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## Summaries in English

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## Summaries

### Recall Accuracy and its Determinants

by C. van Eijk and B. Niemöller

Panel data and recall data frequently yield different results in analyses of individual voting stability. This is mainly caused by the great number of recall inconsistencies we observed (at each of the recall moments only 60 to 70% of the answers were in concordance with a report given immediately following the elections). Compared with panel data recall leads to a serious underestimation of the number of vote changers; some 16-20% of the cases which are classified as stable or changing voters on the basis of recall data are incorrectly designated so; some 30% of the cases which are correctly classified as changers are, with recall data, incorrectly placed as to the party left by them.

We examined a great number of variables to see whether they correlated with recall consistency. We were surprised to find that only a relatively small number of factors appeared to be associated at all with recall behavior. These are: age, political interest, strength of partisanship, political knowledge, certainty of voting choice in 1971, frequency of voting in the '71, '72 and '77 elections, and changes in voting behavior over those three elections. The most surprising was that indicators which are known to be strong predictors of political attitudes and behavior didn't correlate with recall: education, class, income, sex and political efficacy.

The interrelationships between 5 variables have been analysed with loglinear models. The result of this analysis was a simple model, containing all 5 variables, and specifying only some of the second order effects between the variables, and none of the higher order effects. The model fitted very well with the data.

### The Permanent Secretary: An Empirical Study of Social and Political Characteristics of Dutch Permanent Secretaries 1945-1979

by U. Rosenthal

This article presents the results of an empirical investigation into social and political characteristics of the Permanent Secretaries in The Netherlands in the period 1945-1979 (n=60). The results are interpreted in the perspective of some developments which have taken place in the highest layers of the Dutch Ministries: an increase in the number of political appointees and elected officials (for instance under-ministers), the growing number of permanent under-secretaries, the growth of the major policy-making agencies within the Ministries (the Directorates-General), the increasing importance of the central staff agencies (for financial, legal, personnel, and organizational affairs).

## Summaries

The modal Permanent Secretary is appointed when being between 44 and 48 years of age. He has studied law at Leiden University. He has been recruited from within the Ministry. He is a Protestant. He is a member of — casts his vote on the Christian Democratic Party — or in the past, on one of the Christian Parties. In this respect he shares the convictions of the recruiting Minister.

The period 1945-1979 does not show distinct trends. A fairly general analysis indicates that the Permanent Secretary and his staff adapt themselves to processes of politicization which have somehow marked the politico-administrative system since the sixties. However, the adaptation takes place at slow pace and is susceptible to various kinds of backlash.

### Domestic sources of foreign policy: theoretical stagnation

by A. E. Pijpers

This article contains a critical analysis of the theoretical merits of some recent approaches in the study of foreign policy (comparative foreign policy, linkage politics, foreign policy as adaptive behavior, and others), which for the sake of convenience are brought together under their common denominator: domestic sources of foreign policy. The philosophy of domestic sources has claimed to provide — in a world displaying growing interdependencies between domestic and foreign affairs — a better theory of foreign policy than some traditional approaches are able to do. These latter are said to be in want of a systematic treatment of the impact of *non-governmental* variables on foreign policy.

The analysis proceeds as follows: To begin with, it is found that many authors depart from a definition of foreign policy as simply external behavior or an equivalent. Though not wrong, this notion is theoretically rather ineffective because it does not include any behavioral characteristic *peculiar* to foreign policy. Furthermore, it is argued that in the literature under review the nexus between foreign policy and international politics has been severed, with the result that the *basic* problem of international politics (that is, its comparatively unregulated, unordered, often violent course) is more or less neglected in the study of foreign policy. Instead, theorizing departs from the somewhat empty, empiristic, notion of foreign policy as external behavior, and has consequently produced several 'frameworks', 'pre-theories' of 'organizational devices' of which the theoretical sophistication rests primarily and chiefly on the very shallow distinction between 'internal' and 'external' variables. Likewise, major hypotheses are not derived from any significant *problem* of international politics, but are generated by arbitrarily linking infinite numbers of 'internal' (and also 'external') variables to foreign policy events. Finally, by drawing the boundaries between 'internal' and 'external' dimensions, it is not recognized that the domestic foreign policy process *itself* is to a certain degree part of international politics.

The analysis concludes by pointing out that the domestic sources — approaches are not justified in their claim to provide a better *theory* of foreign policy than the criticized traditional approaches have developed so far. On the contrary, traditional contributions have succeeded better in selecting *relevant* variables than many 'framework' or 'pre-theory' from the here discussed literature.