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## Summaries

### Transnational relations: no change in international politics

by A. Pijpers

In this article the so-called transnational paradigm in the study of international relations is criticized. After an exposition of the key concepts and arguments used by prominent representatives of the transnational school, criticism has been formulated at three points.

First it is argued that the transnationalists, as the adherents of transnational politics are called here, lack insight in long-term (political) developmental processes in the western international system since the Middle Ages. As a consequence transnational relations, their corresponding interdependencies, and their impact on the state are viewed by transnationalists as something peculiar to the 20-th (and the end of the 19-th) century only, transforming international politics and rendering traditional interstate approaches obsolete.

Though we agree that interactions of the transnational kind have been expanded considerably in recent times, we oppose the contention that those relations have assumed only in the past hundred years such political significance as to call now for a basic shift in the perception of international politics. Instead, we expound the thesis that transnational relations and economic interdependence have been particularly innate to the western international state system from the outset, that is, ever since its genesis in West Europe at the end of the Middle Ages.

The short-term perspective of the transnationalists results (implicitly) in a double concept of the state — our second point of critique: a 'territorial' 17-th/18-th century state and an 'interdependent' late 19-th/20-th century one. In our opinion, states have always been 'interdependent' formations, while their often stressed territorial qualities must be understood as fallacious in several respects.

The inconsistent developmental view of the transnationalists, together with their corresponding dual conceptualization of the state, have tempted them to suggest that in the current 'interdependent' western state system the role of military violence has been diminished as compared to the former 'territorial' state system (for which accordingly realist theories of military power and violence are said to be more appropriate). This contention gave rise to our third point of critique. Since states in the international system are interdependent from the outset, as we have pointed out, historically there is already no reason to expect more peaceful relations under conditions of growing interdependence. Nor does interdependence lead theoretically to a lessening of the use of violence. Especially this conclusion has urged us to doubt the viability of a transnational basic model at all. Thus, though transnational relations must be duly taken into consideration, the transnationalist line of argument is

all taken together insufficiently sound as to warrant a new paradigm in international relations.

#### The career of the burgomaster in the Netherlands

by W. Derksen

This article discusses two components of the career of the burgomaster in the Netherlands.

The burgomaster is the appointed head of a municipality. The Netherlands have 842 municipalities, which vary greatly in population. The denser the population of a municipality, the more influence and social status the burgomaster possesses and the higher his income is. Consequently a burgomaster can make his career by an appointment as burgomaster of another, bigger municipality; likewise, he may make his career by the growth of his own municipality. Thus career is considered to be the increase of the population, over which the burgomaster presides.

The writer asks himself to what extent these two possibilities of career-making are connected. Career resulting from growth may form a compensation for the lack of career resulting from a transfer (the compensation-hypothesis). But the burgomaster may also come into the picture by the growth of his municipality, in which way his opportunities for career resulting from a transfer may increase (cumulation-hypothesis). Research shows that the career resulting from a transfer is of much greater importance than the career resulting from the growth of the municipality. The latter, however, is still of such an extent that it may form a compensation for the lack of promotion to another municipality.

As regards the growth of the first municipality and the transfer to the second, the writer concludes that, in general, the correlation between both components is negative (checked for a number of background-variables as well): this supports the compensation-hypothesis. At the same time the writer points out that for certain sub-populations, on the other hand, the correlation is positive. Further research will be able to indicate the causes of this findings. This investigation is only a first step towards research into the career of the burgomaster.

#### Party Distances in the Dutch Lower House in 1968 and 1972\*

by H. Daalder and J. P. van de Geer

Surveys held in 1968 and 1972 — in each case among 141 out of 150 members of the Dutch Lower House — contain extensive information on their perception of inter-party relations.

Both in 1968 and in 1972 Dutch MPs were asked to rank all parties in order of decreasing preference. Averaged preferences (fig. 1) and the spread in preferences (fig. 2) give important information which is further analysed with the aid of a multidimensional scaling technique developed by J. de Leeuw. This technique places parties as well as individual MPs in a common space. In a two-dimensional representation parties are ranged along a left-right order which has the shape of a horseshoe (fig. 3a). A third dimension tends to discriminate among three main 'blocs': a 'bloc' of the progressive parties, a 'bloc' of the main religious parties (with the Christian-Historical occupying a somewhat marginal position near the 'rest-bloc'), and a 'rest-bloc'. The perceptual space appears to be remarkably robust, irrespective of whether

\* This is a summary of an article, that appeared in the july-issue of Acta Politica XII, nr. 3, p. 289-345.

one compares 1968 and 1972 data *in toto* (figs. 3a-3c), or if one compares the replies from those who were members in both parliaments with the replies given by those who left since 1968 or those who had only entered in 1972 (figs. 4a-4c). Figures 5a and 6a, as well as 5b and 6b place individual MPs in relation to party stimuli in three dimensions in 1968 and 1972. The analysis is repeated for the three 'sub-blocs': the left members (figs. 8a and 8b for 1968 compared to 9a and 9b for 1972), the members for the religious parties (figs. 10a and 10b for 1968 and 11a and 11b for 1972), and the 'rest-bloc' (figures 12a and 12b for 1968 compared to figures 13a and 13b for 1972). Whereas the members of the left and religious parties tended to share the basic underlying space, this was not true for the members of the 'rest-bloc'; this suggests that the latter find themselves less easily and homogeneously in the space which is largely determined by the much greater number of respondent the two other 'blocs'.

The 1972-data offered (in addition to rank-order data) information about absolute sympathies for the main system parties (see table 2 and figure 14), as well as separate data on desired interparty coalitions. The sympathy scores were analysed again for all members (fig. 15) as well as for left members (fig. 16a), religious MPs (fig. 16b) and the remainder (fig. 16c), separately. The coalition data were checked to see whether they validated the 'closed range' assumption of modern coalition theory (see also table 3). Data are given on reciprocal coalition preferences (table 4). The underlying structure of coalition preferences was again brought out with the aid of a multidimensional scaling technique (fig. 17). Although some politically meaningful 'local' differences emerged, the analysis of the rank-order data, the sympathy scores and the coalition preferences tended to bring out a relatively stable perceptual space (as did analyses of the same respondents at different times, of changing respondents in time, and of different subgroups of parliament — with only the 'rest-bloc' showing questionable coherence).

Finally some data are presented on the positioning of the main system parties, their individual MPs and the attributed location of voters for different parties on seven nine-point scales, dealing respectively with development aid, abortion, law and order, income distribution, worker participation, collective expenditures and defence. Except in the case of abortion, the average self-placement of parties tended to follow a left-right order (fig. 18). But very different 'gaps' appeared between parties according to different issue questions, and parties also differed greatly in the degree of internal homogeneity of their position on different issues. The general perceptual space (fig. 19) offers clear restraints on the ways parties are 'located' in relation to one another. But particular differences among and within parties suggests that individual parties can exploit both objective and perceived differences in coalition negotiations.