

## SUMMARIES

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### **Riker's 'Size principle' and Its Application to Finnish Roll-call Data**

By Markku Laakso

The coalition theory developed by William H. Riker is first discussed and its basic principles — especially »size principle» — are elucidated. A set-theoretical description of a multi-party system is then developed to serve as a frame of reference within which Riker's theory can be further developed. A parameter  $\Delta F$  that measures the difference of the expected minimal winning coalition from the observed one within a given coalition structure (coalition combination of parties in a multi-party system) is then derived. This measure is applied for the analysis of Finnish roll-call data (150 roll call votes from the period of three Finnish post-war cabinets). The results support Riker's »size principle» but one cannot assume that this outcome is solely due to the strategy of the winning parties to maximize their momentary benefits. Obviously individual Members of the Parliament often maximize their benefits by refusing to shoulder the responsibility of a parliamentary decision and the parties accept this, because flexibility in party discipline may help them to maximize votes in the next elections. A relative parameter  $\Delta F^+$  analogous to absolute  $\Delta F$  is derived although it is not used for testing Riker's theory. The importance of this relative measure for the further extensions of coalition theory for the analysis of parliamentary voting behavior is indicated.

### **The Foreign Policy Functions of Ideological Voluntary Organizations. A Study of Organizations and Recruitment of Their Leaders in Finland**

By Aira Kalela

The general role of the ideological voluntary organizations in foreign policy decision-making is first discussed. It is suggested that these organizations can be classified according to their acceptance of the present foreign policy of the country and their actual participation in foreign policy decision-making process. Thus one can find three more general types of ideological voluntary organizations in respect to their roles in foreign policy: 1) functional organizations (high in acceptance, high in participation) establishment organizations (high in acceptance, low in participation) and pressure organizations (low both in acceptance and participation). The fourth potential type (high in participation, low in acceptance) cannot be expected to have an empirical counterpart.

The similarity and dissimilarity of the leaders of these different types of organizations were examined in a Finnish questionnaire data (N = 127, from 17 organizations, return percent 85).

First conclusion was that the leaders of all the types of organizations were selected elitistically. That is reflected in the high social background of all the leaders. Also the own social position of the leaders was high when it was measured by sex, age, education and occupation.

There were clear differences between the types of organizations that reflected the diverging unofficial criteria of recruitment in different types of organizations. Obviously the functions of the different types of organizations determined the recruitment process. Thus the leaders of the functional organizations (active in the field of foreign policy execution) resemble foreign policy bureaucrats, the leaders of the establishment organizations (active in legitimization of accepted foreign policy) resemble the parliamentary decision-makers and the leaders of the pressure groups (active in foreign policy criticism) resemble the upward mobile, status incongruent groups of society. This is clearly reflected in the fact that the leaders of the functional and establishment organizations have considerably higher social positions than the leaders of the pressure group organizations. The functional specialization of the three categories of organizations is furthermore reflected in the general political and foreign policy ideologies of the leaders. The leaders of the establishment organizations are recruited so that their political make up corresponds to that of the Finnish political parties and their foreign policy attitudes resemble those of the parliamentary decision makers. The leaders of the functional organizations are distinctly conservative as to their general political and foreign policy ideologies. The leaders of the pressure organizations are recruited from among the leftist persons that advocate radical foreign policy.

From a functional point of view the different types of organizations obviously recruit their leaders very purposively. From the point of view of the total system of foreign policy decision making the selection of the leaders is obviously stabilizing and equilibrating. However, if we would change the perspective and instead of functional approach examine the same facts from the point of view of democratic participation or benefit distribution the inequality in opportunities would be striking.