

How well does 'region' explain political party characteristics?

KENNETH JANDA

Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60201, USA

AND ROBIN GILLIES

Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Chicago, IL 60680, USA

ABSTRACT. Region is presumed to have an 'effect' on the characteristics of political parties, causing parties in the same region of the world to be 'different' from parties in other regions. The nature and extent of differences in party characteristics within and between regions have not previously been systematically investigated. This paper applies the analysis of variance to 11 organizational characteristics of 147 political parties. The parties came from 53 countries representing a stratified random sample of party systems in 10 cultural-geographic regions of the world. The study finds significant differences between the regional groupings of parties on all characteristics, with region predicting from 11 to 52 per cent of the variance in individual party traits. A separate discriminant analysis of parties grouped into a First-Second-Third World typology shows that 90 per cent of the parties can be correctly classified in 'their' world on the basis of their organizational characteristics.

Political scientists often resort to regional concepts when explaining the characteristics of political parties. For example, Sartori notes that 'the literature on Latin American parties incessantly speaks of factionalism, personalism, and the like' (1976: 82). Pye suggests that 'the floundering of the party systems of Asia is . . . a reflection of the persisting difficulties of these societies in achieving a workable balance between traditional and modern, between the parochial and the universal' (1966: 372). Many others (e.g. LaPalombara and Weiner, 1966; Blondel, 1969, 1972; Roth and Wilson, 1976) emphasize similarities among parties within regions. Given political scientists' fondness for regional concepts in analyzing party politics, one justifiably asks, 'How well does "region" explain political party characteristics?'

This paper investigates two aspects of this theoretical question with evidence on 11 variables from 147 parties in 53 countries grouped into 10 regions of the world.¹ First: how much variation in party characteristics can be attributed to differences in political cultures among regions? Second: if there is significant regional variation in these

individual characteristics, what configuration best differentiates the parties into regions? We begin by discussing the concept of region and its potential for explaining political institutions.

The concept of region

Compared with many troublesome social science concepts, the concept of region is relatively clear. Vance's definition of region, 'a homogeneous area with physical and cultural characteristics distinct from those of neighboring areas' (Vance and Henderson, 1968: 377) is close to its recent definition by two Soviet scholars as 'a complex spatial socioeconomic system, characterized by a stable combination of political forces and possessing a specific complex of features' (Vitkovsky and Kolossov, 1980: 539). Perhaps the most critical issue in conceptualizing a region revolves around the requirement of geographical contiguity. Must a region be geographically bounded or can it consist of areas that are spatially discontinuous? Russett, who reviews some of the ambiguities and controversies associated with the term, holds that most analysts would reject a simple geographic definition in favor of some criterion of economic and social homogeneity (1967: 2-7). Although Young (1969) criticizes Russett for this broad conceptualization, it is clear that most scholars do not require contiguity in defining a region (Cox, 1969: 71, 77). This is especially true in the international sphere. Thus Vance calls a region 'a group of national states possessing a common culture, common political interests, and often a formal organization' (Vance and Henderson, 1968: 378). Under this conception, the British Commonwealth might qualify as a region, despite its lack of territorial contiguity.

The concept in comparative politics has served to explain similarities in politics and institutions *within* nations in the same region. In effect, region becomes a synonym for 'culture area', which Ehrlich and Henderson define as 'geographical territories in which characteristic culture patterns are recognizable through repeated associations of specific traits . . .' (1968: 563). They find ample evidence for the persistence of culture patterns in given areas over time and even the reappearance of old boundaries for culture areas when peoples with different culture patterns overrun the territory. Although there are pitfalls in 'political culture' explanations of politics, the concept holds some utility for the comparative analysis of political institutions and behavior (Elkins and Simeon, 1979).

The coincidence of cultures with geography invites political scientists to employ regional concepts when they seek to 'hold constant' the effects of political culture on political parties. Thus parties in Western Europe (often including Anglo-American countries) are treated as a group in the writings of Alford (1963), Daalder (1966), Duverger (1961), Epstein (1967), and Merkl (1980). Latin-American parties are treated as a group by Blanksten (1960), Scott (1966), and Ranis (1971). Pye (1960) and Weiner (1960) discuss patterns that are considered common to the parties in Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. Others (e.g. Coleman, 1960; Hodgkin, 1961; Coleman and Rosberg, 1964) find similarities among African parties.

The causal mechanisms in regional explanations

Following a well-established tradition in anthropology, Ross and Homer (1976) cite two causal mechanisms (function and diffusion) to explain similarities of traits in domestic politics among countries. A 'functional' relationship between social and political traits might be based on socialization processes, e.g. authoritarian child-rearing practices

producing highly centralized political parties. Another expression of a functional relationship between traits, seldom discussed by anthropologists, could be game-theoretic: certain institutional arrangements (e.g. proportional representation) produce other institutional responses (e.g. multiple parties). The other causal mechanism for political similarities among nations is 'diffusion', which amounts to simple borrowing of traits or institutions—as in adopting presidential government, bicameralism, proportional representation, or even constitutions. Such borrowing is apt to be especially common among nations in the same region, although communications technology and the high degree of interaction among modern states has led to the diffusion of institutions across the world.

We are less concerned here with identifying the causes of intranational political similarities within regions than with determining the extent of those similarities. Our special interest is in the similarities of party politics among nations in the same region. We believe that the pattern of party politics reflects the central nature of a national political culture as defined by Pye:

A national political culture thus consists of both an elite subculture and a mass subculture, and the relationship between the two is another critical factor determining the performance of the political system. The relationship determines such matters as the basis of legitimacy of government, the freedom and limitations of leadership, the limits of political mobilization, and the possibilities for orderly transfers of power (1968: 220).

Because political parties are designed to link masses and elites, we expect them to be especially responsive to and reflective of national political cultures. To the extent that political cultures are regional as well as national, we expect to find similarities among parties in the same region.

Delineating world regions

Attempts at delineating world regions have produced comparable results (e.g. Russett, 1967; United Nations Secretariat, 1977; Kurian, 1978), with the main difference being in the number of regions identified. Based on demographic characteristics, the United Nations Secretariat divided the world into eight major areas—East Asia, South Asia, Oceania, Latin-America, Africa, Europe, USSR, and Northern America. This is a relatively standard classification, but it is not universally accepted. In the absence of a definitive classification of nations by regions, this regional analysis of party politics begins with the 10 'culture areas' that served as the sampling units for parties studied in the International Comparative Political Parties Project (Janda, 1980). The project identified 92 countries that had functioning party systems from 1957 to 1962. These countries were divided into 10 culture areas:

- Anglo-America
- West Central Europe
- Northern Europe
- South America
- Central America and the Caribbean
- Asia and the Far East
- Eastern Europe
- Middle East and North Africa
- West Africa
- Central and East Africa

The first region embraced nations dominated by British political culture; the other nine conformed to common geographic divisions. Five countries were drawn at random from each area, producing a representative sample of party systems within regions and across the world. Party *systems* were sampled rather than parties to permit study of parties in interaction with other parties. Because this strict sampling procedure did not result in the selection of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, these three countries (desired for substantive interest) were added to the sample and assigned to the Anglo-American cultural area. This small addition of cases to the random sample of party systems was judged to be worth whatever minor bias might be introduced into the analysis.

With the addition of the two North American countries and the United Kingdom, the Anglo-American culture area became the most populated in the sample and the most diverse, given its inclusion of India and the old Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation. In most political scientists' classifications, all these countries except the latter two belong to the 'Western Community' culture area. We conform to common practice by reassigning India to the Asian category and Rhodesia/Nyasaland to East Africa. We differentiate the Western Community, however, into three subgroups: (a) the six countries remaining in Anglo-America, (b) West Central Europe, and (c) Scandinavia and the 'Benelux' countries of northern Europe. The complete set of 53 countries stratified by region is given in *Table 1*, which also identifies the parties and reports the data used in the analysis. The concepts heading the columns in *Table 1* are discussed below, along with the results of the analysis of variance.

Measuring party concepts and regional effects

Parties can be viewed from numerous perspectives and measured in countless ways. The ICPP Project measured parties on a small number of abstract concepts. Most concepts were scored on multi-item scales composed of concrete party characteristics. Information for scoring parties on these concepts was gathered from library materials using a microfilm-computer system of information retrieval (Janda, 1982). The scoring procedures and scale construction were quite complex, and the interested reader is directed elsewhere for a complete explanation of the data, concepts, and scoring techniques (Janda, 1980). Even by limiting our focus to a few major party concepts, we are confronted with a large problem in data analysis and interpretation. Our initial approach to this problem is to test for regional effects on each party concept. Our basic test is a one-way analysis of variance, using the 10 regions as independent variables predicting to party characteristics.²

The null hypothesis being tested is that region has no effect on how parties score on each concept: that is, the characteristics of parties in one region should show the same central tendencies and variations (means and standard deviations) as parties in any other region. A maximum of 147 parties are involved in the analyses; the number varies somewhat depending on missing data.³ We review regional effects on each party characteristic in order of the strength of the effect, measured by the eta-squared statistic.⁴ All the relationships are significant at least at the 0.05 level. The strength and significance of the relationships are reported at the end of *Table 1*.

Because the data pertain to parties scored for characteristics in 1957-62, some findings might change in particulars if the study were replicated with 1980 data. The threat to contemporary validity comes mainly from the demise of old parties and the rise of new ones, for parties seldom change characteristics much over time. In any event, the

TABLE 1. Scale scores for 11 traits of 147 political parties in 53 countries, analyzed by regions

	Restr. comp.	Open comp.	Instituzats	Diversity suppt.	Liberalism	Centri. power	Marxism	Degree organ.	Involvement	Coherence	Govt. status
<i>Anglo-America</i>											
US Democratic	0	4.0	1.52	1.56	-0.02	-1.37	-0.22	0.14	-0.77	-0.80	0.62
US Republican	0	4.0	1.38	1.27	-0.04	-1.41	-1.04	0.01	-0.77	-0.73	0.70
British Labour	0	4.0	0.95	1.22	0.32	0.21	0.36	0.32	0.20	-0.77	-0.12
British Conservative	0	4.0	1.37	1.47	0.23	0.41	-0.21	0.51	-0.20	0.62	1.00
Australian Labor	0	4.0	1.13	1.53	-0.16	-0.71	0.33	0.03	0.14	-0.21	-0.12
Australian Liberal	0	4.0	0.67	1.64	-0.60	-0.55	-0.22	-0.19	-0.59	0.63	0.75
Australian Country	0	4.0	0.74	0.80	-0.60	-0.72	-0.35	-0.57	-0.59	0.74	-0.22
New Zealand National	0	4.0	0.60	1.45	0.32	-0.23	-0.83	0.03	-0.20	0.38	0.53
New Zealand Labor	0	4.0	0.77	1.46	0.43	-0.30	-0.06	0.50	0	0.38	0.42
Canadian Prog. Cons.	0	4.0	0.83	1.59	0.31	-0.15	0.05	-0.09	-0.56	-0.38	1.01
Canadian Liberal	0	4.0	0.90	1.73	0.23	-0.57	-0.34	0.04	-0.56	0.32	-0.32
Canadian CCF-NDP	0	4.0	0.69	1.43	0.55	-0.59	0.36	0.65	0.69	0.06	-0.74
Canadian Social Cred.	0	4.0	0.21	1.35	0.33	-0.96	-0.51	-1.00	0.14	-1.79	-0.80
Irish Fianna Fail	0	4.0	0.70	1.83	0.55	0.52	0.25	-0.47	-0.69	0.88	0.96
Irish Fine Gael	0	4.0	0.67	1.65	0.64	-0.05	0.02	-0.38	-0.49	0.88	-0.23
Irish Labour	0	4.0	0.75	1.30	0.75	0.23	0.34	-0.45	-0.10	0.88	-0.67
Mean	0	4.0	0.87	1.46	0.20	-0.39	-0.13	-0.06	-0.27	0.07	0.17
SD	0	0	0.34	0.24	0.40	0.58	0.42	0.44	0.42	0.78	0.64
No. of parties	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
<i>Western Europe</i>											
Austrian Peoples	0	4.0	1.12	1.38	-0.05	-0.41	-0.59	0.64	-0.43	-0.72	0.98
Austrian Socialist	0	4.0	0.98	1.48	0.42	0.07	0.63	0.59	-0.14	-0.39	0.89
Austrian VDU-FPO	0	3.0	0.47	1.11	-0.19	-0.30	-1.01	-1.18	0.34	-1.14	-0.87
French MRP	0	4.0	0.68	1.28	0.24	-0.42	-0.15	0.79	0.55	0.08	-0.16
French Radical Soc.	0	4.0	0.95	1.48	0.40	-0.70	-0.62	-0.45	-0.65	-0.72	-0.54
French SFIO	0	4.0	0.54	1.56	0.54	-0.14	0.59	0.15	0.38	-0.65	-0.59
French Gaullist	0	4.0	0.13	1.67	-0.43	0.22	0.08	-0.67	-0.36	-0.54	0.62
French Communist	0	3.0	0.34	1.08	0.97	0.34	1.34	0.97	0.95	0.74	-0.69

'Region' and political party characteristics

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

	Restr. comp.	Open comp.	Instituzatn	Disty. suppt.	Liberalism	Centr. power	Marxism	Degree organ.	Involvement	Coherence	Govt. status
W. German CDU	0	4.0	0.03	1.63	0.39	0.07	-0.53	1.10	-0.02	0.22	0.95
W. German SPD	0	4.0	1.31	1.26	0.39	-0.27	-0.29	1.15	1.35	-0.29	-0.28
W. German FDP	0	4.0	0.61	0.85	0.41	-0.16	-0.98	0.56	0.55	0.11	-0.56
Greek Liberal	0	4.0	0.16	1.42	0.15	0.20	-0.24	-2.70	-1.08	-1.81	-0.66
Greek EPEK	0	4.0	-0.24	1.02	0.48	-0.18	-0.30	-2.27	-1.08	0.41	-0.76
Greek Rally-ERE	1.0	3.0	0.43	1.73	-0.30	0.52	-0.42	-1.53	-0.67	0.45	0.99
Greek EDA	0	3.0	-0.66	1.28	0.66	0.63	0.36	0.52	0.83	0.61	-0.71
Port. National Union	4.0	0	-0.03	0.58	-1.17	0.85	-1.14	-0.10	-0.76	-0.15	1.89
Mean	0.3	3.5	0.43	1.30	0.18	0.02	-0.20	-0.15	-0.01	-0.24	0.03
SD	1.0	1.0	0.52	0.31	0.51	0.42	0.67	1.21	0.75	0.69	0.87
No. of parties	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
<i>Northern Europe</i>											
Danish Social Dem.	0	4.0	1.30	1.37	0.74	0.09	-0.14	0.84	0.40	0.91	0.78
Danish Venstre	0	4.0	0.97	0.82	0.74	0.20	-0.85	0.35	0.40	0.15	-0.48
Danish Conservative	0	4.0	1.00	1.05	0.58	0.20	-1.05	0.64	0.40	0.88	-0.59
Danish Rad. Venstre	0	4.0	0.83	1.13	1.24	0.29	-0.25	0.25	0.40	0.42	-0.30
Iceland Independence	0	4.0	0.68	1.42	1.09	0.39	-0.30	-0.17	-0.77	0.84	0.46
Iceland Progressive	0	4.0	0.40	1.27	1.09	0.10	0.03	0.18	-0.68	0.70	-0.08
Iceland Peoples Un.	0	4.0	0.29	1.28	1.09	0.52	0.63	0.59	0.97	0.14	-0.46
Iceland Social Dem.	0	4.0	0.88	1.35	1.09	0.33	0.16	-0.42	-0.11	-0.99	-0.02
Swedish Social Dem.	0	4.0	0.71	1.47	0.20	-0.69	0.48	0.92	-0.17	0.23	0.91
Swedish Center	0	4.0	0.56	0.96	0.23	-1.21	-0.49	0.49	0.10	0.55	-0.58
Swedish Liberal	0	4.0	0.50	1.52	-0.02	-1.22	-0.52	-0.26	0.04	0.44	-0.58
Swedish Conservative	0	4.0	0.75	1.08	-0.18	-0.99	-1.10	-0.24	0.20	0.19	-0.57
Dutch Cath. Peoples	0	4.0	0.71	1.12	0.28	-0.46	-1.15	0.58	0.07	-0.41	0.56
Dutch Labor	0	4.0	1.17	1.27	0.91	-0.39	-0.01	0.95	0.24	-0.36	-0.03
Dutch Liberal	0	4.0	0.36	0.93	0.45	-0.77	-0.82	0.32	-0.05	-0.25	-0.37
Dutch ARP	0	4.0	1.23	1.15	-0.24	-0.21	-1.44	0.79	0.09	0.16	-0.27
Dutch CHU	0	4.0	0.91	1.18	-0.24	-0.67	-1.48	0.01	-0.10	-0.93	-0.29

	Restr. comp.	Open comp.	Instituzatsionnaya	Disty. suppt.	Liberalism	Centr. power	Marrism	Degree organ.	Involvement	Coherence	Govt. status
Dutch Communist	0	4.0	0.45	0.55	0.98	0.74	1.16	0.57	0.78	-0.17	-0.91
Lux Christian Social	0	4.0	0.96	1.18	0.30	-0.34	-0.73	-0.29	-0.10	0.45	0.79
Lux Socialist Labor	0	4.0	1.14	1.24	1.05	-0.45	0.10	-0.41	0.40	0.14	-0.15
Lux Democratic	0	4.0	0.70	1.23	0.63	-0.12	-1.09	0.22	-0.34	0.35	-0.24
Lux Communist	0	4.0	0.32	0.07	0.63	0.45	1.59	0.44	1.69	0.83	-0.78
Mean	0	4.0	0.76	1.12	0.57	-0.19	-0.33	0.29	0.18	0.19	-0.15
SD	0	0	0.30	0.32	0.48	0.57	0.81	0.44	0.53	0.54	0.53
No. of parties	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
<i>South America</i>											
Ecuadorian Velasquis	0	4.0	-0.53	1.57	-0.36	1.01	-0.24	-1.52	-0.70	0	0.07
Ecuadorian Conservat	0	3.5	1.16	1.48	-0.35	-1.00	-1.57	-0.42	-0.28	0.26	0.14
Ecuadorian Rad. Liber.	0	4.0	1.17	1.76	0.74	-0.78	-0.12	-0.47	-0.82	-0.64	-0.48
Ecuadorian Socialist	0.5	3.5	0.43	1.06	0.33	-1.08	1.49	-0.97	0.67	-1.19	-0.79
Ecuadorian CFP	1.0	2.0	-0.43	0.79	0.96	0.96	0.66	-1.16	-1.19	-0.03	-0.67
Paraguayan Colorados	4.0	0	1.10	1.42	-1.28	0.99	-0.26	0.08	-0.74	-0.47	1.93
Paraguayan Febrerist	0	1.0	-1.11	0	0.43	0.12	0.92	0.60	0.93	-1.89	-1.27
Paraguayan Liberal	0	1.0	0.16	1.64	0.33	0.32	-0.23	-0.18	-0.71	-0.58	-1.27
Peruvian UNO	0	4.0	-0.67	1.66	-1.07	0.35	-0.88	-0.85	-1.24	0.65	-0.53
Peruvian Christ. Dem.	0	4.0	-0.69	1.44	0.64	-0.64	-0.26	-1.52	0.67	-0.29	-0.75
Peruvian APRA	0	4.0	-0.51	1.71	0.06	0.69	0.44	0.21	1.22	0.07	-0.38
Peruvian Popu. Action	0	3.0	-0.75	1.70	-0.06	0.03	0.10	-0.59	-0.44	-1.42	-0.30
Peruvian MDP	0	4.0	-1.28	1.56	0.63	-0.01	-1.60	-1.50	-1.24	0.07	0.62
Uruguayan Colorados	0	4.0	1.33	1.77	1.05	-1.63	0.62	0.94	-0.15	-1.08	0.50
Uruguayan Blancos	0	4.0	1.26	1.74	1.05	-1.63	0.59	0.94	-0.48	-1.08	0.79
Venezuelan URD	0	4.0	-0.88	1.54	0.65	-1.05	0.46	-0.45	0.07	-1.41	-0.36
Venezuelan COPEI	0	4.0	-0.80	1.51	0.42	0.28	-0.16	0.17	0.18	0.74	-0.22
Venezuelan AD	0	4.0	-0.35	1.76	-0.16	-0.01	0.43	1.05	0.57	-0.90	0.57
Mean	0.3	3.2	-0.08	1.45	0.18	-0.17	0.02	-0.31	-0.20	-0.51	-0.13
SD	1.0	1.3	0.91	0.44	0.67	0.87	0.80	0.85	0.77	0.75	0.80
No. of parties	18	18	18	18	17	18	18	18	18	18	18

'Region' and political party characteristics

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

	Restr. compl.	Open compl.	Insti- lizatin	Disty. suppl.	Liberalism	Centrl. power	Marxism	Degree organ.	Involve- ment	Coherence	Govt. status
<i>Central America</i>											
Cuban PSP-Communist	4.0	0	-0.47	1.40	-1.37	0.34	1.23	1.09	0.66	-0.17	0.28
Dominican Party	4.0	0	-0.04	1.16	-1.94	1.07	-0.04	-0.52	-0.93	0.92	1.93
Salvadorean PRUD	3.5	0.5	0.10	1.34	-1.24	0.67	-0.50	-1.03	-0.65	0.13	1.63
Salvadorean PAR	0	2.0	-0.78	1.12	0.86	-1.02	-0.50	-1.44	0.08	0	-0.54
Guatemalan MDN	1.5	2.5	-0.43	1.09	-1.03	0.98	-0.47	-1.11	-1.50	-0.39	0.39
Guatemalan Chris. Dem.	0	4.0	-1.12	1.12	0.49	1.11	0.10	-0.55	0.67	0.42	-0.79
Guatemalan PR	0	3.5	-1.11	1.16		0.95	0.04	-0.59	-0.19	-0.95	-0.76
Guatemalan PRDN	0	3.5	-1.11	1.52	-0.56	0.58	-0.75	-1.00	-1.24	-0.54	0.47
Guatemalan Labor	0	0	-0.94	0.13		-0.12	1.42	0.96	1.23	-0.63	-1.27
Nicaraguan PLN	2.0	2.0	0.18	1.48	-0.61	0.83	-0.83	0.53	-1.09	0.13	1.90
Nicaraguan PCN	0	4.0	-1.08	1.31		0.38	-1.75	0	-0.44	1.01	-0.38
Nicaraguan PCT	0	1.0	-0.28	1.23	0.63	0.05	-0.83	-1.01	-0.41	-0.29	-1.27
Mean	1.3	1.9	-0.59	1.17	-0.53	0.48	-0.24	-0.42	-0.32	-0.03	0.13
SD	1.7	1.6	0.50	0.36	0.99	0.62	0.88	0.88	0.85	0.63	1.17
No. of parties	12	12	12	12	9	12	12	11	12	11	12
<i>Asia and Far East</i>											
Indian Congress	0	4.0	1.06	1.66	0.21	0.07	0.68	0.32	0.13	0.05	1.13
Indian Communist	0	4.0	0.61	1.30	0.64	0.02	0.97	0.93	1.49	-0.91	-0.91
Burmese Stable AFPFL	0	4.0	-1.32	0.37	0.30	0.11	0.21	0.36	0.95	0.83	-0.35
Burmese Clean SFPFL	0	4.0	-1.32	0.31	0.40	0.31	0.20	0.34	0.57	-2.25	0.69
Burmese BWPP, NUF	1.0	2.0	-0.82	0.94	0.89	0.34	1.23	-1.08	1.45	-0.10	-0.77
Cambodian Sangkum	2.0	2.0	-0.71	0.79	-0.39	0.68	0.39	-0.21	-0.46	-1.27	2.08
Indonesian PNI	3.0	1.0	0.44	0.95	-0.77	-0.40	0.88	-0.21	-1.10	-0.60	-0.46
Indonesian NU	2.0	2.0	-0.20	0.82	-0.45	-0.74	0.26	-0.30	-0.07	-0.01	-0.62
Indonesian PKI	1.0	3.0	0.13	0.75	0.72	0.43	1.15	1.09	1.40	0.83	-0.79
Indonesian Masjumi	1.0	1.0	-0.27	1.16	-0.01	-0.97	0.18	0.33	0.25	-1.65	-1.01
N. Korean Workers	4.0	0	-0.10	1.63	-2.01	0.80	1.40	1.07	1.18	0.51	1.79
Malayan UMNO	0.5	3.5	0.09	0.90	-0.94	-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.27	0.42	0.92

	Restr. compl.	Open compl.	Instituzatsn	Diversity suppl.	Liberalism	Centrl. power	Marrxism	Degree organ.	Involvement	Coherence	Govt. status
Malayan MCA	0.5	3.5	0.19	0.36	0.12	0.17	-0.14	-0.17	-0.39	-0.71	-0.01
Malayan MIC	0.5	3.5	0.18	0.63	0.02	-0.62	-0.09	-0.82	-0.16	-0.98	-0.26
Malayan PMIC	0	4.0	-0.35	0.81	-1.83	-0.77	0.07	-0.21	0.93	0.35	-0.66
Malayan Communist	0	0	-0.76	0	0.74	0.49	0.90	0.78	1.34	0.61	-1.27
Mean	1.0	2.6	-0.20	0.84	-0.15	-0.01	0.52	0.14	0.49	-0.30	-0.03
SD	1.2	1.5	0.67	0.46	0.87	0.54	0.51	0.63	0.80	0.93	1.03
No. of parties	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
<i>Eastern Europe</i>											
Albanian Labor	4.0	0	-0.18	0.85	-1.83	0.82	1.39	1.07	0.34	0.66	1.93
Bulgarian Communist	4.0	0	0.88	1.29	-0.94	0.32	1.07	1.12	1.74	-0.21	1.56
Bulgarian Nat. Union	4.0	0	-0.17	0	-1.43	1.06	1.34	0.15	0.41	0.04	0.08
E. German SED	4.0	0	0.03	1.48	-1.59	0.68	1.34	1.18	0.41	0.04	1.19
E. German CDU	4.0	0	0.26	1.12	0.33	0.33	1.34	-0.26	-0.78	0.74	-0.14
E. German LDP	4.0	0	-0.32	0.82	0.30	0.30	1.34	-0.26	-0.15	0.92	-0.16
E. German DBD	4.0	0	0.45	0.94	0.33	0.33	1.34	-0.10	-0.78	0.74	-0.14
E. Ger. Dem. Peasants	4.0	0	-0.32	0.20	0.48	0.48	1.00	-0.30	-0.78	0.92	-0.16
Hungarian Socialist	4.0	0	0.81	0.86	-1.69	0.78	1.00	0.71	1.43	0.02	1.69
USSR CPSU	4.0	0	0.94	1.20	-1.76	0.62	1.17	1.17	1.43	-0.34	1.71
Mean	4.0	0	0.24	0.88	-1.54	0.57	1.19	0.45	0.32	0.39	0.76
SD	0	0	0.50	0.46	0.33	0.26	0.17	0.66	1.02	0.50	0.93
No. of parties	10	10	10	10	6	10	5	10	9	9	10
<i>N. Africa-Middle East</i>											
Sudanese NUP	0	0	-0.89	0.96	-1.54	1.07	0.78	-0.24	0.19	0.78	-1.27
Sudanese UMMA	3.0	0	-0.90	0.27	-0.77	0.44	-0.12	0.44	-0.58	-0.12	-1.27
Sudanese SLP	0	0	-0.54	0.01	0.49	0.49	0.87	-0.97	0.96	-0.69	-1.27
Tunisian Neo-Destour	3.0	1.0	-0.23	1.37	-0.65	0.89	0.55	0.31	-0.65	-0.20	1.69
Lebanese Prog. Social	1.0	3.0	-0.24	0.77	0.79	0.67	1.05	0.75	0.44	0.05	-0.81
Lebanese Constitntlst.	0.5	3.5	-0.75	0.70	0.74	-0.35	-0.38	-1.08	-0.92	0.72	-0.63
Lebanese Kata* eb	1.0	3.0	-0.22	0.99	0.05	0.81	0.08	0.72	0.88	0.83	-0.44

'Region' and political party characteristics

TABLE I (Cont.)

	Restr. compl.	Open compl.	Instituzatn	Divsty. supprt.	Liberalism	Centri. power	Marxism	Degree organ.	Involvement	Coherence	Govt. status
Lebanese National BL	0.5	3.5	0.12	0.81	0.89	0.52	-0.94	-0.58	-1.04	0.97	-0.75
Iranian Peoples	0	4.0	-1.17	0.13	-1.43	0.93	-0.25	-1.20	-0.82	-0.24	-0.41
Iranian National	1.0	3.0	-1.25	0.44	-1.15	0.93	-0.12	-1.37	-0.82	0.86	0.10
Iranian Tudeh	0	1.0	-0.81	0.15	0.89	0.11	1.30	0.62	0.95	-0.12	-1.27
Iranian NUF	0	3.0	-0.82	0.58	0.83	-0.03	0.28	-0.29	-0.82	-1.58	-1.03
Turkish Republican	0	4.0	0.20	1.37	0.20	-0.15	0.36	0.24	0.13	0.27	-0.41
Turkish Democratic	2.0	2.0	0.40	1.53	-0.11	-0.29	-0.44	0.24	-0.18	0.28	1.22
Mean	0.9	2.2	-0.51	0.72	-0.10	0.43	0.22	-0.22	-0.16	0.10	-0.47
SD	1.1	1.5	0.52	0.49	0.92	0.49	0.64	0.76	0.74	0.74	0.92
No. of parties	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	13	14	12	14
<i>West Africa</i>											
Dahomean PRD-PND	1.5	2.5	-0.24	0.75	-0.62	0.85	-0.27	-0.75	-0.62	-0.12	0.75
Dahomean UDD	0	3.5	-0.84	0.92		1.07	-0.27	-0.38	-0.62	0.95	-0.35
Dahomean RDD	2.0	2.0	-0.37	0.29	-0.12	0.82	-0.48	-0.71	-0.62	0.80	0.36
Ghanaian CPP	3.0	1.0	-0.14	1.43	-1.53	1.00	0.69	1.01	-0.08	0.64	1.74
Ghanaian United	0	3.0	-1.39	1.10		1.27		-2.38	0.86		-1.10
Guinean Democratic	3.0	1.0	-0.22	1.42	-0.83	0.20	1.16	0.66	0.92	0.49	2.03
Voltaique Dem. Union	3.0	1.0	-0.29	0.81	-0.86	0.55	0.35	-1.09	-1.50	-0.26	1.72
Togolese CUT	3.0	1.0	-0.62	1.33	-0.45	0.83	0.05	-0.89	-0.06	-0.58	1.26
Togolese Dem. Union	0	4.0	-1.84	0.85		-0.50	-1.17	-1.66	-0.91	-1.38	-1.19
Mean	1.7	2.1	-0.66	0.99	-0.74	0.68	0.01	-0.69	-0.29	0.07	0.58
SD	1.4	1.2	0.59	0.37	0.48	0.54	0.73	1.05	0.80	0.80	1.23
No. of parties	9	9	9	9	6	9	8	9	9	8	9
<i>Central & East Africa</i>											
Rhodesian United Fed.	2.0	2.0	0.29	0.30	-1.65	-0.87	-1.21	-0.97	-0.77	-0.73	1.50
Rhodesian Dominion	1.5	2.0	-0.21	0.04	-1.89	-1.31	-1.19	-1.13	-0.30	-0.38	-0.44
Rhodesian ANC	0	2.0	-0.73	0.14	0.79	-0.63	0.79	-0.81	-0.05	-1.30	-0.74

	<i>Restr. compi.</i>	<i>Open compi.</i>	<i>Insti- lizatin</i>	<i>Disty. supprt.</i>	<i>Liberalism</i>	<i>Centr. power</i>	<i>Marxism</i>	<i>Degree organ.</i>	<i>Involv- ment</i>	<i>Coherence</i>	<i>Govt. status</i>
Malawi Congress	0	1.0	-0.34	0.09	0.79	0.68	0.70	-0.09	0.29	0.43	-0.77
C.A.R Messan	3.0	1.0	0.17		-0.64	0.61	0.29	-0.39	-0.43	0.29	1.92
Chadian Progressive	4.0	0	-0.04	0.44	-0.87	0.88	0.13	-0.92		0.13	1.63
Chadian Social Act.	0	4.0	-0.86	0.34		-2.48	-1.27			0.86	-0.45
Congo-Brazz Uddia	3.0	1.0	-1.01	0.95	-0.80	1.10	-0.27	-1.09	-1.48	0.79	1.51
Congo-Brazz MSA	1.0	3.0	-0.28	0.94		0.82	-0.25	-1.38	-1.40	0.54	0.21
Kenya Af. Nat. Union	1.0	3.0	-0.62	1.35	0.37	-0.40	0.60	-0.62	-0.34	-0.27	0.08
Kenya Af. Dem. Union	1.0	3.0	-1.05	1.09	0.37	-0.53	0.65	-0.26	-0.60	0.97	-0.47
Uganda Peoples Cong.	0.5	3.5	-1.17	0.23	0.27	-1.04	0.16	-1.07	-0.42	0.50	-0.03
Uganda Democratic	0.5	3.0	-0.26	0.26	0.48	-1.20	-0.33	-0.50	-0.75	0.63	-0.17
Uganda Kabaka Yekka	1.5	2.5	-1.67	0.38	-1.08	0.43	-0.14	-1.47	-0.10	0.32	-0.39
Mean	1.4	2.2	-0.56	0.50	-0.32	-0.28	-0.10	-0.82	-0.53	0.20	0.24
SD	1.2	1.1	0.56	0.43	0.95	1.06	0.72	0.43	0.52	0.65	0.96
No. of parties	14	14	14	13	12	14	14	13	12	14	14
<i>World Summaries</i>											
Mean	0.9	2.8	0.05	1.07	-0.03	0.04	0.01	-0.14	-0.06	-0.04	0.06
SD	1.4	1.5	0.78	0.48	0.82	0.71	0.75	0.82	0.75	0.74	0.91
Number	147	147	147	146	133	147	141	144	144	142	147
Eta-squared	0.52	0.51	0.51	0.39	0.34	0.24	0.21	0.20	0.16	0.13	0.11
Significant at	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.01	0.01	0.05

reputed effects of region on parties are thought to be enduring and, if they exist, should not change in broad outline within one generation.

Restrictive orientation

Parties may follow three types of strategies in gaining governmental office: (1) competing openly in elections with other parties, (2) restricting competition from other parties, and (3) subverting or overthrowing the existing political system. Three scales were created to measure the extent to which a party followed each of these strategies, or mix thereof (Janda, 1980: 81). Each scale ranged from 0 (the party did not rely on the strategy) to 4 (it relied exclusively on that particular strategy). The correlations among these items were high (about -0.80) but not perfect, indicating some special mixes of party strategies. All 147 parties were scored for 'restrictive orientation'. The mean score was 0.87 (out of 4.0), implying that most parties in the sample did not follow a restrictive orientation. Region had a pronounced effect on which did and did not.

Region had the strongest effect on restricting competition among the 11 concepts studied, explaining 52 per cent of the variance in restrictive orientation. All 10 Eastern European parties in the study were coded for exclusive reliance on this strategy. (The data set includes minor parties cooperating with the ruling Communist Parties in East Germany and Bulgaria.) While no other region shows such homogeneity on this concept, restricting competition is not uncommon among parties in Africa and Central America. On the other hand, only one party in our South American sample (the Colorado Party of Stroessner in Paraguay) followed a restrictive strategy during our time period, 1957–1962. The Portuguese National Union under Salazar was the only party in the three Western regions that was exclusively restrictive, but the Greek ERE also showed restrictive tendencies.

Competitive orientation

Most parties in the sample relied primarily on winning elections to gain office. The mean score was 2.8 (out of 4.0) over all 147 parties, and the effect of region on competitive orientation was very strong, explaining 51 per cent of the variance.

Parties in the three Western regions—Anglo-America, West Central Europe, and Northern Europe—scored uniformly high on this concept. Except for four parties in West Central Europe, all Western parties obtained the highest score of 4. The exceptions were the Portuguese National Union, the Greek ERE, the Greek EDA, and the French Communist Party. The first two parties deviated toward restricting competition. The leftist EDA and the French Communists were primarily oriented toward electoral competition, but they also sought to subvert the political system through strikes at critical times. With these exceptions, parties in the three Western regions were distinguished by their orientation toward electoral competition. The only other region whose parties approached the Western orientation toward competition was South America.

Institutionalization

The extent to which the party exists as a social organization, apart from its momentary leaders, and demonstrates recurring patterns of behavior (Janda, 1980: 19) is defined as institutionalization. The concept was measured by four items:

party age
 regularity of leadership competition
 stability in legislative seats, 1950 to 1962
 stability in electoral votes, 1950 to 1962

In measuring this concept, the parties' scores on the individual items were transformed into *z* scores, summed, and averaged (excluding missing data) to form a scale with an *alpha* reliability of 0.79. Although all 147 parties received scale scores because they were scored on at least one of the four items, the mean was 0.05 rather than 0.00 due to the incidence of missing data for individual items for some parties. Regional effects on institutionalizations were again very strong, explaining 51 per cent of the variance in the scale scores.

The most institutionalized parties were in Anglo-America, followed closely by parties in Scandinavia and Northern Europe. The mean institutionalization score for West Central Europe was lowered substantially by the four Greek parties in the study. The only other region whose parties stood above the world mean on institutionalization was Eastern Europe. The developing regions demonstrated a lack of party institutionalization that many (Coleman, 1960; Scott, 1966; Sartori, 1976) attributed to them. Again, there were substantial differences between South American and Central American parties. Parties in South America were slightly below average in institutionalization, while the Central American parties stood ninth, just ahead of those in West Africa.

Diversity of social support

Diversity of support refers to the extent to which the party *attracts* support from various social groups, *reflects* the social composition of society, and does *not* find its support *concentrated* in any particular social group (Janda, 1980: 42-43). These three ways of measuring social support were applied to six different social groups: occupation, religion, ethnicity, region, urban-rural, and education. The parties' scores for the three social support measures were summed over all groups, yielding a theoretical range from 0 (least diverse) to 3 (most diverse). The scale reliability is 0.84. A total of 146 parties received scale scores, but scores for about half of the parties were based on data for only one or two of the social groups. The mean support score was 1.07. Parties with high scores on the social support scale would usually be labelled 'heterogeneous' or 'aggregative' of various social groups.

Region had a strong effect on the diversity of social support for parties, explaining 39 per cent of the variance in scale scores. In accordance with statements by Kirchheimer (1966) and Segal (1974), parties in Western countries, especially Anglo-America and West Central Europe, were among the most socially diverse regional groups (ranking first and third respectively). The mean diversity score for Northern Europe was substantially decreased by the Communist Parties in Luxembourg and The Netherlands. Although Anglo-American parties were the most heterogeneous, South American parties were virtually as diverse. This finding corresponds with assertions by Anderson *et al.* (1974), Lipset (1964) and Ranis (1971) that South American parties tended to be culturally plural and approximated the support patterns of European parties. In line with these statements was the finding that the only other region to fall about the world mean was Central America, whose mean was reduced by the low score of the Guatemalan Labor Party. The remaining regions demonstrated less diversity in support. Again, these findings support the literature. Many writers (Wallerstein, 1967; Anderson *et al.*, 1974; Grove, 1975; Young, 1976) suggested that, in these remaining regions, parties tended

to reflect social divisions, whether these divisions were based on class, religion, region, ethnicity, or urban-rural differences; and, as Grove (1975) asserted, East European parties demonstrated moderate levels of social cleavages in their membership.

Liberal orientation

Liberalism refers to the party's orientation toward a set of issues in liberal democratic government (Janda, 1980: 148):

- role of the military
- electoral participation
- protection of civil rights
- protection of civil liberties

The Liberalism scale was formed following the procedure used for Institutionalization—which was used for all subsequent scales. The parties' scores on each item were transformed into standard scores, summed, and averaged. The scale reliability was 0.81. Due to missing data, only 133 parties received scale scores (the average party was scored on 3.1 issues in the scale).

Region explains 34 per cent of the variance in the parties' stance on the four liberal issues. The mean values for parties in the three 'Western' regions were all above the world mean. These parties existed in what writers call 'liberal democracies' (Roth and Wilson, 1976), so their high scores on this scale should not be surprising. The major outlier in these three regions was the Portuguese National Union. The South American parties were very similar to those in West Central Europe. The mean scores for parties in the remaining areas were below the world mean. Although these regions contained some parties above the mean, most tended to be of a non-liberal tradition. No parties from West Africa or East Europe scored above 0. In fact, all of the Eastern European parties scored lower than the least liberal parties in the Northern Europe and Anglo-American regions.

Centralization of power

The extent to which decision-making authority is located in the national organs conforms to the centralization of power (Janda, 1980: 108). The concept was measured with eight indicators of centralization:

- nationalization of structure
- selecting the national leader
- selecting parliamentary candidates
- allocating funds
- formulating policy
- controlling communications
- administering discipline
- concentration of leadership

These items formed a scale with a reliability of 0.83. All 147 parties were scored on this scale, but the average party was scored on only 6.2 items.

Region explains 24 per cent of the variance in centralization of power. Unlike many of the previous concepts, the 'Western' parties did not score high on this scale. The West African parties tended to be the most centralized. Only one West African party,

the Togolese Democratic Union, had a negative score. Parties in these countries, even mass parties, tended to be centrally controlled during our time period of 1957-62. Hodgkin (1961) noted that the leaders of mass parties of independence, which tended to be in West Africa, were often the founders of the parties and enjoyed a dominant position of power. The concentration of power in Eastern European parties, on the other hand, was due to structural as well as personal factors. Personalist factors are likely responsible for the relatively high scores for Central American and Middle Eastern parties.

Marxist orientation

Marxism refers to the party's orientation toward a set of seven leftist issues (Janda, 1980: 148):

- government ownership of the means of production
- government role in economic planning
- redistribution of wealth
- providing for social welfare
- secularization of society
- alignment with the Eastern bloc in foreign policy
- anticolonialism

These items formed a scale with a reliability of 0.90. Due to missing data, only 142 parties received scale scores; the average party was scored on 6.1 issues in the scale.

Region had only a moderate effect on Marxist orientation, explaining 21 per cent of the variance on the Marxism scale. As expected, East European parties scored the highest on Marxism. In fact, all the East European parties scored above the mean values for the other nine regions. Asia was a distant second on Marxism, perhaps supporting Pye's assertion that 'the political parties of Southeast Asia tend to profess concern for ideological matters' (1960: 110). All five Asian countries also had a Communist Party in our sample. Most of the regions, however, showed substantial variation in the Marxist orientation of their parties. This would be expected given the dispersion of ideological preferences within the population, a rational strategy by political leaders, and permissive conditions for the formation of new parties. The only region in which a strongly leftist party did not exist was Anglo-America. The most extreme rightist parties were in South America (Peru and Ecuador) and Central America (Nicaragua—where all three parties were rightist in our time period).

Organizational complexity

This concept refers to the complexity of regularized procedures for mobilizing and coordinating the efforts of party supporters in executing the party's strategy and tactics (Janda, 1980: 98). The concept was measured with six indicators:

- degree of structural specificity or 'articulation'
- intensiveness of organization
- extensiveness of organization
- frequency of local meetings
- maintenance of records
- pervasiveness of organization

These items form a scale with a reliability of 0.82. Due to missing data, only 144 parties received scale scores, with the average party scored on 4.8 items.

Region explains 20 per cent of the variance in the complexity of party organization. Not surprisingly, the parties of East Europe tended to be the most complex in organization. The Scandinavian and Dutch parties also tended to be highly organized. Contrary to Weiner (1960: 207), Asian parties ranked third in organization. However, the region's high score was due to its Indian, Indonesian, North Korean, and Malayan Communist Parties. The remaining Asian parties were less well organized. The mean score for West Central Europe was drastically reduced by three of the four Greek parties, which were characterized by very low organizational complexity. There was considerable variation among parties throughout the other regions. The West African region had outliers on both extremes: the Ghanaian CPP and the Guinean Democratic Parties were more highly organized than the average, while the short-lived Ghanaian United Party and the Togolese Democratic Union were well below the average. All of the parties in Central and East Africa fell below the mean scores for the parties of Eastern Europe, Northern Europe, Asia, and Anglo-America. The lack of organization in African parties in general was noted by LaPalombara and Weiner (1966).

Involvement of party members

Involvement is defined as the intensity of psychological identification with the party and as the commitment to furthering its objectives by participating in party activities (Janda, 1980: 154). The concept was measured with five indicators:

- severity of membership requirements
- extent of membership participation
- absence of material incentives
- presence of purposive incentives
- extent of doctrinism in party behavior

These items formed a scale with reliability of 0.78; the average party was scored on four items.

Region explained only 16 per cent of the variance in the involvement of party members as we measured it. The region showing the greatest level of involvement was not East Europe, with its Communist Parties, but Asia. Only four Asian parties (two each in Indonesia and Malaya) scored below the world mean. However, Asia's ranking is again due mainly to its Communist Parties, whose members tended to be more involved in the parties' ideological purpose than members in East European parties—especially in the four auxiliary parties in East Germany.

Coherence

This concept refers to the degree of congruence in attitudes and behavior among party members (Janda, 1980: 154). The concept was measured by five items:

- cohesion in legislative voting
- absence of ideological factionalism
- absence of issue factionalism
- absence of leadership factionalism
- absence of strategic or tactical factionalism

These items formed a scale with a reliability of 0.72; the average party was scored on 4.2 items.

Region explained a small portion (13 per cent) of the variance in coherence of party behavior, which is primarily a measure of party factionalism. As with the involvement scale, there was almost as much variation within as between regions. The most coherent parties were found in East Europe. Even the least coherent party in Eastern Europe (which, ironically, was the CPSU) was more coherent than the average party in South America. Except for these differences at the extremes, however, region has only a minor effect on party coherence.

Governmental status

This concept refers to the amount of access to the governmental structure enjoyed by the party (Janda, 1980: 144). It was measured by five items:

- favorable governmental discrimination, 1957-1962
- proportion of time in governmental leadership, 1957-1962
- proportion of time participating in the cabinet, 1957-1962
- mean percentage of seats in the legislature, 1957-1962
- mean percentage of votes in elections, 1957-1962

The parties' scores on these items were summed to form a scale with a reliability of 0.92.

Region had the least effect on governmental status, explaining only 11 per cent of the variance in parties' access to governmental structure. Upon consideration, there is little reason to expect that this concept would vary much by region, for it really measures party success and each region (indeed each country) should have both successful and unsuccessful parties. Regional differences arise, however, due to the clustering of non-competitive party systems, which produce parties that are extremely high in governmental status. Eastern parties in Eastern Europe, not surprisingly, rank highest on governmental status—despite the low status of the five minor parties (four in East Germany and one in Bulgaria). The party-states in West Africa at the time of independence qualified that region for second place. The minor role accorded to political parties in North Africa and the Middle East (Rustow, 1960) is reflected in that region's lowest rank on governmental status.

Summarizing regional effects

Region is consistently related to all party characteristics at the 0.05 of significance, but the strength of this relationship is highly variable. Region alone explains 52 per cent of the variance in party orientations toward restricting competition but only 11 per cent of the variance in parties' governmental status. Thus region, as a surrogate variable for political culture, does predict to the traits of political parties. Moreover, the nature of these regional effects is largely as claimed in the party literature. For example, Anglo-American and European parties do tend to be more socially diverse than parties in most other regions, and parties outside of Europe and Anglo-America do tend to be less organizationally complex.

One general finding that has emerged from the review of regional differences in party politics is that parties in the three 'Western' regions (Anglo-America, West Central Europe, and Scandinavia) tend to be similar to one another, thus supporting Russett's

delineation of a 'Western Community' region (1967). Similarly, parties in West Central Africa tend to be similar to those in Eastern Africa, justifying their combination into a broader 'Subsaharan Africa' category. Moreover, the other 'developing' areas—especially Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, and Central America—often show similar tendencies in party characteristics. Finally, the parties in Eastern Europe often stand out from all other regions. We pursue these findings when conducting a more complex analysis in the next section of this paper.

Discriminant analysis of parties into regions

The preceding analysis demonstrated the pervasive influence of region on party characteristics, taken one at a time. The question arises, does region have an even stronger influence on *configurations* of party characteristics? For example, are we likely to find that parties in Western Europe tend to be both more institutionalized *and* less Marxist than parties in Africa? In general terms, can we improve regional explanations of party politics by analyzing party characteristics simultaneously? If so, how can we conduct such an analysis? The familiar technique of multiple regression will not serve here due to the polychotomous nature of 'region' as a variable in the analysis. A better technique for our purposes is discriminant analysis.

As described by Klecka (1980: 7), discriminant analysis 'allows the researcher to study the differences between two or more groups of objects with respect to several variables simultaneously'. The variables are combined in a 'canonical discriminant function' that maximizes the differences of the group means on that function. Additional canonical discriminant functions can be derived to maximize remaining group differences under the condition that values on subsequent functions are uncorrelated with values on the preceding ones. In practice, the discriminating power of additional functions drops rapidly after the initial one.

The explanatory power of a discriminant function can be judged by the canonical correlation coefficient, which measures the relationship between the grouping and the discriminant function. When squared, the canonical correlation can be interpreted as the proportion of variance in the discriminant function explained by the groups (Klecka, 1980: 37).⁵ It is thus analogous to the eta-squared statistic reported in our analysis of variance, except that now we are predicting to a linear combination of party characteristics (the discriminant function) rather than to a single characteristic. Discriminant functions can also be used to classify cases in the group to which they 'properly' belong. The success of the analysis can be judged by determining the percentage of correct classifications.

In our application, we are concerned with finding a parsimonious set of variables that yields a high rate of success in classifying parties into regions on the basis of their characteristics as combined in one or more discriminant functions. In practice, the technique of discriminant analysis involves an iterative search for good discriminating variables and, in some instances, for optimum groupings of cases. If there are meaningful differences among the groups on the variables, however, the analyses usually converge on functions and classifications that are quite similar. Our analysis began with the 10 groups of nations involved in the analyses of variance and with all 11 variables except the parties' liberal orientation, which sacrificed too many cases due to missing data. Initial analyses soon eliminated two additional variables—governmental status and coherence of party behavior—that showed the least variation by region. Two other variables—degree of organization and Marxist orientation—seemed to be interchangeable

in the analysis, producing similar results when one or the other was included. For simplicity's sake, we focus on the set of seven variables that included the parties' Marxist orientation. There were valid data for 138 parties on all seven variables in this analysis.

These variables yielded two meaningful discriminant functions with canonical correlations of 0.82 and 0.66 when all 10 regions were involved in the analysis. When these two functions were used to classify the parties into regions, the correct classification—a rather demanding test—was made for 40 per cent of the parties. Many of the errors came from misclassifying Western and African parties in adjacent regions. Seeking to improve on success, the number of regions was reduced to seven by combining Anglo-America, West Central, and Northern Europe into the 'Western Community' and by combining West and East Africa into 'Subsaharan Africa'. The canonical correlations remained almost unchanged but success in classification climbed to 58 per cent.

In general, the success of classification rose as the number of regions declined after merging regions into larger geographical areas. In part, this is artifactual with the method, but not for the reasons that Clark and Avery (1976) describe as a consequence of data aggregation in correlational analysis. In discriminant analysis, the probability of correct classification without knowledge of predictive factors is a function of the number of categories and the distribution of cases among those categories. The proportion of cases in the model category determines the expected success in classification given no knowledge about predictive factors. However, the success in prediction climbed more steadily than expected simply from a smaller number of regions. When the regions had dropped to three—the Western Community, Eastern Europe, and the developing areas—88 per cent of the cases were correctly classified, although the two canonical correlations had dropped to 0.76 and 0.59. The three regions produced by our analysis are close to the familiar 'three worlds' of development: the Western Community, the Communist Party-states of Eastern Europe and elsewhere, and the Third World of developing nations.⁶ We can perfect the fit by reassigning two Communist Party-states—North Korea and Cuba—to the Eastern World for our final discriminant analysis. This results in the same Western Community (with 54 parties), increases the Eastern World to nine parties with valid data on all seven variables, and drops the Third World of non-Western and non-Communist nations to 76 parties.

The effort to explain the analysis is limited by concentrating on the discriminant functions that produced the final classification of parties into one of these three 'worlds'. Klecka notes that the discriminant function coefficients themselves often constitute poor guides to the 'meaning' of the function (1980: 34). He proposes instead looking at the product-moment correlations between the individual variables and the discriminant functions. He refers to these correlations as 'total structure coefficients'. They tell 'how closely a variable and a function are related' (1980: 31). These structure coefficients are reported in *Table 2*.

The two functions in *Table 2* can be labelled with reference to the variables that correlate highly with them. Thus we call the first function an 'anti-competitive' function, for it correlates inversely with the two alternative party strategies. This function, which explains the most variance in the parties grouped into the 'three worlds', thus spreads the parties along the first dimension of classification. The second function reflects the influence of 'institutionalized' party structure—including also membership involvement and diversity of support. It spreads the parties along the second dimension of classification.

TABLE 2. Structure coefficients for the discriminant functions: correlations between the variables and the functions^a

<i>Discriminating variables</i>	<i>1st Function: anti-competitive</i>		<i>2nd Function: institutionalized</i>
Open competition	-0.82	>	0.37
Restricting competition	0.79	>	-0.08
Marxist orientation	0.50	>	0.22
Centralization of power	0.38	>	0.01
Institutionalization	-0.57	<	0.74
Involvement of members	0.19	<	0.48
Diversity of support	-0.23	<	0.40

^a Values are the simple correlations between the variables and the composite variable computed by the discriminant function, whose values are not given to conserve space.

The parties' scores on the seven variables were multiplied by the discriminant function coefficients to give every party a score on both functions. The differences between the three groups of parties can be seen by examining the group averages on each function:

	Anti-competitive	Institutionalized
Western World	-1.36	0.56
Eastern World	3.71	2.75
Third World	0.61	-0.64

The inter-group distances on the discriminant functions can be readily seen by plotting the group means along the two dimensions. The computer program used in the analysis⁷ plotted these group means, called group 'centroids', in a two-dimensional 'territorial map' that identified the boundaries separating parties in one group from those in another. This map is reproduced in *Figure 1*. We see that the means for parties in the Western World are diametrically different from those for parties in the Third World. The Western parties are very low on the anti-competitive function and relatively high on the institutionalized function. Third World parties tend to be just the reverse. Parties in the Eastern World, on the other hand, are extremely high on both functions. As shown on the territorial map, parties in the Eastern World are clustered in the upper-right portion, the Western parties are grouped on the left-hand side, and Third World parties are spread somewhat more loosely in the central lower segment.

Of 138 political parties plotted on the territorial map according to their scores on both functions, 124 (90 per cent) were correctly classified in 'their' world. The classification results are summarized in *Table 3*. All of the seven ruling Communist Parties are correctly classified into the Eastern World, and two parties in Third World countries (the Democratic Party of Guinea and the Paraguayan Colorado Party) are more like the ruling Communist Parties than the other parties in the Third World. On the other hand, three parties in Western countries (the Greek EPEK, the Greek EDA, and the Portuguese National Union) were more like Third World parties than the other Western parties. Finally, nine of the 76 Third World parties (two each in India, Ecuador, and Uruguay, plus the Malayan MCA, the Lebanese National Bloc, and the Turkish Republican Party) stood closer to the Western parties than to other Third World parties.

Let one should think that the distinctiveness of the Eastern parties in this analysis was due to their strong Marxist orientation, it should be noted that they were also

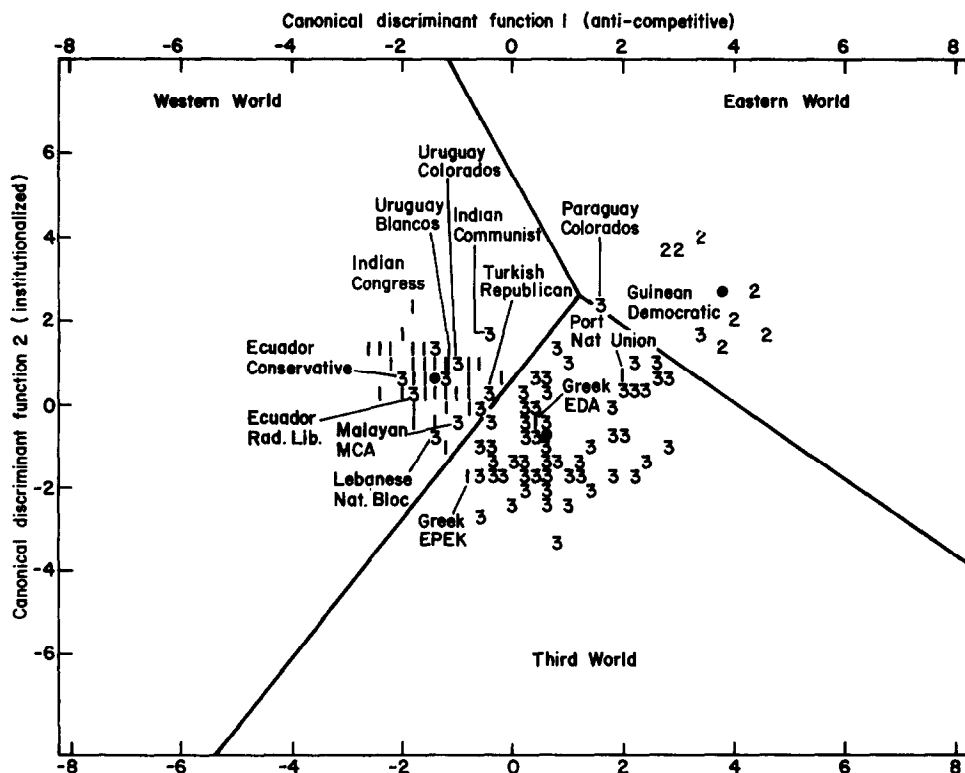


FIGURE 1. Territorial map of boundaries separating parties into three world groupings based on the discriminant functions, with misclassified parties identified. All-groups scatterplot: ● indicates a group centroid.

classified together when the analysis was conducted with the degree of organization variable instead of the Marxism variable. (That analysis, however, correctly classified only 88 per cent of the cases, rather than the 90 per cent using Marxist orientation.) One might also wonder whether the broad 'three world' grouping of parties performs better in the analysis of variance than the 10 regional groupings that were used. The answer is no. The finer grouping of parties into regions consistently explains as much

TABLE 3. Per cent success in classifying parties into three worlds using seven variables in a discriminant analysis

Actual group membership	Predicted group membership		
	Western	Eastern	Third
Western world	94.4 (51)	0	5.6 (3)
Eastern world	0	100.0 (7)	0
Third world	11.7 (9)	2.6 (2)	85.7 (66)

124 of 138 parties correctly classified (90 per cent)

variance, and usually substantially more, than grouping the parties into the 'three worlds'. This phenomenon is consistent with a 'hierarchy of regions' in geographic theory (Cox, 1969: 76), which allows that large areas, relatively distinctive on some traits, may contain smaller areas that are in turn distinctive from one another. The broader grouping is superior for capturing the configuration of party characteristics, but the impact of region on individual characteristics is greater when the regions are more homogeneous.

Summary and conclusion

This study was prompted by scholars' tendencies to generalize about the characteristics of parties in given regions of the world. The assumption behind these generalizations is that nations in the same region share, to some extent, a common political culture. This is an implicit form of the argument that environment affects organizational form and purpose [see also Lammers and Hickson (1979: especially chapter 22) and Childs (1981) for cultural effects on organizations in general]. A more precise test of the effect of environment on party characteristics would focus on the countries individually rather than on countries lumped into regions. As Harmel and Janda have shown (1982), country effects on party characteristics tend to be substantially larger than the regional effects detected in this paper. For example, the national environment accounts for about 68 per cent of the variance in centralization of power compared to 24 per cent for regional effects, and nation explains 57 per cent of organizational complexity compared to 20 per cent for region (Harmel and Janda, 1982).

Their study, however, addresses a different question from the one addressed here, which was constrained to study environmental effects only as they operate within cross-national culture areas. As long as parties in 10 homogeneous regions were studied, that theoretical framework was adhered to. The authors moved outside that framework when seeking to maximize success in classifying parties according to their configurations of characteristics. This study shows that the three worlds of development, which are strikingly *heterogeneous*, are indeed characterized by different types of party politics. Whatever causes their similarity in party characteristics, it cannot be the influence of common domestic political culture, especially in the diverse countries of the Third World. More likely, the similarities in parties, as a form of political institution, are due to the influence of international politics. Stauffer (1971) holds that some features of domestic politics in Third World countries are dictated by East-West tensions—especially governmental capacity to maintain stability through coercion. Alternatively, the 'world system' approach to analyzing domestic politics (Wallerstein, 1974; Hopkins *et al.*, 1982) attributes differences in domestic politics to the position of nations at the 'core' or 'periphery' of the international capitalist economy (see Snyder and Kick, 1979).

How good are regional explanations of party politics? The simple answer is that regional explanations *are* rather powerful. Although there are substantial variations among parties within regions on major concepts, region has a significant effect on each of 11 party characteristics measured. Moreover, region explains more than 20 per cent of the variance for eight of the concepts and more than 33 per cent for five concepts. These effects are observed when the world is divided rather finely into 10 regions and attention is focused on single party characteristics. When attention shifts to configurations of several characteristics simultaneously, these regions retain their explanatory potential in discriminant analysis, but they do not achieve as much success in classifying

parties as does a global grouping of parties into the Western, Eastern, and Third Worlds of development. In sum, parties in the same regions do tend to share the same characteristics, and there is evidence for even gross generalizations about party politics at the global level. But these generalizations probably owe more to international politics than to common cultural factors.

Notes

1. The data were collected under NSF grants GS-1418, GS-2533, and GS-27081 for the International Comparative Political Parties Project at Northwestern University, with Kenneth Janda as Principal Investigator. The data have been deposited with the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research as ICPSR Study 7534 (Janda, 1979). The variables and coding procedures are discussed thoroughly in Janda (1980).
2. This usage of analysis of variance differs from Cox's description of the aim of regionalization as the allocation of places to regions 'in such a way as to minimize the within-region variance/between-region variance ratio within the constraint of the number of regions required' (1969: 70). Although Cox also employs the analysis of variance model, his approach seeks to delineate regions. This study evaluates the utility of regions once regions have been delineated on other grounds.
3. The parties were selected for study if they met minimum criteria for strength and stability. For legal parties, we required that they win at least 5 per cent of the seats in two elections from 1950 to 1962. For illegal parties, we required evidence of support from at least 10 per cent of the population over five years. The selection criteria are discussed in Janda (1980: 5-7).
4. The eta-squared statistic is also known as the correlation ratio. It is the ratio of the explained sum of squares to the total sum of squares in an analysis of variance. It expresses the proportion of variation in the dependent variable that is due to the groupings on the independent variable.
5. According to the theory of regional explanations of party politics, region constitutes the independent variable and party characteristics the dependent variable. In the conventional use of discriminant analysis, however, the nominal variable (region) constitutes the dependent variable. In truth, discriminant analysis is blind to causal ordering, and the authors can conceive of the analysis in the reverse direction.
6. Difficulties have been noted in using the 'three world' classification scheme. Roth and Wilson suggest that this scheme is 'neither neat nor analytically precise' (1976: 5). The problem lies in part in the fact that classification into the First and Second Worlds is based primarily on a country's political system and its dominant ideology, while Third World countries are defined by the extent of their social, political, and economic development. However, Horowitz (1969: 39-46) discusses the three worlds in terms of four factors: economy, polity, society, and military. The First World is 'dominated by the United States, including allies in Western Europe and satellites in Latin-America and elsewhere'. The key traits of First World countries are an industrialized, capitalist economy, parliamentary democracy, a highly urbanized society, and a professionalized military that executes the orders of the political elites. The Second World is 'dominated by the Soviet Union, including allies and/or satellites in Eastern Europe and parts of Asia'. Second World nations are characterized by an industrialized, socialist economy, democratic centralism, high urbanization, and a professionalized military that works with the political elites. Third World nations are 'non-aligned and non-satellite nations with a general tendency toward clustering in Africa, Asia and Latin-America—a spectrum conventionally covering Algeria to Yugoslavia in economy and India to China in polity'. In spite of the variation, Horowitz suggests that Third World nations are characterized by low development, a mixed economy tending toward socialism, mass democracy, an urbanizing society, and a politically active military.
7. The discriminant analysis routine in SPSS was used for this analysis. The canonical functions

were not rotated. Unfortunately, the SPSS program does not calculate the total structure coefficients reported in this paper. They were computed by correlating the variables with a composite score created from the unstandardized discriminant function coefficients.

References

- ALFORD, R. R. (1963). *Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- ANDERSON, C. W., VON DER MEHDEN, F. R. AND YOUNG, C. (1974). *Issues of Political Development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- BLANKSTEN, G. I. (1960). The politics of Latin-America. In *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (G. A. Almond and J. S. Coleman, eds) pp. 455-531. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- BLONDEL, J. (1969). *An Introduction to Comparative Government*. New York: Praeger.
- BLONDEL, J. (1972). *Comparing Political Systems*. New York: Praeger.
- CHILD, J. (1981). Culture, contingency and capitalism in the cross-national study of organizations. In *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Volume 3 (L. L. Cummings, ed.) pp. 303-356. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- CLARK, W. A. V. AND AVERY, K. L. (1976). The effects of data aggregation in statistical analysis. *Geographical Analysis* 3, 428-438.
- COLEMAN, J. S. (1960). The politics of Sub-Saharan Africa. In *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (G. A. Almond and J. S. Coleman, eds) pp. 247-368. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- COLEMAN, J. S. AND ROSBERG, C. G. (eds) (1964). *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- COX, K. R. (1969). On the utility and definition of regions in comparative political sociology. *Comparative Political Studies* (April), 68-98.
- DAALDER, H. (1966). Parties, elites, and political developments in Western Europe. In *Political Parties and Political Development* (J. LaPolambara and M. Weiner, eds) pp. 43-77. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- DUVERGER, M. (1961). *Political Parties*. New York: Wiley.
- EHRICH, R. W. AND HENDERSON, G. M. (1968). Culture area. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume 3, pp. 563-568. New York: Macmillan/The Free Press.
- ELKINS, D. J. AND SIMEON, R. E. B. (1979). A cause in search of its effect, or what does political culture explain? *Comparative Politics* 11, 127-145.
- EPSTEIN, L. D. (1967). Political parties in western democratic systems. In *Political Parties: Contemporary Trends and Ideas* (Roy C. Marcidis, ed.) pp. 118-148. New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- GROVE, J. D. (1975). An examination of different theoretical approaches toward ethnic and racial cleavages: some cross-national evidence. Paper presented at the 1975 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, DC.
- HARMEI, R. AND JANDA, K. (1982). *Parties and Their Environments: Limits to Reform?* New York: Longman.
- HODGKIN, T. (1961). *African Political Parties*. London: Penguin.
- HOPKINS, T. K., WALLERSTEIN, I. AND ASSOCIATES (1982). *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.
- HOROWITZ, L. I. (1969). *Three Worlds of Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- JANDA, K. (1979). *Comparative Political Parties Data, 1950-1962*. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.
- JANDA, K. (1980). *Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey*. New York: The Free Press.
- JANDA, K. (1982). Managing qualitative information and quantitative data on political parties. *Social Science Information Studies* 2, 113-119.
- KIRCHHEIMER, O. (1966). The transformation of the Western European party systems. In *Political Parties and Political Development* (J. LaPolambara and M. Weiner, eds) pp. 177-200. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- KLECKA, W. R. (1980). *Discriminant Analysis*. University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.
- KURIAN, G. T. (1978). *Encyclopedia of the Third World*, Volume 2. New York: Facts on File.
- LAMMERS, C. J. AND HICKSON, D. J. (eds) (1979). *Organizations Alike and Unlike: International and Inter-institutional Studies in the Sociology of Organizations*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- LAPOLAMBARA, J. AND WEINER, M. (eds) (1966). *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- LIPSET, S. M. (1964). Political cleavages in 'developed' and 'emerging' polities. In *Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems* (E. Allardt and Y. Littunen, eds) pp. 21-55. Helsinki: The Academic Bookstore.
- LIPSET, S. M. (1970). Political change in 'developed' and 'emerging' polities. In *Mass Politics* (E. Allardt and S. Rokkan, eds) pp. 23-44. New York: The Free Press.
- MERKL, P. H. (ed.) (1980). *Western European Party Systems*. New York: The Free Press.
- PYE, L. W. (1960). The politics of Southeast Asia. In *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (G. A. Almond and J. S. Coleman, eds) pp. 65-152. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- PYE, L. W. (1966). Party systems and national development in Asia. In *Political Parties and Political Development* (J. LaPolambara and M. Weiner, eds) pp. 369-398. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- PYE, L. W. (1968). Political culture. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume 12, pp. 218-225. New York: Macmillan/The Free Press.
- RANIS, P. (1971). *Five Latin American Nations: A Comparative Study*. New York: Macmillan.
- ROSS, M. H. AND HOMER, E. (1976). Galton's problem in cross-national research. *World Politics* 29 (October), 1-28.
- ROTH, D. F. AND WILSON, F. L. (1976). *The Comparative Study of Politics*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- RUSSETT, B. M. (1967). *International Regions and the International System: A Study in Political Ecology*. Chicago: Rand-McNally.
- RUSTOW, D. A. (1960). The politics of the Near East. In *Political Parties and Political Development* (J. LaPolambara and M. Weiner, eds) pp. 369-454. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- SARTORI, G. (1976). *Parties and Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SCOTT, R. E. (1966). Political parties and policy-making in Latin America. In *Political Parties and Political Development* (J. LaPolambara and M. Weiner, eds) pp. 331-367. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- SEGAL, D. R. (1974). *Society and Politics: Uniformity and Diversity in Modern Democracy*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- SNYDER, D. AND KICK, E. L. (1979). Structural position in the world system and economic growth, 1955-1970: a multiple-network analysis of transnational interactions. *American Journal of Sociology* 84, 1096-1126.
- STAUFFER, R. B. (1971). Great-power constraints on political development, *Studies in Comparative International Development* 6, 231-251.
- UNITED NATIONS (1977). *World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1973*. New York: United Nations Secretariat.
- VANCE, R. W. AND HENDERSON, G. M. (1968). Culture area. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume 3, pp. 563-568. New York: Macmillan/The Free Press.
- VITKOVSKY, O. V. AND KOLOSSOV, V. A. (1980). Regional politico-geographical studies: some theoretical and practical considerations. *International Political Science Review* 1, 531-539.
- WALLERSTEIN, I. (1967). Class, tribe, and party in West African politics. In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, eds) pp. 497-518. New York: The Free Press.
- WALLERSTEIN, I. (1974). *The Modern World System*. New York: Academic Press.
- WEINER, M. (1960). The politics of South Asia. In *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (G. A. Almond and J. S. Coleman, eds) pp. 153-246. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- YOUNG, C. (1976). *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- YOUNG, O. R. (1969). Professor Russett: industrious tailor to naked emperor. *World Politics* 21, 486-511.