ISAs can be further divided into product development/R&D (e.g., Philips-Sony), branding or contract manufacturing (e.g., IBM & Matsushita; Goodyear & Sumitomo), distribution and sourcing (e.g., General Mills & Nestlé), and maintenance and service (e.g., Longines & Westinghouse). This classification is consistent with the literature (Johansson 1993; Dussauge and Garrette 1997) as well as with resource-based theories in that they depend on four types of firm-specific resources: technological, physical, financial, and managerial (Das and Teng 1998). Product development alliances can be considered marketing-related in that they are essentially aimed at new product development. Manufacturing (e.g., contract manufacturing) alliances are marketing-related to the extent that the merchandise is branded as specified. Contract manufacturing is quite common in the apparel industry, but is widely used in a variety of firms. For example, before selling its PC division to Lenovo, IBM brand PCs for the Far East markets were produced by Matsushita. Likewise, the Goodyear-Sumitomo alliance was initially a manufacturing partnership. Marketing-related ISAs can take many forms, the most common of which is a distribution arrangement. Worldwide Cereal Partners is representative of a marketing ISA. Inasmuch as the precise purpose of an alliance is not always disclosed in press releases, information on alliance types is scarce. However, a search using primarily Lexis-Nexis and InfoTrack revealed that the majority of alliances formed since 1980 are marketing-related (Table 4).

### Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Objective</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marketing &amp; Distribution</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research &amp; Development</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on an electronic search of business and trade publications (InfoTrack and Lexis-Nexis).

Influence of Culture. Transaction-based exchanges gradually lead to a greater dependency of firms on one another. This evolutionary process is a natural precursor to longer-term relational exchanges even if the initial exchanges are primarily transaction-based. Thus, enduring and profitable business relationships do not develop overnight and are by no means new phenomena. Relationships are substantially conditioned by the social and cultural influences and even transaction-based exchanges in some cultures are viewed as relationship marketing from their inception. In higher context cultures whose members tend to be more relationship-dependent, social harmony and the nurturance of relationships transcend business transactions and frequently precede commercial trade. For example, the retail industry in Japan is dependent on close working relationships with manufacturers and/or wholesalers. Likewise, Japanese auto manufacturing firms have formed close working relationships with their suppliers to achieve greater efficiency and higher quality. In higher context cultures, alliances are typically preceded by knowledge of individuals with whom business is conducted. Thus, the exchange typically signifies an enduring alliance which is strengthened over time.

Other cultures view marketing transactions as impersonal exchanges and seek to minimize the dependency which naturally evolves from them. To lessen this dependency on other firms (e.g., in the supply chain), they devise methods that reduce potential risks associated with it. For example,
these firms typically approve several suppliers for purchasing purposes and diversify their customer base to limit the influence of a single customer on their performance.

Degree of Formality. Formality has been highlighted in the marketing literature as an important component within channel systems for developing intensive, relationship-building communication channels (Mohr and Nevin 1990; Mohr, Fisher, and Nevin 1996) and has been reported to be associated with commitment (Anderson and Weitz 1992; Morgan and Hunt 1994), satisfaction (Keith, Jackson, and Crosby 1990), and coordination (Gultitina, Rejagh, and Rodgers 1980).

As with any relationship, the alliance domain and the responsibilities and performance requirements of each partner can be based on an informal agreement or a more formal one involving legally binding, detailed, and complex contracts. In essence, relationship formalization is an attempt to reduce the uncertainty for one or more parties in the relationship (Milne, Iyer, Gooding-Williams 1996). Given the legal and organizational ramifications of formal agreements, they are likely to be more closely tied in with each partner’s broader corporate mission and goals. The less formal ISAs are based on verbal expectations and understandings which can be terminated at will and potentially without notification.

The appropriateness and necessity to formalize an alliance, particularly a non-equity one, is governed by cultural imperatives that underlie alliance relationships. Figure 1 demonstrates this relationship. In higher context cultures in which the development of relationships often precedes commercial transactions, the formalization of alliances through contracts may be viewed with suspicion. The focus of Confucian cultures is the maintenance of a high level of understanding, harmony, and truthfulness in the relationship (Redding 1982; Yau 1988), leading to a strong commitment. On the other hand, in lower context cultures a formal contract may be viewed as a necessary step in moving forward in the relationship and, hence, there is a greater tendency for partnerships to be based on legally binding agreements.

![Figure 1](image)

**Figure 1**

**RelationshipFormalization and Culture**

Given that ad hoc marketing relationships between suppliers and customers (i.e., firm's client base and distribution network) are generally valued and maintained, partners naturally reach a certain level of dependency on and performance expectations from each other that, in a sense, increasingly formalizes the alliance over time. Thus, the formation of marketing partnerships would further enhance the formality of the alliance.

Duration. Depending on their objectives, ISAs may be for limited or indefinite durations. ISAs aimed at product development are often for limited lengths and tend to be dissolved (or its importance significantly reduced) once the project has been completed or terminated. The non-equity alliances formed by Xerox to find applications (i.e., new products) for its dry film technology were for specified durations. Likewise, Qwest formed a 3-year alliance with HP to develop Internet Data Storage and a 7-year alliance with IBM for developing Internet Data Centers (Blumentein and Auerbach 2000). Likewise, the PowerPC chip and the Advanced Photo System alliances are examples of limited duration cooperative arrangements.

* Xerox accidentally discovered the "dry film" technology in 1964 and established five alliances to find applications for it: (1) a four-year alliance with Rhone-Poulenc to identify applications for its discovery for newspapers, (2) another four-year project with the Newell Research Institute to develop optical storage tape, (3) a two-year venture with Du Pont to explore an easy way to make color proofs of four-color separations, (4) a three-year study with Fuji to make the dry-film infused sensitive, and (5) a one-year arrangement with Canadian Bank Note to identify passport applications (The Economist 1995).
Vertical alliances are aimed at further market penetration and/or cultivating new markets and are generally open-ended and ongoing. Firms invest a great deal in establishing and maintaining distribution channels with a long-term view. As relationships evolve over time, longer term or frequent short-term alliances help partner firms to overcome cultural and organizational issues and problems. Furthermore, partners having a longer history of working together, develop a sense of trust, commitment, shared vision, and outcome expectations that are yet to evolve in shorter term, first-time alliances. Newer alliances are thus more prone to being formalized than relationships in which a sense of trust and commitment has been developed. As shown in Figure 2, additional provisions and responsibilities between partners are more likely to be managed on an informal basis due to the trust and commitment that each partner has demonstrated in the relationship over time.

**Figure 2**

![Diagram: Relationship Formalization and Duration]

It is also noteworthy that there is a tendency for successful non-equity ISAs to evolve into more complex, equity-based arrangements. The initial ISA between Goodyear and Sumitomo was recently transformed into a more complex set of equity-based LIVs. Similarly, the distribution and branding arrangement between DaimlerChrysler and Mitsubishi led to a manufacturing LIV in the U.S. Likewise, Fujitsu acquired ICL after a ten-year strategic alliance with the firm.

**Financial and Managerial Commitment.** The importance of commitment in marketing relationships and alliances has been highlighted time and again in the literature (e.g., Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh 1987; Morgan and Hunt 1994). Commitment is more likely to increase with the greater formality of the alliance, when the alliance objective is both shared and closely tied to each partner’s strategic plan, and when the investment level is high. As the financial commitment in non-equity ISAs is generally low, managerial commitment to the alliance tends to be governed by the importance and the role of the alliance in each partner’s strategic plan and the formality of the relationship. Although non-equity alliances involve less financial commitment than other alliances, the investment in the relationship can still be quite significant. As noted earlier, the General Mills-Nestlé marketing ISA involved an investment of $80 million by each partner and 25 P&G employees are permanently situated in Bentonville, Arkansas, to support the firm’s partnership with Wal-Mart.

All alliances must be supported by financial and managerial commitment. The most obvious need of such commitment is evident in the case of LIVs in which third entities are created. The level of financial and managerial commitment, on the other hand, can vary significantly depending on the objectives of the firms involved. Alliances involving channel members typically do not require significant financial commitment. However, product development alliances demand a great deal of financial commitment. This is a sensitive area of inquiry and firms typically do not release financial commitment information to the public.

**Performance Issues.** Given that the raison d’être of ISAs is the attainment of a better outcome than parties can accomplish independently, performance issues should play a central role in investigating ISAs. There is some evidence in the marketing literature that ISAs result in improved performance. For example, Anderson and Narus (1996) cite inventory reductions of 15%-20% and improved customer service as a result of better utilization of channel relationships and Bucklin and Sengupta (1993) report that ISAs (e.g., co-branding and co-marketing) enable firms to enhance cash flows.

Performance is a multidimensional and complex issue in all business research but its assessment in ISAs represents a particularly elusive task. This is in part due to the fact that the formality of relationships can vary considerably from one ISA to another and performance
expectations necessarily vary accordingly. Furthermore, the goals of some non-equity alliances in marketing are not always financial or discrete and, therefore, performance assessment and its validation are more difficult. It is the long-term performance of ISAs that is of importance to firms. Academic literature, on the other hand, has frequently focused on the short-term performance of alliances (Hamel 1991; Hagedoom and Schakenraad 1994; Mitchell and Singh 1996). In addition, performance may be measured in non-financial terms (e.g., goal attainment, customer satisfaction, market share) which are not directly linked to the performance of alliances being investigated. In this sense, the true outcome of relationships cannot be fully and accurately assessed and, as a result, it is difficult to compare the alliance performance of alliances across firms.

Obstacles in ISA Research

The single most daunting issue in pursuing ISA research is the collection of primary data. The main reason for this is the lack of a priori knowledge of existing ISAs to assist in developing an appropriate sampling frame. Since the separate entities created through JVs are registered through official channels and they typically interact with others in the business community, information about their organizational configurations, management teams, and locations are typically available through various listing services and business directories. Non-equity ISAs, on the other hand, often play sensitive strategic roles for the parties involved and firms are less willing to discuss the existence of such arrangements or divulge much information regarding their purpose or past performance. For example, the search for alliance announcements for this paper, though comprehensive, resulted in an incomplete subset of non-equity relationships formed. Even in situations where the alliance has been publicly announced, the information offered is limited to the partner firm and, occasionally, the purpose of the alliance. Typically no information regarding the division, its location, or the individual with primary responsibility for the partnership is made available.

Research in channel research has demonstrated that the identification of key informants is critical in gathering valid and reliable data pertaining to the structural form of relationships (e.g., John and Reve 1982). However, ISAs are more common in larger multidivisional firms where both the authority and the information regarding such arrangements are diffused throughout the firm. Hence, identifying ISAs in these firms is like searching for needles in a haystack. Even when relevant ISAs are known, the identification of appropriate responsible informants for each ISA and their locations within the firm create additional hurdles to data collection. This problem is less severe in smaller firms where greater knowledge regarding activities of the firms is available throughout the firm. However, smaller firms account for a relatively small proportion of ISAs.

Employee turnover at the firm creates an additional obstacle to investigating ISAs. The managerial staff responsible for the formation of ISAs possess valuable insights regarding foreign partners, alliance negotiations, goals, and strategies, as well as the performance of the partnership. Thus, their departure from the firm leaves a gap in the necessary information regarding ISAs. The turnover of office staff, though not as critical, also creates obstacles to locating the appropriate contacts within the firm.

Finally, some ISAs are formed to accomplish specific goals and by design are not ongoing. Although most vertical marketing ISAs are expected to be ongoing, there are occasions when limited term ISAs are appropriate. For example, some firms develop a limited term alliance to dispose of products and services they expect to receive in countertrade transactions. The collection of accurate primary data regarding short-term and dissolved ISAs potentially introduces both history and maturation effects in the data. The possibility of gathering reliable and valid primary data on these alliances is further limited due to the transfer and turnover of key informants in firms.

Directions for Future Research

Despite the rapid development of bodies of knowledge about ISAs and relationship marketing, a number of areas have received insufficient attention. Several theoretical frameworks have been used to examine strategic alliances, including transaction cost economics, game theory, exchange theory, the strategic behavior model, the dialectical model, and the resource-based view of the firm (Das and Teng 1998). Theoretical development in relationship marketing is still in its infancy (cf. Varadarajan and Cunningham 1995). The strategic alliance literature offers several possibilities both for theory development and empirical research in relationship marketing. In particular, the resource-based view offers a relevant framework for marketing purposes because it focuses, inter alia, on core competencies and other intangible assets that the firm possesses, including brand names, technology, skilled personnel, managerial expertise and corporate image.

Much of the effort in examining ISAs has centered on equity-based ventures in which a third legal entity is created. As noted earlier, supplier and buyer relationships are generally excluded from ISA studies (Dussauge and Garrette 1997). However, marketing relationships, even if contractual in nature, tend to be non-equity based. The literature is virtually void of such studies and a focus on non-equity marketing ISAs is, therefore, appropriate and timely. Additionally,
formal marketing relationships between organizations, particularly in the case of relationships crossing national boundaries?

Finally, the theoretical underpinnings of alliance formation suggest that such relationships lead to better performance by the partners and, therefore, it is desirable to extend this line of inquiry to include the performance of non-equity marketing ISAs. Additionally, there is substantial evidence regarding the poor performance of international alliances. In particular, performance needs to be examined in light of the formality of the relationship. A cross-national examination of the issue will go a long way toward enhancing our understanding of how some marketing alliances seem to succeed whereas others are dissolved or disappear after a period of time.

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HUR PÅVERKAR DEN NYA OFFENTLIGA FÖRVALTNINGEN
FORSKNINGEN OCH UNDERSÖKNINGEN?

1. Inledning

I detta bidrag analyserar vi universitetet, och särskilt Åbo Akademi, som en ekonomisk organisation, med nationalekonomiska metoder. Det behövs många ekonomisk sakkunskap för att förstå sig på forskning och högre utbildning, men de argument som brukar framföras för ett starkare ledarskap, resultatsyrning, individuell lönesättning och noggrann tiduppföljning är i allmänhet ekonomiska.


2. Vad är ett universitet?


* En universitet är en "högskola, främst sådan där undervisning meddolas inom alla vetenskapliga huvudområden" (Boussen Folklexikon, s. 1194).
Denna beslutstrikt i oftast sedda situationer avgör om en anställd har en chef eller inte. Det är därför uppenbart att forskare varken har eller skall ha någon chef. Deras undervisning bestäms av kollegiala utvalg och forskningens innehåll bestäms av forskarna själva – det finns inte någon instans som kan kommendera dem att anse att det är solen som rör sig kring jorden. Rektorer, dekaner och institutionens förordnande är alltså inte chefar utan valda förtrösvänor.

Vi betraktar alltså ett universitet som en organisation som bedriver forskning och meddelar däremot grundad undervisning inom ett stort antal vetenskapliga huvudområden. Den forskande och undervisande personalen har akademisk frihet, och universitetet är autonomt i förhållande till politiska och andra beslutstillande, samt har en kollegial förvaltning. De här principerna väcker tyngre än direktiv från beslutstillande som inte känner till eller accepterar universitetens uppgifter.

3. Kappar, morötter och konkurrens

3.1. Den ekonomiska människan


Vissa ekonomer har emellertid drivit sådana resonemanter till sin spets, genom att tillämpa dem på livets alla områden, som till exempel val av äktenskapspartner eller beteende inom politik och förvaltning (för en sammanfattning, se till exempel Lepage, 1980). Politiska beslutstillande är således enbart intresseade av att bli omvalda, och tjänstemän av enbart löner och budgångskriterier."

Den så kallade nya offentliga förvaltningen är präglad av en sådan syn. Universiteten anses behöva kappar och morötter, eftersom de anställdas lätta och girighet inte tryggar av den konkurrens som (ibland) tyger av de vinstmaximerande företagen (se dock avsnitt 3.5). Enheternas budgeter knytas därför till tidigare resultat, främst i form av examina, och för närvarande införs individuella ekonomiska drivfärdar i form av det nya lönsystemet."

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* Vi använder för enkelhetens skull benämningen "institution" och "institutionens förstadsföretag" trots att "Åbo Akademi" styrelse vägar sig ha avskaffat dem. Den allmänna vedertagna benämningen världen runt för den plats där forskningen och den högre undervisningen i ett ättens några är Institution (eng. department). Dessa grunderiktade har inte upphört att existera trots att man i styrelsen har genomfört flera förändringar i deras beteenden och förvaltning.

** Platsknappet att politiker och byråkrater alltid eller aldrig är organisationer av ideologiska, graden av opposition eller idéer och hur den påverkas kan emellertid analyseras med vetenskapliga metoder.

*** Universiteten erhåller renst en faktiskt ännu i förhållande till den planerade antalet examina; att "Åbo Akademi" åter resultatanalys påverka de interna fördelningarna beror på att man trod att detta görs det ättade att uppd. examensmålen, inte på krav från undervisningsministeriet. Det nya lönsystemet motsvarar inte heller ännu vår studier i avsnitt 4 nedan.

innehåll systemet ett nollsummeaspel där universitet, institutioner och individer tvingas konkurrera med varandra, med risk för att samarbetet inom forskning och innovationsverksamhet blir lidande.

Om emellertid forskarna drivas av ett genuint interesse för sina uppgifter och arbetar så långt krafterna räcker så kan man fråga sig vad kappar och morötter kan ha för positiv betydelse. I så fall betyder i snittet de kostnader som ständiga resultatsvinst och individuella lönsförhandlingar innebär skada, de inte renta leder till skadlig kortsiktighet eller minskar de anställdas motivation (se 3.2 och 3.4).

3.2. Mångdimensionella ansträngningar och kortssiktiga beslut

Ett universitet avviker från den enkla bilden av ett företag med en väldefinierad produkt redan i och med att en typisk anställd både forskar och undervisar (samt skötter såväl nödvändig som påringad administration). Det märks genast om man läser bl. att gå på möten, sylta i blanketter eller förbereda sina föreläsningar, och så snabbt som man underläter att dessutom upptäcker dem. Att försumma forskningen leder på sikt till lägre anseende, men det tar tid innan detta påverkar undervisningsmätena.


3.3. Innre motivation

Den nationalekonomiska forskningen har på senare tid uppmärksammat också den innre motivationen (intrinsic motivation), medan den tidigare ensidiga koncentrationen på den ekonomiska människan numera uppfattas som alltfläkt som (Fechner och Falk, 2002). En anställd kan med andra ord uppnåta organisationens (i ett universitet ofvan den egna institutionens) framgång eftersom de individuella förhållningarna har haft mycket lätt betydelse för de krafter och prestationsevnen som fastställs på centrale nivå. Det finns med andra ord ett avskil från rörelse och verklighet.

Litteraturen om inte motivation har mest handlat om vanliga företag och deras anställda på olika nivåer. En telefonintervju av nästan 1700 hel- eller deltidsanställda i olika företag i USA tyder till exempel på att de alla flesta (82,7%) skulle arbeta i enlighet med vad de kommit överens om med arbetsgivaren även utan övervakning (Minkler, 2004). Respondenterna kan ha överdrivit sin arbetsmotivation, men resultat kompletterar å andra sidan de experimentella studier som tyder på att en stor del av individerna kännetecknas av reciprocitet: en anställde är årlig och följer alltså en överenskommelse om att anstränga sig om arbetsgivaren upplevs som årlig (Fehr och Fischbacher, 2001; Fehr och Falk, 2002). Maskning på jobbet (shirking) är med andra ord inte ett så stort problem som den traditionella ekonomiska teorin gör gällande, inte ens i vanliga företag. Detta kan vara särskilt viktigt ur universitetsets synvinkel, eftersom den inte motivenationen troligen spelar en ännu större roll i kreativa yrken.


Det finns föreslås skillnader mellan administrativ personal och forskare/lärare vid universiteten. Alla kan inte känna att deras arbete är en "kall-yrke". I ett genuint producentkooperativ blir kollektivet dessutom belönat för ett gott arbete när det finns en större kaka att dela, medan universitetsens anställda sällan belönas när kakan har vuxit på grund av gemensamma prestationer. Systemet kan nog därför också upplevas frustrerande då de anställda vet att de inte kan få högre lön.

3.4. Utråkning av den inte motivenationen

Ekonomiska stimulanser kan förbättra de anställdas prestationer i sitt rätta sammanhang (Prendergast, 1999). I ett universitet är de i bästa fall onödiga, men de kan också träna ut den inte motivenationen eller minska den anställdas prestationstormogna (Frey, 1997; Fehr och Falk, 2002; Minkler, 2004). Den anställde skulle på sätt och vis bli utrörd och i sid med att arbetet förlorar sitt innehåll, så att hon arbetar bara bara för pengarnas skull.


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Forskare kan alltså i många avseenden jämföras med bildkonstnärer, författare, musiker eller representanter för andra skapande yrken vars utgåva ofta kännetspreknas av annat än materiella drivkrafter. Sådana personer kunde t.ex. härnas av att utsätta för käppar och moröter, till exempel på grund av att stolheten såras när man blir manipulerat. Men eftersom inte motivation ofta anses skapa besvärliga anställda så kan man fråga sig om inte någon maktfullkomlom universitetsbyråkrat eller ministerietjänsteman kunde frestras till just sådana reformer som tränges ut den inre motivationen, så att det blev lättare att styra universitetet. Den som inte är engagerad i sin forskning och undervisning kan då kompenseras med en skällig pension eller prestigebygglunda administrativa uppgifter om det egna ämnet skattes ner eller försvinner. Försöken att införa chefssyre samt käppar och moröter passar med andra ord in i en bild av en maktkamp där universitetet anpassas till nya målsättningar, genom att få forskningspersonalen att känna sig manipulerad, onödig och därmed likgiltig för sitt arbete.

3.5. Konkurrens

Om allt universitetsforskare och lärare var organiserade frilansar skulle de sälja sina timmar på en marknad med konkurrens åtminstone på utbildningssidan. Men privata företag och organisationer inom den offentliga sektorn brukar karakteriseras som planeokonomiska där i marknadsvalvet. De tillämpar organisationen som någon är marknadslösningar när det gäller sina egna anställda. Man är med andra ord anställd i organisationen och säljer inte sina timmar på en spotmarknad. Eftersom den (som man tror) giriga och lata anställda inte anses vara utsatt för konkurrensens disciplinerande inverkan så inför man i stället käppar och moröter, i tron att detta ökar intresset att utföra uppgiften på önskat sätt.


Ämnen och ämnesgrupper tvingas också konkurrera. Det är rimligt att forskare i viss mån tavlät om finansiering för projekt som tillätter den egna forskningsmiljön att expandera för en viss tid, men dagens läge innebär en stark kontrast mellan det stora flertalet institutioner och de få
som väljs ut att få privilegerad status som till exempel spetsforskningssenhet. Under tidigare
decennier förstad man inte att en institution behöver ha en viss minimistyrke, så man föröks-
grunda enprofessorsinstitutioner på nya arter av regionalpolitiska skäl, ofta på bekostnad av
existerande institutioner. Nu överbetonar man i stället stordriffsfördelarna (som visserligen kan ha
större betydelse inom den naturvetenskapliga sektorn än bland humanister och samhällsvetare).
Denna överbetoning innebär, tillsammans med bristen på basfinansiering, en förskjutning av
professorernas arbete från forskning till att skriva omfattande forskningsplaner, ansöknings
och årsrapporter, och en förskjutning av marken över forskningens innehåll från forskarna själva till
finsatsåren.

En sådan snedvidning förstärks också av flertalet initiativ från Åbo Akademiets ledning om att
fakulteterna och styrelsen börge att överväga vilka ämnen som i fortsättningen skall få ge
undervising på magister- och doktorandnivå. Detta skulle leda till en mycket destruktiv kamp
mellan olika ämnen. Frågan om huruvida Åbo Akademi prioritiserar forskning eller magisterexamen
när det gäller vem som får ge forskningsämnen undervisning skulle ställas på sin spets. Om
förmågan att försona och därmed ge högre undervisning inte skulle ha något betydelse för vem som
får göra det, som när man bara räknar examina, skulle det innebära en krigsförklaring mot
forskningen. Den som är engagerad i sin forskning och undervisning och inte skulle se
pensionering eller omplacering till administrativa uppdrag som en positiv utmaning accepterar inte
att det egna ämnet degraderas. Att börja med vidlyftiga ommöbleringar bland anställda med inne
motivation leder således till bättre ibördesväx av organisationen.

Det råder alltså inte brist på konkurrens inom universitetssektorn, men det handlar om en
destruktiv konkurrens som avleder energin från forskningen och undervisningen, som enligt vår
erfarenhet kräver lika mycket koncentrationsförmåga som forskningen. Universiteten skulle ha
mycket att vinna på att samarbeta mellan individer och ämnen, men det blomstrar inte om man
samtidigt iscensätter ett allas krig mot alla.

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4. En formell analys av universitetsets omorganisering

4.1. Universitetet och dess anställda

Den nya offentliga förvaltningens omorganisering av universitetet enligt märken från
företagsvärlden ses ofta som en självecklös följd av att man börjar tänka ekonomiskt (Frey och Benz,
2005). Men om man skall kunna hänvisa till ekonomiskt tänkande skall man kunna härleda
sådana rekommendationer från en formell modell som i övrigt följer den ekonomiska teorins
spelregler men som beaktar universitetssektorns särdrag. Till universitetssektorns särdrag hör att de
anställda har en inre motivation (se 3.3-3.4), och att de erhåller en fast om också numera ibland på
läng sikt prestationsbetingad månadsloon.

Vi skall kontrastra en sådan modell som gör att man kan kontrastra ett traditionellt
producentkooperativt universitet med ett som svarar mot den nya offentliga förvaltningens anda och
som kan föra kollektiva eller individuella förhandlingar med sina anställda.

Vi antar att universitetet har n anställda indexerade med i. De kan vara olika produktiva men
har samma nyttotid, som dels beror på inkomsten (yi), dels på arbetsmängden (hi).
Förskningspersonens inre motivation beaktas genom en positiv koefficient ai, men modellen är för
enkel för att medge en analys av hur den inre motivationen utågs ut (så att vi till exempel skulle få
ai=0). Alltför mycket arbete ger andra sidan negativ utdelning, vilket följer av en kvadratisk term
med den positiva koefficienten hi:

\[
\begin{align*}
    u_i &= y_i - a_i h_i - \frac{h_i^2}{2}.
\end{align*}
\]

Detta uttryck innebär att den anställda väljer att arbeta i utsträckningen \( h = a_i / h_i \).
Arbetsmängden beror enbart på den anställdas motivation eftersom lönens lön är given, såsom för de
flesta forskare, som ju inte erhåller övertidersättning. I det följande kommer vi att anta att de
anställdas produktivitet kan variera, men vi franser den möjligheten att de är motiverade i olika
utsträckning, så \( a_i = a \) och \( b = b \) för alla. Alla anställda kan dessutom förvänta sig nyttotidnivå \( u_0 \)

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* Konkurrensen mellan ämnen får vid bland annat Ekonominstatvetenskapliga fakulteten vid Åbo Akademi en extra
dimension i och med att students var får välja huvuddem i efter att ha blivit innehavna till fakulteten. Då beror antalet
avlägda magisterexamen mer på ämnen populerat än läsarnas effektivitet, vilket kan leda till en liknande situation
som när kommersiella TV-kanaler tävlar med såpoperor - eller som när Sveriges public service kanal för säkerhets skäl
münskr på aktualitetprogrammet för att inte förlora innehavna till de kommersiella kanalerna (Olsson, 2006).

* Man skulle också kunna tänka sig utvalth enligt arbetsnivå, så att \( u = b h / a \). De flesta av modellens resultat skulle då vara
oförändrade, men för företagsuniversitet skulle det innebära ett mindre output än för det producentkooperativa
universitetet.

* Modellen kan utomjukas så att är stör för anspråk (som i litteraturen på principiater och agenter) strävar år
arbetad, i synnerhet om inkomsten är fast, för det är åtta svåra att observera anspråksmängden år arbetad.
utanför universitetet; om det förekommer löneförhandlingar kan \( u_0 \) tolkas som löntagarnas 'fullback-level' eller 'outside-option utility'.

På kort sikt representeras universitets budget av en given summa \( B \), men den kan spjälkas upp i en vägd summa av en fast komponent \( B_0 \) och ett antal komponenter som är proportionella mot det förväntade antalet arbetstimer \( h_i^* \) som presteras av individ \( i \), med vikterna \( \beta \) och \( 1-\beta \).

\[
B = (1 - \beta)B_0 + \sum_{i=1}^x p_i h_i^*.
\]

Koefficienten \( p_i \) avspeglar individen \( i \)s produktivitet; deras medeltal är \( \bar{\beta} \). Vi utgår här från att resultatet är ett paket av forskning och undervisning vars sammansättning det räder full enighet om, men detta förekommande antagande ifrågasätts i avsnitt 5. Vikten \( \beta \) anger resultatets betydelse för budgeten. Formeln säger således att budgeten består av en basdel och en resultatbaserad del; vi kommer dock ställvis att anta att \( \beta - 1 \), det vill säga att finansieringen är helt prestationsbaserad.

Den formella modellen beaktar enbart lönekostnaderna \( \Sigma \lambda_i \), men i praktiken kan till exempel företagsuniversitetet ha högre administrativa kostnader på grund av att personer i chefssättning får betydligt högre löner och andra förmåner. Individuella löneförhandlingar och tidsuppföljning kan dessutom betyda att en större del av universitetets budget och av de anställdas arbetstid går åt till administrativa uppgifter.

4.2. Universitet som ett producentkooperativ

Som vi konstaterade i avsnitt 2 kan det traditionella universitetet närmast beskrivas som ett producentkooperativ med kollektivt beslutsfattande (som nu ser ut att vara på tillbakagång). Eftersom studierna i Finland och Sverige är avgiftsfräna, så skall vi anta att universitetet är helt och hållet finansierat genom statsbudgeten, såsom beskrivet genom (2).

Det traditionella universitetet kännetecknas naturligtvis av lönesegmentation, men inom varje kategori (professor, lektor och så vidare) tillämpas en likärlönsprincip (modifierad genom ålderstillägg). Vi ignorera skillnader mellan olika kategorier av forskningspersonal, så att kooperativmodellen baseras på en fullständig likärlönsprincip trots att olika individer (inom en given kategori) även kan tänkas vara olika produkativa. Vi tänker oss därför att universitetet helt enkelt vill

maximera sin output \( \Sigma h_i p_i \) givet två bivillkor. Det första går ut på att medlemmarnas inkomster skall rymmas innanför budgeten och det andra att kooperativets medlemmar väljer sina arbetsättar så att deras nyttotyperna maximaliseras.

Var och en av kooperativets medlemmar förfärdigar i så fall en nödel av lönebudgeten, det vill säga \( Y = \overline{B}/n \), och kommer att arbeta i utställningen \( a/b \). Om emellertid budgeten i jämvikt motsvarar \( \Sigma p_i h_i^* = (1 - \beta)B_0 + \bar{\beta} \lambda \), så får vi

\[
\begin{align*}
Y^* &= (1 - \beta)\overline{B}/n + \frac{\bar{\beta} \lambda}{b}, \\
\lambda^* &= \frac{a}{b}.
\end{align*}
\]

Den inre motivationen skulle inte vara till nackdel för det kooperativa universitetets medlemmar, för lönen är antingen \( \overline{B}/n \) oberoende av \( a \) eller så betyder starkare inre motivation en högre lönn, som i (3).

4.3. Universitet som ett företag med individuella eller kollektiva förhandlingar

Låt oss nu föreställa oss ett företagsliknande universitet i den nya offentliga förvaltningens anda. Det leds inte av de ansätta själva utan av en ledning som försöker maximera ett överskott efter att utgifterna för forskning och undervisning har betalats. Man kan till exempel göra det tankespelet att mellanskilda gå till det som Oliver Williamson i ett klassiskt bidrag (Williamson, 1965) kallar 'managerial slack', det vill säga olika typer av löne- och andra förmåner som tjänstebilar, extra resor med business class och dagtraktamenten, och annat som befinner sig långt ifrån forskarnas vardag.

Vi utgår från att budgetramarna är givna i förhandlingskredet, till exempel för att de befrare på tidigare precipitationer eller på målsättningar som, står skrivna i en plan. Efter att ha analyserat förhandlingsprocessen kommer vi att koncentrera oss på jämviktsslagen där inkomsterna förblir oförändrade eller där förväntningarna eller målsättningarna i planen uppfylls. Universitetets målfunktion kan då skrivas som:

\[
\begin{align*}
P_0 &= B - \sum_{i=1}^x h_i w_i.
\end{align*}
\]
Eftersom vi analyserar ett universitet i isolering måste centrala förhandlingar betyda att de förs på universtetsnivå snarare än på riks- eller regionnivå, men analysen torde i alla fall kunna ge rättvisse åtgärder till skillnad. Lösen bestäms via förhandlingar, som kan vara antingen centrala eller individuella. Processen modelleras med hjälp av den av John Nash formulerade förhandlingslösningen, i en generaliserad variant där universitetets respektive löntagarsidans förhandlingsstyrka beskrivs med hjälp av exponenterna α och 1-α.

Låt oss först analysera en organisation vars målsättning har kommersialiserats, men som fortfarande har kollektiva snarare än individuella förhandlingar. De anställda har då en gemensam lönenivå Y. Om förhandlingarna bryter samman så blir universitetet utan såväl inkomster som utgifter. De anställdes payoff representeras av skillnaden mellan nytonnivå och outside-option utility (aa) hos en typisk anställd.

Nashs förhandlingslösning kan då analyseras genom att maximera följande funktion med avseende å Y:

\[ N_i = (B - \alpha Y)^{\gamma}(Y + ah - \frac{h_b^2}{2} - u_i)^{1-\gamma} \]

Om förhandlingarna däremot är lokala, så representeras arbetsgivarsidans fallback-level av den skillnad mellan inkomster och utgifter som skulle erhållas om man inte kunde uppnå något förhandlingsresultat med individ i, så att hon upphörde att vara anställd. Låt den förväntade inkomsten i så fall representeras av \( \tilde{B} \). Då innebär förhandlingarna att man maximiserar följande funktion:

\[ N_p = (B - \tilde{B} - Y_i)^{\gamma}(Y_i + ah - \frac{h_b^2}{2} - u_i)^{1-\gamma} \]

Om vi antar att budgeten i jämväkt svarar mot (2) fås vi följande lösningar:

\[ h_i = h_i^{max} = h_p = \frac{a}{b} \]

\[ Y_i = [(1 - \beta)(1 - \alpha)B_i/n] + [(1 - \beta)\tilde{p}a/b] + a u_i - a^2 / 2b \]

\[ Y_j = \left[ \beta(1 - \alpha)\tilde{p}a / b \right] + a u_j - a^2 / 2b \]


**Modellen beaktar inte den möjligheten att exponenten α förändras (och kanske okar) och med det nye systemet.** Övergången från kollektiva till individuella förhandlingar kan ändå påverka både ökonomiska och lönestrukturer, vilket illustreras i 4.4.

4.4 En jämförelse

Skillnaden mellan lönenivåerna \( Y_j \) och \( Y_i \) (se (9) och (10) ovan) är kanske av särskilt intresse mot bakgrund av det så kallade nya lönesystemet (DNL). De individuella lönerna ger produktivitetsbaserade inkomstskrav. Några personer skulle i modellen förbjuda mera och andra mindre än vid kollektiva förhandlingar.

Men som följer av (8) så arbetar man lika mycket inom ramen för båda lönesystemen, och lika mycket som i det producentkooperativa universitetet, vilket innebär att individens optimala arbetsintäkt inte förändras av käppar eller moröter (eftersom vi inte har konstruerat modellen så att man kan analysera utgångningen av inre motivation). Arbetsmängden \( a/b \) kan, om behöver inte, tolkas så att varje individ arbetar så långt krafterna räcker, vilket vi hävdar att man i allmänhet gör i ett universitet. De produktivitetsbaserade lönerna påverkar alltså inte universitetets resultat (vilket är rimligt i ett system där man arbetade så mycket man orkade redan innan det nya systemet infördes). Ojämlikheten i sig skulle ända sedan kunna påverka arbetsklimatet på ett sätt som den formella analysen inte har beaktat. Vi har inte heller beaktat det bortfall av egentlig arbetsid som de individuella lönesamtalens innebör, eller andra tillgängskostnader som företagsuniversitetet skulle innebör.

Genomsnittslönens vid individuella förhandlingar blir:

\[ \hat{Y}_p = \left[ \beta(1 - \alpha)\tilde{p}a / b \right] + a u_j - a^2 / 2b \]

Om \( \beta^{\alpha} \), som när budgeten i sin helhet är resultateraserad, ger båda systema samma genomsnittslön. Men om \( \beta^{\alpha} \) ger de individuella förhandlingarna lägre genomsnittslön, trots att vi inte beaktat möjligheten att α förändras.

När det gäller en jämförelse mellan det producentkooperativa universitetets och företagsuniversitetet kan man lätt visa att det förstnämnda lönesättet är högre. Det är rimligt eftersom företagsuniversitetet är associerat med ett överskott som används till den högsta ledningens tjänsterområden. Det är dessutom uppenbart att företagsuniversitetet inte har högre produktion (utan lägre, om vi också beaktar dess högre förvaltningskostnader)
Den kooperativa modellen ger en lön som är iske-avtagande i a. Ett universitet i den nya offentliga förvaltningens kan däremot på sätt och vis bestraffa de anställda för den inte motiverade. Av (9) och (11) följer nämligen att lönen blir lägre om a ökar (all a > β(1- a)β/α, vilket lättare händelser av arbetsgivarsidans förhållningstävla är hög. Man exploaterar helt enkelt i så fall personalens engagemang för sin uppgift. Men vår modell innebär också att universitetet kollappar utan den inte motiverade, för ingenting produceras om a=0.


5. Kompletterande synpunkter


tva decennierna har reformaktiviteten i sig inneburit en avtagning av de resurser som skall användas för forskning och undervisning.

Inlägget avsynt klar inom universiteten har accelererat i och med det nya lönssystemet. Vid en medelstor institution innebär de individuella lönförhandlingarna en så stor tidsförbrukning för institutionsföreståndaren och för de övriga anställda att det åtnjutande motsvarar till exempel en kurs på 20 timmar inklusive förberedelser, eller en stor del av arbetet med ett artikelmanuskript. Man måste kunna förvänta sig mycket stora effektivitetsförhållanden innan de positiva effekterna börjar dominera över den förlust av tid för forskning och undervisning som det nya lönssystemet innebär.

Åbo Akademians ledning har också hotat med att hela personalen kanske kommer att åläggas föra bok över sin tidsanvändning. Om forskarna ändå arbetar så långt som krävna räcker kan tidsuppföljningen inte till universitetet något nödvändigt i form av större ansträngningar, utan kan bara reducera den tid som används för forskning, undervisning och nödvändig administration. En sådan tiduppföljning är absurt i ett kreativt yrke och strider mot den akademiska friheten.


Den nya offentliga förvaltningen är i sista hand grundad på en nyliberal eller Thatcheristisk vision av ett samhälle eller organisation där man borstar från externa effekter eller kollektiva nyttigheter. Därför rekommenderar man att vinstmaximerande företag eller organisationer som beter sig som sådana får agera enligt sitt egensinne. Dessutom tänker man sig att alla räkningar går till rätt adress därför man tror att de privatekonomiska och samhällsekonomiska kostnaderna och intäkterna i stort sett är identiska. I en sådan vision finns inte någon plats för verksamhet som inte är självständiga eller som inte uppfyller de kvantitativa mål på titanssiffror (när det gäller TV-

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kanaler) eller examensresultat (när det gäller universitetet) som man ställer när tjänstemana inte sägs på en marknad." Öftest produktion behövs just när den samhällsekonomiska nyttan är större än de potentiella kundernas betalningsvillighet.

6. För ett dynamiskt och kreativt universitet


Universitetet skall främja kreativitet. Man har fått upptäckta att det i regel är andra faktorer än käppar och morför som gör att kreativiteten frösas. Man brokar betona en dialog mellan forskargruppens medlemmar, och behovet av att alla, inklusive projekt- eller

* Ett flertal exempel är ännu statistik som visar kretsar inom Åbo Akademiets ledning har försökt avskaffa. Men ännu betydelse för universitetet som helhet. För samhället (och vår förmåga att förstå samhället) märker ju inte av att statistikstudier med kemikter inte är så popolära bland studenterna.


De här önskemålen kan låta utopiska. Men den nya offentliga förvaltningens ekonomiska grundläggande om privat och offentlig verksamhet är redan förändrade. En enskild individ som spelar enligt egna spelregler och till exempel vägrar utföra meninglösa byråkratiska uppgifter åstadkommer inte särskilt mycket. Mert det är hospjärt att förändra universitetet i enlighet med de förändrade idéerna om ett foretagsuniversitet om alla anställda håller fast vid principerna om autonomi, kollektivitet och akademisk frihet.

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MIKRODATA I SAMHÄLLSVETENSKAPLIG FORSKNING
– EN ANVÄNDARES PERSPEKTIV

1. Introduktion

I denna uppsats har jag för avsikt att diskutera användningen av mikrodata ur en forskares perspektiv. Diskussionen är informell, i bemärkelsen att underlaget utgörs i huvudsak av mina egna reflektioner kring temaet. Reflektionerna har uppsatt genom erfarenheter av såväl egen forskning som arbete på Statistikcentrumen (SC) som vetenskaplig direktör 2001-2003. Under tiderna på SC deltog jag i möten för de Nordiska statistiska institutens (NSI, vilket även är förkortningen för den mer generell termen ”national statistical institute”) vetenskaplig direktörer eller motsvarande, under vilka även utomstående forskares användning av data var under diskussion.

Föregående diskussion kan betraktas delvis som en dialog med Access to microdata in the Nordic Countries (2003), händelser förkortad till ATM. Rapporten beskriver såväl vissa centrala aspekter av tillgång till mikrodata för forskning som nuvarande praxis i de Nordiska länderna och i kursörskraften drag, den praxis som följs i vissa andra länder.

ATM utgör ett värdefullt bidrag till en dialog mellan forskare och NSI. Jag påkastar här ”dialog”, för den syns mig att forskarnas röst inte hörs i ATM. Det finns få formella möjligheter för forskare att göra syn synvistarel hörd hos NSI och ännu färre att få sin syn – ens delvis – förverkligad.

De nordiska länderna har långa traditioner av att samla i olika typer av administrativa och statistiska register uppgifter om personer, hushåll, fastigheter, företag och anläggningar (establishments). De olika registren kan kopplas ihop genom person-, lägenhets-, anläggnings- och förvägssregister och bildar tillsammans det datakälla som tillåter oändligt många typer av data över personer och näringsliv. Dessa register kombineras med tidvis välgesomfärda och högklassiga enkäter. Allt som allt utgör de mikrodata som finns i de nordiska länderna en högklassig och oerhört mångsidig källa för mikrodatabaserad samhällsvetenskaplig forskning. Frågan är på vilka villkor och under hurdana omständigheter forskare får tillgång till dessa data.

2. Vad är forskning?

Den finska statistiklagen stipulerar att mikrodata får överlämnas för användning i ”samhälleliga vetenskapliga undersökningar och statistiska utredningar”. Vi kan kalla undersökningar och utredningar här för forskning. Bestämmelserna är allt att öppna liknande i de övriga nordiska länderna, det tas en att mikrodata kan användas i ”vetenskaplig forskning”.

Det är väl med forskning som med elefanter; svårt att definiera men lätt att känna igen. Bland annat av det skälet behandlas gränsfall i allt obehörligt administrativt organ, där experter kan tillsammans avgöra om föremålet för datautlämning är lämpligt och således också om det handlar om forskning.

Här är det dock skälet att diskutera vad det är som kännetecknar forskning. Enligt vad jag kan förstå finns det tre huvudsakliga kriterier:

- vem utför arbetet
- vad är syften med arbetet
- har publicerats processen och resultaten


Detta betyder att arbeten som utförs av någon som inte kan karakteriseras som forskare, vars huvudsakliga syfte är privat vinning och vars resultat är icke-offentliga inte kan betraktas som vetenskaplig forskning och utgör således inte ett legitmit syfte för utlämning av mikrodata. Denna utesluter användande av mikrodata för produktutveckling, för privata marknadsmodeller, eller för patentändamål.

3. Varför mikrodata?

Användningen av mikrodata i samhällsvetenskaplig forskning – nationalekonomi, sociologi, statskunskap – är så utbred och en så central del av det empiriska arbetet att det tas som en självolkarhet. Det kan dock vara befoyande att fundera på varför mikrodata är så viktiga och vilka alternativen är.

Ett alternativ utgörs av "viktiga" aggregerade data, så som de som härrörar från nationalräkenskaper och andra typer av "indikatorer", också på det som inom SC kallas för socialforskningområdet (se Atkinson et al., 2002). Dylika kan utgöra en grund för tidseriestudier och för länderjämförelser, kanske kopplat med breda sektor- eller gruppförmögenheter. I regel är det dock så att de frågor man söker svar till i mikrodatabaserad forskning är helt andra än de som besvaras med hjälp av indikatorer. Dessa kan alltså knappast anses utgöra ett alternativ.

Ett mera realistiskt alternativ utgörs av skrådssydda sammanställningar av mikrodata som görs inom NSI enligt forskares specifikationer. Till exempel så kan linjära regressionsmodeller estimeras med hjälp av varians-kovarianst-matrisen för de förklarande och beroende variablerna. Fördelen med ett dylikt förarande är att man av konfidentialitetsås (mer om detta nedan) inte behöver ty sig till ett stickprov, sammanställningen kan göras på basen av hela populationen. En nackdel är dock att alla definitioner, transformationer och klassificeringar skall vara fastställda för sammanställningen görs.

Den faktiska forskningsprocessen avviker ofta från den idealiserade bilden av estimering och hypotestestning. I verkligheten är forskning en iterativ process, där det lämpligaste sättet att klassificera, säga, utbildning, eller det, vilken funktionsform de kontinuerliga variablerna skall ha, är något som växer fram genom en växelverkan mellan forskaren och data. En sådan explorativ ansats blir både tungbröd och dyr om forskningen görs på basen av sammanställningar som görs inom NSI.

Detta är dock i många fall ett brukbart alternativ. Framförallt så utgör färdiga tabeller ett användbart alternativ, eftersom även icke-linjära modeller – i varje fall av generaliserad linjär

* I princip är det oklart att, om resultatet publiceras i bokform, att arbetet genererar en del vinstar utöver den normala lönen. Vidare kan arbetet generera löner till andra som inte direkt är involverade i forskningsprocessen, finansierat via overheads. Dessa är dock vanligtvis inte några betydande invändningar mot mitt resonemang.
“Off-site access” innebär den lägsta graden av NSI kontroll över data. NSI har begränsade möjligheter att kontrollera att data inte missbrukas eller att de ingångna avtalens följs. NSI har också få möjligheter att följa med data-användningen – vilka publikationer som görs, hur intensiv användningen är och så vidare. Om och när fel uppstått i data eller det av andra skäl betraktas som önskvärt att uppdatera befintliga data är det dyrt att få alla användare att uppdatera sina datamängder. (Jag har ingen erfarenhet av att finländska mikrodata skulle revideras, men t.ex. har European Community Household Panel, som distribueras av Eurostat, revideras i flera reprimer och nya data mängder har skickats ut till alla användare.)

Således talar kontrollmöjligheterna och lättnaden att revidera datamängder för on-site och online access. Ur användarens perspektiv är den (ur hennes perspektiv) minskade kontrollen över data både en för- och en nackdel. Förvaltningen och kvalitetskontrollen av data sköts av andra, vilket är en fördel. Men kvalitetsjusteringarna kan i princip vara av det slaget att ett tidigare resultat aldrig mera går att replikera (se t.ex. Dewald et al., 1986). Forskningsprocessens verifierbarhet kan alltså äventyras.

5. Prissättning

En springande punkt är det hurrivda NSIs uppgifter anses inbegripa stöd till forskning. Så vitt jag vet betraktas detta inte i något av de nordiska länderna som en central uppgift. Det betyder att alla tillgängstkostnader, i princip i varje fall, skall uppbäras av forskaren. Forskaren är alltså i samma situation som ett kommersiellt, vinst-maximerande företag. Detta trots att forskaren redan är i en särställning i och med att mikrodata kan användas bara av forskare för forskning. Det finns alltså inget principiellt hinder för att ytterligare prisdiskriminera till fördel för forskare, även om, så vitt jag vet, så inte sker.

De Nordiska NSI är dock under hårt kostnadsstryck. Samtidigt innebär forskartjänster verkliga kostnader. Det vore rimligt att dessa kostnader skulle läggas till NSIs ordinarie budget. Inget skulle ju hindra att även forskarstödet kom att betraktas som en central uppgift, dock så att detta beaktades i budgetmedlen.

Kostnadsfrågorna regleras i regel av andra än forskarna eller NSI. Trots att de i flera fall är en frikionskälla för båda parterna ligger besluten om dels prissättning och dels forskningsfinansiering hos andra – ofta ministerier – och såväl NSI som forskare får lov att leva med givna beslut. Om också inget hindrar att man försöker påverka de relevanta myndigheterna.

6. Konfidentialitet

Mikrodata för forskning är i regel aidentifierade. Enheternas identiteter är ofta helt ointressanta. I longitudinella sammanhang, då frågeställningen eller metodiken förutsätter att samma enhet kan spara i flera år, räcker det med en pseudoidentifiering av enheterna.


Datakonfidentialitet motiveras med två olika typer av argument. Dels hänvisas såväl till existerande lagstiftning som till berörande individers rätt till personlig integritet. Det är av såväl juridiska som etiska skäl betänkligt att personuppgifter används på sätt som personen i fråga inte har någon kontroll över.

NSIs åberopar dock ofta skäl som inte direkt sammanhänger med dessa juridiska eller etiska skäl att följa sträng datakonfidentialitet. Man är benägen att hänvisa till risken att ett slapphäng hanterande av datakonfidentialiteten åventyrar framtid datainskaffning. Man är rädd för att kvaliteten hos de data som företag och individer lämnar till NSI lider eller att svarsprocenten ökar. Detta skulle leda till att statistik som är mindre täckande och av lägre kvalitet och åventyras således statistikens tillförlitlighet.

Detta mer målinriktade skäl ligger ofta som grund till att vissa typer av data som av NSI betraktas som känsliga inte ges ut till forskare fast lagen och andra gällande bestämmelser i princip skulle tillåta det. NSI i samtliga nordiska länder hör det huvudsakliga ansvarar för statistikfunktionen. Har viktigt vi än tycker det är att forskare har tillgång till mikrodata måste även forskare betrakta den allmänna statistikens krav som överordnade sina egna. Det följer att denna målinriktade motivering till sträng konfidentialitet är viktig och skall respekteras också av forskare.

Å andra sidan är det klart att, om konfidentialitet är det enda som prioriteras, skall inga mikrodata överhuvudtaget användas i forskning. Eftersom mikrodata ändå används i forskning, måste rimligen även NSIs betrakta även mikrodata-baserad forskning som något värdefult. Det gäller således att vägva fördelarna mot nackdelarna.

Medan nackdelarna ju inbegriper riskerna mot bristande konfidentialitet ligger det en hel del bland fördelarna. Jag känner inte till ett enda fall av att forskare har brutit mot de regler som gäller
för datakonfidentialitet. Man frågar sig om inte de ukasar som ingår i dataavtalet räcker för att avskräcka de flesta potentiella databrottsgarna.

Det är alltså klart att den rätta nivån av konfidentialitet och de lämpliga åtgärderna för att säkra den är föremål för konstanta avvägningar. Ett institutionellt dilemma är att forskarna sällan är med i de sammanhang där dessa avväganden görs. Ett inbegripande av forskarna är inte helt oproblematiskt – det bästa man kan göra är väl att på olika sätt institutionalisera kontakter mellan forskare och NSI. Men trots de omfattande kontakter som SC i Finland har är min känslen den att vad gäller just konfidentialiteten kunde forskare ha mera att säga till om – till fördel för alla parter.

7. Diskussion

Moderna statistiska metodor inkluderar följande:
- interaktiv och dynamisk grafik
- analys av "outliers"
- icke-parametriska metoder (t.ex. baserade på sk. "kernel" metoder)
- icke-linjär regression
- statistiska modeller med komplicerade fördelningar (som måste estimeras med maximum likelihood-metoder)
- Bayesisk statistik
- panel- och "multilevel" modeller

I många fall kan statistisk av ovannämnda slag skattas eller förverkligas med hjälp av standard mjukvara, så som SAS eller Stata. När andra programpaket innehåller även möjligheter till eget programmerande.

För de som använder sig av interaktiv eller dynamisk grafik, outlier-analys eller Bayesiska metoder, är det dock mycket osannolikt att något annat än off-site access är tillfredsställande. Antingen finns inga eller skulle få rutiner i färdiga programpaket (Bayesiska metodor, dynamisk grafik, latenta icke-linjär modeller) eller så tillåter inte den tekniska lösningen för interaktivitet.

Experimentell mjukvara (som programme R, www.r-project.org och därtill associerade paket) förändras snabbt och det är mycket osannolikt att en NSI kan oppärtthålla behövliga program. Medan inget i princip hindrar att en användare skriver egna Fortran, C, Matlab eller R rutiner för användning hos NSIs servers, hindrar behovet av kontroll i praktiken användandet av avancerade icke-paketerade metoder och program.

I avvägningen mellan olika typer av tillgång till data skall datakonfidentialitet, kostnader och forskarnas intressen skall vägas samman. Det är inte osannolikt att ett "vaniljformaterat" on-line skema skulle passa många. Det som talar för on-line access är väl möjligheten att skaffa mer och bättre serverdatorer centraliserat, lättare kontroll över daturevisioner, färre dubblingar av dyra programinstallationer och så vidare. Alla forskare jag talat med föredrar dock starkt, ofta mycket starkt, off-site access när det är rimligt.

8. Avslutande kommentar

Det råder knappast någon tvivel om att samhällevetenskapliga forskare kommer i sin forskning i varje fall i lika hög, om inte högre, utsträckning att använda mikrodata, antingen på personer och hushåll eller på företag eller anläggningar. De mikrodata som Nordiska Statistiska Institut samlat inom ramen för sin ordinarie verksamhet utgör en god grund för att bygga upp, bl.a. genom nya kombinationer av grunddata, spännande och användbara nya datamängder. Å andra sidan medför detta kostnader för NSI och potentiella datakonfidentialitetsproblem.


Jag skall avsluta med två kommentarer som tangerar den ovanförda diskussionen. Det första gäller dokumentationen av data. något som är nära förknippat med det som kallas metadata. Behovet av högklassiga och tillgängliga metadata är något som är genomsnitt för alla typer av tillgång till data, från sammanställningar av populationsdata till off-site access. Metadata skall finnas till hands både före forskningen, för att informera planeringsprocessen, och under forskningen, för att undvika felhoppningar etc. Det är knappast fel att säga att det finns en höl del utrymme för vidare utveckling och breddning av metadata.

Till sist är det skäl att kommentera utbildningsaspekten av användningen av mikrodata. En del av den forskning som bygger på mikrodata utförs av universitetsforskar, vars andras uppgift är att utbilda studerande. Medan – i varje fall i Finland – mikrodata kan egentligen inte användas i undervisningen (vissa så kallade undervisningsmaterial undantaget) kommer studerande på många sätt i kontakt med mikrodata under sina studier. I data fallet kan examensarbeten genomföras i samverkan och som del av forskningsprojekt ledda av åtta forskare. Det ligger i såväl NSIs som
samhällets intresse att en del av de som utbildats vid universitetet har både kändedom om och erfarenhet av att arbeta med data. Detta understryker i mitt tycke att forskares tillgång till mikrodata har starka public goods aspekter. Det skulle vara skäl att vi tog konsekvenserna av detta.

REFERENSER


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“CLASSROOM MODELS” OF DIDAKTIK FOR TEACHERS

In this chapter, which is a development and further elaboration of a previous text (Wenestam & Hansén, 2002), we want to present three ways to describe the most central aspects of teaching as they appear when fundamentally different points of departures are chosen. We have chosen to call these descriptions “Models” of Didaktik because they are aimed at providing insight into and explaining aspects on the classroom teaching and learning processes. More specifically we will present and critically scrutinize three models of Didaktik widely used in various educational settings. In the judicious examination we try to identify the scope of the models, their potentiality to explain aspects of the reality of the classroom activities and their relationships to the question of normativity. The “models” are: the Behaviorist model, Klafki’s model of Didaktik analysis and the Phenomenographic Didaktik approach.

The “models” of Didaktik we present, are founded on alternative ways of viewing the field of Didaktik. We take for granted, without feeling a need to prove it, that teaching can be the object of scientific investigation and that there is a science that has the realm of teaching as main object. Historically Didaktik is the science that has teaching as its primary field of attention. The particular aim of this text, thus, is to present and to critically comment on three Didaktik models, which are considered to be important for understanding of the daily preparation and work of the individual teacher, on how to carry out the curriculum in practice and on ways of reasoning about teaching and learning. The models, thus, are regarded as appropriate for the empowerment of the quality of teacher’s work.
The meaning of the concept Didaktik, which we have chosen to spell the German way, can, depending on the perspective chosen, be defined in different ways. It is possible to discern a perspective where Didaktik, on the one hand is a science of teaching and on the other is a science, which has a critical and constructive function in stating educational goals, for the construction of the curricula for schools and for understanding the teaching-learning process (cf. Seel, 1999). A distinction can be made, separating the empirically based side of Didaktik, connected to empirical findings, from the non-empirically side, representing theoretical constructs about the areas mentioned above.

Didaktik models, like all models or theories, should provide, not only concepts and common understandings of teaching, they should also indicate what theoretical assumptions the researcher considers important and preferable. A model of Didaktik, thus, shows the researcher’s viewing point and his or her ideas about which phenomena are related and important, but also, to some extent, which are irrelevant and can be left out. This latter point makes a model a very useful tool because it makes comparisons of different Didaktik models possible, making it a tool for identifying the most fundamental traits of education. A model is always by necessity an abstraction and a reduction of the complexity of the reality it tries to describe. It may highlight and structure crucial aspects, in our case, of the art of teaching (Strand, & Kvernbeck, 2000).

The chosen “models” describe basic ideas about how to carry out teaching but there is also information to gain, to some extent, about the structuring and explaining of the planning of educational curricula. Our selection of the “models” has followed three criteria: The models have to be widely known 1) in the literature, 2) to cover essential parts of the teaching process, and 3) to have the power to explain aspects of the teaching practice. Furthermore we will not only select “models” presently widely used, but also models considered to have had an essential impact on the development of Didaktik during the post-war period.

It is necessary, however, to regard the model concept as enclosed by quotation marks. We have purposely chosen to use the term model when we want to point out and to delimit the field of interest and to stress the particular field’s importance for the understanding of teaching and learning. But it might be open to debate if the presented “models” are models in a proper and strict sense. There are other terms that could have been used to denote the area of interest, like “theory” or “approach”. But in order to stress the unique but still formal nature of each “model” we decided to use the model concept. The reason is also that the concept by its nature represents a very open category of meaning. In the text each model covers a wide range of theories, categories, and dimensions, which are internally divergent. The model concept in the loose sense we use it in this presentation is wide enough to include such variation.

Regardless any critical comments that may be made, we consider it functional to use the model concept because it, within its own framework, points to the same basic elements constituting the didactic environment, like a classroom situation.

By using the model concept in this sense (the basic phenomenon can be illustrated more fully this way) we are then first describing each “model” and then analyzing its internal characteristics. We are then able to reach a broader and deeper level of understanding of the teaching–learning process, which Didaktik, after all is all about.

The “models” we have chosen are the Behaviorist model, the Phenomenographic approach, and Klaflki’s model of Didaktik analysis.

The Behaviorist “model”

A protruding characteristic of the original behaviorist model is its emphasis on teachers’ and pupils’ observable development and changes. In an educational environment these are seen as representing effects and outcome of teaching and the sign of learning and understanding among the pupils. The same general idea covers both teacher’s and pupil’s behavior because the model rests on a very heavy body of empirical research findings from educational psychology and psychology.

The theoretical foundations for this kind of teaching are derived from behaviorist learning theory. Its historical roots are found in theories presented by Watson (1924), Thorndike (1932), Skinner (1975) and many other more recent researchers. Among these can Gage and Berliner (1992) and Bandura (1970) be mentioned, adopting a behaviorist approach to teaching and learning.

One of the most important general principles of the behaviorist model of Didaktik is the finding that human beings tend to be influenced by two very protruding agents – reinforcement and punishment. In an educational environment this means that if a student’s thinking or idea of how to solve or present a mathematical task is well received and applauded or rewarded by somebody, that student tends to repeat his way of thinking. In a similar way, if a teacher finds out that the students consider his lessons interesting, that teacher is probable trying to repeat those lessons and to use this experience for new lessons. The behaviorist theory states, that, generally speaking, if a person’s thinking, learning, attitudes, or behavior is
something successful teachers are doing when carrying out teacher's work in its full range. From this it is reasonable to stress the importance of good models to use as study objects in order to influence the pupil. This approach is two sided and of the same relevance for teachers or student teachers and school children. Taking the behaviorist approach as a point of departure we can point to a specific type of learning called model learning, modeling or vicarious learning (Bandura, 1970), from which it is assumed that the pupils learn skills, moral and how to behave in various situations. School teaching, then, is the conscious implementation of this very natural way of influencing the pupil in the directions wanted.

For teaching and teacher education there is a very simple rational, saying: If we can find a very good teacher we can use this teacher as a model and find out what is the secret of this teacher's teaching ability.

This idea is very old and has been applied for thousands of years by parents and craftsmen. In previous ages education of young apprentices were carried out by assigning them to a skilled craftsman - a master, who possessed the knowledge that was asked for. The young person then followed the skilled master and learned the trade by his instructions and by observing the way he worked and how he solved the problems that arose. In cognitive psychology the study of experts and novices are a familiar way to study cognitive performances like, for instance, decision-making, where it is important to find out what specific mechanisms are operative. In education, the expert-novice construct has been rarely applied in research, although during the 1990-ies there are an increasing number of such studies. Berliner's (1986, 1994) studies on the expert-novice dyad have been very influential on later research. In his research he has found that experienced teachers and beginners do diverge in a number of ways. A short list of the differences pointed out by Berliner is presented below.

1. Experts perceive meaningful patterns in the domain in which they are experienced.
2. Experts have fast and accurate pattern recognition capabilities. Novices cannot always make sense of what they experience.
3. Experts make more inferences from and assumptions about the information presented to them than do novices.
4. Experts, compared to novices, attend more to the atypical or unique events that occur in the domain in which they have expertise.
5. Experts represent problems in qualitatively different ways than do novices.
6. Experts may begin to solve problems slower, but they bring richer and more personal sources of information to bear on the problem that they are trying to solve.

7. Experts are more sensitive to the task demands and social situation when solving problems of instruction.

8. Experts are more opportunistic and flexible in their teaching than are novices.

9. Experts often develop automaticity for the repetitive operations that are needed to accomplish their goals.

10. Experts are more evaluative than are novices.

11. Experts appear to be more confident about their abilities to succeed at instructional tasks than are novices.

12. Experts excel mainly in their own domain and in particular contexts.

The listing represents the basic idea in this model, since the behaviorist didactic model states that the characteristics of the expert and the novice teacher and the divergences, are important knowledge for the understanding of teaching. The characteristics are also regarded as useful for the enhancement of teaching competence because of what can be learned from them. Their usefulness, thus, rest in the assumed value this kind of knowledge has to the education of new teachers. That is, a successful expert teacher is an important model for beginning teachers and their learning about being a teacher.

Wolfgang Klafki’s Model of Didaktik Analysis

The second model, Klafki’s model of didaktik analysis is mainly bound to the German tradition of didaktik and is closely linked to classroom activities. The German didaktik, founded by Wolfgang Ratke and Johan Amos Comenius in the 17th century has along its history been focused on philosophical thinking, theorizing and construction of theoretical models (Kansanen, 1999). Klafki’s model or theory for teaching planning is a theoretical construct. Central in Klafki’s thinking is his way of interpreting knowledge within a curriculum framework. He claims three forms of knowledge although he replaced the term with the German notion Bildung. The first form is material Bildung expressed in student’s contact with cultural and societal life. This form of Bildung is represented for instance in knowledge stemming from research findings and in visual art and literature. The second form of Bildung takes its point of departure from student’s inherent potential to be developed and is called formal Bildung. The selection of the content is related to its power to promote student’s ability of thinking, concentration, judgment, and will-power. Formal Bildung is an important life skill necessary for all kind of daily situations. The method of working is in this case in focus. The third form Klafki calls categorical Bildung. Bildung is a two dimension process comprising both the curriculum content itself and the student’s subjective conception of the content. The prerequisite for every learning situation is a content to be learnt and a method for learning to be used. This dialectic interplay between material and formal Bildung is a creative act. (Imsen, 1999).

Klafki’s way of characterizing Bildung is condensed in his theory of teaching planning or didaktik analysis. It is founded in the German Bildung tradition and puts the teaching content, Bildung, at the center for decision making (Hopmann, 1997; Imsen, 1999). Klafki’s didaktik analysis is the most widely used model for Didaktik in Germany. The model still prevails in German teacher education and is internationally well known (Hopmann, 2000; Kansanen, 1990). The original article on this topic was first published in the Journal of Die deutsche Schule in 1958. The title of the article is Didaktische Analyse als Kern der Unterrichtsvorbereitung and was revised in 1962. It has been translated into English under the title Didaktik Analyse as the Core of Preparation of Instruction in the book Teaching as a reflective practice. The German Didaktik tradition, edited by I. Westbury, S. Hopman and K. Ricquarts (2000). The article has also been published in the Nordic countries. Another important source is Klafki’s revised and elaborated version in Neue studien zur Bildungstheorie und Didaktik Beiträge zur kritisch-konstruktiven Didaktik (1985). Klafki calls the revised version the critical-constructive theory and stresses the societal perspective more than in the original version. As a theory the model is concrete and serves a practical guideline for teacher’s daily planning of lessons (Hopmann, 1997).

The five-step approach is directed to lesson planning. The steps are expressed as questions that together claim to yield a definition of substance:

1. What wider or general sense or reality does this content exemplify and open up to the learner? What basic phenomenon or fundamental principle, what, law, criterion, problem, method, technique, or attitude can be grasped by dealing with this content as an example?

The starting point is the content of the lesson. For Klafki the content makes the instruction. The aim of the step is to explain the content of “cultivating the man” (Bildungsgehalt). The teacher’s task is to activate any knowledge possibly related to the question (Hopmann, 2000).
2. What significance does the content in question, or the experience, knowledge, ability, or skill to be acquired through this topic already possesses in the minds of the children in my class? What significance should it have from a pedagogical point of view?

For Klafki it is crucial to ask whether the activities in the school can come alive, be used and effective outside the school. He points to the question of what importance for instance electricity, animals, stories, church, and crafts have for the child outside the school. Another important question is to ask whether the topic is already familiar to the children. If the children or part of them already have access to the topic from a certain angle the teacher’s task is to take this fact into consideration in the lesson planning. Students’ pre-understanding forms thus the starting point for the planning process.

Hopmann (2000) considers this question as simple and complicated at the same time. It is simple because it is aimed to be the natural starting point of every lesson. On the other hand it is complicated because children in a class do not have similar backgrounds and experiences. The significance of a specific content area may thus vary across a single class between different meanings or no meaning at all.

3. What constitutes the topic’s significance for the children’s future?

The teacher has to ask if the content plays a vital role in the intellectual life, or if there is justification to assume that it will play such a role when the children become adolescents and adults.

4. How is the content structured (which has been placed in a specifically pedagogical perspective by Questions 1, 2, and 3)?

Klafki emphasizes the vital importance of the fact that the question about the structure of the content only can be pedagogically asked in close connection to the three previous questions. Responses to questions about the structure of the content can be educational (i.e. bildendes) "...only if and when the question and comprehension level of the students matches them..." (p. 153).

The basic questions about the structure and of a particular content have been broken down six specific questions. We will list the questions because they provide a sharp insight into core elements of the structure: 1) Which are the individual elements of the content as a meaningful whole? 2) How are these individual elements related? 3) Is the content layered? Does it have different layers of meaning and significance? 4) What is the wider context of this content? What must have preceded it? 5) What peculiarities of the content will presumably make access to the subject difficult for the children? 6) What is the body of knowledge that must be retained?

5. What are the special cases, phenomena, situations, experiments, persons, elements of aesthetic experience, and so forth, in terms of which the structure of the content in question can become interesting, stimulating, approachable, conceivable, or vivid for children of the stage of development of this class?

This question is divided into three sections:

(1) What facts or states of affairs, phenomena, situations, experiments, controversies, and so forth “in other words, what experiences” are appropriate for exciting in the pupils’ minds and interest in, and a positive attitude toward, developing questions oriented to deciphering the structure of the given problem?

What Klafki tries to shed the light on is the importance of retransforming dead subject matter into the vital actions that once developed it.

(2) What pictures, hints, situations, observations, stories, experiments, models, and so on, are appropriate in helping children to answer, as independently as possible, their questions directed at the essentials of the matter?

By this question Klafki stresses the need “to return to the original situation” as an appropriate way of elaborating an adequate illustration.

(3) What situations and tasks are appropriate for helping the principle of content grasped by means of an example, of an elementary “case”, become of real benefit to the students, helping to consolidate it by application and practice (immanent repetition)?
The challenge is to seek situations in the life of the child where concessive clauses are required to verbalize the subject matter.

As we can see the last question leads to the problems of how to present a content. Thus the question is focused on the method or methods to be used. Planning of teaching methods can, according to Klaflki, only proceed from Didaktik analysis. The question of how to teach is embedded in the wider questions: Which ways can lead to a fruitful encounter between the children and the content? and What can follow for a fruitful encounter the two to be achieved? His interpretation of planning for methods is thus clearly bounded to the dependence on didactic reflection.

**The Phenomenographic Didaktik model**

The Phenomenographic Didaktik model contains a conception of learning and relies on strong empirical research, where the most important finding is that when people learn, understand or remember something, their learning, understanding, or remembering may vary qualitatively among them. This means that the world around us is understood by us in a very personal and idiosyncratic way. The research approach is classified as qualitative in that it is directed at the way people conceive of the world around them (Marton, 1981).

According to the Phenomenographic learning theory the teacher and the pupil is seen as highly dynamic cognitive systems but also as individuals, each having a personal background and history, which relate them to a particular socio-cultural environment in time and space. This personal background is to some extent shared but it is also individual and exclusively personal. It is assumed that human cognition like thinking, learning, understanding, remembering, is directed at finding or creating pattern or meaningfulness from the information encountered. In a classroom where the teaching is going on both the teacher and the pupils are engaged in making the information meaningful and making it hooked to what has been presented in previous lessons or in textbooks used. Knowledge, then, is not believed to be previous acquired information that is stored in memory for use when asked for. Furthermore, knowledge, is not seen as ready made and available to the pupil at retrieval but must be created or constructed by him/her. One basic cognitive mechanism being protruding, is the human need to create meaningfulness and understandable pattern out of information presented to them (Dreyfus, 1972; Wenevsmam, 2000).

These aspects of Phenomenography are core variables, because they define the teacher and the learner as interactively engaged in creating meaning from the information brought up during the lessons. They also mean that the actors, because of their personal socio-cultural backgrounds, are very independent when doing this and that they must be seen as persons and not as a collective like a class or group. The very idea that people tend to construct or create meaning has been proposed many times before in the history of education and in psychology, although rarely taken into consideration by educators. Consequently it is reasonable to expect that whatever a group of persons, like a teacher and pupils in a school class, understand or think may vary qualitatively. Phenomenography, then, is about what people think or understand and by admitting that different persons may vary qualitatively in what they think or understand about a phenomenon, we have opened a new way to approach teaching and teacher’s work. This approach has been firmly founded on empirical research about what people’s thinking or understanding of a particular phenomenon looks like.

As an illustration to this reasoning, findings from a study by Heilä-Ylikallio and Wenevsmam (1993, 1994) on young children’s ways of conceiving about reading may be of interest. In this particular study preschool children’s conceptions of what one is doing when reading was investigated. The outcome of the study was the finding that among the children three content specific qualitatively different conceptions of reading existed. They were ostensibly labeled 1) the reading behavior, 2) the reading material, 3) the content of the text read and were referring to the children’s focus of attention.

In more detail, category 1) referred to the reading behavior, that is the act of reading, because it was in focus for the children, indicating an awareness of what it takes to read. These children were the oldest in the sample. In the next descriptive category, 2) the reading material, the letters and words are in focus and what difficulties may be involved in understanding them. These children’s responses are directed at the obstacles to decode the text of its meaning. The third 3) descriptive qualitative category, reading was seen as focusing on the content of the text. It was the story in the sense of being a story read, that was the most important to the children. The children’s responses were interpreted to mean that these children associated reading with an adult reading to them, making reading to be connected with expectations on story content and feelings of togetherness and cosiness. These responses were from children being younger than the ones forming the other two categories.

Among the children, these three ways to look upon reading existed. It is easy to understand that if the children were together in class and taught how to read, the didactic approach in order to be optimally effective, must cover all three categories of conceptions to meet the needs of the pupils.
The second step is a systematic analysis of the nature of the qualitative differences. This means that the teacher must make visible the subjects' ways of thinking, by verbalize the qualitative characteristics and to map them for further use. Concretely this means that if one pupil calculates $5 \times 5 = 25$ and another $5 \times 5 = 55$ then there are two qualitatively different ways among those two pupils to understand the multiplication of the two numbers. The major question then is what kind of thinking the children have about the calculation. How do they think? This step represents a necessary change in perspective for the teacher to take (Wenestam, 1993) because the teacher must leave the teaching perspective and take up a new perspective where the pupils' cognition is in focus. This latter perspective has been called cognitive.

The third step is the logical reversal to the educational didactical perspective, where the teacher transforms the knowledge about the pupils' thinking and understanding into didactic action or praxis. This step is the change of cognitive knowledge into educational. Whatever qualitative variation is observed among the children, it may be made the content of the teaching in order to enhance pupils' understanding of subject matter. Concretely, if the teacher knows about the different conceptions of reading or calculating $5 \times 5$, this very specific knowledge may be used as teaching content in order to enhance the pupils understanding and learning to read and calculate.

Comments and reflections on the “models”

What knowledge can the presented “models” add to teachers’ professional competence. In what sense are these different ways of presenting information of value for teachers’ everyday work in school? All the “models” claim to provide structured schemes for identifying elements structuring the processes of teaching-learning. They are abstractions because they are directed to simplify the actual and real work that is carried out by teachers. In this they are intended to put our attention on a few selected aspects and by this elaborate our understanding of the complex process we call teaching. (Strand, & Kvernbeck, 2000). The “models” seek to embody the idea of an internally and distinctly framed and coherent wholeness pointing to clearly identifiable external references. They are made up of a set of interconnected relations, for instance students to the curriculum and to the teacher, students to the learning process via the mediated curriculum, the teacher to the students and to the curriculum etc.
The "models" seem, despite being clearly structured and stable, on the other hand, to incorporate a dynamic and a dialectical structure open for various interpretation and use. While open and dynamic the models not only are observations and reflections of the processes of teaching and learning. They also contribute to the constituting of the processes of teaching and learning and embody thus a structuring power themselves. Our way of perceiving these processes is often caught in "models" we have incorporated. The result is that well-structured models for praxis tend to produce structures of which they are products (cf. Grenfell & James, 1998).

The "models", with one possible exception - Klafki's, are neutral regarding normativity. However, they can be dealt with normatively or descriptively. In the former case a model is functioning as a norm for concrete teaching planning, like for instance lesson planning within a teacher education practice. In the latter case a model serves as a tool for describing the process of teaching and learning. Lesson preparation is traditionally a very normative process following preplanned structures. Therefore we always have to be cautious of the risk of falling into a modelism, which might lead to an imperialistic and mechanistic way of using them.

As a closing, we would like to make some comments and critical reflections on the scope and focus of the "models".

The behaviorist model: Regarding teaching, this model is directed at the individual level of the teacher's intentions to teach and make the pupils understand and acquire knowledge. The model also is directed at the pupils learning. The mechanisms operating are, according to the model, the same for the teacher and for the pupils. What should be noted is, that the behaviorist approach to teaching and learning, originally focused mainly on overt behavior but this standpoint was later developed to include also very complex learning and cognitive phenomena, like language acquisition. The model is general and extends its explanatory power far beyond the classroom. It describes and explains human behavior, learning and thinking, independently of situation or local conditions. In school, the presence of reinforcements in everyday work, like in teacher's way of treating the students or presenting the teaching content is easy to detect. This way the teacher supports the pupils' ambitions to perform well or makes them feel inferior.

The behaviorist model has been criticized because of its way to define knowledge making knowledge too simplified and of little value for complex processes like teaching, learning and understanding. Also there is a tendency to look at a human being in a very simplistic way making humans and human development dependent on external stimuli or reinforcements. Questions regarding free will or qualitative variation in pupils' understanding of something, are not very well supported by behaviorist theory. But, on the other hand, a smile or a supportive nod by a teacher in school may make a difference to a young person's learning and studies. We all know that.

Klafki's model: The model was not originally rooted in empirical research. Like Tyler, Klafki also asks questions about the teaching-learning process, but with emphasis on a theory of teaching planning. Klafki's model is teacher oriented and more precisely focused around the lesson planning and concentrated on the relationship between the structure of the teaching and learning process (Lehr-Lern-Prozessstrukturen). Klafki has though later revised his original theory from 1958, and has included, influenced by the Frankfurt school, a societal dimension. He labels his revised theory Critical-constructive, meaning a continuous reflection about the relationship between the school and teaching on the one hand and societal processes on the other hand. Didaktik is for Klafki a general notion for educational research directed to an intentional view of teaching and connected learning (Kansanen, 1990).

His questions start with the content of the lesson because the content will make and frame the instruction. The what question is thus at the first stage in focus. Therefore the structure of the content is crucial in his model. Responses about questions concerning the content structure can be educational only when they match the students' level of comprehension.

The content question thus leads to the next stage, to the how question focused on the method or methods to be used. He emphasizes the structure of interaction between the teacher and the students and the media to be used in order to enhance students' learning.

The value of Klafki's theory is considered to be the great emphasis he offers the curriculum in teacher's planning. Although the revised version of his theory includes a societal and critical aspect of curriculum planning it has been characterized as too soft and invisible beside the strong focus on a given content. His notion of knowledge, on the contrary, focusing on formal, material, and categorical dimensions (Bildung), has been criticized for being both too academic and too normative.

The Phenomenographic model: The model is grounded on the assumption that human beings are, by necessity, inclined to create meaning and meaningfulness from information encountered. It is a disposition that makes a pupil construct meaning of otherwise meaningless data. The aim for the teaching carried out, the pupil's understanding of the
teaching content, is in this perspective a highly problematic phenomenon, because of this constructive relationship to each pupil’s way of thinking. This means that there may exist as many conceptions of a specific teaching content as there are children. Also the teacher’s way of thinking about the phenomenon must be considered. Taken together, teaching must be seen as a highly complex task. Normally, however, as been shown by phenomenographic research, the number of qualitatively different conceptions about a phenomenon, are not large, which reduces the complexity somewhat.

The model emphasizes the individual’s thinking and ability to make information meaningful. The perspective taken is called “second order” because it is directed at what the person thinks a phenomenon is, not what the phenomenon is. Teaching must, in order to be optimal, take into consideration that there may exist (and probably does) qualitative differences among the children regarding the content taught. The teacher must be trained to detect such qualitative differences and to find ways to use them in the teaching. It is obvious that ignorance of qualitative variation in pupil’s understanding means that those who have understood the content the intended way can continue their studies and build on the acquired knowledge, while those who have understood the teaching content in a qualitatively different way, may experience difficulties to follow the teaching when the course continues.

Concluding remarks

The short critically examining overview of the three “models” shows aspects of the scope and the focus of the “models”. We have to point out one eye sticking limitation of the “models”. The issue of communicative interaction with students varies largely among the “models”. The Behaviorist model more or less neglects the presence of language in the classroom. Klazni only briefly points out what he calls the structure of interaction. The Phenomenographic model relies, although not explicitly well expressed, however heavily on the verbal interactive information flow in the classroom, because there is the most valuable source of information for the teacher about the children’s ways of thinking. But the verbal interaction is also valuable to the children, because it makes them learn and confront each other’s ways of thinking about subject matter, making them able to relate their own thinking about something to the ways their fellow pupils think. This increases the probability that one way of thinking is contrasted with another way of thinking leading to enhanced understanding among the pupils.

Despite the “models” vary in focus and scope, each of them is directed to the classroom and to the teachers’ and students’ interplay around the teaching-learning process. “Models” are always theoretical constructs and cannot as such be meaningfully applied to each real life concrete situation, but they can be characterized as attempts of explaining how to combine theory and practice. Models can provide views on educational phenomena because they can structure and simplify educational complexities. In their simplifying function they have to be treated carefully. The “models” always represent, as has been noticed, a reductionist picture of the reality. The reality remains wider, more complex and can never as such be trapped into any model, regardless the number of questions, boxes and arrows exposing the relationships. A model continues to be an abstraction of the reality – not the reality.

Although we can say that some of the exposed “models” already are part of the Didaktik tradition they cannot, so far, be viewed only as history. In modern educational literature we can still find them exposed, discussed and critically examined. They still can be found in schemes for lesson planning in teacher education and they still continue to produce structures for our way of thinking about teaching and learning.

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ELIMINATION AS A PROBLEM-SOLVING STRATEGY AT A MC-TEST OF FL LISTENING

Problem solving in general and in a language test situation

A test situation, like research, as well as much of our daily actions in general, can be seen as a series of problems that need to be solved in order for us to proceed in whatever we are focused on at a particular moment. In a (language) test situation, we normally get a task, most often in the shape of one or several questions that we need to answer in order for us to prove to the test administrator/user that we have reached a certain level of knowledge or ability. Added to the amount or the quality of particular pieces of knowledge or the ability we possess, we usually need to use different strategies in order to solve the task at hand. A test is therefore rarely a “pure” measure of any knowledge or ability, but also a function of how successful a test-taker is when solving a problem by the means of the strategies he or she considers appropriate.

In language testing contexts, Cohen 1998 (219ff) considers test-taking strategies consisting of both language use strategies and test-wiseness strategies. Language use strategies consist of retrieval and communication strategies and are determined by proficiency in the language being assessed, whereas test-wiseness implies making use of the respondent’s knowledge how to take tests. Cohen (1998: 220) points out that no test-taking strategy is a good or a poor choice for a given task, but that it is dependent on how particular test-takers with particular cognitive characteristics, language knowledge and repertoires of test-taking strategies employ these strategies at a given task.

The multiple-choice test format

The multiple-choice (MC) test format has been severely criticised by language testing scholars for allowing for the strategies of guessing and elimination, that are considered to negatively influence the reliability and the validity of a test. It is possible to give a multiplechoice answer without possessing the needed and targeted skill or knowledge, and to arrive at a correct answer by random guessing, thus undermining the possibility of the test to give a reliable picture of the respondent’s skill. The validity of the test is also at stake: does the test measure the guessing ability and the good luck of the respondent more than the targeted construct, that is does the test allow for construct-relevant variance in the test scores?

There may naturally be cases where test-taking strategies can “artificially” inflate the test-taker’s scores (Cf. Akkerenson et al. 1995:45) or the MC test method may encourage students to consider alternatives they would not otherwise have considered and make incorrect interpretations they might not otherwise have made.

Guessing and elimination at a MC-test of listening comprehension

When investigating the process of guessing at a MC-test of listening comprehension of French as a foreign language* and analysing test-takers’ introspective comments I was struck by the multidimensionality of the reasons for guessing (cf. Anckar, 2006). Among the factors affecting the test-taking process there is the spoken text as one dimension, the task including the written question (the stem) and the three options as another and as the third dimension the candidates with their various personalities, skills and knowledge (language and other) and experiences. All these dimensions influence the test-takers’ tendency to guess at an item (cf. Bachman & Palmer 1996: 204-205).

At the reason of the analyses behind the strategy of guessing and the way the test-takers’ had used the strategy it turned out that the guesses were not at all merely random guesses, but that there was proof in many cases where the guessing process was in fact a relatively high-level cognitive process. As Linn and Miller (2005: 343-344) point out, problem solving always involves a certain type of informed guessing. They compare the guesses to doubtful items with informed guesses we make when we predict weather or judge the possible consequences of a decision. Factors related to the quality of the test that seemed to have influenced the tendency to guess and that should be considered by the test constructors could also be identified by the analysis.

As elimination or ruling-out was an equally frequently expressed reason or method of responding to test items in the test under scrutiny, in the following I will look more closely into the way the candidates that took the analysed test of listening comprehension of French

* MC-test of listening of French as a foreign language used as the Finnish Matriculation Examination in spring, 2002.
as a foreign language have made use of that method, and how they have expressed this in their responses. The qualitative method I have developed I have called 'short written introspection' (or "write down thinking"), and it is a type of verbal protocol analysis. During the test event, the test-takers are asked to briefly write down their reasons for selecting a particular option at each item.*

Ebel and Frisbie (1991:156-157) note that the availability of the process of elimination is sometimes regarded as a weakness of the multiple-choice format. They conclude, however, that the use of this rather demanding strategy is justified, as the knowledge and ability required to properly eliminate incorrect alternatives can be closely related to the knowledge and ability required to select the correct alternative. They point out that few multiple choice items are likely to be answered correctly by eliminating incorrect choices and that often the process will actually involve comparative judgements of this alternative against that.

Haladyna (1994:152) points out that any multiple-choice item contains the elements of guessing and elimination, depending on the level of knowledge the test-taker can rely on at a particular item. In Cohen's (1998) classification, educated guesses — using background knowledge or extra-textual knowledge - are seen as belonging to the category of language-use based strategies, whereas elimination is classified as a test-wisdom strategy. Cohen (1998:230) describes the process of elimination as "to select a choice not because you are sure that it is the correct answer, but because the other choices don’t seem reasonable, because they seem similar or overlapping, or because the meaning is not clear to you". In the context of this study I will interpret elimination as a larger category still, including Ebel and Frisbie's (1991) interpretation of elimination as making comparative judgements of the options.

In order to be able to analyse the responses given to this specific test of listening comprehension, it is necessary to have a picture of what the test process is like from the test-takers' point of view. In the following, I will first make a schematic description of the listening test process, before looking more closely at the introspective responses that reflect the nature of the strategy of elimination.

**The test-taking situation**

The participating test-takers (N:226) were at the stage where they were about to participate in the Matriculation Examination, their average ability level consequently being appropriate for taking this particular test. The test procedure — on some points deviating from the original test procedure of the Matriculation Examination — is as follows:

1) Test-takers read through the first two questions (items) consisting of a stem and three options in the target language French, questions referring to the first listening passage.
2) They then listen to the text passage.
3) During a pause (45 sec per item) they are asked to select an option.
4) After having listened to the first text passages and answered questions 1-11, they listen to the passages again.
5) At this stage, they are allowed to change their response, leaving the original choice.
6) During the same short pause they are asked to briefly justify their selection in answering the question "why did I choose option a/b/c?"
7) (After the 11 first items there are three items with open-ended short-answer questions that are not treated in this study.)
8) The same procedure as for items 1-11 is then followed for items 25-30.

The fact that the test procedure looks specifically like this is evidently important for the processes and strategies activated. As the test-taker is allowed, and indeed supposed, to look at the questions beforehand, she has the possibility of making a preliminary idea about what the passage will be about. The fact that the question and the options are read through before listening to the passage has, in fact, two different effects. The most "strategic" or test-wise, or simply the most experienced participants may have a preliminary idea of which option seems likely to be the correct one even before hearing the text. The more skillful participants will probably be able to have expectations of the coming text contents. However, the weaker students may be confused by the options, being written in French, especially if they misunderstand them or find some of the written vocabulary unfamiliar to them. This may lead them astray, not giving them a possibility of interpreting the text along the intended contents.

After having listened to the text, the test participants are to take a stand concerning the correctness of each of the options in relation to the interpretation they have made of the text contents. It becomes clear that the process or strategy of elimination is indeed inherent in the nature of the test format. The test-taker may have some background information that tell her, for instance, which options are definitely NOT correct, which is also valuable information. As Buck (2001: 147) points out, test-takers normally have some comprehension of the point

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* The larger PhD study consists of investigations of dimensions of the validity of the test, and the usefulness of the introspective method combined with traditional item analysis for investigating validity issues.

* As the test-takers as students of French as a foreign language in general, are at least 95% female, I will refer to an individual test-taker as "she".
being tested. Thereby, implausible distractors can be eliminated on the basis of partial knowledge (cf. Haladyna 1994: 152; Bachman & Palmer 1996: 204). Therefore, even if the test-taker does not know the correct answer, she is inclined to favour one response over another, perhaps without even knowing exactly why.

After the second listening of the text, the test-takers are given the possibility to revise their original interpretation and change their response, a procedure which has been very frequent. Some introspective responses thus focus exclusively on the reasons for the change.

The responses (N=3794) that were given by the test-takers to the question why they selected a particular option varied, but were similar enough across schools and individual test-takers for the researcher to establish a typology. Apart from guesses and uses of elimination there were responses containing bits from the contents of the text passage, ranging from words through partial sentence units to summaries of the key contents but also misinterpretations of the message of the text. There were also responses that evidenced thinking on a "metacognitive" level: reflections on the test process, the test-taker herself or her experiences of the language. Some responses were vague or empty and were consequently not informative.

Research questions

This report will focus on the frequent cases of more or less explicit indications of uses of the strategy of ruling-out or elimination. The questions that I want to address are:

1) In what ways do the test-takers apply the strategy of elimination?
   a. What subtypes of elimination or what ways of expressing the use of this strategy are there?
   b. How frequent are these different subtypes in relation to the total amount of cases of this strategy?

2) Is there a relationship between the success at the individual items and the use of a particular type of elimination process?

3) Are various types of the elimination process used more frequently at particular listening ability levels (as determined by the total score at the test)?

4) Is there a correlation between the quality of an item and the use of the elimination process in general or a particular subtype of elimination?

The answers to these questions will enlighten the nature of the process of elimination from the point of view of the justifiability of the use of the process as it can be taken as a part of the listening comprehension construct. The hypothesis I have is that the introspective responses will prove that elimination is not in itself automatically a "bad strategy" incompatible with the construct of listening comprehension in a language use situation. Consequently, the criticism against the MC-test format from the point of view of the test-takers' use of strategies and processes that are not part of the construct of "natural" language use will not be entirely justified. However, as earlier studies on the process of guessing have indicated, the quality of the test and the individual items are essential: bad or opaque (unclear) items are likely to promote the use of "bad strategies" - e.g. random guessing or elimination based on superficial reasons - where the result of a test-taker is not dependent on the efficient use of construct-relevant processes, but construct-irrelevant ones.

I will first address the first research question, concerning the nature of the types of elimination strategies that have been employed in this particular test situation.

1 A. TYPES OF ELIMINATION AT THE TEST OF LISTENING COMPREHENSION

Under the category of elimination, I have grouped several different types of cases, that give indications of more or less conscious use of the ruling-out strategy. These subtypes seem to be on different cognitive levels, and further below I will verify if there is a relationship between the type of strategy use and the actual success level of the participants. There are altogether 596 instances of the ruling-out strategy among a total number of 3794 responses, giving at hand that as high a proportion as 16 % of all of the responses given to the 17 MC-items contains the element of elimination. In Table 1 are given the 13 types of cases of elimination, the number of cases as well as their proportion among the total number of cases:
Table 1: Subtypes of elimination, their number and proportion among all cases of elimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of elimination</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Proportion among all cases of elimination (N=596)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Elaborated elimination</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Citation from text</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Elimination on meta-level</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV One option eliminated</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V One option eliminated + guess</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Best option</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Only possible option</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII Nothing said about the other options</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX Explicit mention of strategy</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Comprehension problems</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI 2 options are wrong</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII No good option</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII Change explained</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I will now proceed with my subjective description and definition of each of these subtypes, giving examples of responses that the test-takers have written down for different items. I will also comment on the possible background and consequences to the employment of these types of strategies.

I Elaborated elimination

I have considered this type consisting of "high-level" elaboration as the test-takers consciously seem to take into account each of the different options while considering the text contents. This seems a justified way of using the strategy, and a test-taking process that is intended by the test constructor at this specific test format. Hypothetically, this happens as follows: the test-taker listens to the text and forms an inner representation of the contents in working memory. She then compares this representation with each of the options, establishing the correctness or falseness of each of them. Obviously, the more she understands of the text, and the more exact an interpretation she has formed of it, the clearer the message will be, and the easier it is to compare the message with the representations that are made of the consent of the options. If the interpretation of the text is correct, the key options should be selected as an obvious answer to the item in question. Here this type of elimination is exemplified:

- "Puhuttuin kampusla, entä olisit varaama mitä B:ssä tarkoitten, mutta avoimeena esimerkiksi päätellen ettei vietäsi en B. pitäisit että kuvailut puhuttaviaa tehdessämainitse heidän tavoitteeseen. 'They talked about shops, and I wasn't sure what they meant in B, but from the context I could infer that the response in B. Plus I didn't hear anything about the closing-down of small shops.' Item 1: (V9-6, A-9)

- "AX kyse muistetusta käytäntö: RXX vastasivat asunto oman hiuslaitteita \"AX it was about other things also than just money, RXX ordinary appaetures the too expensive\" Item 2: (G6:8)

- "Ovi oli avat - ei B, ei varastossa - ei A, c kouluun yhtenäisestä tekivät kahdessa \"The door was open - not B, not school - not A, C seems to be in accordance with the text\" Item 8: (E1:3-5)

- "Ollut valinnat C:n, mutta nälöiden se jouduttiin. Ei-A ei koko ajan ympärillä, eli B ei siten ollut \"päädyin c:n\" han I would have selected C, but she did see her mother sometimes. There were people around all the time, so it wasn't B Item 11: (N1:6-9)

- "Se on koulutettu \"A\" / \"H\". Hän oltiin filteerat \"C\" / \"H\" It is for the cat \"A\" is not good. She would like a file \"C\" is not good Item 29: (A2:4)

The relative success of this particular subtype of elimination will be treated further below. The hypothesis is that this should be a successful strategy, in most cases leading to the rejection of the distractors, and the selection of the key.

II Citation from the text

Quite a few test-takers motivate their ruling-out of particular options by referring to words, phrases or idea units that they have grasped from the text. (The more complete interpretations where each of the options is considered in the light of the text are placed in the category of elaborated responses). The success of the test-takers that have given these particular responses varies according to the amount of text they have understood and the correctness of their interpretation, as well as according to their ability to relate their interpretation to the contents of each of the options.

Examples of this type of elimination include:

- "Tekstissä puhuttiaan kampusla, joten muistaa vahvaaJos et ollut kypsennet \"They talked about shops in the text, so the other options could not be possible\" Item 1: (R6-8, A)

- "A ei sisään, Tiusella heräväinen kunnetulla onnan. Joten lainattavana. \"At least not A. At the second listening I understood more about the text. Something about losing weight\" Item 5: (U4:3, C-9)

- "Mutta vaikuttaa suurin maailmaa (Puhuttiaan kampusla) \"They didn't mention the other options. (They talked about a shop) Item 10: (Q1:4)

- "Itseänä sõltuv, koska puhuttiaan jostain Descartes-järjestelmissä, ja silloin C on ainoat järvekö "Self-evident, as they talked about a Descartes-society, and then C is the only reasonable one\" Item 26: (N5:7)

- "Ett\"t\"ni kysyn sen olevan pokaal. \"B\" / \"C\" ei kyllä \"Didn't you know that it is compulsory? \"B and C are not good Item 28: (N9:8)

* Test-taker identity code.
III Elimination on meta-level

This type of a selection is justified by grammatical, semantic or test strategic considerations. Examples of these justifications are found in:

- Maut vaihtehtoa ei ole tällälihi puheenkohdassa 'The other options are not close to the subject of discussion' Item 2: (O8:6)
- Kaaviossa ehti olla A, C kaudetti parhaalta, koska niin mitenkin 'I heard it was A. C sounded the best, as it was assumed' (N8:7)
- Maut vaihtehtoa varmasti väärin, koska se kerran mietittiin niin selvästi nauhallu 'dilüning' The other options were surely wrong, since they were mentioned so clearly on the tape → a bluff' Item 9: (N8:7)
- Joko A tai B, mielestäni tavoitteen ei pitäisi olla imperfectkseen joten B 'Either A or B. I don't think the response should be in imperfect therefore' B Item 28: (E6:6, B)
- Fileeti ei ole ensätä, voin sanottaa A oli oikein epäkohtelia 'There is no more filet, option A would be impolite' Item 29: (T7:4)
- En tie vielä, tässäkin kysy A ja B, jos nyt oikein vaihtoehtoa ymmärrän suomeksi 'Well, I don't know, here both A and B would go, if I understand the options correctly in Finnish' (V6:5)

IV One option eliminated

Sometimes one of the options has clearly stuck out as a distractor for the test-taker and this one option has been ruled-out immediately, as expressed by the test-takers in the following examples:

- Ei A 'Not A' Item 5: (A4:2)
- Ei mitään 'Not at all' Item 8: (N12:11)
- Mieletesti A tai C ... 'In my opinion A or C... at least not B' Item 10(23:3, A)
- Ei voi olla A ja B kaikki parhaat 'It couldn't be C and B sounded bad' (D9:6, A)
- Mieletesti A on sittenkin aina mi niitä kovia mielen koskenneita. C on ollut aiemmin ... 'I think A is after all the only one that would go with the man's comment. At least it wasn't C...' Item 29: (V7:5, B-A)
- Ei mitään 'Not at all' Item 20(5:6, A)
- Ei mitään B joten jää 2 valitteleen. Päällysin sittenkin C-ten. 'At least not B so I was left with 2 to choose between. I ended up with C' Item 30(V7:5, A-9)

V One option eliminated + guess

In related cases, the test-takers say that they have ruled one of the options, and have guessed among the two remaining ones.

- Ei mitään voi olla A, jotka B tai C. on arvossa... 'At least it can't be A, so B or C. C is a guess...' Item 1(B12:6, C)
- Sään pois vaihtoehtoja ja arvoin kosteutta 'I ruled out options and selected between two' Item 3: (A5:7, B)
- Arvoin kosteutta mahdollisesta 'I guessed between two possible ones' Item 7: (T5:4, B)
- Pitsähtelen = arvomalle 'By ruling out + guessing' Item 7: (T5:5, C)
- Myös A tunneta hyvästi vaihtoehtona, mutta päätin B:hen. 'A felt a good option also, but I ended up with B' Item 25: (E2:2, B)

VI Best option

The next most frequent type of elimination consists of the cases where the test-takers indicate that the option they have selected is simply the best one. They tend to use superlatives of adjectives like 'good', 'suitable', 'probable' implying a comparison that has been made between the options. Does this imply that they do not consider any of the options being a convincingly good one but that the selected one appears to be the best among the proposed ones, or is it just a way of saying that they do not exactly know the reason for selecting a particular option? In both cases, it seems that the test-takers have considered the three options, compared them and arrived at a conclusion on which one to select.

This type is exemplified by:

- C on vaihtoehtoja sopivin 'C is the most suitable of the options' Item 2: (X3:5)
- Paras vaihtoehto 'The best option' Item 4: (S12:6, C)
- Toivon todennäköisimmältä vaihtoehtoja 'Seems like the most probable option' Item 6: (O8:6)
- Tuntuu ulkoinenmalli 'Seemed to be the most concrete one' Item 9 (Q2:5, B-A-C)
- Nämä on paras vaihtoehto mielenkiinto! 'The best option of these ones in my opinion' Item 9 (S7:6)
- Sopiva vaihtoehto 'The most suitable option' Item 26: (V7:1, B)
- A vaikutti parhaimmallin 'A seemed to be the best one' Item 26: (Z2:3, A)
- Kaikkien mahdollisten vaihtoehtojen mielestäni 'The most possible option in my opinion' Item 26: (V7:5)
- Sopivimpana tavoiteen vaihtoehto 'The option that seemed the most suitable one' Item 30 (A1:8)

VII Only possible option

In some cases the test-takers express their reason for selecting an option with their feeling of it being the only possible alternative that is appropriate, logical or suitable, as exemplified in:

- Amin järkevi vaihtoehto 'The only possible option' Item 3: (E6:6, A)
- Mikään minen ei tuntemat sopivat 'Nothing else seems appropriate' Item 3: (F3:5, A)
- Ei voi olla mitään muuta 'It can't be any of the other ones' Item 6: (G8:9)
- Amin, mitä mielenkiinti sopii 'The only one that is appropriate in my opinion' Item 27(2:2, C)
- Aili ainoa lausunen jatka koskemalla 'A was the only logic continuation for the conversation' Item 28: (A1:8)
- Ainoa, joka kyllä 'The only appropriate one' Item 30 (R3:3)
- Ainoa oikein koskemalla vaihtoehto 'The only option that sounds correct' Item 30: (Y2:7)
VIII Nothing said about the other options

There are cases where the test-takers claim that they have selected an option because nothing else is said in the text about the other options. Here weaker students searching word-matching are most likely to arrive at a distractor, since one technique of creating distractors is to write one with an exactly word-match compared to the text, but with a non-matching message. However, if the match is checked against the overall contents, the probability of success is greater. This will be verified when comparing the success rates of the test-takers having employed this type of elimination. Examples of this type include:

- Naiset ovat meleisempiä ja mauta nuo, siis olen seuraavan tulevat kirjoittaa: 'On the topic, options A and B were not mentioned and I ended up with C.' I heard this passage well at the first listening': Item 2: (U:7, B:9)
- Mauta meleisempi ja mauta 1 don't think the other ones were mentioned': Item 5: (N:7,5)
- En tiedä mitä se on 'He didn’t claim A or C': Item 5: (K:7:5)
- Hän haluaa muistaa tapauksen toisessa tapauksessa 'She wants to have back to her home region in the centre of France. The other ones were not mentioned': (Q:5, B:3-C)
- A, koska muita ei mainitut selvästi, 'A, since the others were not clearly stated': Item 7: (Q:3, C-A)
- Muita vaihtoehtoja ei mainittu 'The other options weren’t said': Item 10: (R:12,8)
- C, koska muita ei mainittu 'C, since the other ones weren’t mentioned': Item 26: (Q:3,7)

IX Explicit mention of strategy

Some students have been able to name the strategy they have used, apparently being conscious about both the existence of this strategy and their use of it at that particular situation. An interesting factor to investigate is the ability level of the test-takers who have explicitly mentioned this strategy: are these the most successful ones, or is the success completely random, or perhaps the conscious use depends on factors like test experience? Here are examples of this type:

- Muita vaihtoehtoja tiedossa pois ja tämä joi jollain 'The other options were ruled out and this was left': Item 1: (E:3,3)
- Oletamismenetelmä 'Ruling-out method': Item 1: (H:12,10)
- Muita vaihtoehtoja pois kului vennerin 'I ruled out the other options on the basis of what I heard': Item 4: (Y:1:7)
- Käytin poissulkemistaktiikaa 'I used the ruling-out tactics': Item 4: (E:6,6, B)
- Muita vaihtoehtoja tiedossa pois 'I ruled out the options one at a time': Item 7: (A:8,7)
- Poissulkemismenetelmä 'Ruling-out strategy': Item 25: (Z:4,4)
- Sittemmalla olitko välttä vaihtoehto pois 'By first ruling-out the wrong one': Item 20: (Y:1,7, A)

X Comprehension problems

Some of the responses reflect the situation where the test-takers’ experiences of problems understanding the options influence their employing of the elimination strategy. Sometimes this has led to the rejection of the problematic option or options, whereas in other cases it has been the opposite: a difficult word in an option has been taken to indicate that it is the key. In an ideal case, if the text has been correctly interpreted, the key option should give itself away easily. However, if there are problems in understanding either the text or the questions (stem or options) this will not be a simple task. From the point of view of the quality and reliability of the test, in cases where the spoken text has not been understood, the choice should be a distractor. However, the validity and the reliability of the test are as stake if the test-takers’ comprehension of the written options determines the success at the test items. The options should therefore be clear and transparent, not containing exceptionally difficult vocabulary for the targeted ability level. The creation of options is not an easy task, since an exact but condensed meaning corresponding to the contents of a text passage has to be arrived at. It is important that the processing load for the written options do not hinder the test-takers’ processing of the spoken text, a process at the heart of the construct of listening comprehension.

Various problems are reflected in the following examples:

- En ymmärrä mitä maito vaihtoehtoja (B, C) ja mielestämäni paheksinen kauppojen tuloksesta 1 'I didn’t understand the other options (B, C) and I think they talked about closing down shops': Item 1: (E:6, A)
- Aino vaihtoehto, jonka ymmärrin 'The only option that I understood': Item 4: (Z:2, B)
- Ainoa oli kiihla, enkä ymmärrin yhtäkään 'The options wasn’t expensive and I didn’t understand': Item 6: (V:2,4, C)
- En tiedä mitä se on pois 'I don’t know what B, C means': Item 10: (R:8, B)
- Muita vaihtoehtoja ja seuraava 'Several other options and the other one were not mentioned like that': Item 8: (E:6, A)
- Mieleni tässä on en tiedä mitä C tarkoittaa 'The first one is not good, I don’t know what C means': Item 25: (K:7, B)
- A, haluais tata eri asiat vai seuraava 1 'A: would be too simple if it was the response, C didn’t know what “prize” meant': Item 26: (D:2,4, B)

XI Two options are wrong

A different version of the "best option" type of elimination is the one where the test-takers indicate that they have selected an option since the two other ones are wrong. Again the question arises whether the key option has not been clearly considered correct in the case if the test-takers have been forced to proceed through establishing that the two others are wrong.

Examples are found in:

- Muita vaihtoehtoja huonoja 2 'The other options are bad': Item 2: (M:2,5, B-)
- Kaksi muita vaihtoehtoa on huonoja 'Two other options are worse': Item 9: (K:9,7)
- Molemmat A tai B, ja ei se kokonaan C 'I thought A or B wasn’t quite, so I answered C': Item 3: (B:1,8)
- Kaksi ei voi olla osa 1 'A and C are not good': Item 5: (Q:7,5)

174

175
XI. No good option

A handful of test-takers say that none of the options seem good. They have probably misunderstood the text contents, and thus find it difficult to match their representation with the options:

- Tunturi ette miscän käy, vaahdeko tuntui purhaimmalti 'It felt as if nothing is good, this option seemed the best one' Item 3: (51-6, A-9)
- Miscän ette ksikaulit. 'Nothing seems good...' Item 6: (A14-B)
- Arvua, ei meidän johtaa miisän vaahdekohtaa. 'A guess, I don't think they said anything about any of the options...' (48-5, A-9)
- Jon-o. Elääke miscän sopii. 'None of them seem really good. A is the best one.' Item 7: (48-9)
- Meidänmiscän ette eikä se sopi sinun. mutta eikä C parhaiten kal... 'I don't think anything was really appropriate, but maybe C is the best one i guess.' Item 27: (Z14-7, C)

XII. Change explained

Some test-takers have explained their reasons behind changing their option selection after the second listening of the text. The following types of responses are found:

- Pariattansa uusi A sanottaa miisän mutta ei pelkästään 'In theory A was also said but not only' Item 1: (R12-8, A-9)
- Tuntui parhaimmalti vaahdekohtaa 'Seemed to be the best option' Item 4: (X4-6, B-9)
- A kuitenkin parememmalla katsi C 'A sounds better than C' Item 26: (L15-6, C-9)
- Arvua, päättämä vaahde, koska A tuntui huonollimmalla. Item 29 'A guess, I decided to change, so A seemed the more natural one' (R1:2, B-9/A)
- C ei siis tuestaän, joten A paras vaahdekohtaa. 'C is not good after all, so A is the best alternative' Item 39 (3/3, C-9/A)
- Hehau! Nainen halusi filettä kissaavan, elää siitä ollaan, joten B on sopiva Koriaan. 'Haha! The woman wanted filet for her cut, and they wasn't any left...so B is the suitable. I corrected my choice.' Item 29 (L2-7, A-9)
- Eikä A sopii tuestaän paremmin, tuestaänjohtuu reaktio 'Maybe A is better after all, a more enthusiastic reaction' Item 30 (U7-7, C-9/A)

18. THE FREQUENCY OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF ELIMINATION RESPONSES

The clearly most frequent subtype of elimination is the case where two options have been considered wrong (at 22.5 %), followed by the type where one option is considered the best one (at 17.5 %). These responses are rather vague, however, not revealing on what basis these judgments have been made. The subtypes that are, on the contrary, more explanatory are the 'elaborated responses' and the 'citations', where there is a more clear stance taken towards each of the options and their correctness in relation to the text. The cases of 'elaborated elimination' and 'citations' each reach a proportion of approximately 10 %. Most of the other types are represented by around 5 % of the cases.

2. TYPES OF ELIMINATION AND SUCCESS

The next question concerns the types of elimination that are related to the most successful outcome: what strategy has most frequently lead to the key option?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of elimination</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Proportion of correct responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Elaborated elimination</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>72 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV One option eliminated</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>71 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIII Elimination on meta-level</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Only possible option</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>64 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI 2 options are wrong</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>61 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX Explicit mention of strategy</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>60 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII No good option</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Citation from text</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>56 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Best option</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>49 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII Change explained</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>45 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Counterfactual problems</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V One option eliminated + guess</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII Nothing said about the other options</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>46 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean: 596</td>
<td>Mean: 52 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected, 'elaborated elimination' turns out to be the most successful type at this test: nearly 80 % of these cases have lead to the selection of the key (see Table 2 above). This type is followed by 'one-option elimination' and 'meta-level reasoning' at approximately 70 %. An interesting result here is the difference between the success rates between the cases where one option has been rejected versus the cases where this is combined with guessing. In the latter case, the success rate is only 36 % - close to the likelihood of success at random guessing. This suggests that this type of elimination is inclined towards the guessing process more than the elimination process. The type related to the lowest proportion of success is the one where the test-taker says that nothing is said about the other options than the one she has selected. There is no evident reason for this low success rate.
3. Types of elimination and ability levels

The success of the employment of the different types of elimination at individual items is related to the test-takers’ success levels. When the 226 test-takers are divided into three ability groups according to the total score obtained at the MC-items of the test of listening comprehension*, the question is if there is a preference of test-takers at certain ability levels towards selecting a certain type of elimination strategy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elimination type</th>
<th>Ability level 1</th>
<th>Ability level 2</th>
<th>Ability level 3</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elaborated</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One + G</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not said</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wrong</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No good</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NR</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 596 total cases of elimination happen to be divided equally between the three ability levels (see Table 3 above): ability group 1 and 3 share the amount of 197, while there is only five more cases at ability level 2. Considering the fact that there are fewer test-takers placed in the highest ability group, the frequency of cases at the highest level is higher. Table 4 below shows how the proportions of cases representing each type of elimination are divided among the ability groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elimination type</th>
<th>Ability level 1</th>
<th>Ability level 2</th>
<th>Ability level 3</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elaborated</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One + G</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not said</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wrong</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No good</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the cases of ‘elaborated elimination’ (58% of the cases) are found, as expected, among the test-takers at the highest ability group. The cases of ‘citation’ and ‘one eliminated’ are also at above 50% among the highest-ability test-takers. ‘Explicit ruling-out’ is mentioned the most (at 51.5%) at the middle ability group, while the ‘best option’-based selection is found most frequently among the lowest ability test-takers. Problems with understanding the options have been experienced almost equally frequently at each of the ability levels.

Which are the most dominating types of elimination within each of the three ability levels? Table 5 shows all the percentages per ability group.

---

* The three ability groups are divided as follows: ability group 1: 0-7 points out of a maximum 17, N: 88; ability group 2: 8-10 p., N: 83, ability group 3: 11-17 p., N: 57.
Table 5: Percentage of types of elimination within each ability group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elimination type</th>
<th>Ability level 1</th>
<th>Ability level 2</th>
<th>Ability level 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elaborated</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One + G</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not said</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wrong</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No good</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>101%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first ability group, the two most frequent types employed are the 'best option' and the 'two wrong'-types, both at nearly 30%. These types of elimination do not reveal very much about the processes on which elimination has been based. This suggests that the test-takers have simply chosen not to write down this complete information, or that the process of comparing the text contents to the contents of each of the options has failed at some stage: the processing of the text may have been complicated due to unfamiliar phonology, vocabulary or syntax; the test-takers may have not been able to keep the representation of the text long enough or hold a clear or complete enough representation in mind for the test-taker to be able to compare the representation with each of the options, or perhaps the stem and option themselves have been unclear. What is more, for a weaker test-taker the test task itself may have taken up the most of the response time, not giving them a chance to think very deeply about the supplementary task – the introspective response.

At the second ability level, the same two types of elimination ('best option' and '2 wrong') are still clearly the most frequent ones. A question is if the higher proportion of 'explicit elimination' and 'comprehension problems' can be taken to witness a growing consciousness of the entire process and the needed strategies?

The third ability level is different in that, while the '2 wrong'-type is here still represented by 20 % of the cases, the 'elaborated elimination'-type has almost an equal frequency with 19 % of cases. The proportion of 'citations' grows towards the higher levels, as well as the 'meta-level elimination' and the 'one-option elimination'.

All this suggests that there are indeed strategies of elimination on different levels, and the four types of elimination that may be considered to be on a higher cognitive level (defined as conscious, well-targeted processes or strategies, based on a more or less correct representation of the oral text) are 1) elaborated elimination, 2) citations, 3) meta-level elimination and 4) one option eliminated. These are higher-level strategies both by their definition and by their association with relation to test-takers on the higher ability levels. Added to this, the success level of the cases where 'elaboration', 'meta-level elimination' and 'one-option elimination' reach 70 % of more.

It seems meaningful to investigate if there is a statistical correlation between the frequency of the use of certain types of this strategy and the ability levels. A calculation reveals that there is a significant correlation (using Spearman's rho) between ability level and the use of the types: 'elaborated elimination', 'citation' and 'meta-level elimination': the higher the ability level, the more these strategies are used (see Table 6). Since the second variable has only three values, we have to be careful to draw any definite conclusions. Nevertheless, the tendency seems clear.

Table 6: Correlation between ability level and three types of elimination correlation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spearman's rho</th>
<th>Ability level</th>
<th>Elaborated</th>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Meta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ability level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig (2-tailed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elaborated</td>
<td>Correlation</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig (2-tailed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>Correlation</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig (2-tailed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meta</td>
<td>Correlation</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig (2-tailed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Now we have established the importance of the differences in processing according to individual test-takers' ability levels. The next step will be to explore the relationship with item-based characteristics: is there a difference in the use of the different types of elimination as determined by the quality or characteristics of individual items?

4. Relationship between the quality of an item and the use of elimination

Another meaningful approach to the process of elimination is to look at how the
different types of elimination are used with the 17 MC-items: is there a difference between the use with individual items? The total amount of cases of elimination evidenced with the different items does not vary at a considerable degree between items: the total amount ranges from 16 to 58 cases per item, the mean being 35, the median 34.

Is there any relationship between the elimination types and the facility values and discrimination indices of these 17 items? One hypothesis would for example be that, as a higher discrimination index (DI) implies an item that discriminates better between weaker and stronger students, there would be a relationship between the "higher-level" elimination strategies and a better DI according to the assumption that good items promote the use of "better" strategies.

Table 7 shows the only significant correlation, when DI was correlated with all the 13 types of elimination and the total amount of cases of elimination per item: the amount of "meta-level" types of elimination correlated significantly at the 0.05 level with the DI. The better the item discriminates between test-takers at different levels, the more "meta-level elimination" is evidenced at these items, and vice versa.

**Table 7: Correlation between meta-level elimination and DI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>meta Pearson Correlation</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>DI Pearson Correlation</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.504(*)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td></td>
<td>.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slp. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.504(*)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

When the facility value (FV) (ranging from 0 to 1.0, where the optimal value is .50) is converted into a scale from 1-5, where 5 is the best value* there is a significant correlation at the 0.05 level between the FV and the amount of cases of "elaborated elimination" (see Table 8). This implies that the closer an item is to the suitable level of difficulty, the more it is likely to promote higher-level elimination.

**Table 8: Correlation between elaborated elimination and facility value**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FV Pearson Correlation</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaborated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.506(*)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

If we add up all the "high-level" types of elimination ("elaborated", "citation", "meta-level" and "one eliminated") this value also correlated with the FV; the more optimal a FV (close to .50) the more frequently one of these strategies is used (see Table 9).

**Table 9: Correlation between four high-level types of elimination and facility value**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Highlevel Pearson Correlation</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.491(*)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Generally taken, this analysis of the use of elimination in relation to the individual items suggests that items of higher quality (according to a complicated analysis where several qualitative and quantitative factors are considered - FV, DI, discriminator analysis, as well as test-takers' responses and reactions to individual items) seem to promote the use of higher-level elimination processes: items 2, 5, 8 and 29 are all good items, and they all produce a relatively high number of these processes. On the other hand, items that according to the analysis are in some ways problematic (items 3, 6, 25 and 27) produce a low number of the cases of higher-level elimination.

**Conclusions**

There are some conclusions that can be drawn from this preliminary analysis into the strategy of elimination at a MC-test of listening comprehension. First of all, the analysis
seems to suggest that the claim put forth by Ebel and Frischie (1991) is justified: elimination is indeed a high-level cognitive strategy, involving comparative judgments of the different options. However and secondly, depending on factors like the nature of the spoken text and the task (the question, i.e. the stem and options) or the individual test-taker’s characteristics and experiences, the process can vary to a great extent. Some subtypes of elimination seem to be higher-level processes, leading to a more successful outcome, thus being associated with test-takers that have generally obtained higher scores in the test. Thirdly, items that are qualitative promote the use of meaningful, appropriate strategies and processes that are compatible with the description of the construct of listening comprehension targeted by the test constructors. Fourthly, the method of short written introspection has proven useful in enlightening the process of elimination at this test, where the cognitive activities are difficult to trace, since normally the product of the process is only visible in the shape of a selected option. In brief, elimination is a useful and acceptable strategy at problem-solving - in a text context as well as in research or in many daily cognitive human activities.

REFERENCES


vidare från gruppspelen, åttondels-, fjärdeleds- och semifinalerna samt slutligen vinna hela turneringen. Intressant att notera är att utgående från antagandet att Brasilien är det starkaste laget, gav simuleringarna som resultat att sannolikheten för att laget skulle vinna hela turneringen var ändå bara drygt 0.20 och för att ens nå semifinalerna bara 0.49. För Italien, alltså laget som blev världsmästare, var motsvarande sannolikheter 0.08 och 0.29. Om orsaken till att Italien de facto klarade sig mycket bättre än Brasilien berodde på att man undersökt lagets skicklighet eller bara på att laget hade god tur kan vi förstås aldrig veta. I sportsammanhang ligger ju hela charmén också just i det faktum att det inte alltid är den bästa idrottaren eller det bästa laget som vinner, utan att det alltid finns utrymme för överraskningar.

2. Hur framgångsrik är den ”finländska modellen”? 


Man har ofta kritiserat den offentliga sektorn i Finland för ineffektivitet och utgående från olika mer eller mindre dubios undersökningar försökt visa hur mycket som kan sparas genom att privatisera möjligast mycket av den offentliga verksamheten. Intressant att notera är att enligt Världskreditbanken mått på hur effektivt förvaltningen genomförer de reformer som politikerna kommit överens om (Government Effectiveness Index) kommer Finland på tredje plats efter Schweiz och Danmark, så åtminstone i detta avseende fungerar förvaltningen i vårt land väldigt bra.

Tabell 1. Finlands placering bland OECD-länderna i PISA-undersökningarna åren 2000 och 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fördeligheter</th>
<th>År 2000</th>
<th>År 2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Läsförmåga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matematik</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naturvetenskap</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problemlösning</td>
<td>1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Ej undersökt
Källa: Pedagogiska forskningsinstitutet, Jyväskylä universitet.

Mot bara en guldmedalj år 2000 var skördet tre år senare tre guldmedaljer och en silvermedalj. Inte att undra på att Finland blivit något av ett vallfärsland för pedagoger och skoladministratörer från hela världen.
3. Vilket är världens bästa universitet?

År 2005 publicerade en grupp forskare vid Jiao Tong universitet i Shanghai en rankinglista för världens alla universitet och högskolor som fick mycket publlicitet.

De viktigaste kriterierna vid rangordnandet var antalet Nobel-pristagare, antalet forskare med världens mest citerade forskar inom olika vetenskapsområden och antalet inläsningar i internationella facktidsskrifter. Vem som har hem spelen i en ranking enligt dylika kriterior är knappast överraskande för någon. Guldf- och bronnsmedaljerna togs av Harvard och Stanford i USA, med Cambridge i England på silverplats. I Finland vacknar det en viss förstärkning att bara fem av våra universiteten finns med bland de 500 bästa, med Helsingfors Universitet som bäst med placeringen 76. Det är skäl att kraftigt understyka att rankingen i huvudsak baserade sig på totalvärde för de olika indikatorerna. Storleken på universitetets högkvalitet bars genom att de i totalindexet som en komponent vara med totalresultatet per antalet delägare av forskare och lärare. Vikten för denna komponent var dock endast 0,10, vilket redan a priori gjorde det omöjligt för små universitet att placera sig i täten. Om man enbart titter på det "storlekjusterade" resultatet kommer MIT i USA på en överlägsen första plats. Helsingfors Universitet bibehåller sin position som bästa finländska universitet med Åbo universitet och Tekniska högskolan i Esbo på andra resp. tredje plats. Om hur Åbo Akademi placerat sig med eller utan beaktande av storlekskorrigeringen vet vi inte, eftersom man publicerat resultaten bara för de 500 bästa universiteten enligt totalindexet, och på den lista finns Åbo Akademi inte ned.

Ett annat roende exempel på vilka typer av problem som forskarna i Shanghai stötte på var att man inte kunde ta med de båda nuvarande universiteten i Berlin i undersökningen, eftersom universiteten tvingas att hur Nobelpristagarna från det ganska stora universiteten i Berlin från tiden före andra världskriget skall fördelas mellan de båda "avtagarna".

4. Principerna för uppgörande av prestationsbaserade rankinglistor

Varför är det så intressant att göra upp rankinglistor och hur skall vi förhålla oss till dem? Hur tillflyttingliga är de och till vad kan de utnyttjas? När det gäller toppdrott, vare sig nationell eller internationellt, kan man säga att hela idén går ut på att åstadkomma en rangordning, åtminstone i fråga om toppplaceringarna. Det är dock inte eller mindre ointressant att närmar analysera hur tillflyttingliga rangordningarna är, eftersom charmen i hela ligger just i att de är mer eller mindre "oftillflytliga", d.v.s. att det "sämre" laget kan vinna över det "bättre" laget eller att någon idrottare helt överraskande kan ta guld i OS. Man kan t.o.m. påstå att i dessa dagar, då mycket av toppdrottet är intimt kopplad till spelindustrin, är förekomsten av "återvändningar" ett livsviskör för att verksamheten skall kunna fortgå. Om det däremot finns skäl att anta att rangordnandet av t.ex. skolor eller universitet kan påverka såväl deras popularitet bland studerandena som tilldelningen av budgetmedel är situationen helt annan. I detta fall är det uppenbart viktigt att rankinglistan håller måtet med avseende på såväl validitet som reliabilitet. I det följande skall vi analysera närmare hur man i allmänhet brukar göra dylika jämförelser mellan olika högskolor. Vi skall också redogöra för några av de viktigaste fallfalleta vid uppgörandet av prestationsbaserade rankinglistor. Närast tänker vi på rangordnandet av universitet, institutioner eller enskilda forskare, men problematiken är långt denna för alla organisationer och enheter, vilkas verksamhet inte "evaluerats" på en marknad.


I många andra länder, där rangordnandet av högskolor har betydligt längre anor, anses rangordningarna ge viktig information inte bara för tjänstemåns inom utbildningssektorn
och högskolorna själva utan också för studerande, som funderar på var de skall studera och arbetsgivare, som skall välja mellan sökande till olika tjänster. I vårt land synes man, åtminstone tillvidare, vara mest intresserade av att mäta olika enheters produktivitet, d.v.s. att ta reda på vilka högskolor som det lönar sig att satsa på vid uppgörandet av högskolebudgeten. Grovt taget synes utgångspunkten i de flesta studier av denna typ vara den, att verksamheten kan beskrivas med en enkel "produktions-funktion" av typ:

\[
O_h = \alpha_h I_h,
\]

\(O_h\) = resultat ("output") vid högskolan \(h\),
\(I_h\) = resurser ("input") vid högskolan \(h\),
\(\alpha_h\) = effektivitetsparameter för högskolan \(h\),
\(h = 1, 2, ..., H\).

Resultaten och resurserna mätes per någon lämplig tidsperiod, t.ex. ett år eller 3-5 år. För att förenkla beteckningarna har tidsindexet utelämnats. Högskolornas huvuduppgift har traditionellt ansetts vara att bedriva forskning och meddela undervisning, även om man under de senaste åren också betonat högskolornas ansvar för den regionala utvecklingen och annan samhälls SERVICE. Ofta används indikatorer på resultatet av forskningen är antalet artiklar eller citeringar i internationella facktidskrifter och antalet forskare bland de internationellt mest citerade forskarna inom resp. område. För undervisningen är det kynn att använda indikatorer såsom antalet examina på olika nivåer och olika mått på hur de utexaminerade placerat sig på arbetsmarknaden. Resurserna mäts vanligen med antalet tjänster av olika typ och tillgången till budget- och andra medel. Intressant är att man vid tolkningen av resultaten synes mer eller mindre axiomatiskt utgå från att genomsnitts- och marginaleffektiviteten är densamma, d.v.s. att den tillväxt i resultaten som en utökning av resurserna med en enhet medför sammanfaller med det genomsnittliga resultatet per utnyttjat resurserhittills. Intressant vore att undersöka om detta antagande faktiskt håller sträck också inom forskning och utbildning.

Huvudintresset knyts till effektivitetsparametrarna \(\alpha_h\), \(h = 1, 2, ..., H\), som antas mäta högskolornas produktivitet och ange vilka enheter det lönar sig att satsa på. Om det vore möjligt att mäta det totala resultatet av verksamheten och de totala resurserna som högskolan

förvogat över med endimensionella indexar kunde värden på \(\alpha_i\) uppenbartligen enkelt uppstanna med

\[
\hat{\alpha}_i = \frac{\hat{O}_i}{\hat{I}_i},
\]

där beteckningen \(\ldots\) anger att det är fråga om uppskattade värden. Det förefaller dock uppenbart att det är mer eller mindre omtvistligt att på ett meningsfullt sätt kombinera ihop resultaten inom undervisningen och forskningen i ett enda resultatiindex. Beräkningarna försvåras ytterligare av de flesta högskolornas multifunktionalitet. Den lösning som man vanliga tillgriper är att göra beräkningarna uppgiftsområdevis, d.v.s. för varje högskola beräknas en egen värden

\[
\hat{\alpha}_{ik} = \frac{\hat{O}_{ik}}{\hat{I}_{ik}}, k = 1, 2, ..., K,
\]

där indexet \(k\) anger ett visst uppgiftsområde (t.ex. grundutbildningen inom naturvetenskapar eller forskningen i humanistiska ämnen). Uppskattningen av totaleffektiviteten erhålls sedan genom att väga samman de uppgiftsspecifika värdena, d.v.s. man unyttjtar estimatern

\[
\hat{\alpha}_i = \sum_{k=1}^{K} w_{ik} \hat{\alpha}_{ik},
\]

där som vikter (\(w_{ik}\)) kan användas t.ex. uppgiftsområds andel av högskolans totalutgifter (i den män detta går att beräkna på ett meningsfullt sätt). För att förhålla jämförelsehan hos effektivitetsparametrarna för olika uppgiftsområden, gör man oftast ytterligare någon form av standardisering, t.ex. genom att sätta värdena i relation till genomsnittsvärdena för alla högskolor för resp. uppgiftsområde (jfr Neituaanmaki et al. 2005). Vanligt är också att presentera resultaten i form av indextal. De flesta studier där målet varit att rangordna högskolorna enligt effektivitet baserar sig sålunda på någon form av sannansatt prestationsindex av typ

\[
\hat{P}_k = \sum_{i=1}^{H} w_{ik} \hat{P}_{ik},
\]

där \(P_k\) står för totalindexet och \(\hat{P}_{ik}\) för de uppgiftsspecifika indexen medan \(w_{ik}\) anger vikter.
5. Hur tillförordnade är rankinglistorna?

Ju tillförordnare prestationsindexet är, desto tillförordnare är också rangordningen. Omvändt, ju mer prestationsindexet brister i validitet och reliabilitet desto större är risken för att rangordningen blir felaktig.

Kvaliteten på ett sammansatt index är självläget i sin tur beroende av hur tillförordnade de olika komponentindexen är. I många fall måste man dessutom räkna med att valet av vikter med nödvändig vikt mer eller mindre godtyckligt. Det är uppenbart omöjligt att utveckla några objektiva kriterier för att jämföra t.ex. effektivitet inom undervisningen med effektivitet inom forskningsverksamheten.

I fråga om de egentliga prestationsindexen vora det viktigt att kunna skilja åt systematiska och slumpmässiga variationer. Detta kräver att de flesta fall att man utnyttjar någon typ av stokastisk modell för att beskriva den datagenererande processen. Nedan ges några exempel på hur man kunde gå tillvägå i detta avseende.

**Exempel 1.** Om ett av de kriterier som ingår i indexet bygger på andel av de utexaminerade som erhållit ett mot utbildningen svarade arbete t.ex. inom två år efter avlagt examen, är det viktigt att eliminera effekterna av sådana variabler som högskolan inte har någon kontroll över. Exempel på sådana variabler kan vara utbudet av arbetsplatser av ifrågavarande typ, studerandens möjlighet att under studietidet erhålla praktikanteckningar och de utexaminerades köns- och åldersfördelning. För att kunna mäta betydelsen av vid vilken högskola examen avlägsats, bör man utforska någon typ av logistisk regressionsanalys, där man förklarar sannolikheten för att få anställning förstom vid vilken högskola examen avlägsats också med de ovan nämnda strukturella faktorerna. Självläget är att om en dylik indikator får en stor betydelse för rangordningen, samtidigt som det vid beräkningarna inte görs korrigeringar för variabler av ovan nämn typ, ökar detta risken för att man tillgriper olika typer av diskriminerande intagningsförfaranden.


Överlag måste man räkna med att i komponentindexen alltid ingår större eller mindre "mål", vilket i kombination med subjektiviteten i valet av vikter, medför att också påverka det på tvärs av effektivitetsindexet kan innehålla betydande både systematiska och slumpmässiga mål. Även om praxisen att presentera resultaten av mätningarna i form av en rankinglista kan betrakta som ett sätt att vi kan gradera sig för effekterna av mindre mål, måste man beakta att skillnaderna mellan högskolorna, åtminstone i Finland, är präglade av att antalet inte vara rätt små. Detta innebär att även andra justeringar av vikten på produktivitetsindexet kan avsevärt påverka rangordningen mellan högskolorna. Därför är det viktigt att man jobbar vidare med att förbättra kvaliteten på basindexen. Misstal lika viktigt är dock att också försöka utveckla metoder för att måta hur tillförordnare en given rangordning kan antas vara. Speciellt som man kan vända att intresset för att rangordna inte bara högskolor utan också t.ex. gymnasier, högskolor och socialbyrådet kommer att bara öka, vore det viktigt att också alla rangordningar, såsom all annan statistik, förses med utförliga kvalitetsdeklarationer.

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"It is a lottery prize to be born in Finland". This saying was coined in the 1980s, when Finland was experiencing stable economic growth and full employment, in a world troubled by inflation, unemployment, exchange rate volatility and chronic public deficits. After the revaluation of the markka in 1989 the figures showed, that in terms of GDP per capita (uncorrected for differences in the domestic price levels), Japan and Finland were the leading nations of the world, a sense of euphoria spread on the economy pages.

Then befell the "suuri lampa" - the great depression - and Finland had become the first OECD-country to experience such a dramatic economic crash since the Second World War. Euphoria turned into an almost tangible crisis consciousness. Not until the glorious victory over Sweden in the ice hockey world championship in 1995 did times become more cheerful. Another encouraging event was the remarkable success of Nokia. A few years earlier this archetypical national conglomerate had been on the brink of bankruptcy, but now it was a world leader in a rapidly expanding niche.

At the end of the 1990s Finland again had become the success story.

Books describing Finland as a model or miracle emerged. Richard Lewis, who "lectures and consults worldwide with clients that include Mercedes-Benz, Nokia, Rolls Royce, Volvo, Deutsche Bank and Unilever", wrote a book teasing his readers with questions like:
- Why is Finland number one in global competitiveness?
- Why is Finland number one in mobile phones?
- Why is Finland regularly voted as the least corrupt country in the world?
- How did Finland become the world leader in managing water resources?
- Why are Finns regarded as the ideal peacekeepers?
- Why is the future Finnish?

The renowned sociologist Manuel Castells and his Finnish co-author Pekka Himanen published a book called The Information Society and the Welfare State: The Finnish Model. The story they told is about a country that had been on the frontier of the informational revolution. Its main competitors were Silicon Valley and Singapore, but compared to California Finland had managed to maintain a welfare society for all, and Singapore was still a very authoritarian regime.

The stream of comparative studies, in which Finland was put at the top of the list, enticed me to a new hobby; I started to collect cases of "Finland number one".

I shall bore you with presenting samples from my collection:

**Greatest "equality of happiness"**

World Database of Happiness ranked "Equality of Happiness" in 59 nations in the 1990s. How much do citizens differ in their enjoyment of life?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Equality of Happiness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>1,55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1,58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1,73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1,74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1,75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(http://www.uu.nl/sw/research/happiness/hap_nat/nat_fp.htm)

(According to the latest data Finland no longer leads this league.)

**Best "socio-economic security" for workers - at least almost**

According to an ILO-study of more than 100 countries on the socio-economic security of workers, Finland was ranked second after Sweden, but ahead of Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands. Finland was on top in two indicators, "the possibility of the employees to influence their work" and "protection against illegal firings". It was second in "the ability to develop working skills", and third in "the possibility to make one's voice heard e.g. through the trade union". (Helsingin Sanomat 2.9.2004 s. B1.)

(http://wwwilo.org/public/english/protection/sex/index.htm)
Best "environmental sustainability"

According to a study by Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy and Center for International Earth Science Information Network, the top five countries ranked by an environmental sustainability index for 2001 were:

- Finland: 80.5
- Norway: 78.2
- Canada: 78.1
- Sweden: 77.1
- Switzerland: 74.6

(www.ciesin.org/indicators/ESI/pilot esi.html)

Best international competitiveness

Two Swiss institutes - WEF and IMD - publish yearly ranking lists of the competitiveness of nations. WEF uses two indices "Growth Competitiveness" and "Current Competitiveness". IMD uses only one, but separates countries into big (more than 20 million inhabitants) and small. The IMD-index is constructed in such a way that bigness per se increases competitiveness.

Finland has been on top several times in all three indices. It is regularly number one in the WEF-rankings and in the IMD-rankings for small countries. In the WEF 2003 report Finland was number one both at "current competitiveness" and at "growth competitiveness". In earlier studies all public expenditures were given negative signs; now only "non-productive" public expenditures were reckoned as minuses.

Top ten in "growth competitiveness"

Top ten in "current competitiveness"

Finland was second best on all main indicators: macroeconomic stability, quality of public institutions and technological development. (Helsingin Sanomat, 30.10.2003 B1)

Recently the WEF list for 2004-2005 was released. Finland once more was ahead of the pack. (Helsingin Sanomat 14.10.2004, B1.)

According to the World Economic Forum and Harvard University "Global Competitiveness Report 2000", which I have looked at more closely, Finland was number one in regard to:

- Independence of civil service
- Institutional stability (with Luxembourg)
- (Little) Time with government bureaucracy
- (Few) Irregular payments (with Luxembourg)
- Judiciary independence (with Luxembourg)
- Corruption in legal system (with Luxembourg)
- Compensation for state interference
- Police protection (with Luxembourg and Denmark)
- (Lack of) Organized crime (with Luxembourg and Denmark)
- (Small costs of) Lawsuits
- Overall infrastructure (with Singapore)
- Telephone service (with Luxembourg)
- Cellular telephones
- International telephone service
- Internet access
- E-mail (with Luxembourg)
- Internet for information (with 24 others)
- Satisfied demand for phone lines (with 28 others)
- Cellular telephone density
- (Small) Difference in quality of schools
- Quality of health care (with Austria)
- Union power (Sweden second, "bad" for competitiveness)
- (Low individual company wage setting (with Ireland, "bad" for competitiveness)
- Technology sophistication (with USA)
- Research collaboration (with local universities)
- Bond market (companies can borrow internationally)
- Stock market (companies can raise money by issuing shares)
- Foreign exchange (availability)
- (Future) Exchange rate volatility
- Access to foreign capital markets (with the Netherlands, Switzerland, Hong Kong)
- Foreign access to capital markets (with Hong Kong)
- Legal protection and new businesses
- Sophistication of buyers
- Anti-monopoly policy (with Australia)
- Pervasiveness of clusters
- Technology development (own new products and processes)
- Product design
- Production processes (most efficient technology)
- Competence of senior management
- (Stringent) Air pollution regulation
- Water pollution regulation
- Toxic waste disposal regulations
- (No) Subsidies for energy or materials usage
- Effectiveness of (environmental) regulations
- Enforcement of regulations

According to the IMD ranking (World Competitiveness Yearbook 2003) the top list for countries with less than 20 million inhabitants was: 1. Finland, 2. Singapore, 3. Denmark, 4. Hongkong, 5. Switzerland.

Finland was number one concerning the efficiency of public administration, the efficiency of the companies and the quality of the social infrastructure. Among the large countries only the USA was ahead of Finland (Helsingin Sanomat 14.5.2003).

Best public sector, least bureaucracy for firms

During its EU-chairmanship the Netherlands made a study of the public sector services, especially their efficiency, for 22 countries. The study used indicators for economic performance, education, health, criminality and welfare. The result was:
(Helsingin Sanomat 14.5.2005 A10)

A study made by the Fraser institute of 123 countries, the firms met with least bureaucracy to:
(Helsingin Sanomat 10.3.2004 B1)

Most researchers, most royalties

In 2002, 70,000 persons were engaged in R&D-activities in Finland. The proportion of the labour force, 2 per cent, is the highest in the OECD. As to the proportion of GDP allocated to R&D Finland was second to Sweden (Helsingin Sanomat 5.11.2003 A11).
Royalties and license fees were 220 USD per person in 2000. (Luxembourg was a little higher; Sweden came third with 144 USD) (Human Development Report 2002).

Best reading literacy, best at maths

In the first PISA study presented by OECD and UNESCO the Finnish 15-year-olds had the best reading abilities in comparison to 43 countries:

In the second PISA study we can read:
Finland once again came out top in the OECD's latest PISA study of learning skills among 15-year-olds, with high performances in mathematics and science matching those of top-ranking Asian school systems in Hong Kong-China, Japan and Korea.

Finland already led in the PISA 2000 reading assessment, and in PISA 2003 it maintained its high level of reading literacy while further improving its performance in mathematics and science. In mathematics, here the PISA 2003 tests sought to establish how well students can develop and apply mathematical models to deal with real-life tasks and interpret, validate and communicate the results.

Australia, Canada, Finland and Japan stand out for standards of both quality and equity, with above-average mathematics performance and below-average impact of socio-economic background on student performance. In contrast, results for Belgium, Germany, Hungary and the Slovak Republic reveal large socio-economic inequalities in the distribution of educational opportunities.

By now you must be tired of this bragging, but the list in my computer is 16 pages long. Many of the items concern the position of women, from the first women elected into parliament to Finland being the first country with a female president (Tarja Halonen) and prime minister (Azeli Jäätteenmäki) at the same time. Quite often the law-abiding character is highlighted; Finns are Europe's most law-abiding drivers, and they also pay their bills on time.

It also contains a few rankings according to which teachers in Finland are the worst, at least in Europe: 11-year-olds do not like to go to school and old men tend to be on pension due to illness or disability.

A startling item is the following: The index of subjective social isolation and the index of social devolution were highest in Finland for the whole population, according to the Eurobarometer 2002. Among people with the lowest incomes the indices for Finland were much higher than in other EU-countries. "Social devolution results from the internalisation of a negative self-image connected with a lack of social integration, not feeling trusted, feeling shut out, or having bad reputation."
There were other collectors then me of top positions for Finland. The monthly supplement of Helsingin Sanomat, Kuukausiliite, published an article "Maailman paras EU-maa" (The best EU-country in the world) in June 2003. It contained a collection of more or less funny items where Finland came first - or last - in the EU. Here are some of them:
- Highest share of women in the labour force (48.1 %)
- Highest share of amateur fishing men (2 million)
- Highest share of hunters (300 000 have a license)
- Newest houses (45 % less than 30 years old)
- Least indebted households (debt 33 % of GDP)
- Most extensive investigation of deadly accidents (every accident investigated)
- Cleanest capital (there are 215 capitals in the world)
- Best customs (least obstruction to foreign trade related transports)
- Strongest attachment to the home country (Eurobarometer)
- Most expensive
- Least inhabited (15 persons per square km)
- Smallest share of police officers (676 inhabitants/policeman)
- Smallest proportion of foreigners (1.9 %)
- Least willingness to start up an enterprise (Eurobarometer)
- Worst sleepers (sleeping disturbances 1,5-2 times more frequent than in Europe in general)
- Cheapest to dress (spending on clothes and shoes 544 € per person a year)

So why is "My number one" (the name of the Greek Eurovision winner) number one? I will present four explanations: culture, gender, the role of the state and geographic-historical luck.

According to Richard Lewis, who is an expert on cultural differences and conflicts, the Finnish culture is unique. "This remarkable people speak a language unique in its origins and have kept their cultural identity intact despite the influences of powerful neighbors, Sweden and Russia. Pursuing a "Lone Wolf" policy, Finland raised itself from a struggling, war-battred state in 1945 to one of the most developed countries in the world."

I here reproduce his schematic comparison of Finnish and Swedish communication patterns (Figure. http://www.pivotal.fi/communication_fl.html).

however, I would like to add one socio-linguistic note to Lewis' explanation. That is the role of the Swedish language in Finland. The co-existence of two linguistic groups and the large proportion of bilingual persons have been very fruitful in the Finnish case. The solutions to the linguistic conflicts have been unique and relatively successful.

Another cultural feature that has often been recalled is the strong position of women. In The Wealth and Poverty of Nations. Why Some Are so Rich and Some so Poor the American economic historian David S. Landes underlines this factor, when he explains why certain cultures have not been able to develop.

In general, the best clue to a nation's growth and development potential is the role and status of women. The economic implications of gender discrimination are most serious. To
deny women is to deprive a country of labor and talent, but even worse - to undermine the drive to achievement of boys and men. (Pp. 412-413)

There are several studies of early female emancipation in Finland. Already by 1905-07 31 per cent of university students were women, and today Finnish women are the most educated in Europe. (Mirjam Kalland: I dag kolommen, Hufvudstadsbladet 23.3.2003) According to the Human Development Report 2002, they also - together with Danish women - have the highest ratio of incomes in relation to men.

(I must add a small note here. In the Finnish language there is no gender, and han stands for both he and she. I am married to a Finnish-speaking wife, who speaks Swedish very well. However, she calls han hon and hans hennes (or the opposite) with an astonishing frequency.)

That Finland in a recent WEF study Women’s Empowerment: Measuring the Global Gender Gap (May 2005) scored only fifth - after the other four Scandinavian countries, was due to the choice of gender equality indicators to measure female emancipation. Especially in education women are much superior to men in Finland, and this low gender equality was used to indicate a lower degree of women’s empowerment. The press in Finland did not notice this mistake and editorialists were aroased by the poor results of women in the Finnish educational system: (E. g. Helsingin Sanomat 22.5 and Hufvudstadsbladet 23.5)

In their book on the Finnish informational model, Castells and Himanen also stresses culture and national identity, but to them the role of the state is most crucial. Antti Hautamäki summarizes their position in the following way:

In the Finnish model the role of the state has been considerable. The state provides free education as well as funds for research and development, thus strengthening our innovation system. The state is also strongly redistributing wealth by progressive taxation and universal social security. Public services are extensive including good public health care and day care for every child. Also the regulatory environment has been open to free competition in telecommunications.

What is interesting in the analysis of Castells and Himanen is the way they combine information society and national identity. They emphasize that information society is a new survival project for Finland and - even more - it is a project of building the Finnish identity. (http://www.e.finland.fi/netcomm/www/showarticle.asp?intNWSAID=9989)

Of course culture and the role of the state are crucial factors, but we should look at the emergence of this culture and this developmental state, and therefore need a historical approach. We can e.g. ask how did Finland manage to escape the "extractive trap" that has inflicted most nations, dependent on the exports of a single natural resource.

At least since the mercantilist era there has been a conceptual distinction between economies that export unprocessed natural products, "matter," and economies that export manufactured goods, requiring "labour". According to the mercantilist mindset it was beneficial to import "matter" and to export "labour". Although liberal economists since Adam Smith have declared this distinction irrelevant, it has continued to have political influence. To export unprocessed natural products has been seen as a sign of backwardness and peripheral status in the world economy. To industrialize, to specialize in the production and export of technically advanced goods and services, is to achieve a high "international competitiveness" and become part of the developed "centre."

An economy based on the extraction and exports of raw materials runs several risks. The source may be depleted or the price of the raw material may collapse due to changes in technology or consumption patterns. The stream of income from exploiting the natural resource may crowd out the development of other productive sectors. Politics in the country may focus exclusively on the dictates of the particular resource sector and on the control over the income stream it enables. This increases the risk of coups d’état, of foreign interventions and of civil wars. Furthermore, an extractive economy often misses out on learning-by-doing that an industrial economy normally experiences. Even the resource extraction sector becomes dependent on know-how and machinery produced in the developed centre.

A country that has become an exporter of "matter" may find its peripheral backward status accentuated, and that it has no other options. Its economically weak position may thus worsen its ecological sustainability, which again may undermine its economic potential. Countries experiencing a combination of these risks may fall into an "extractive economy trap." (Although he does not use the term, Stephen Bunker, from the University of Wisconsin, has given a vivid description of the causes of this trap.)

How did Finland manage to bypass the traps connected with being an economy based on exports of "matter"? In Bunker’s vocabulary, how did Finland make a successful transition from "extraction" to "production"? Bunker describes a few cases in Europe and North America, where an economy based on extraction has evolved into a productive centre. He puts forward several factors to explain such exceptions:

1. Since capital tends to concentrate, the possibility for productive economies to emerge from extraction diminish as capitalism develops. Also, as transport technologies improve and lower the costs of bulk movements, the gains from reducing bulk through processing close to the extraction location diminish, making a transition less likely.
2. The potential for a transition depends on the spatial location and on the natural, physical characteristics of the resource. The closer to an existing productive centre extraction takes place, the better are the chances for industrial development. The easier the resource can be depleted or substituted, the greater are the risks that an extractive economy is unable to make the transition.

3. The power of the local population to confront extractive capitalists is crucial. Are they able to resist the destruction of their environmental base and the exploitation of local labour power? How large is the share of the extractive rents appropriated by the locals and their state?

Finland has been fortunate on all fronts. Its industrial take-off took place early, at the end of the 19th century, when it became a major producer of pulp and paper. Between 1913 and 1950 most industrial economies experienced a widening per capita GDP gap with the US. There were only three exceptions: Sweden, Norway and Finland. That Finland belonged to this group is remarkable, since it was the victim of several wars and a large loss of territory, leading to a resettlement of almost a tenth of its population.

Finland’s geographical location between Sweden and Russia has been crucial. The close cultural links with Sweden have made easier Finnish emulation of Swedish technological and social advances. Before 1917 Finland stood in a special relationship to Russia, a fact that aided the export to Russia of processed goods. A similar relation arose after WWII. Finland was the only “western” country that traded extensively with the Soviet Union.

Forests as a resource are renewable. Another advantage is that forests have several potential uses. They have been an important energy source. Houses, tools and ships have been made of wood. Wood can be refined into necessities such as tar or paper. Cutting trees is best done in wintertime, when there are few other employment opportunities for a rural labour force. Forestry therefore is a good complement to farming. Peasant households were able to finance small investments and the education of their children by cutting and selling some of their forest. The interests of the exporters of tar, sawn products or paper and the well-organized forest-owning peasantry (involved in cooperative manufacturing based on wood) jointly influenced the regulation concerning forestry.

Bunker’s third factor has probably been crucial. The peasantry managed to avoid serfdom both during the Swedish era and after 1809, when Finland became a Grand duchy under the Russian Czar. It constituted the “fourth estate” alongside the nobility, the clergy and the bourgeoisie. Peasant ownership of the forests was actually shielded by the state. In the northeastern parts of the country, with few peasant, but large remote forest areas, the state controlled the resource. Thanks to the dominant Lutheran influence, and to a nationalist movement that relied upon education as a major tool, the peasantry was largely literate. Democracy on the national and the local level was achieved relatively early, and democracy did not break down despite the traumatic events of the 1930s and 1940s.

If the reasons for the Finnish success are so complex and unique it is certainly difficult to emulate it. However, there are lessons we can learn from her example.

- Development is strongly dependent on persistent characteristics, such as geography and culture. Each nation must find solutions that fit its specific situation. You can learn from your neighbours, but you should not try to copy them - even more you should not try to implement a universalistic blueprint (such as Soviet type communism or Washington consensus neoliberalism). However, it is usually a good thing to set up certain clear goals, and try to reach a national consensus to achieve them.

- The character of the state is crucial. There need to be a certain persistence that can take the shape of a conscious or unconscious "model". The Swedish model was relatively explicit, the Finnish rather implicit, but even in the Finnish case you can find echoes by Kekkonen or Kautil that were relatively holistic programs. In the Finnish case the emphasis on "international competitiveness" goes relatively far back in time. This may explain part of its achievements during the informational epoch.

- Gender relations matter a lot. The welfare state, property implanted, is an economic asset since it is a condition for the emancipation of women. The emancipation of women again is crucial for national economic development. The more the public sector improves the lot of children, the better women can combine both work and motherhood.

- Economic security is a precondition for dynamism "with a human face". When workers and citizens feel that they have a certain economic security even if the firm restructures or if they get unemployed, they are prepared to accept changes associated with new technologies or with stronger international competition. They are also prepared to invest in education. Of course, you can have dynamism imposed from above, but dynamism imposed by force or by threat of misery, is not the key to long-term prosperity.

- To educate and pay the educators well is a superior investment. The main reason for Finnish success in education is that its teachers are more educated than in other countries. They also receive relatively good salaries in comparison to other employees.

- Sustainable conflict solutions give many advantages. Finland lies on the edge between two cultures, and it has had a more than fair share of conflicts. There are, however, some good examples of conflict solutions such as: liberation of the cousins, treatment of Swedish and Orthodox minorities, income policies, integration of communists.
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EN ALTERNATIV SYN PÅ RYGGONT

Smärter i rörelse- och stödorgan är något av en folksjuksom i dagens Finland. Tre av fyra över 30-åringar har lidit av ryggsjukdom en gång under sitt liv, säger Markku Heliovaara, Hilkka Riihimäki och Maunu Nissinen i Lääkäririkin Suoodecem (24.10. 2003 på Internet). De refererar till undersökningen Mini Suomi som kom fram till att 17 procent av dem som är över 30 år har långvariga ryggproblem. Och ryggon med strålningssmärta ner i benet, så kallad ischiassmärta, har 40 procent av den vuxna befolkningen lidit av någon gång under sitt liv.


Enligt FPA är ryggsjukdomar den största orsaken till sjukfrånvaro i Finland. Av dem som är 2001 blev arbetsofrömliga 50 procent av sjukdomar i stöd- och rörelseorganen. Främst ryggon.

Den största orsaken till ryggon är statiskt jobb, till exempel arbete framför en dator, en livsföring med obefintlig motion, övervikt och tungt kropspårbe säger Finlands Ryggsförbund.

Är det faktiskt så? Eller finns det någon svaghet i hur vi är byggda som gör att ryggsjukdom är så vanligt?

Alla drabbas vi av ryggon i något skede av vårt liv. När vi söker hjälp för vår onda rygg får vi höra att vi har orträde och svaga muskler. Lösningen är att stärka musklerna får vi höra.

Men om det är sant hur kan det då vara möjligt att så många idrottsmän har ryggsjukdom? Är det för att de hör till den andra problemgruppen, de som tränar för mycket och hårt? Till exempel överläkaren i fysiatr, Jouko Salminen vid ÅUCS i Åbo, har under sin forskning i barn och ungdomars ryggsjukdom kommit fram till att det inte bara är ett för stillasittande liv som orsakar förstörningar i stödbäddarna. Även för mycket träning i unga är sliter hårt på ryggen.


All träning av djupa mag- och ryggmuskler hjälpte mig inte. Smärgom blev min rygg så dålig att jag ordinerades operation.

Läkaren, kirurgen, speciellläkaren i traumatologi och ortopedi Antti Heikkilä vid Eura sjukhus i Helsingfors har erfarenhet av 30 000 patienter under 20 år. Han har vågat gå mot strömman och tro på vad hans erfarenhet säger honom, inte vad han lärde sig vid universitetet.

Han är författare till flera böcker som behandlar ryggsjukdomar, bland annat Selän viisius ja Selkä.


Antti Heikkilli säger att rygg- och nackont alltid bor er på för styva och stela muskler. De stela musklerna ger upphov till smärta och leder till att ryggaden blir för stel. Han talar om rörlighet framom styrka. Han tror mer på motionsformer som konditionsboxning, tai chi, ridning och afrikansk dans än styrketräning.

Varför det? För de nämnda grenarna ökar rörligheten i huvud och ryggen och det hjälper de stela musklerna att bli längre och släppa sitt grepp. Enligt Heikkilli handlar det om att hitta rätt rytm igen, att sålunda att röra sig som är fritt från spänningar.
En av Finlands kändaste fysioterapeuter Jarmo Ahonen säger samma sak. Han är rörelseexpert och har specialiserat sig på hur vi bör röra oss på rätt sätt.

"Motion är bra, men problemet är att de flesta inte kan röra sig rätt. De flesta av oss kan inte ens gå så som man ska", säger han i tidningen Birka maj 2006.

De flesta idrotter ökar styrkan för mycket i förhållande till rörligheten anser Antti Heikkilä. Han jämför det med en bil som trimmas så mycket att alla delar inte hinner med.

"När alla delar inte är snaorda som de ska gör maskinen sönder" (Selän viissaus).

Heikkilä talar även mycket om psykets betydelse vid uppkomsten av rygg- och nackkont. Stress, depression och psykiska problem av olika slag sätter sig i musklerna anser han. Våra känslor påverkar muskulaturen.

"Svåra upplevelser i livet kan sätta sig i våra muskler som muskelkram" (Selän viissaus).

Antti Heikkilä och Jarmo Ahonen är inne på samma linje som Thérèse Bertherat, den franske sjukgymnasten som blivit känd tack vare sina böcker Kroppen har sina skäl, Kroppens budskap och Med kroppens samtycke.

Thérèse Bertherat har utvecklat antigmatistisk, en metod som baserar sig på det faktum att orsaken till de flesta av våra kroppssvaga problem beror på för korta muskler på baksidan av våra kroppar.

Varifrån kommer den här teorin?


Mézières var fascinerad över hur svanken i kvinnans rygg flyttade på sig. När Mézières fick bort den i ländebyggen dök den upp i nacken istället. Det var omdömt att få både nacky, rygg och knä ner mot golvet samtidigt. Dessutom blockerades patientens andning när Mézières indigen tyckte att hon började få bukt med "den vandrande svanken". Hur var det möjligt?

Kvinnan hade fått diagnosen kyfos, men de enda symptom hon uppvisade var lordos. Hennes rygg verkade för lång och hon hade fått diagnosen att den var för svag. Därför orkade hon inte hålla ryggen rak sade hennes diagnos.

Men när Mézières behandlade henne uppvisade hon bara stelhet, förkortningar och stor styrka i de muskler som håller ryggen upprätt. Mézières var fascinerad av den stora styrkan i den lilla kvinnans ryggskulor när hon försökte få dem att rätta ut sig.


Men tack vare att Mézières behandlade henne som om hon skulle ha för mycket styrka och stelhet i sin kropp blev kvinnan småningom bättre. Hennes magmuskler blev starkare utan att hon gjorde en enda magmuskelövning.

Efter det här jobbade Mézières hårdligt i två år för att kunnasta sin upptäckt. Men varenda patient hon behandlade hade nytta av att behandlas som om ryggen skulle vara för stark. Efter de här två åren skrev Mézières 1949 om sina upptäckter i "Révolution en Gymnastique Orthopédique-Causes et Traitement des Déviation vertébrales et Algies d’Origine Musculaire".

Hon utvecklade en metod som heter "Méthode Mézières". Metoden finns beskriven i "Originalité de la Méthode Mézières".

Det här är en sjukgymnastisk metod som baseras på Francoise Mézières upptäckter.


Mézières själv grundade aldrig någon skola men hon hann utbilda cirka 2 000 personer från olika länder. En av Mézières elever var Thérèse Bertherat som utvecklade antigmatistiken.

Vad var det då Mézières upptäckte?

Hon märkte att orsaken till kroppssvaga deformationer och smärtor så gott som alltid beror på för korta muskler på baksidan av våra kroppar.

Musklerna bakom bildar en helhet, en kedja som reagerar som en enda muskel därför att de går över flera led och överlappar varandra.


Enligt den tredje lagen medför varje lokalt ingrepp, till exempel en förkortning, genast att hela kedjan förkortas. Det här beror på att varje ändring av en av beståndsdelarnas längd drar i bredvidliggande muskels fästen.


Enligt den femte lagen vrids armar och ben alltid inåt därför att armens främre kedja (även armmusklerna bildar en kedja, mer om det längre fram) innehåller pronatorer, inåtroterare och för att bakre kedjan i nedre extremiteterna innehåller starka inåtroteratorer: semientinomus, semimembranosus och popliteus.

Enligt Mészéres sjätte lag gör en smårä, en ansträngning och alla försök att förlänga eller tvätta upp en muskel att andningen (bröstkorgen och diafragman) låser sig. Den förbli i inandningsposition.

Mészéres lagar förklarar uppkomsten av missbildningar såsom kordos, kryfos och skolios. De förklarar även vad rygg- och nackot beror på: För korta och stela muskler i kroppens största muskelkedja.


Kedjorna är nästan alltid överspända. Det kan man bland annat se på armens kedja. En hängande arm är alltid litet böjd och pronerad (handflatan pekar bakåt).


Den bakre kedjan består av närmare 60 muskler. Muskulerna i nacken, övre ryggen, ländryggen, skinkorna, bakre och inre sidan av lären, vadder, under fotterna, på fotterna och på smallbenen hör hit. Stora och starka muskler som hör till kedjan är till exempel trapezium, deltoideus, latissimus dorsi, gluteus maximus och gastrocnemius.

Framsidan av kroppen, dit till exempel magmusklerna och musklerna på lärens framsida hör kan inte matcha den här kedjan. På framsidan av kroppen bildar musklerna inte alls samma fina system av muskler som alla löper åt samma håll och överlappar varandra. Teorin att till exempel magmusklerna är för svaga är därför helt riktig.


1 "Le repaire du tigre" säger Théophile Bertherat att musklerna i den bakre kedjan också har tjockare och bredare sensor än på framsidan av kroppen. Muskulerna i bakre kedjan har ofta dubbla eller trefaldiga sensor jämfört med musklerna framgift. Av musklerna i den bakre kedjan styr 97 procent över atminstone två ledar.


Även diafragman, som sköter vår andning, påverkas av muskelkedjan bakåt. När musklerna i ryggen är korta, låser sig diafragman och resultatet blir att vi aldrig andas ut tillräckligt. Vi blir deformérade så att de nedersta revbenen står ut för mycket.

Om vi tar en närmare titt på nacken ser vi att de små musklorna på framsidan av halsen ska stå emot ett verkligt kraftigt och kompakt muskelpaket bakåt. Räknar man de viktigaste musklerna bakåt i nacken uppgår de till 22 stycken.

Rör vi oss neråt långs ryggen kommer vi till korsryggen, det vill säga ländryggen. Liksom nacken är det här en region som ofta orsakar problem i form av smärta och stelhet.
Andra är de här två ställena, nacken och korsryggen, verkliga fästningar av muskler. Och de tar fäste direkt på nack- och kombalkortena. Då förstår man vad som händer när de är korta, stela och starka. De drar hårdare i kortorna, ryggraden böjs och stressten på kortorna ökar.


Även när inåtroterna sjuvar så att axlarna är framdragna, handens baksida är framåtvänd och lären inåtvända så att knätna pekar inåt är muskelkedjan för kort.


Mézières trodde att artros i ledena går att förebygga om man börjar förhålla den bakre muskelkedjan i tid.

Muskulärna på framsidan av våra kroppar är inte enade sinsemellan på samma sätt som baktill. De löper långt och långt med, tvås över, diagonal. Till exempel de två muskulärerna på halsens framsida, som vi använder när vi sväljer, är inte i kontakt med bröstmuskulerna. Magmuskulärna är inte i direkt kontakt med muskulärerna på lärens framsida. Och de interkosta musklerna, de som sitter på högra sidans revben, har ingen sambörighet med sina grannar till vänster.

Allt det här leder till att muskulärerna framstill inte har en chans att stå emot muskeln bak. De blir för slappa, för svaga. För att få en bättre balans gäller det alltså att stärka de här muskulärerna.

Det har vi hört länge. Stärk muskulärerna. Men hur?


I England säger Joel Carbonnel (Positive Health Magazine), som jobbar enligt Mézières metod och är expert i Alexandertechnik, att det inte finns en enda magmuskelövning som skulle leda till ett bestående resultat. Även när man ligger med ländryggen mot golvet samtidigt som man lyfter upp bröstkorgen från golvet, en så kallad kammlift, eller cruunches på engelska, en övnning som ska isolera magmuskulärna, fyllas ryggen inte som önskat. Och magmuskulärna drar inte ihop sig tillräckligt.

Även om du lyckas stärka magen så mycket att den klarar av att stå emot ländryggen så blir ryggen inte helt frisk. Varför inte?


I Prag märkte professor Vladimir Janda vid Department of Rehabilitation Medicine samma sak. Han märkte att de som hade kroniska ryggproblemen alltid hade inaktiva magmuskulär (Craig E. Morris i Dynamic Chiropractic).


Det enda sättet att förlänga muskelkedjorna är att kontrahe, sammandra deras antagonistiser. När vi talar om den bakre muskelkedjan skulle det alltså vara viktigt att kontrahe magmuskulärna och muskulerna i främre lären.

Men hur gör man om vanliga magmuskelövningar inte fungerar?


I Finland är inte Mézières metod inte känt. Det beror på att metoden inte marknadsförts i Norden på samma sätt som till exempel McKenzie-metoden som används av många finländska fysioterapeuter i dag.

Method Mézières strävar efter att ge en förklaring till sjukdomar i stöd- och rörelseorgan.

Thérèse Bertherat har hela sitt yrkesverksamma liv behandlat patienter med metoden. Vid sidan av det arbetet har hon utvecklat antigymnastik, som också bygger mycket på Mézières upptäckter. Antigymnastik skiljer sig från Mézières metod skiljvilda att den är ett pedagogiskt arbete.

Men syftet är samma: Att uppnå en bättre kröppsbalans som på sikt minskar uppkomsten av till exempel ryggs- och nackproblem.

I Finland har ingen ännu betraktat kröppen som en helhet på samma sätt som de franska sjukgymnaster som jobbar med Mézières metod gör. Men läkare som Antti Heikkilä och fysioterapeuter som Jarmo Ahonen är inne på samma spår. De talar om att röra sig på rätt sätt, utan överspända muskler. Även här går utvecklingen hela tiden mot att betrakta en människa som en helhet och behandla henne därefter.

En djupdyking i de metodér Mézières och Bertherat utvecklat kunde vara ett värdefullt tillägg i kampen mot sjukdomar i stöd- och rörelseorgan.

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Professor i statskunskap, Åbo Akademi

OM MIKROSTATERS STATSDUGLIGHET

I en översikt, publicerad år 1957, av den brittiska kolonialpolitiken i Afrika framhöll översiktenens författare, D. C. Holland, att Gambia och Sierra Leone, även om de i likhet med andra brittiska områden hade styrt med gott utrymme för egna politiska initiativ och insatser, knappast kunde påräkna en framtid som självställda stater. Härför var Gambia och Sierra Leone i Hollands ögon helt enkelt för små – de var, hette det, "likely to find that they are too small to be able to form independent states" (Holland, 1957). Profetian var i och för sig groteskt felaktig – Gambia erhöll självständighet år 1965 och Sierra Leone erhöll självständighet redan år 1961. Men profetian var nog tidstypisk. Den tillkom i ett klimat som var flentligt mot den lilla staten och som betraktade en viss minimistolik som en grundförutsättning för att ett område kunde tillerkännas självständighet. Ännu vid 1950-talets inbrott fanns det sålunda endast två allmänt och internationellt erkända mikrostater, nämligen Island och Luxemborg; ännu mot slutet av 1960-talet väckte det bestörning och t.o.m. försvarande av nyblivna mikrostater som Maldiverna och Mauritius gjorde anspråk på medlemskap i Förenade Nationerna (Anckar och Bartmann 2000: 24-25).


En viss ljusvind gör sig nog att gällande i synen på relationen mellan litemhet och produktivitet. I en lärobok om komparativ politik gör Jan-Erik Lane och Svante Ersson


"...The poo-boo will be treated and transported in ships, then dumped in Barbuda to be dried in the sun" ... "When the poo-boo is dried, it will be tagged by Barbudans to be sold in Florida as Milorganite fertilizer ... Going along with this wonderful project is not only expensive perfumes for everybody in Barbuda, but the American Company will build a deep water harbour costing 7.5 million dollars. Barbuda will be a paradise, poo-boo notwithstanding."

Vi låter Barbuda Voice och Lowenthal (1992: 26) förtjälla om projektets vidare öden:
"When McChesney was finished, the people in Barbuda, a full 90 % of the total population, in one voice... said "AH WE NO WANT AMERICAN POO-POO YA"... This grand phrase resounded far and wide in Barbuda. Shocked to find the people of Barbuda could be so proud as to reject both American poo-poo and capital as the same thing, McChesney said, "Who all you going on so for, all of us know that in Barbuda the best potato used to grow where we dumped our own poo-poo. A little poo-poo not going to hurt anybody, and it's good American poo-poo at that..." Again, the people of Barbuda responded in unison, "Ah we no want no American poo-poo ya". The Barbudans completely poo-pooed the idea... Three cheers for the people of Barbuda. They put human dignity above dollars. That is liberation."


Vad förmågan att gripa tillfällen i flyken ytterligare vidkomm, skall uttryckligen noteras att det lilla systemet, givet att det har suveräntät och därmed jurisdiktion, har hårt förutsättningar än det stora systemet att göra de anpassningar som blir nödvändiga för att exploatera tillfällen och dra full nytta av dem. Den lilla båten svänger snabbare än den stora - när och om den globala scenen utmärks av turbulens, dynamisk och osäkerhet är de små systemen i större utsträckning än de stora systemen, tack vare sin flexibilitet och sina internationella förmångar och även tack vare en politisk redskap som inte behöver i litet, i stånd att hantera och överleva snabba omgivningförändringar (Baldacchino 2000: 73; Cheieu 1993: 48-58). Många små ekonomier har snabbt och med frågning klarat ett utgång från en agrar ekonomi eller en plantationekonomi till en huvudsakligen på tjänste- och produktion baserad ekonomi; andra, Malta och Mauritius är goda exempel, har industrialiseras inom ett par årstider (Baldacchino 2000: 73-74). Såsom relevanta litteraturöversikter visar (t.ex. Reay 2004), har forskningen inte ännu riktigt fått ett slutfullt grepp om vad de parallella trenderna i dagens värld mot globalisering och regionalisering egentliga innebörden och kommer att innebära för de små ländernas ekonomi och ekonomiska tillväxt. Klart är i varje fall att staterna, tack vare sin litet, har tillgång till en särskild fond och en särskild blandning av humankapital och socialt kapital, som är en värdevärd tillgång i försök att identifiera och implementera relevanta polspaketet.
Lilleputtar i omvärlden


Vad mikrostaternas internationella referensramar allmänt beträffar, skall och bör en särskild omständighet med emfas ommätnas. Då många små samhällen är där, är det lätt att föreställa sig att de är slutna system och därmed i särskild utsträckning sårbara. Antagandes om slutenhet är dock i grunden falskt. De små samhällena är i själva verket i eminent grad

Än fler mikrostater?


politiskt beroende och materiell välfärd för ösamfundens del numeras ganska långt gått hand i hand; självständighet innebär ekonomiskt avbrack. Givet att många av de ösamfund som numeras är autonomsa snarare än självständiga är välståndigt små, är resultatet i sig föga överraskande. Det visar ändå, att rent ekonomiska kalkyler inte längre tillstyrker en uppkomst av i varje fall välståndligt många nya mikrostater.

Andra omständigheter som kan underbygga en vidsträckt autonomi eller en självständighet kvarstår emellertid. De omständigheter varom härvid är fråga är ofta geografiska, historiska och etniska, och de lämnar gott om utrymme för identitet som vill värna och institutionalisera sina egensarter. ”Differences in the spatial identities of states and nations and among different nations have created a world of asymmetries, of ambiguities and blurs”, heter det i en framställning om histörande ting (Kaplan 1999: 45). De områden som utpekas av de nyssnämnda omständigheterna som potentiella framtid mikrostater är varandra såväl lika som olika. Till dessa områden hör, för att nämnna några exempel, Aruba, Bougainville, Cook-öarna, Färöarna, Grönland, Nevis, Niue, och Åland. Dessa potentiella nya mikrostater besitter många av de statsbärande egenskaper som förutsätts i internationell doktrin och av det internationella samfundet. Några områden tevekar ändå ser andra inför det steg som innebär en övergång från ett autonomtillstånd till en fullständig självständighet. Till de som tevekar därför att de är nöjda med sin situation sådan den är, hör Cook-öarna och Niue, båda i statsförening med Nya Zealand (lex. Crocombe 1992; Carbone 2003). Andra mikrostatskandidater tevekar därför att de är genuint osäkra på de villkor och konsekvenser som blir aktuella i en secession eller därför att de interna meningarna inom mikrostaten i spe är delade, ytterligare andra ser vägar stängda därför att den stat av vilken de ännu är en del inte vill låta dem dra sin färd, utan reser hinder. I något fall har den motvilliga staten härvid själv ett relativt färskt kolonialt förhållande – en hänvisning kan göras till Papua Nya Guinea och landets envisa grepp om Bougainville. Till de omständigheter man bör beakta för att förstå fredsprocessen på Bougainville hör, har det nyligen sagt, "the weak but surprisingly resilient PNG state, unwilling to let Bougainville go but unable to subdue it" (Larmour 2005: 26).

I och med att de flesta av de territorier som verkligt önskar självständighet numeras ha kunnat förverkliga sina önskemål, har en del tvåsiderinhet försvunnit ut de debatter på olika små ställen som relaterar till självständighet och självständighetsperspektiv. En konsekvens härav är att meningsutbyte blivit mindre transparenta, och att möjligheterna att bedöma i vilken mån förutsättningar för en framgångsrik secession verkliga är för handen därmed blivit sämre. Oenigheter framträder, men deras orsakskänslig grundram är inte samma tydligt. Till en del beror detta på att kontrahenterna talar förbi varandra och in i varandra
snarare än med varandra - två debattörer kan vara eniga om att en secession får positiva verkan för världen A och negativa verkan för världen B; i sådana fall är debattörerna, därför att
den ena värdesätter A högre än B och den andra värdesätter B högre än A, oeniga därav, om
e en secession skulle orsaka eller inte. En oenighet kan även, helt enkelt, bero därför att en
gruppering upplever att dess politiska framtid, för tillfålet förankrad i lättvända funktioner
vis-à-vis metropoliseatern, kan bli osäkra i en självständig stat, medan en annan gruppering
upplever att dess motsvarande position blir öförrad eller snarare bättre. En
självständighetsdebatt kan ju dock inte gärna föras i sådana olämplade envorder termer och den
méssé därför kläs i en annan och mer principiell dräkt, varvid olika lämplighetfärna
ekonmisk och politiska argument får bedöja den maktstravan som sammal egentlig
handlar om.
Ur ett allmänt systemperspektiv låter det sig också sägas att antalet mikrostaten i dag
forehölje vara tillräckligt stort eller i varje fall är nära en satsingspunkt. Vidpass en
fjärdedel av världens stater bör till mikrostaternas familj - antalet kan vara större, men inte
väldigt mycket större. Påståendet utgår från en föreställning därom, att det är till gagn
för helheten om den formas av stora och små enheter i en lämplig blandning, varvid det lämpliga
har att gå, med en forvärv att hantera spänningen mellan gemenskap och kapitalist, eller, för
att tala i andra termer, mellan enhet och självförsörjning. Spänningen är att enhet kan
förutseta en litenhet som inte räcker till självförsörjning och en självförsörjning kan
förutsätta en storlek som inte tillåter enhet. Stort och litet går m-a-o. på kollisionskurs. Den
undersökning av Robert Dahl och Edward Tufte om relationen mellan storlek och demokrati
som här tidigare nämns, utgick från föreställningen att det skulle vara möjligt att finna en
optimal storlek i vilken en demokratik kan kläss. Undersökningen visade emellertid att en sådan
föreställning är felaktig, och att en viss storlek är fördelaktig i vissa demokratiskt viktiga
avseenden, medan en annan storlek är fördelaktig i vissa andra demokratiskt viktiga
avseenden (Dah och Tufte 1972: 137-142). Låt medan var därför att ingen särskild storlekdPIX
var idealisk för demokratin krav och att demokrati förutsätter olihet, där storleksmässigt
olika enheter skall existera sida vid sida och inga i något slags system för samarbete och
arbetsfördelnings. En uppgift för demokratins teori är att ordna och förstå sådana system; inför
denna uppgift, liksom inför många andra, är teorin dock ännu famlig och valbart. Vad den
framöre allt behöver för att avancera, är in iakt därom, att storleksmässiga skillnader skall
betraktas som rikedomar och byggs genom.

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Det skall också nämnas att Lipsets tangerade den idag så populära kopplingen mellan förekomsten av frivilligorganisationer och demokrati. Lipset (1959; 84-85) konstaterade nämligen att "men who belong to associations are more likely to hold democratic opinions on questions concerning tolerance and party systems, and are more likely to participate in the political process". Lipset såg dock frivilligorganisationerna som en moflanvända variabel i relationen mellan utveckling och demokrati. Grundtanken var att ett ökat välstånd skapar högre inkomster och mer frihet för medborgarna. Därför vidsträckte resurser (pengar, tid) för att folket skall ha möjlighet att engagera sig i frivillig organisationsverksamhet.


principier. Detta har gjort att demokratin under de senaste åren spritt sig till länder där denna styrelseform svåriligen hade kunnat växa fram "på naturlig väg". Namibia och Östtimor kan anföras som exempel på länder där externa aktörer spelat en minst sagt aktiv roll i demokratiseringsprocessen.


Operationaliseringar


Den geografiska kontexten

kommunistdiktaturerna till kategorin Östeuropa medan de övriga europeiska länderna faller inom kategorin Västeuropa. Beträffande Afrika och Asien väljer jag att inkludera länderna i Nordafrika och Mellersta Östern till en egen kategori.*

Empiri

Jag skall därmed övergå till att empiriskt relatera moderniseringsindikatorerna till graden av demokrati. Jag inleder med en global överblick av relationen mellan variablerna vid de två relevanta tidpunkterna. Resultaten återgavs i Tabell 1 och de bekräftar att mitt antagande om moderniseringssteorins avtagande förklaringskraft över tid är korrekt. HDI:s samt läskunnighetens förklaringskraft har märkts drastiskt mellan de två mätpunkterna. Däremot har betydelsen av BNP per capita ökat något och indikatorn är år 2004 den av de socioekonomiska variablerna som är starkast relatad till graden av demokrati. Resultaten tyder därmed på att rikedom per se idag är viktigare för graden av demokrati än sociala välfärdsindikatorer medan det motsatta gällde ännu för ett tjugotal år sedan.


**

** p<0,01

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** p<0,05

** p<0,01

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**TABELL 3. Socioekonomisk utveckling och grad av demokrati i Amerika vid två tidpunkter. Bivariata regressionsanalyser (OLS).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Konstant</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standardfel t-värde</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985 BNP/cap (log)</td>
<td>16,26</td>
<td>-1,42</td>
<td>0,63</td>
<td>-2,25 *</td>
<td>0,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13,01</td>
<td>-0,09</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>-2,80 **</td>
<td>0,19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15,34</td>
<td>-13,83</td>
<td>6,15</td>
<td>-2,25 *</td>
<td>0,19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004 HDI (%)</td>
<td>18,16</td>
<td>-1,65</td>
<td>0,43</td>
<td>-3,80 **</td>
<td>0,30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17,45</td>
<td>-0,14</td>
<td>0,05</td>
<td>-3,21 **</td>
<td>0,24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20,282</td>
<td>-20,10</td>
<td>4,68</td>
<td>-4,30 **</td>
<td>0,36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<0.05  ** p<0.01

För Asiens vidkommande (Tabell 4) konstaterar vi att BNP per capita är den viktigaste förklaringsfaktorn för graden av demokrati. Dess förkläringskraft har ökat något under perioden mellan de två tidpunkterna. Det är även noterbart att läskunnighet helt och hållet saknar betydelse för graden av demokrati.

I Tabell 5 redovisas sambanden mellan socioekonomisk utveckling och demokrati i Nordafrika och Mellersta Östern. Eftersom dessa beträffande HDI saknas för närvarande hälften av staterna i regionen år 1985 görs ingen sambandsanalys mellan sägda välärmlsdikator och demokrati vid denna tidpunkt. Resultaten visar att läskunnighet utgjorde en viktig förklaringsfaktor för graden av demokrati år 1985, men att samma variabel var betydelselös nitton år senare.

**TABELL 4. Socioekonomisk utveckling och grad av demokrati i Asien vid två tidpunkter. Bivariata regressionsanalyser (OLS).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Konstant</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standardfel t-värde</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985 BNP/cap (log)</td>
<td>15,37</td>
<td>-0,84</td>
<td>0,428</td>
<td>-1,96</td>
<td>0,15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11,07</td>
<td>-0,15</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>-0,587</td>
<td>0,02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11,43</td>
<td>-4,66</td>
<td>5,09</td>
<td>-0,914</td>
<td>0,06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004 HDI (%)</td>
<td>16,69</td>
<td>-1,05</td>
<td>0,39</td>
<td>-2,69 *</td>
<td>0,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,88</td>
<td>-0,01</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>-0,05</td>
<td>0,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15,14</td>
<td>-8,51</td>
<td>5,11</td>
<td>-1,67</td>
<td>0,10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<0.05

Beträffande Västeuropa är det meningslös att göra sambandsanalyser mellan variablerna eftersom det helt enkelt inte finns någon variation att förklara. Samtliga länder är demokratiska (klassificeras som ”fria” av Freedom House vid hänse tidpunkterna). Även för Östeuropas vidkommande gäller att vi inte kan göra analyser för år 1985 eftersom samtaliga länder vid denna tidpunkt erhåller värden mellan 10 och 14 på skalan. Resultaten för år 2004 återges i Tabell 6 och de visar att BNP per capita förklarar en större del av variationen i graden av demokrati än HDI. Läskunnighet saknar helt och hållet betydelse för demokrati i Östeuropa. Att så är fallet beror utan tvivel på att läskunnigheten är extremt hög i samtliga östeuropeiska länder (variabeln antar värden mellan 94,6 % och 100,0 %).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1985</th>
<th>Konstant</th>
<th>B</th>
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<th>t-värde</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BNP/cap</td>
<td>9,98</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,45</td>
<td>0,09</td>
<td>0,00</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(log)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Läskunnighet</td>
<td>12,92</td>
<td>-0,06</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>-2,80 *</td>
<td>0,30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2004</th>
<th>Konstant</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standardfel</th>
<th>t-värde</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BNP/cap</td>
<td>14,20</td>
<td>-0,43</td>
<td>0,50</td>
<td>-0,86</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(log)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Läskunnighet</td>
<td>13,52</td>
<td>-0,04</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>-1,03</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>13,67</td>
<td>-4,19</td>
<td>6,54</td>
<td>-0,64</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0,05


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Konstant</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standardfel</th>
<th>t-värde</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BNP/cap</td>
<td>25,21</td>
<td>-2,44</td>
<td>0,63</td>
<td>-3,91 **</td>
<td>0,45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(log)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Läskunnighet</td>
<td>37,17</td>
<td>-0,32</td>
<td>0,45</td>
<td>-0,72</td>
<td>0,03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>36,80</td>
<td>-39,01</td>
<td>10,31</td>
<td>-3,79 **</td>
<td>0,44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0,01

För Oceaniens del kan isledningsvis konstateras att antalet undersökningsenheter är litet. År 1985 fanns det 17 självständiga stater i regionen. Motsvarande siffror år 2005 var fjorton. En förstulit slutsats är att BNP per capita är en starkare demokratideterminant än läskunnighet. År 1985 var korrelationen mellan BNP per capita och graden av demokrati 0,48, medan korrelationen mellan läskunnighet och demokrati var -0,13. År 2004 var motsvarande värden -0,42 respektive -0,36. På grund av att så få länder ingår i populationen är det dock befogat att närmare granska hur relationen mellan BNP per capita och demokrati ser ut i Oceanien.


FIGUR 2. BNP per capita och grad av demokrati i Oceanien år 2004.

Diskussion
Allmänt om moderniseringsens betydelse för demokrati


Då vi jämför de socioekonomiska indikatorernas förklaringskraft noterar vi att låskunnighet förklarat sin betydelse som förklaringsfaktor för demokrati under de två senaste decennierna. År 2004 var sådana välfräsändindikator relat erad till demokrati endast i Amerika (och möjligtvis Oceanien). Samtidigt skall det medges att resultatet delvis betingas av det faktum att låskunnigheten generellt sett är vädligt hög i så gott som alla regionala kontexter. Ikke desto mindre är det anmärkningsvärt att i den regionala kontext där vi finner den största variationen i graden av låskunnighet, nämligen Afrika söder om Sahara, har sågda variabler täppt så gott som all sin förklaringskraft på nitten år.

HDI förmå bättre än någon annan moderniseringsindex indikator förklara variationen i demokrati i Afrika söder om Sahara och i Amerika. Samtidigt bör det påpekas att HDI:s förklaringskraft minskat drastiskt i den förstnämnda regionen under de två senaste decennierna. I Östeuropa och (i viss mån) Asien finner vi förvisso samband mellan HDI och demokrati, men i båge regionerna utgör BNP per capita en än viktigare demokratideterminant.

BNP per capita är den indikator som generellt sett bäst förmå förklara variationer i graden av demokrati i de olika regionerna. Dess betydelse har ökat (eller i varje fall inte minskat anmärkningsvärt) i samtliga kontexter under den tidigare studi perioden. En slutsats som kan dras på basis av den studien är därför att "hårda" ekonomiska faktorer idag väger tyngre än "mjuka" sociala utvecklingsindikatorer när det gäller att förklara variationen i graden av demokrati. Konlusionen är enklig att interessant eftersom den står i skarp kontrast till de resultat som framkom i exempelvis Hadenius och Diamonds tidigare nämnda studier.

Regionsspecifika förklaringar

inneburit att autokratio i många afrikanska stater motvilligt flit att acceptera demokratiska reformer. Hur uvida dessa demokratierreformer verkligen utnyttjas i konsoliderade demokratier är dock en öppen fråga.


För Asiens del kan konstateras att en kraftig demokratiseringstvåg svept över kontinenten under de senaste två decennierna. År 1985 klassades endast två länder som "fria" av Freedom House, nämligen Japan, som erhöll vårdet två, samt Indien, med vårdet fem. År 2004 uppgick antalet "fria" stater till sju (Filippinerna, Indien, Japan, Mongoliet, Sydkorea, Taiwan och Thailand). Det är enkelt att inta att Lipsets teori ökade ständig som många länder genomgick en demokratiseringssprocess. Det här tyder på att demokratin i Asien planteras i början nor. Det är också intressant att notera att ekonomisk tillväxt i sig verkar spela en avgörande roll för demokratins framväxt. BNP per capita och demokrati går hand i hand i Asien och givet den kraftiga tillväxten i många asiatiska länder är det lätt att förutspegla att demokratiseringssprocessen kommer att fortsätta i regionen.


För Oceanians del noterades att moderniseringsteorin utgör en tillfällig men inte nödvändig förklaring för demokrati i området. Inom denna region finns det m.m.a. flera vågar som leder till demokrati. Det är också värt att betona att graden av demokrati generellt sett är mycket låg i det. Inget land klassas som "fritt" av Freedom House. Tonga, som vid bagge tidsnätet har erhövd vårdet åtta på demokratiskan, är det minst demokratiska landet i regionen. Den främsta orsaken till att demokratin varit så framgångsrik i Oceanien står att finna i det svårupphöjbara begreppet "kultur". I de flesta av Stillá Havets östöster präglar det politiska beslutssättet av en strivan efter kontinuitet och ett udviklande av konfronternor (D. Anckar 2000, 66, 64, 69). Denna beslutsform har förekommit under en lång tid i så gott som alla länder i Oceanien. Det faktum att samtliga självständiga östöster i
regionen är främst brittiska eller amerikanska kolonier har tvivelsutan bidragit till att demokratin fått förståelse i många fattiga länder i Oceanien.

**Asslutande reflektioner**

Föreliggande studie har visat att biskraften i Lipsets teori varierar med hänsyn till tidpunkt och geografisk kontext. Jag motiverade valet av de två tidpunkterna för undersökningen med skillnader i det internationella politiska läget. Studien har visat att dessa olikheter påverkat resultaten, men att olikheterna fått vitt skilda konsekvenser med avseende på moderniseringsteorins relevans i de olika regionerna.


**REFERENSER**


**Datakällor**

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UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AS MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN FINLAND

The Historical Background

The Finnish Diet was established in 1863. Before this, the autonomous Grand Duchy had had to manage without a parliament. Finland had inherited the Code of 1734 from Sweden. It remained unchanged and valid in Finland as no new laws could be made. Together with the Emperor Grand Duke the Senat functioned as the government (and the supreme court) of Finland. The members of the Senat were Finnish men without any political mandate who were appointed by the Emperor for three years. The Senat was presided over by the Emperor’s Governor general, who often was a highly ranked Russian officer.

The Members of the Diet

Before 1907, the Finnish Diet was divided into four estates: the nobility, the clergy, the burghers and the peasants. The nobility was entitled to as many places in the House of the Nobility (the first chamber of the Diet) as there were noble families registered at the House. The other estates were each composed of members representing the cities and the different districts. The head of a noble family was thus automatically a member of the estate of nobility. But it often happened that the membership circulated among the members of a noble family, so that not only the head of the family was able to have this experience, but other kinsmen as well.

Men in leading positions in society were nominated to represent the three lower estates. But it has to be noted that there were very few men with governmental experience in 19th century Finland. For instance the regional governors were often chosen (by the Emperor) among men serving in the Russian army.
One category of men suitable to serve in the Diet were the professors at the Alexander University in Helsingfors (the only university at that time). Many of them were interested in the development of the laws. The University work was not time consuming. The professors had plenty of spare time. The duties of the Diet did not take much time, since the Diet was in session for a limited amount of time. It was thus only natural that university professors became members of the Diet. The university was situated in the capital in the same quarters as the Diet. The professors did not waste any time walking from the one place to the other.

Parliamentary work attracted especially professors from the faculty of law, since they were well prepared to participate in law-making activities. Many of them were also consulted about the preparative legislative work. It may also be mentioned that some members of the law faculty served as members of the Senat's judicial department. The knowledge of the law professors was thus effectively used for different important activities.

As has already been stated, Finland was suffering from a lack of modern statutes. The law professors were happy to bring the situation up to normal Western Europe standards. The professors enjoyed high esteem in society at that time. A membership in the Diet was also considered a merit. In the 19th century, the competition for membership in the Diet was very minor. Some university professors belonged to a noble family either by birth or after having been raised to nobility. Most of them spent some time as members of the Diet.

At that time, the church and the school were closely attached to each other. The estate of the clergy was thus the natural basis for the political activities of a university professor.

The University had been given the power to elect two professors to the Diet. But there were also professors who were nominated to the Diet by cities and chapters.

**Professors in the Diet up to 1906**

In the following survey I will restrict my comments to the four-estate Diet which functioned until 1906. The well-known Baron Rabbe Axel Wrede, a professor of civil procedure, born in 1851, and the rector of the University in 1905, participated in all Diets up to 1906 as a member of the nobility. He played an important role in legislative work. He was a strong defender of the Swedish-speaking Finns' right to enjoy equal linguistic treatment by the courts and the administration. Wrede belonged to the constitutionalists who were opposed to Emperor Nicolas II's unconstitutional measures, for instance the drafting of Finnish men to serve in the Russian army. He was arrested for his political activities by the Russians and obliged in 1904 to leave his country for a certain period of time.

One example of a nominated member of the Diet is Leo MecheLin, a professor of administrative law (he was later raised to nobility). He was born in 1839. Without any doubt, he was the most important politician in Finland during that time and also a leading member of the municipal corps of Helsingfors. He served as a member of the Diet during the years 1877-1906 and also as a head of Senate. In this capacity, he presented the Diet with a new version of the Finnish constitution, which however met no response in Saint Petersburg.

Ernst Exlander, a professor of legal history, born in 1870, was also a member of the nobility. He served in the Diet during the sessions of 1897, 1899, 1904 and 1905 to 1906.

Robert Hermanson, a professor of administrative law born in 1846, was a brilliant scholar of constitutional law. He was elected to the Diet by the chapter in Åbo 1897-1906, and represented them until 1906 serving as the chairman of the law committee and later of the constitutional committees.

Robert Montgomery, a professor of civil law, born in 1838, was a member of the Nobility and served as the chairman of the law committee in 1887, 1891 and 1894.

Baron Johan Philip Palmén, a professor of civil procedure, born in 1811, was the chairman of the important penal code committee and prepared the code of 1889.

Professor Setälä, born in 1844, who served as member of the Diet in 1904 and 1906, was a professor of Finnish and worked on language questions in favour of the Finnish-speaking community.

Another distinguished member of the Diet was Professor Johan Richard Danielson-Kalmari, born in 1853, historian, nominated by the Finnish party in the Borgå district and later in the Tavastehus district. He was a member of several Diets. In 1904-06 he presided the constitutional committee.
The period between 1906 and 1918

The modern Finnish parliament (lantvågsdag) was created by a statute in 1906. The first elections took place the following year. Many parliamentary elections were held in the period 1907-1917. Some members of Parliament, due to a lack of experience and parliamentary traditions, did not yet qualify as competent parliamentarians.

Fortunately, some university professors were still willing to serve a democratically elected Diet. They now had to compete with other candidates for the popular vote. But they all enjoyed high esteem in the political parties and were elected without any difficulties.

In these years Finland was still a part of the Russian empire and all laws had to be confirmed by the Emperor in St. Petersburg before they could enter into force. The nationalist movement in Russia was opposed to Finnish autonomy and thus effectively hindered Parliament from fulfilling its purpose, and the Emperor was too weak to resist the wishes of the movement. It was not until Finland received its independence and the Finnish Constitution Act of 1919 entered into force that the government and the Parliament began to function in a normal way.

Quite a few University professors were willing to participate in parliamentary work. A professor was still regarded as an important person and well qualified to serve in Parliament. Parliamentary work could still well be easily combined with his professional duties. Between the wars the parliamentary as well as university work was still not too time consuming.

The earlier mentioned Baron Wrede was elected by the Swedish party in Nyland and served the Parliament in 1910 to 1913 and 1917 and 1918 as a member of the grand committee and the constitutional committee.

Ragnar Farujieln, a professor of astronomy, born in 1879, was nominated by the Swedes in Nyland and served the Parliament in 1917 and 1918 as a member of the finance committee.

Onni Takas, a professor of administrative law, born in 1877 liberal, conservative, represented the Wiborg district from 1909 to 1919 and from 1927 to 1930.

Ernst Estlander has already been mentioned. He was nominated by the Swedes in Vasa and served the Parliament from 1907 to 1913, from 1917 to 1821 (to 1930.) He was a member of the law committee and the grand committee.

Emil Seidt represented the Abo and Björneborg districts and later the Wiborg district beginning in 1907.

Leo Michelin headed the constitutional committee from 1910 to 1913. He was expelled by the Russians.

Ivar A. Heikel, a professor of Greek literature, born in 1861, represented the clergy from 1904 to 1905 and from 1905 to 1906. He was later elected rector of the University and published its history in 1940.

Laure Ingman, a professor of theology, born in 1868, represented the Borgå chapter from 1905 to 1906 and the Åbo chapter from 1907 to 1918. He was Minister of education 24-26 and prime minister from 1924 to 1925.

Augs Suolahit, a professor of the German language, born in 1871, was a conservative who represented the Tavastehus districts from 1911 to 1921.

Finland becomes independent

When the Russian revolution broke out, there was much anarchy in Finland. But the Finnish parliament still functioned and declared Finland independent on December 6, 1917. Red Russia, which supported the Finnish revolutionaries, took over the Southern part of the country, and started together with their Finnish comrades a civil war directed against Finland’s lawful government. Only after several months, in May 1918, was the country liberated and the government was able to call together its Parliament, from which, however, the participants who had actively collaborated with the Reds were excluded.

The professors’ role in the independent Finnish Parliment

Some opposition against democracy was voiced, but not very loudly, in a country deeply divided between nationalists and people who had collaborated with the Russian rulers, socialist-communists and right wing people, and Swedish- and Finnish-speaking people. Many had hoped for a monarchy with a strong ruler to guide the nation, but Parliament finally rejected, after having previously voted pro et contra, a monarchial constitution. Instead the president of the republic was given a great deal of power.

A new constitution was ratified in 1919 after a heated debate concerning the situation of the Swedish-speaking community. The professors Wrede and Estlander made a strong contribution to defending the rights of the Swedish-speaking people in a state dominated by a strong Finnish majority.

*This list does not contain professors from other schools than the University of Helsingfors. There were however a few other professors who made a political career, for instance Niilo Meimonen born in 1913 economist in the Swedish business school and member of parliament (Swedish party) 1945-62.
As Finland began to function as a parliamentary democracy the question arose: where are men and women suitable for governmental and parliamentary work to be found?

In the 1920s, Finland badly needed legal experts on the different levels of lawmaking. The country's legislation was outdated because of the many years of a non-functioning or poorly functioning of the Parliament.

The law professors were still interested in law making. Several of them were members of Parliament and also participated actively in preparative work on the governmental level. Unfortunately much time was wasted on futile disputes as well in Parliament as in the university regarding the language used in university teaching. The majority of the students were demanding an unilingual university, but the result was a bilingual one, although with only a minimum of Swedish teaching.

**The politisation of Parliament**

Up to the beginning of the 1920s, the professors seeking membership in Parliament enjoyed a good starting position, thanks to their central role in the community. But it was obvious that university professors had lost at least a part of their political draw. Professors also became less visible in society as a whole. On the other hand, the membership of Parliament, became, with time, less glorious. Parliament began to demand more time of its members. It was no longer as easy as before to combine a political job with a professor's duties.

Some names, however must still be mentioned which must be mentioned as professors who built a political career.

K.J. Ståhlberg, born in 1865, a professor of administrative law, had been a member of the old Diet in 1891, 1894, and 1897. He was elected member of Parliament by the burgesses of Fredrikshamn 1904-1905 and the Tavastehus district for 1908 to 1909 and the Uleåborg district in 1914 and 1917. He was a member of the Liberal Party. At that time there were no limits as to where to declare one's candidacy and Ståhlberg enjoyed great support almost everywhere. Later he was elected president of the newly founded Supreme administrative court and president of the Finnish republic.

Rafael Erich, born in 1879, a professor of international law, represented the Conservative Party in the St. Michel district in 1911 to 1924 and was elected president of the constitutional committee in 1922. He was prime minister from 1920 to 1921.

Väinö Voionmaa, born in 1869, was a professor of history. He served as a Social Democrat for the Kuopio district in 1919 to 1921 and for Tavastehus in 1922 to 1923 and 1924. He was a member of the constitutional committee from 1919 to 1921. He was the minister of foreign affairs in 1926 to 1927.

Antti Talasen, born in 1871, a professor of criminal law, was a conservative elected of the Tavastehus district in 1914, 1922 to 1923, 1930, and 1931 to 1932. He functioned as prime minister in 1925.

T.M. Kivimäki, born in 1886, a civil law professor, was a liberal member of parliament in 1924 to 1926, 1929 and 1931 for the Åbo district. He headed the law committee. He was minister of the interior in 1928 to 1930, and Prime minister in 1932 to 1936.

Bruno A. Sundström-Salmi, born in 1890, was a criminal law professor. He was a member of the Patriotic People's Movement and represented the Tavastehus district in 1933 to 1944.

Kyösti Hautala, born in 1881, was a professor of economic law, conservative. He represented the Tavastehus district in 1929 to 1930.

Erkki Leikola, born in 1900, pharmaceutical chemistry, conservative, was a member of parliament 1945-51 and 1954-62.

L.A. Penttilä, born in 1907, professor of political history, was a Social Democrat, and a member of parliament 1966-70.

Edvin Linkomies, born in 1894, professor of classics, rector of the university 1956-62, was a conservative member of parliament from 1933 to 1945 and served he constitutional committee 1933-1936. He was prime minister 1943-44.

Mikko Jauho, born in 1898, professor of church history, was a liberal and member of parliament from 1964 to 1965.

**Conclusion**

Many university professors were active in seeking a position in Parliament up to the Second War. Some of them have tried, L.A. Penttilä, Mikko Jauho and Erkki Leikola with success but only for a few years, the others without success.

Today, professors show very little interest in pursuing a parliamentary career, which has become very time consuming and supposes temporary leave from one's university job. One explanation may also be the general lack of interest in politics not only by professors but also by other members of society. Many professors prefer to use their free time for other activities,
as their field of research is becoming more and more time demanding or to private business,
as professors' wages are so low.