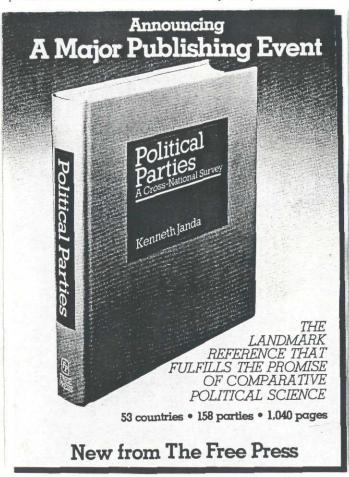
### The International Comparative Political Parties Project: 1980 to 2000

Kenneth Janda Northwestern University

Presentation before the Section on Political Organizations and Parties, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 1, 2000 Washington, D.C.

Twenty years ago, at the 1980 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The Free Press announced the publication of my book: Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey. Below are the front-and-back images of the publisher's promotional brochure, retrieved from my dusty file drawers.



AND PROVIDES THE DATA BASE FOR THE NEXT GENERATION OF THEORY AND RESEARCH.

# itical Parties

A CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEY

Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University

In his now classic study, Maurice Duverger predicted that only through the development of truly cross-national, empirical research could any progress toward a theory of political parallel see and seek and the truly cross-national, empirical research could any progress toward a theory of political parallels are still unable, in Duverger's words, "no describe the real workings of political parallels are still unable, in Duverger's words, "no describe the real workings of political parallels." Now a landers that you could be the international. Now a landers that you go the seek of the political parallels are still unable, in Duverger's words, "no describe the real subject to the political parallels are also data base to bring comparative political acience a major step closer to this goal. Political Parallels: AC ross-Notional Survey is the first systematic, comprehensive, and empirically-based study of the world's political parties. The result of 15 years' research, this remarkable volume surveys 158 parties in 50 countries—more than half the world total—from 1500 to 1502, with an updating to 1576 the parties in 500 to 1502, with an updating to 1576 the parties in 500 to 1502, with an updating to 1576 the parties in 500 to 1502, with an updating to 1576 the parties in 500 to 1502, with an updating to 1576 the parties in 500 the security of the parties in 500 the security of the security of the framework bring order to a mase of facts about the origing, activities, and consequences of political parties. The concepts are measured by clusters of variables world-wide sample of parties is leasted against these variables—which total more than 100—to illustrate the distribution of party characteristics. The results are

orthwestern University
summarized by dozene of statistical tables. In addition, a separate thespier reports the intercorrelations among the variables, offering the opportunity to test cleans of the state of the st

KENNETH JANDA is Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, where he directed a staff of 95 in the International Comparative Political Parties project research for this book, in dedition, 45 distinguished scholars from around the world served as outside consultants for the countries studied.

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Chopies 3 Institutionalization
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Reflection
Chopies 6 Good Creanization
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Chopies 8 Autonomy
Chopies 10 Governmental Status
Chopies 10 Governmental Chopies 6 Chopies 10 Chopie rt One: Variables, Codes, and Su

Port Two: Infor ation on Political Parties by Co Anglo-American Culture Area: United States of America, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyssaland, India

West Central Europe: Austrie, France, Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Greece, Portugal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Greece, Portug Scondinevia ond Benafus: Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, The Netherlands, Linsembourg South Aisericos: Ecuador, Paraquey, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela Cantrol Americos: Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gusteimala, Nicaregua Asso and the Far East: Burma, Cambodia (now Kampuches), Indonesia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), Malaya (now Malaysta)

Eastern Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Middle East and North Africa: Sudan, Tunisia, Lebanon, Iran, Turkey

West Africa' Dahousey (now Benin), Ghana, Guines, Upper Volta, Togo Cantral and East Africa: Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Benzaraville (now People's Republic of the Congo), Kanya, Uganda

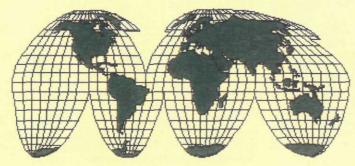
Although priced at \$100 in 1980 ("the first of the hundred-dollar books," my friends quipped), The Free Press sold out its printing of 1,000 copies and printed more copies a year or two later. By the mid-1980s, it was out of stock and out of print.

Even before the book was published, the quantitative data produced by the ICPP Project--with NSF funds--was publicly available. In 1979, the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research released the data as Study 7534 and published its accompanying codebook, Comparative Political Parties Data 1950-1962. Numerous scholars and students subsequently obtained and used the data files from the ICPSR, but the data codes cannot be thoroughly understood apart from the parent reference book. Unfortunately, I could not help the several persons--mainly from abroad (foreign sales exceeded domestic sales, 593 to 548) -- who wrote asking how to obtain a copy.

In 1997, I wrote the Simon and Schuster Company, which had absorbed The Free Press, requesting assignment of its copyright. The publisher obliged, and I began plans to republish its content on the Internet. This brochure announces the book's rebirth in electronic form, outlines an outgrowth of the original ICPP Project, and lays out a plan for the future.

Path: janda.org/icpp = Home Page of the ICPP Project

# International Comparative Political Parties Project



The International Comparative Political Parties Project was founded at Northwestern University by Kenneth Janda under a 1966 grant from the U.S. National Science Foundation.

The buttons on this page link to three major phases of the ICPP Project as it has developed over the past four decades.





HCMOHEPOB

ICPP 1980 The major publication of the ICPP Project was Kenneth Janda, *Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey* (New York: The Free press, 1980). It provided information on 158 political parties operating from 1950 to 1962 in 53 countries representing all world regions, political cultures, and types of party systems. The book also traced the parties' histories through 1978. Long out of print, *Political Parties* now exists in its entirety at this web location—thanks to funds from the Provost's Office at Northwestern for the ICPP 2000 Initiative (see below)

Building on concepts and data from the original ICPP Project, Robert Harmel at Texas A&M University and Kenneth Janda at Northwestern undertook a longitudinal assessment of "Environment, Performance, and Leadership in Party Change." Supported by a 1991 grant from the National Science Foundation, this study covered 19 parties in four countries: the U.S., U.K, Germany, and Denmark. Each party was coded on scores of variables dealing with the party's issue positions and organizational characteristics for each year from 1950 to 1990.

ICPP 2000

1990

With funds from Northwestern University to promote involvement of undergraduate students in faculty research, nine undergraduates participated in the 2000 Summer Camp for Political Party Research. Their work laid the basis for the ICPP 2000 Initiative, which seeks to update the data on the existing parties in the project through contributions from scholars across the world via the Internet.









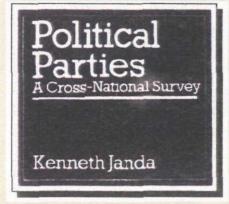








Path: > ICPP Home Page > Home Page of Political Parties book



Graphic from original book jacket.

Preface

Part.

One

Part.

Two

Part

Three

Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey was originally published in 1980 by The Free Press, a Division of Macmillan Publishing Company, New York. ISBN 0-02-916120-7.

Political Parties went out of print in the mid-1980s. The Free Press surrendered copyright to me in 1997. I began to post this web version in April 2000. My students at Northwestern helped complete it in August 2000.

This version of *Political Parties* conforms closely to the printed volume, which covered 1,019 pages in 8.5" by 11" format. For readability on a computer screen, the double-columned text was converted to single columns. To facilitate citing the book, all pagination of this version matches pages in the printed version

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PREFACE xi

PART ONE: VARIABLES, CODES, AND SUMMARY STATISTICS

PART TWO:
INFORMATION ON POLITICAL PARTIES BY COUNTRY

PART THREE: [unpublished in book due to length] BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON PARTY POLITICS, 1950-62

The lower part reprints this descriptive information from the 1980 dust jacket:

This is the first systematic, comprehensive, empirically-based study of political parties around the world. The result of more than fifteen years' work, this encyclopedic volume is a unique handbook for the comparative analysis of party politics and a rich source of information on political parties. It looks at 158 political parties operating in 53 countries from 1950 to 1962, with a further tracing of these parties' histories through 1978. Fifty countries were randomly selected for detailed study—five from each of ten cultural-geographic regions—to provide a representative sample of party systems. Three other countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada—were included for substantive interest. The countries represent all regions, political cultures, and types of party systems in the world.

Within each country, all parties—legal and illegal—meeting minimum standards of strength and stability were chosen for study, including not only "competitive" parties but also those with "restrictive" or "subversive" orientations. Over 3,500 primary and secondary sources were consulted in scoring the parties on more than one hundred variables, each measuring a major concept. For example, the party's "year of origin" or age is one measure of its degree of "institutionalization." These variables and concepts constitute the study's conceptual framework, which contends that most of the crossnational variation in political parties can be analyzed under only ten general concepts: institutionalization, governmental status, social support, issue orientation, goal orientation, autonomy, degree of organization, centralization of power, coherence, and involvement.

Over 1,000 pages long, this massive study is organized into two parts. Part One outlines the conceptual framework, explains the operationalization of the variables for research, and summarizes the ratings of the parties separately for two time periods--1950-1956 and 1957-1962--allowing for party change over time. Part Two devotes a section to party politics in each country, discussing each party in detail. The scores assigned to the parties on the variables are accompanied by comments about the party's practice and the availability of information to judge party practice.

Path: ICPP Home Page > ICPP 2000 Initiative

## ICPP Project -- 2000 Initiative\*

The 2000 Initiative invites scholars and political observers to update data on the existing parties in the ICPP project via the World Wide Web.

The International Comparative Political Parties Project is described in Kenneth Janda, *Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey* (New York: The Free Press, 1980). According to the publisher's book jacket:

This is the first systematic, comprehensive, empirically-based study of political parties around the world. The result of more than fifteen years' work, this encyclopedic volume is a unique handbook for the comparative analysis of party politics and a rich source of information on political parties. It looks at 158 political parties operating in 53 countries from 1950 to 1962, with a further tracing of these parties' histories through 1978. Fifty countries were randomly selected for detailed study—five from each of ten cultural-geographic regions—to provide a representative sample of party systems. Three other countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada—were included for substantive interest. The countries represent all regions, political cultures, and types of party systems in the world.

Press the buttons below for more information about the ICPP Project and the 2000 Initiative

1980 Book online A Selected Bibliography

Research & Researchers Country Consulants Updated Data

If you have detailed knowledge about parties in any of the project's 53 countries, you may wish to become a Country Consultant to the ICPP Project, which will give you privileged access to the ICPP data. If so, please click on the Country Consultants button.

You will then see a list of variables about the parties in the ICPP Project and instructions about coding procedures, which involves filling out forms on our website and submitting them to the ICPP Project at Northwestern University.

\*A "Summer Camp" at Northwestern University was organized in 2000 to engage undergraduate students in political party research. Supported with university funds, nine students worked intensively over eight weeks. Their work laid the basis for the ICPP 2000 Initiative, an ongoing effort to update the data in the ICPP Project through contributions via the Internet from scholars across the world.

The main objective of the **ICPP Project 2000 Initiative** is to code all major parties in our original 53 countries entering the 21st century on all relevant variables in the project's conceptual framework. Having such data available would provide parties' scholars with comparable data on party politics extending over half a century.

Unlike the original ICPP Project, which relied on teams of students consulting library materials to code parties on the variables, the 2000 Initiative will invite scholars across the world to code the parties on variables via the Internet. This part of the project is still in design stages, but it will involve filling out forms linked to a vast database. The information in the forms would be subject to data quality checks, and the database itself would be dynamic, changing as new information was submitted.

I hope to complete the design by the end of the 2000-2001 academic year, and to make it operational by the summer of 2001. If you have thoughts about the design that you wish to share with me, please write. My address is k-janda@northwestern.edu.

In the meantime, check in occasionally at http://janda.org/icpp for further developments.

Path: ICPP > ICPP1980 > Table of Contents: Part One

### Kenneth Janda Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey sew York The Free Press 1980

PART ONE, VARIABLES, CODES, AND SUMMARY STATISTICS, p.

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CHAPTER 4	Governmental Status	29
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CHAPTER 14	Validating the Conceptual Framework	135
CHAPTER 15	Continuity and Change: 1950-1978	162

Part 1 lays out the concepts and methodology of the book. By design, the Internet pages match the print edition, so citing the Internet equals citing the print edition. The information is identical in both, but the Internet version accommodates and exploits the new technology. The print edition is double-column, but the Internet version is single column. The print edition has tables, but the Internet version has graphs. See these sample pages:

Print

Path: Janda: Political Parties, Home Page > Part 1: Table of Conte

Internet

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VARIABLES, CODES, AND SUMMARY STATISTICS

#### Basic Variable 2.03 Cabinet Participation

34

Some parties are not strong enough to win leadership of the national government (measured by variable 2.02) but are able to gain access to governmental policy making by entering governing coalitions with other parties. While it would be desirable to ascertain the importance and number of ministries a coalition partner holds, this kind of detail is unavailable in the literature. We seek to determine the fact of participating in a governing coalition rather than the amount of governing responsibility the party acquires, and we look for participation in the cabinet at any level. Of course, the party's control of the coalition through the office of prime minister is measured in variable 2.02.

Obviously, variable 2.03 applies most directly to parliamentary systems, but it also seems applicable-albeit to a lesser degree-to cabinets in presidential systems. When the Democratic president of the United States, John Kennedy, named Douglas Dillon, a Republican, as secretary of the treasury, for example, he acted in recognition of the status of the opposition party in American

Operational Definition. In scoring "cabinet participation," we make no judgments concerning the importance of the cabinet within the political system, and we do not evaluate the importance of the cabinet appointee within his party. In the preceding example, for instance, it can be argued that Dillon, while unquestionably a Republican, was never a Republican Party leader; therefore, the Republican Party should not be credited with

TABLE 4.3cr

SUBFILE	FIRST				
BV203R	CABINET	PARTICIP	ATION. RECO	0300	
CATEGORY	LAGEL	200€	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	AGJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCENT)
.0005		0	47	34.8	34.6
-0615		1	5	5.7	3.7
.1625		2	1	.7	.7
.2635		3	7	5.2	5.2
. 3645		4	d	5.9	5.9
.4555		5	2	1.5	1.5
.56+.65		ó	1.0	7.4	7.4
.6675		7	9	6.7	6.7
.8695		9	6	4.4	4 4 4
.36-1.05		TOTAL	135-	29.6	-29.6 100.0
VARIABLE	8v233	CABIN	ET PARTICIA	PATION	
HEAH	. 4	5.5			
WARTARIE	AC207				

cabinet participation during the Kennedy administration. On the other hand, acceptance of an opposition party member into the government may reflect the opposition's capacity for indirect influence within the system. Our coding incorporates the latter argument. We credit a party with cabinet participation if any member of the party holds a front-line cabinet position, including the premiership. Following the operational definition for BV202, we express cabinet participation as a proportion of the total years that the party was represented in each half of the period.

REFERENCES

Coding Results. Virtually every party that claims the government leader (BV202) also participates in the cabinet (BV203), whereas the reverse is not true. This results in higher mean scores for BV203 as shown in Tables 4.3a and 4.3b. The average cabinet participation rate during each part of the period was approximately 50, with participation somewhat greater for the second half. The mean AC codes for both periods were high, and there was no significant correlation between the quality of our data and our scores for the variables. Those who wish to distinguish between "important" and "unimportant" cabinet participation in the substantive analysis of our data are reminded that they need to adjust some of our scores according to their own cri-

#### Basic Variable 2.04 National Participation

Parties are often loosely characterized as solely "regional" or truly "national" in operation. Several factors may underlie this rough classification, including the

TABLE 4.3b

SUBSTITE SECONO

PARLITE	SECOND					
B V203R	CABINET	PARTICIE	AFION. RECO	Capi		
CATEGORY	LABEL	caas	ABSOLUTE	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (PERCENT)	ADJUSTED FREQUENCY (PERCEAT)	
.0005		.0	14.54	29.9	35.1	
.0615		1.	2	1.4	1.4	
.1625		2	1.1	7.5	7.5	
.2635		3	12	0.2	8.2	
. 3645			1	.7	. 7	
. 46 55		5	- 5	4.1	4.1	
.5665		6	1	.7	. 7	
.6675		7	Lü	6.8	5.8	
.7685		8	3	2.0	2.1	
.8695		3	1	.7	. 7	
.96-1.05		14	35	37.4	37.7	
		BLANK	147	100-0	HISSING 100.0	
VARIABLE	BV203	CASI	ET PARTICIP	PATION		
HEAN	, 5	1.6				
VARIABLE	AC233					

8.137

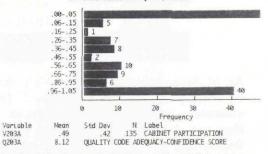
### p. 29 p. 30 p. 31 p. 32 p. 33 p.35 p.36 p.37 p.38 Basic Variable 2.03 Cabinet Participation

Some parties are not strong enough to win leadership of the national government (measured by variable 2.02) but are able to gain access to governmental policy making by entering governing coalitions with other parties. While it would be desirable to ascertain the importance and number of ministres a coalition partner helds, this kind of detail is unavailable in the literature. We sock to determine the fact of participating in a governing coalition nather than the amount of governing responsibility the party cacquires, and we look for participation in the cabinet at any level. Of coaching, the party's control of the coalition through the office of prime ministers is measured in variable 2.02.

Obviously, variable 2.03 applies most directly to parliamentary systems, but it also seems applicable-albeit to a lesser degree-to cabinets in presidential systems. When the Democratic president of the United States, John Kennedy, named Douglas Dillon, a Republican, as secretary of the treasury, for example, he acted in recognition of the status of the opposition party in American politics.

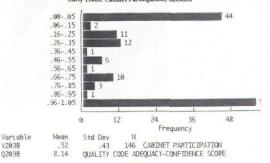
Operational Definition. In scoting "cabinet participation," we make us judgments concerning the importance of the cabinet within the political system, and we do not evaluate the importance of the cabinet exhibit the political system, and we do not evaluate the importance of the cabinet appointee within his party. In the preceding example, for instance, it can be argued that Dillon, while unquestionably a Republican, was never a Republican Party leader; therefore, the Republican Partshould not be credited with cabinet participation during the Kennedy administration. On the other has acceptance of an opposition party member into the government may reflect the opposition's capacity for indirect influence within the system. Our coding incorporates the latter argument. We credit a party with cabinet participation if any member of the party holds a front-line cabinet position, including the premierabin. Following the operational definition for BY 202, we express cabinet participation as a proportion of the total years that the party was represented in each balf of the period.

TABLE 4.3a Mid 1950s: Cabinet Participation, Recoded



Coding Results. Virtually every party that claims the government leader (BV202) also participates in the cabuset (BV203), whereas the reverse is not true. This results in higher mean scores for BV203 as shown in Tables 4.3 and 4.3 h. The average cabinet participation and eduring each part of the period was approximately. 50, with participation somewhat greater for the second half. The mean AC codes for both periods were high, and there was no significant correlation between the quality of our dats and our scores for the variables. Those who wish to distinguish between "important" and "unimportant" cabinet participation in the substantive analysis of our data are reminded that they need to adjust some of our scores according to their own criteria.

TABLE 4.3b Early 1960s: Cabinet Participation, Recoded



Parties are often loosely characterized as solely "regional" or truly "national" in operation. Several factors may underlie this rough classification, including the

Path: > ICPP Home Page > Home Page of Party Change Study, 1950 to 1990

### Longitudinal Study of Party Change, 1950-1990\* A research project co-directed by

Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University, and Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University

Building on concepts and data from the original ICPP Project, Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda undertook a longitudinal assessment of "Environment, Performance, and Leadership in Party Change" from 1950 to 1990. Their study covered 19 parties in four countries--the U.S., U.K, Germany, and Denmark--from the original set of 53 countries reported in Kenneth Janda, Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey.

Each party in the Harmel-Janda study was coded on numerous variables dealing with the party's issue positions and organizational characteristics annually from 1950 to 1990.

Link to country essays from the ICPP 1980 and 2000 sites	Click on the party names for information posted on the 19 parties in the Harmel-Janda study			
00-United States  party system 1950-1962 party system 1963-2000	001 Democratic Party 002 Republican Party			
01-United Kingdom party system 1950-1962 party system 1963-2000	011 Labour Party 012 Conservative Party 013 Liberal Party 014 Social Democratic Party			
12-Germany party system 1950-1962 party system 1963-2000	121 Christian Democratic Union (CDU) 122 Social Democratic Party (SPD) 123 Free Democratic Party (FDP) 124 Green Party			
20-Denmark  party system 1950-1962  party system 1963-2000	201 Social Democratic Party 202 Moderate Liberal or Left (Venstre) Party 203 Conservative People's Party, Konservative Folkeparti 204 Social Liberal or the Radical Left Party (Radikale Venstre) 205 Socialist People's Party 206 Progress Party 207 Center Democratic Party 208 Christian People's Party 209 Left Socialist Party			

Papers and publications employing data from the Harmel-Janda study

Supported by the U.S. National Science Foundation, Joint Grants SES-911249 and SES-91123

As of September 1, 2000, not all the information on these parties has been posted. Users will ultimately be able to navigate to all parties as they can do now by clicking on the Danish Social Democrats:

i.01 i.02 i.03	Issue Orientation Government Ownership of Means of Production Government Role in Economic Planning	8.01 8.02	Organizational Complexity Structural Articulation Intensiveness of Organization
i.02	Production Government Role in Economic	8.02	
03			
mental .		8.03	Extensiveness of Organization Frequency of Local Meetings
-	Redistribution of Wealth	8.05	Frequency of National Meetings
5.04	Social Welfare	8.06	Maintainine Records
5.05	Secularization of Society	8.07	Pervasiveness of Organization
5.06	Support of the Military	1053	Organizational Power
5,07	Alignment with East/West Blocs	9.01	Nationalization of Structure
5.08	Anticolonialism	9.02	Selecting the National Leader
5.09	Supranational Integration	9.03	Selecting Parliamentary Candidates
5.10	National Integration	2.04	Allocating Funds
5.13	Electoral Participation	9.05	Formulating Policy
	The state of the s	9.06	Controlling Communications
5.12	Protection of Civil Rights	9.07	Administering Discipline
5.13	Interference with Civil Liberties	9.08	Leadership Concentration
5.14	State Department Left-Right Rating		Coherence
5.15	Soviet Expert Left-Right Rating	10.01	Legislative Cohesion
5.16	Immigration	10.02	Ideological Factionalism
5.17	Rights of Women	10.03	Issue Factionalism
5.18	Industrial Relations	10.04	Leadership Factionalism