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Retrieving Information for a Comparative Study of Political Parties

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THIS CHAPTER describes plans for a comparative study of virtually all the world's established political parties in the period 1950-1962. Data for the study will be derived from the vast published literature on political parties which has been produced since 1950. The broad methodological problem that confronts the study is to gather, process and analyze the enormous amount of information to be found in the literature. This chapter reviews the history and background of the project and sets forth the various information retrieval techniques proposed for assembling the data.

History and Background

Interest in conducting a world-wide comparative study of political parties resulted from my experience in teaching the undergraduate course on parties at Northwestern University.¹ Many instructors restricted their undergraduate course to the study of political parties in the United States. The fine texts on American parties, the students' inherent interest in learning about the Democratic and Republican parties and the realistic time limitations of a one-term course which restrict the

¹I want to thank Richard C. Snyder, former Chairman of the Political Science Department at Northwestern University, for stimulating and encouraging my interests in teaching the parties course in a comparative framework.

subject-matter to be covered all contribute to the American focus.

These factors notwithstanding, a comparative perspective has advantages. Not only would students learn about party politics in foreign countries—a worthy objective in itself—but they would also learn more about *American* party politics through cross-national comparisons. True, students would acquire less detailed knowledge about party operations in the United States, but details are most likely to be forgotten within a few weeks after the course has ended. On the other hand, cross-national comparisons would call attention to the basic nature of American parties as non-membership, decentralized, loosely disciplined organizations and would promote a better—and more lasting—understanding of the American party system. To me, the promised benefits of comparing different party systems seemed to outweigh the advantages of studying the American party system in depth.

A major problem in teaching a comparative parties course, however, is the scarcity of suitable text material. There are many fine texts on American political parties and a number of very good books on party systems in other countries. But works that attempt genuine cross-national comparisons of political parties are almost non-existent. Maurice Duverger's relatively young, already classic, and much-critiqued book, *Political Parties*, is the only comprehensive comparative analysis available.² Despite the criticisms leveled against it,³ *Political Parties* presents a useful set of concepts for studying political parties and actually *compares* parties across nations. From the standpoint of establishing the validity of its analysis, however, Duverger's *Political Parties* suffers greatly from a lack of data on which to base its comparisons.

² Sigmund Neumann's *Modern Political Parties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) fails to qualify as a truly comparative text because it is essentially a collection of case studies on the party politics of individual countries. Thomas Hodgkin's *African Political Parties* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961) is comparative in nature but is restricted to African politics.

³ For reviews of Duverger's *Political Parties* (New York: John Wiley, 1959) see the following: Aaron B. Wildavsky, "A Methodological Critique of Duverger's *Political Parties*," *Journal of Politics*, 21 (May, 1959), pp. 303–318; Frederick C. Englemann, "A Critique of Recent Writings on Political Parties," *Journal of Politics*, 19 (August, 1957), pp. 423–440; and Samuel H. Beer, "*Les Parties Politiques*," *Western Political Quarterly*, 6 (September, 1953), pp. 512–517.

In applying his concepts and drawing his comparisons, Duverger displays an amazing breadth of knowledge about party systems on the European and American continents. He frequently buttresses his remarks with charts and figures on election returns, membership reports, legislative representation, and so on. But despite his heroic attempts to document general propositions, he never provides adequate data. His supporting evidence consists of a series of selected examples, sometimes one or sometimes several, but never approaching a full presentation of the relevant cases. He simply does not have the data required for testing his theoretical statements.

To take one example, Duverger suggests a relationship between the "basic elements" of party organization and the activities carried out by the party. Parties organized on a "caucus" basis are more likely to restrict their activities to contesting elections than are "branch-based" parties, which also perform political education and social welfare functions. "Cell" and "militia" parties are even more likely to exercise welfare functions than branch parties. Duverger supports these propositions by citing specific caucus, branch, cell, and militia parties and describing their activities. But he does not provide the reader with a general overview of the relationship between these concepts for all or a large sample of the world's parties. He lacks the data needed for filling in the cells of a table, similar to Table 1, that relates these concepts.

Despite its limitations, Duverger's insightful book remains the best available, and I adopted it as one of the basic texts in my parties course. It then occurred to me that my students could collect data to test some of Duverger's propositions more thoroughly. Individual students were, in fact, assigned different countries from which to collect information relating to several of Duverger's key concepts. Their assignment was facilitated and their results made comparable by the use of special data recording forms. The students thus acquired genuine research experience relating directly to their course work while producing a body of data that could be used in the closing days of the course to validate textbook assertions.

The experiences of three years of teaching the parties course to students who were conducting coordinated research are reported in another paper.⁴ Suffice it to say that, on the

⁴ Kenneth Janda, "A Methodological Approach to the Comparative Study of Political Parties." Paper delivered before the Seminar on Comparative Politics, University of Michigan, November 18, 1964.

TABLE 1

RELATIONSHIP OF BASIS OF ORGANIZATION TO FUNCTIONAL
ORIENTATION OF ACTIVITIES

	Caucus- Precinct	Branch	Cell- Militia
Party Activities:			
Contest elections (only)	xx	xx	xx
The above and educates politically	xx	xx	xx
The above and serves welfare role	xx	xx	xx
	100%	100%	100%
(Total number of parties)	()	()	()

basis of experience, the research instructions and data gathering instruments underwent considerable change before the students were able to produce usable data. By the end of the third year, however, data of varying degrees of quality were available on some 277 parties in 77 countries.

The nature of the data gathered by the students was determined by the data recording forms. Each student was provided with a set of forms for data on the political system of the country assigned to him and a different set of forms for data on each of the parties in that country. A separate page in each set was reserved for a different variable, and all variables were pre-coded as much as possible for keypunching and subsequent computer analysis.

Students were instructed to check the coded categories on their forms that most closely described the variables relating to their countries and parties. Each coding decision had to be documented with the page number and information source, which was keyed to a bibliography submitted with the data. In addition, students were encouraged to use the remainder of the coding page for a written statement about the information requested. Inconsistencies among sources of information and inadequacies in the codes were to be noted in these statements.

To indicate the nature of the data gathered by the stu-

dents, two of the coded variables will be presented below. (More complete information on variables and codes is contained in Appendix A of this chapter.) The variables chosen for presentation relate to the party's "basis of organization" and its "functional orientation."

Codes	Basic element of organization
1	Caucus: no party membership and officials not chosen by party voters
2	Precinct: no party membership but officials chosen by party voters
3	Branch
4	Cell
5	Militia
6	Other: _____

Codes	Functional orientation of party
1	Restricted to nominating candidates and contesting elections
2	Includes the above and undertakes programs of political education
3	Includes the above and provides for social welfare
4	Other: _____

Working mostly with published literature, my 1963 parties class coded, in full or in part, some 205 parties in 55 countries. The data they produced permitted a test during the last class meeting of Duverger's proposition that parties organized on a "caucus" basis are more likely than "branch-based" parties to restrict their activities to contesting elections. Table 1 presented a framework for testing this proposition, given the necessary data. Table 2 is an exact reconstruction of Table 1 except that Table 2 contains data collected for the 87 parties which were coded on both concepts by the students. Assuming their validity for the moment, the data on these parties clearly support Duverger's proposition in a much more conclusive manner than evidence based on a few selected cases.

The data reported in Table 2 are "soft" at best. The information was collected by students whose competencies and motivations varied. But the quality of these data is not at issue. Table

TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP OF BASIS OF ORGANIZATION TO FUNCTIONAL
ORIENTATION OF ACTIVITIES

	Caucus- Precinct	Branch	Cell- Militia
Party Activities:			
Contest elections (only)	68	2	5
The above and educates politically	32	85	35
The above and serves welfare role	0	13	60
	100%	100%	100%
(Total Number of Parties)	(22)	(45)	(20)

2 is presented only to illustrate what the results of a systematic and comprehensive survey of party characteristics might be.

The research project outlined in this paper proposes a similar survey, but one that would produce reliable data. My previous experience with student research has convinced me of the value of approaching the study of political parties through an exhaustive analysis of secondary sources. The problem with this approach, of course, is in organizing the relevant literature in order to extract the necessary information.

At least five major information handling problems confront a researcher who proposes to conduct systematic and comprehensive research on the world's political parties by mining existing literature. These are:

1. developing an effective method for retrieving information from the parties literature,
2. locating literature which contains relevant information on parties in the study,
3. building an inventory of propositions and theories about political parties and party systems,
4. operationalizing variables in the propositions with reference to information from the literature, and

5. analyzing data for hundreds of parties coded according to variables included in the study.

To some extent, these problems confront almost every research project. The scope of the proposed survey, however, magnifies the tasks far beyond what is conceivable with traditional methods of research. The demands of this project require the utilization of modern information retrieval and information processing technology. A variety of specific techniques are proposed as solutions to the information handling problems presented above. Each of the proposed solutions will be discussed in turn.

Retrieving Information from Parties Literature

In the early stages of the comparative parties project, considerable attention was given to the development and application of computer techniques for retrieving information from political parties literature. The fundamental drawback in using computer techniques for a project of this scale, however, was the tremendous amount of keypunching required to put the literature in machine-readable form. Key punching costs would go down, of course, if one chose to punch only abstracts of literature rather than entire texts. But this decision would result both in less information going into the system and higher costs in preparing the information for keypunching. At least until optical scanners of printed texts become both practical to use and economical to operate, computer techniques of information retrieval seem unsuited for handling the thousands of books and articles that will eventually form the input to the parties project.

A far more effective method for harnessing this vast literature was found in the MIRACODE system, developed by Recordak, a subsidiary of the Eastman Kodak Company. MIRACODE is an acronym for "Microfilm Information Retrieval Access CODE." The basic components of the MIRACODE system are a special 16 mm. microfilm camera and microfilm reader. The system can retrieve individual pages of microfilmed documents according to one or more three-digit numbers which are

used to tag information on each page. These numbers are then transformed into a machine-readable binary code.

Input to the MIRACODE system is in the form of pages from books and articles which are marked with code numbers in the margins corresponding to information contained in the text. A sample page taken from material coded for microfilming is given in Figure 1, which shows a page from a book on Japanese political parties.

While the pages are photographed, the MIRACODE camera translates the written code numbers into a machine-readable binary code of clear and opaque rectangles on the film next to the page image. The page image and the codes are recorded on the film in accordance with the schematic diagram in Figure 2.

Using photography instead of keypunching saves a tremendous amount of time and expense. The entire text is recorded in seconds without need for proofreading and corrections. Along with this advantage, the MIRACODE system has the great virtue of being able to retrieve information from microfilm with code numbers written in the margins and recorded on film. Information is retrieved from microfilm with the use of the MIRACODE reader. A film magazine is placed in the reader and code numbers corresponding to the inquiry are entered into the keyboard on the MIRACODE console (see Figure 3). The MIRACODE reader searches the binary code patterns on the film and stops when the code matches the number or numbers entered on the keyboard. The retrieved page image is projected on a large viewing screen for study. If the first page retrieved does not yield the information, the search can be continued through the rest of the reel, which may contain up to 100 feet of film and several hundred pages of material—depending upon how deeply the information is coded. A full reel of film can be searched in ten seconds. If desired, black-and-white prints can be made of anything projected on the screen simply by pressing a button on the reader.⁵

Obviously, it is crucial that proper code numbers be entered in the page margins for effective retrieval of information about political parties. Rules and instructions are being devised to maximize intercoder reliabilities and promote the retrieval ob-

⁵ A more complete description of the MIRACODE system is contained in Kenneth Janda, "Political Research with MIRACODE: A 16 mm. Microfilm Information Retrieval System," *Social Science Information*, 1967. I wish to thank the Research Committee of Northwestern University for supporting my work with MIRACODE equipment.

FIGURE 1

SAMPLE PAGE TAGGED WITH CODE NUMBERS AND READY FOR MICROFILMING

Yanaga, Chitoshi, *Japanese People and Politics*, 069
New York: Wiley, 1956

278 Japanese People and Politics

of every 4. This was 2.6 times the next largest group, Waseda University, which was represented by 47 members or 1 out of 10. Even in the Socialist parties the Tokyo University group was the largest, with Waseda University coming second.⁴⁴

There is a striking social disparity between the members of the Diet and the rank and file members of the party outside the parliament. This is true of all the parties but is more clearly demonstrated in the conservative parties as can be seen by the educational background of the members who come from the upper and upper middle classes. Within the parliamentary parties themselves, however, there is remarkable educational-level homogeneity.

As compared with the British Labor Party members of Parliament in 1950, of whom about 4 out of 11 or better than one-third had some kind of university education, the overwhelming majority of Socialist Party members of the Diet, to the extent of 80 to 84 percent, had some kind of college or university education. This gives quite an intellectual flavor to the leadership in their activities.

Occupation

Occupational breakdown presents a difficult problem since accuracy in classification categories becomes almost impossible. However, an analysis can provide a useful basis for understanding the bias of the Diet. Table V represents the occupational distribution of the members of the House of Representatives who were elected in the General Election of April 19, 1953.

Several generalizations can be made from the figures given above. "Big business" has the biggest representation, taking up well over one-third of the entire House of Representatives membership on their side. This compares with the conservative parties in which 3 in every

⁴⁴ The preponderance of Tokyo University graduates was maintained in the Diet as the result of the House of Representatives election of April 19, 1953, though there was a slight decrease in the total number. The educational background of the newly elected members was as follows:

Tokyo University	113
Waseda University	50
Nippon University	34
Kyoto University	26
Chuo University	22
Other universities and colleges	141
Secondary education only	70
No mention	10
Total	466

36-

32-

545

FIGURE 2

SECTION OF 16 MM. MICROFILM CREATED FOR PAGE SHOWN
IN FIGURE 1

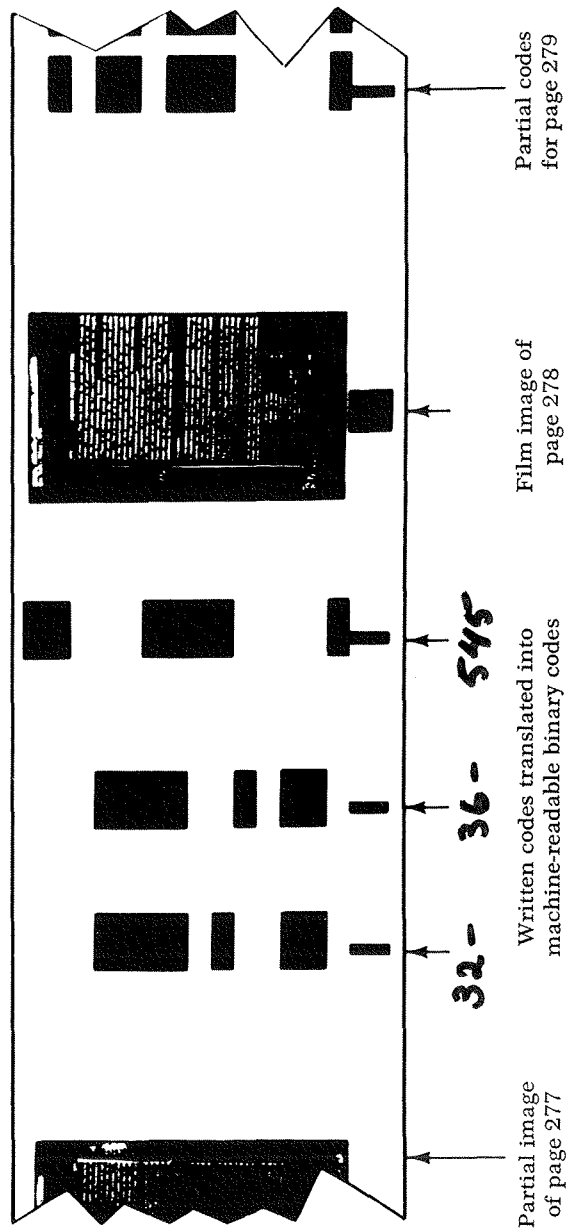
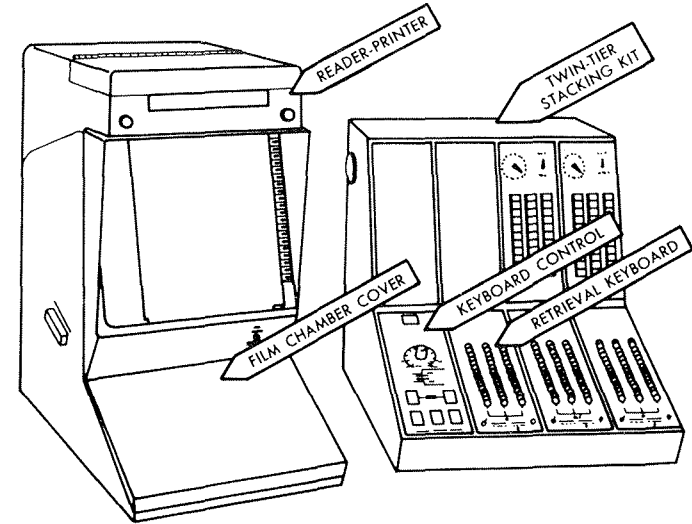


FIGURE 3

"MIRACODE" READER-PRINTER AND KEYBOARD CONSOLE



jectives,⁶ which are to retrieve (1) descriptive information for operationalizing variables on political parties, (2) explicit statements of theory or propositions about political parties, and (3) descriptive information about methodologies in the study of political parties. These objectives are incorporated into the coding categories being developed for the project.

⁶ The average intercoder reliabilities calculated over 186 pages from 19 articles on Japanese political parties were .73 for party codes and .50 for substantive codes. Coding reliabilities are expected to increase considerably as instructions and codes are revised and as coders acquire experience.

Two different sets of numbers are used in coding the political parties literature. One set, consisting of three-digit numbers from 000 through 999, is used exclusively as *identification codes* for specific parties. The other set, consisting of two-digit codes from 00- to 99-, is used to index *substantive information* about parties.⁷

IDENTIFICATION CODES: The party identification codes are organized on the basis of ten broad cultural-geographical categories. The first digit of the three-digit code stands for each main division as follows:

Code	Cultural-geographical division
0—	Anglo-American political culture
1—	West Central and Southern Europe
2—	Scandinavia
3—	South America
4—	Central America and the Caribbean
5—	Asia and the Far East
6—	Eastern Europe
7—	Middle East and North Africa
8—	West Africa
9—	Central and East Africa

The second digit of the three-digit code stands for a particular country within each division. This scheme permits recording up to ten countries within each division, thus accommodating a maximum of 100 countries. Although there are about 115 countries in the United Nations alone, the coding scheme is adequate for the purposes of the parties project, which includes some 92 nations.

The number of countries included in the study is limited due to the project's definition of a political party, which is any political organization whose electoral candidates won at least five per cent of the membership of the lower house of the na-

⁷ The MIRACODE system has the capability of distinguishing between similar numbers in different coding sets by means of the value of a "utility bit" associated with each number. For further information, see the paper cited in Footnote 5.

tional legislature in two successive elections in the period 1950-1962. While this may seem like a restrictive definition, it produces some 260 political parties for comparative study. The complete list of parties presently identified for inclusion in the project is given in Appendix B.⁸

It should be understood that the project defines a universe of parties and not a universe of countries from which parties are selected. Countries enter the universe only on the backs of parties, so to speak. No code number is assigned to a country unless it has at least one party under the above definition, and, for any country in the study, only those organizations meeting the definition are included in the code.

Organization of the party codes by area and country merely reflect the way literature on parties is organized. Insofar as possible, literature dealing exclusively with the same parties will be grouped together to form separate film magazines. Literature dealing with more than one party in the same countries will form film magazines on parties in general. Finally, writings comparing parties across countries will form magazines of comparative parties literature.

Party identification codes are used to tag places in texts where information about specific parties is presented. The *substantive* nature of the information is recorded by means of information codes.

INFORMATION CODES: The MIRACODE system can deal with three-digit codes, and the party identification codes are, in fact, three-digit numbers. The initial set of information codes for the project were also three-digit numbers. Our experience in applying three-digit codes to selected articles on political parties, however, revealed that these codes were too detailed. Coding the material with 1000 coding categories required far more

⁸ Most of the preliminary research done to identify the parties (and thus countries) to be included in the project was the product of two Northwestern students. Miss Cathy Jennings identified 160 parties in 58 countries outside of Africa. Mr. Roger McClure identified 43 parties in 20 countries in West, Central, and East Africa. Professor Gwendolen Carter furnished helpful information for my decisions to exclude certain African parties in countries for which there was little or no written material available. The list of parties identified for study at this stage of the project is subject to revision as detailed research gets underway. The list published in Appendix B, however, probably is close to what the final listing will be.

time than anticipated. Moreover, coders often agreed about the first two digits, but not the third.

Upon re-examination of the nature of the codes and the objectives of the project, the decision was made to discontinue making the fine distinctions that the third digit required and to code only at the two-digit level. This scheme provides 100 coding categories for information on political parties and, at the same time, leaves room for expansion of the code (by activating the third digit) to accommodate up to 1000 categories, should the finer distinctions prove necessary. Because of technical considerations in the MIRACODE system, the two digit codes are recorded with “-” as a dummy third digit.

The information codes have been organized to answer several basic questions about political parties. Each of these questions encompasses up to ten coding categories. The first digit of the information codes stands for a given question.

Code Questions about political parties

- 0- What is a political party?—Definition, function, theory
- 1- How do political parties begin?—The origin of parties
- 2- What does a party do?—Party activities
- 3- Who belongs to the party?—Party composition
- 4- How is the party organized?—Party structure
- 5- What does the party seek to accomplish?—Party goals
- 6- Under what conditions does the party operate?—Political environment
- 7- Under what conditions does the party operate?—Social, economic and geographical environment
- 8- Are there any other parties in the country?—Party system
- 9- How have parties been studied?—Methodology

Each of the code divisions has been subdivided into a maximum of ten concept categories. The complete set of codes as it stands in the present stage of the parties project is given in Appendix C.⁹

⁹ Charles Baer, Barbara Lewis, Jean Jacobsohn, Gary Rader, Roger McClure, Eila Cutler, Fred Hartwig, and Margaret Ferguson assisted me in developing the present coding categories. The coding process is still under development, and the codes may yet undergo considerable revision.

This sketches out the process by which the MIRACODE system will be used to retrieve information from the political parties literature. Identification and selection of the literature to be coded will be discussed in the following section.

Locating the Relevant Literature

One of the underlying assumptions of the comparative parties project is that most of the necessary information about the world's parties and party systems can be found somewhere in the enormous literature on foreign and comparative government. Some idea of the size and diversity of this literature can be gained by browsing through the “Foreign and Comparative Government” bibliographies published regularly in the back pages of the *American Political Science Review*. The September 1964 issue, for example, contained brief reviews of twenty-three books and citations to more than one-hundred and forty selected articles and documents on politics abroad. Lists like this have been published for years in every quarterly issue of the *Review*, and, of course, the items in those lists represent only part of the total literature. The comparative parties project must try to cull relevant information out of this vast literature. The first step in this task is to identify books, articles, papers, and documents dealing with foreign parties and party systems. This is an old-fashioned problem of preparing a comprehensive bibliography, but its magnitude demands new and better methods of handling it.

Bibliographies have traditionally been prepared by building up index card files of entries usually arranged by author and, in some cases, cross-indexed by subject. The card file itself usually constitutes the working bibliography for the individual scholar. If it is to be used by other researchers, the bibliography must ordinarily be re-typed from the cards. There are several disadvantages with this procedure for compiling and distributing bibliographies. Re-typing is costly and subject to error; lists of items arranged by author obstruct retrieval of the information by subject; and cumulating the bibliography after new items have been added seems scarcely worth the effort.

The demands of the comparative parties project cannot be met with traditional methods that were barely suitable for individual scholars operating with smaller bodies of literature. The

project needs working bibliographies of thousands of items that can be furnished at low cost to many researchers. It needs a method for compiling, revising, and continually updating this bibliography. The problem calls for solution through mechanized means of document retrieval.

To many students in the behavioral sciences, computer techniques for information or document retrieval may seem like promises of the future, still on the drawing board and hardly operational. To be sure, many exciting techniques are still in the process of development, but there are also some tested methods ready for practical application to literature problems in the behavioral sciences. The most popular computer method of document retrieval, keyword indexing, has already been used to compile a cumulative index for more than 2,500 titles published during the first 57 years of the *American Political Science Review*.¹⁰ Keyword indexing is also suggested for preparing bibliographies to be used in the project.¹¹

The methodology of keyword indexing is a subject in itself and will not be discussed here.¹² In outline form, the system operates as follows. Citations to the literature, complete with author, title, and publication information, are punched on IBM cards. A computer reads these cards and, by referring to a pre-determined set of keywords (or *non-keywords*) prepares an alphabetical listing of all the keywords in the titles. The complete citation in which the keyword appears is printed also, and it is reprinted for each appearance of a keyword in the title. The indexing technique can best be understood by looking at the finished product in Figure 4, which shows a partial print-out from a computer listing of keywords contained in 928 entries for "Africa" and "The Middle East" that were reported in

¹⁰ Kenneth Janda, *Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review, Volumes 1-57; 1906-1963*. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964.)

¹¹ "KWIC," or "Key-Word-In-Context," indexing was used to prepare the *Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review*. The technique proposed for use in the parties project is "KWOC", or "Key-Word-Out-of-Context," indexing. A discussion of the two techniques is contained in Kenneth Janda, "Keyword Indexes for the Behavioral Sciences," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 7 (June, 1964), 55-58.

¹² Additional applications of keyword indexing methodology are contained in Kenneth Janda, *Data Processing: Applications to Political Research* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), Chapter VIII and the Index to the book itself.

the "Foreign and Comparative Government" bibliography of the *American Political Science Review* from 1959 to 1963.

FIGURE 4

PARTIAL COMPUTER PRINTOUT OF KEYWORD INDEX TO
BIBLIOGRAPHY ON "AFRICA" AND THE "MIDDLE EAST"

THE MIDDLE EASTERN JOURNAL (SUMMER 1959)	
1286 Turks	Karpat KH Young Turks Again. = Challenge March, 1961
079 Turmoil	Cate C Turmoil in Algeria. = Atlantic Monthly December, 1962
272 Turmoil	Cate C Turmoil in Algeria. = The Atlantic Monthly December, 1962
1988 Turmoil	Author Not Given South Africa in Turmoil—From Boycott to Assassination. = Round Table June, 1960
2338 Turmoil	Richardson CB Nyasaland—Causes of Turmoil. = Foreign Policy Bulletin (May 1, 1959)
1744 Tyranny	Good RC Tyranny or Puritanism. Sekou Toure's Guinea. = African Report October, 1960
085 UAR	Hoskins HL Arab Socialism in the UAR. = Current History January, 1963
439 UAR	Horton AW The Central Social and Political Problem of the UAR—Part—3 The Search for Popular Support. = New York—American Universities Field Staff, 1962 (American Universities Field Staff Reports Service. Northeast Africa Series V. 9, No. 4, United Arab Republic)
440 UAR	Horton AW The Charter for National Action of the UAR. = New York—American Universities Field Staff, 1962

- (American Universities Field Staff Reports Service. Northeast Africa Series V. 9, No. 5, United Arab Republic)
- 1295 UAR Vatikiotis PJ
Dilemmas of Political Leadership in the Arab Middle East— The Case of the UAR. =
International Affairs April, 1961
- 281 Uganda Carter J
Independence of Uganda. =
World Today September, 1962
- 288 Uganda Jesman C
Uganda—Background to Independence. =
British Survey October, 1962
- 291 Uganda Low DA
Political Parties in Uganda 1949–62. =
Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London
London, Athlone Press, 1962
- 295 Uganda Richards A
Constitutional Problems in Uganda. =
The Political Quarterly October–December, 1962
- 303 Uganda Author Not Given
Uganda. =
New York, British Information Services, 1962
- 304 Uganda Author Not Given
Uganda—The Making of a Nation. =
Central Office of Information, Reference Division London 1962 (R.F.P. 5441)

At one level in the project, keyword indexing will be used to prepare crude indexes to the thousands of items appearing in both the "Foreign and Comparative Government" bibliographies and the listing of doctoral dissertations that have appeared in the *American Political Science Review* since 1950. This job has already been done for bibliography items published from 1959 to 1962. The resulting index contains more than 10,000 keyword entries from 2,500 items. The titles were punched, processed, and indexed at a cost of less than \$300.¹³ All titles punched to form the African bibliography were later

¹³ I want to thank the Comparative Politics Program at Northwestern University for making these funds available to me.

supplemented by entries from more recent issues of the *Review* to prepare a special index for my 1964 parties course, which was researching African parties.¹⁴ Part of that index is reproduced in Figure 4.

At another level, keyword indexing will be used to prepare refined bibliographies of titles especially relevant to the comparative study of political parties. Before inclusion in the refined bibliography, citations will be checked for accuracy in spelling, pagination, etc. If needed, additional keywords can be enclosed within parentheses and placed after a title to improve its descriptiveness and hence its retrievability. If corrections or additions are not necessary, the citations need not even be re-punched but can simply be taken from the crude bibliography file and entered at random in the refined file. The computer will take over from there to compile an alphabetized, updated, refined index of comparative parties literature.

In addition to the literature reported in the bibliographical section and dissertation notes of the *American Political Science Review*, more recent articles will be fed into the system by the Selective Dissemination of Information (SDI) system established for the Intersocietal Studies group at Northwestern University.¹⁵ Briefly, SDI operates as follows. Individual users of the system prepare lists of key terms describing their specific research interests. These lists are stored on magnetic tape and constitute the "interest profiles" for each user. As each new issue of a selected number of social science journals dealing with intersocietal or cross-national studies comes into the library, it is processed for input to the computer and the SDI system. The processing involves keypunching the author, title, journal, and —unless an abstract is available—the first and last paragraphs of every article.

¹⁴ I am indebted to the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University for supporting this phase of my research.

¹⁵ Mr. Gary Rader served as an invaluable research assistant during the initial stages of the SDI project. The program employed in the project was written by William H. Tetzlaff and is the same as the program referred to in Footnote 16. I want to thank Professor Richard D. Schwartz and the Council for Intersocietal Studies at Northwestern University for supporting the SDI pilot project. The SDI project is discussed in more detail in Kenneth Janda, "Information Retrieval: Applications to Bibliographies on International and Comparative Politics," prepared for delivery at the Computers and the Policy Making Community Institute, Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Livermore, California, April 4, 1966.

The input is recorded on magnetic tape for computer processing. At the end of every two-week period, the computer compares the users' interest profiles with the information that has been keypunched for each article. When an abstract is found that contains sufficient terms that appear in a user's interest profile to satisfy a certain "hit" level, the computer prints the name of the user and the information on the article. The citations and abstracts retrieved by the system are then mailed to the user, notifying him of the library's acquisition of pertinent material. In this way, an SDI system, as its name implies, aims at the *selective* dissemination of information.

For the parties project, the SDI system will examine incoming journals for articles dealing with the following terms: "party," "parties," "partisan," "political groups," and the names of all the countries with parties in the study. With the help of Northwestern's Intersocietal SDI system, the project should be able to keep fully abreast of the current literature on political parties.

Building a Propositional Inventory

The original purpose of the comparative parties project was to gather data for testing propositions about parties and party systems. It is essential, therefore, that attention be given to inventorying propositions within the literature. The method for building a usable propositional inventory will involve the use of yet another information retrieval technique in conjunction with the parties literature coded for the MIRACODE system.

Information code "03-" will be used to index theoretical and propositional statements in the parties literature. By entering this code in the keyboard of the MIRACODE retrieval station, one can locate every theoretical discussion coded on the film magazines. But to construct a propositional inventory, it is not enough merely to locate theoretical discussions. Once the statements are retrieved, additional information processing is required, because different writers often use different terms to discuss the same phenomena. The simple notion of "enfranchisement," for example, can be expressed in terms of "extension of the suffrage," "providing new classes of the population with the right to vote," and "increasing the electorate." In this example, different wording may not trouble the interpretation because the

idea is relatively clear. But political concepts are not always clear; a "centralized" party may or may not mean the same thing as a "cohesive" party. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that writers who use identical terms are, in fact, applying them to the same concepts.

Terminological differences between authors are ordinarily resolved by an implicit process of "translation." The parties project proposes to make this process explicit by translating major propositions into a basic "language" of party variables. The vocabulary of this language will be codified into a thesaurus of terms. By itself, successful translation of propositions into a basic language should produce clarified concepts, sharpened theories, and improved comparisons within the literature. As a by-product of the translation, the thesaurus should provide a means of access to the inventory of propositions extracted from the literature.

Propositions in the literature that are indexed with the "03-" code will be retrieved on the MIRACODE reader, copied, and recorded on punchcards for computer processing. The specific technique to be used in processing these propositions will be a computer program called "TRIAL," for "Technique to Retrieve Information from Abstracts of Literature."¹⁶ A complete discussion of this technique is, again, the subject of another paper, and only its main features will be sketched out here.¹⁷

TRIAL is a computer program for searching natural language text and retrieving information according to specified logical combinations of keywords. The input to the TRIAL program for the parties project consists of propositions about political parties. The propositions will be accompanied by a complete citation of the sources in which they appear, and each proposition will be represented in the input in its "translated" and "original" forms. The translation expresses the proposition in the basic vocabulary of the parties project. Immediately following the translation is the original statement, quoted from the text,

¹⁶ My colleague, Lester Milbrath, first stimulated my thinking in using computers to process propositional inventories. See Lester W. Milbrath and Kenneth Janda, "Computer Applications to Abstraction, Storage, and Recovery of Propositions from Political Science Literature," paper delivered at the 1964 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois.

¹⁷ Kenneth Janda and William H. Tetzlaff, "TRIAL: A Computer Technique for Retrieving Information from Abstracts of Literature," *Behavioral Science*, 11 (November, 1966), pp. 480-486.

which provides a check against the interpretation and accuracy of the translated statement.

Examples of translated propositions about political parties are given in Figure 5, which reproduces a printout of three propositions quoted from Samuel Eldersveld's *Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis*¹⁸ and translated into a simple statement involving "basic" vocabulary terms. Translating the proposition facilitates both its retrievability and its comparability with similar propositions by other authors. Terms in the translated statement, like "heterogeneous," "identifiers," "centralization," and "factionalism," are all *candidates* for a thesaurus of terms on party variables. They are only "candidates" because preparation of the thesaurus has barely begun, and subsequent experience with the literature may suggest better terms.

The researcher who wants to extract all propositions from the inventory that involve certain variables and concepts will look them up in the thesaurus, which will indicate the terms included in the vocabulary and those replaced with synonyms in the translations. He will then instruct the computer, operating under the TRIAL program, to search the propositional inventory with the proper terms from the basic vocabulary. TRIAL search instructions are communicated to the computer by specifying terms within parentheses and stating logical connections that must exist between the terms to retrieve a proposition.

The use of the standard logical operators: "not," "or," and "and" is inherent in the power of the search command. If the researcher wants to search the inventory for all statements about the relationship between "heterogeneity of party identifiers" and "factionalism," for example, he can construct the following command.

(/HETEROGEN/ .AND. IDENTIFIERS .AND. /FACTION/)
Placing a word between slashes defines it as a "root word," thereby retrieving any word that begins with the same root. Thus, /HETEROGEN/ would retrieve "heterogeneous" and "heterogeneity." Any number of "nests" of parentheses can be used with any combination of logical operators to permit more complex searches. The above command, however, would retrieve the first proposition in Figure 5, which would be printed out in conjunction with the citation to Eldersveld's book and the original phraseology.

¹⁸ Samuel J. Eldersveld, *Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964).

FIGURE 5

PROPOSITIONS FROM SAMUEL ELDERSVELD, *Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), TRANSLATED INTO BASIC TERMS AND REPRODUCED IN THE TRIAL FORMAT

Statement of Proposition . . .

The more socially heterogeneous the party identifiers, the less centralization of control, the more factionalism, the less operating efficiency, and the more conflict over goals and ideology.

"The party is always 'potential-clientele' conscious. It is open at its base to new recruits for party work as well as to nonactivist supporters. It is often open at the higher levels also, indeed, sometimes at the elite apex, if such a strategy will profit the party's power aspirations. Thus it is permeable and adaptive. . . . Where adaptation is maximal, internal managerial control is difficult, factional pluralism multiplied, operational efficiency likely to be impaired, and goal orientations and ideological consensus highly noncongruent, where adaptation is minimal, such consequences for internal control and perspectives will doubtless be less severe." (pp. 5-6)

Statement of Proposition . . .

Party structures absorb conflict between the group goal and coalition goals.

"The subcoalitions within the party may be identified variously—in terms of geographical boundaries, on the basis of organizational status, as demographic or social categories, or on the basis of ideological division. . . . Conflict within the party must be tolerated. As a power-aspiring group, 'greedy' for new followers, the party does not settle conflict, it defers the resolution of conflict. The party is thus no genuine mediator; it seeks to stabilize subcoalitional relationships and interactions so that these multiple interests will remain committed to the organization . . . (pp. 6-7)

Statement of Proposition . . .

Control in the party structure is not centralized in an elite, as assumed by the "Iron Law of Oligarchy."

". . . we take issue with the necessity of one crucial assumption in that 'Iron Law,' the assumption that control of the party structure is inexorably concentrated in the hands of a single leadership corps, the top, elite, managerial nucleus of the structure." (p. 8)

Operationalizing Party Variables

The results of the propositional inventory will serve to determine the variables that need to be measured or "operationalized" to test theory. Operationalization of variables dealing with political phenomena is often a difficult task, especially when the underlying concepts do not invite quantitative expression. One important factor in the strategy of operationalization is knowledge of different interpretations of the concept. Knowing the various ways in which the concept has been used can often inspire the development of imaginative techniques for identification and measurement. Having the parties literature coded and indexed for retrieval enables one to make a quick review of previous uses, which should disclose essential factors that might be operationalized in terms of quantitative scales or qualitative coding categories. Operational measures devised for all the variables in the study will then be incorporated into printed forms for evaluating individual parties on every variable. These forms will presumably be similar to those used by students in my parties classes and presented in Appendix A for purposes of illustration.

Each party will be coded on every variable with the use of the MIRACODE retrieval station. To illustrate the process, coding the Italian Socialist Party on the "party membership" variable might proceed as follows. The "Italian Socialist Party" film magazine would be inserted into the MIRACODE reader and the code number "32-" would be entered into the keyboard. The film would be searched for coded references to membership in the party. Every time code number "32-" was encountered by the microfilm reader, the image of the corresponding page would be projected on the screen for examination. In a matter of minutes, the coder would be able to review what the literature had to say about membership requirements in the Italian Socialist Party. Agreement or disagreement among authors could easily be noted, permitting judgments to be made about the validity of conflicting information.

Disagreement between sources might be resolved by also searching the film prepared on "Italian Parties: General." In this case, the code number "153," which identifies the Socialist Party, would be entered into the keyboard in addition to number "32-," the membership code. The reader then would stop only

to display pages that discussed party membership *and* the Socialist Party. If the disagreement remained unresolved, a coding judgment would be made and the discrepancy noted. A written record of the judgment underlying each difficult coding decision will be helpful later in resolving differences between *coders*, for each party will be coded by at least two different people, providing a measure of intercoder reliability at this stage of the project as well. The objective of the reliability checks is to produce the highest quality data the literature will allow for testing propositions about parties.¹⁰

Analyzing the Data

The comparative parties project will ultimately generate scores of variables on hundreds of political parties in almost one hundred countries. Electronic data processing methods will be employed to analyze these data effectively. Depending upon the level of measurement used to operationalize specific variables, several different techniques of statistical analysis may be re-

¹⁰ There is good reason to question just what *is* the quality of the information contained in the parties literature. Undoubtedly, some of the information would, because of poor research or biased observation, bear little resemblance to the state of affairs pertaining to the parties or countries under study. Speaking very frankly, my data will enable me to test propositions not with actual *data on* parties but with what people *say about* parties. The two are clearly quite different, and I have written about the study as if I were collecting *data on* parties primarily for stylistic reasons.

Despite the differences that most certainly occur between what the literature *says* about parties and what actually *exists*, we would expect a high, albeit not perfect, correlation between the two. To some extent, we will be able to identify and investigate biases, omissions, and systematic errors in the literature through use of our methodology categories, particularly the data quality control codes (see Raoul Naroll, *Data Quality Control*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962). Nevertheless, the basic presumption of the project is that political parties exist and operate largely as people say they do.

Even if our experience with evaluating the literature and the criticisms of others ultimately force rejecting this presumption, I contend that learning the shape and extent of reliable knowledge about political parties is in itself a worthwhile objective. And analyzing existing research literature to learn about parties appears to be far less costly than conducting coordinated field research at hundreds of sites throughout the world.

quired to validate the propositions. Because most of the variables are likely to be measured on nominal or ordinal scales, however, cross-tabulation of variables is apt to be the basic type of analysis employed in the project. The specific computer program that will be used for cross-tabulating the variables is Northwestern University's NUCROS.

NUCROS is described elsewhere;²⁰ only its main features are presented here. In its present form, the NUCROS program can process up to 40 variables on a maximum of 9,999 cases for the purposes of preparing up to 72 contingency tables. Each table can consist of simple bivariate cross-tabulations (illustrated in Tables 1 and 2) or involve third and fourth variables introduced as "controls." The program provides for automatic recoding of data, automatic identification of tables with names of variables involved in the cross-tabulation, and optional calculation of percentages, chi-square values, and other non-parametric statistics.

The NUCROS program was used to process the data presented in Table 2, which illustrated how one of Duverger's propositions might be tested by cross-tabulating two variables. While the data will be used primarily to validate propositions about parties, a somewhat more basic analysis will determine the distribution of party characteristics throughout the world. The students' data will be used to illustrate this level of analysis.

Duverger discussed different types of party origins; some parties had been formed inside parliament by legislators with similar interests and others were originated outside parliament by social organizations. Of course, he lacked the data which would disclose how frequently each type of origin occurred. Some indication of the distribution of occurrences, however, can be gleaned from the data my students collected on 277 parties. Their data were processed by the NUCROS program and, for illustrative purposes, were separated into African and non-African parties. These data, presented in Table 3, show the percentage distribution for frequency of occurrence for 72 African and 205 non-African parties.

According to the data in Table 3, African parties are more likely to originate outside of parliament, where they are organized by regional or ethnic leaders. The quality of the student-

²⁰ Kenneth Janda, *Data Processing: Applications to Political Research* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), Chapter VI and Appendix C-1.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF PARTY ORIGINS FOR AFRICAN AND NON-AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

	African	Non-African
Formed inside the legislature	3	9
Splinter group from another party	18	18
Merger of two or more parties	18	15
Organized by religious leaders	1	3
" " labor leaders		5
" " intellectuals	3	9
" " regional, ethnic leaders	25	3
" " promote specific issues	11	7
Other condition of origin	17	18
No information reported	4	13
	100%	100%
(Total number of parties)	(72)	(205)

collected data is admittedly suspect, but the information produced is plausible and encouraging. At the same time, however, attention must be called to the lack of information or the inability to classify 21 per cent of the African parties and 31 per cent of the non-African parties. Hopefully, the full-scale project will produce more and better information for coding parties and will develop more adequate operationalizations of the variables to increase the percentages that can be coded on the variables.

If the expected success is achieved on these dimensions, then the data produced in the project should merit serious consideration in accepting, rejecting, or revising propositions about political parties. To illustrate the strategy of using cross-tabulations in clarifying and revising theory, consider the data presented in Table 4, which is constructed to test Duverger's proposition that parties which originate inside parliament are more likely to be conservative in ideology than those originating outside parliament.

Only data on non-African parties were available for Table 4, and, of these, the students were able to code only 113 on both variables. Assuming again the validity of the data, the

TABLE 4

CONDITION OF ORIGIN BY IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION,
FOR NON-AFRICAN PARTIES ONLY

	Parliamentary origin of parties		
	Inside	Split/ Merger	Outside
Leftist	31	46	53
Centerist	19	24	15
Rightist	50	30	32
	100%	100%	100%
(Number of parties)	(16)	(50)	(47)

pattern does not fully support Duverger's proposition. Perhaps his proposition could be revised by stating qualifying conditions and introducing additional variables. With more reliable data, one could examine the specific parties that deviated from the proposition, e.g., leftist parties formed inside parliament and rightist parties formed outside. Deviant case analysis might produce insights that will revise the original proposition.

Conclusion

A science never really matures until it develops powerful theories that explain its data. Within political science, the comparative study of political parties has as its ultimate objective the development of theory to explain and predict the behavior of parties and party systems across the world. The emphasis of this research project, however, falls primarily on collecting data and only secondarily on building theory. This choice of focus stems from the firm belief that adequate data are important ingredients in successful theory building. Whether data collection should precede theory building, or *vice versa*, is essentially a "chicken-and-egg" problem. Both are needed eventually, but one of the two must start the cycle somewhere. Although this study is not designed to make a frontal

attack on the general problem of theory construction, it should contribute directly to the general assault by inventorying propositions, sharpening concepts, providing facts, and testing narrow-range hypotheses and middle-range propositions—the stuff from which bodies of theory are made.

Appendix A

The coding categories given below for data on countries and data on parties within countries were prepared for use by my 1964 undergraduate course on political parties. They may not resemble the coding categories developed from the parties project and are offered here simply to indicate how data on countries and parties might be recorded in punchcard form. The numbers under the heading "Card Columns" refer to the columns on an IBM card in which the information has been punched. The keypunch operator would punch into the card the code numbers checked off by the student researcher or numerical values—depending on the information that was provided.

The coding categories below are given in an abbreviated form. Space has not been reserved for comments on the categories, as it had been on the students' forms, and only the categories for the lower house of the legislature have been reproduced for the country codes. The upper house categories are virtually identical and were eliminated to save space.

Data on Countries

Student: _____ Country _____
Columns 7-8: ID# _____

Card Columns	Information and Codes
9-12	YEAR ADOPTING A POPULARLY ELECTED LEGISLATURE _____ Source: _____ Page: _____
13-16	YEAR ADOPTING PRESENT GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE _____ Source: _____ Page: _____
17	LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE STRUCTURE (Banks and Textor) Source: _____ Page: _____
	1 Presidential
	2 Presidential-Republican

- 3 Parliamentary-Republican
 4 Pure Parliamentary
 5 Parliamentary-Royalist
 6 Monarchical-Parliamentary
 7 Monarchical
 8 Communist
 9 Other (explain)
- 18 NATURE OF THE STATE Source: _____ Page: _____
 1 Unitary state
 2 Federal state
 3 Other
- 19 NUMBER OF CHAMBERS IN THE LEGISLATURE OR PARLIAMENT Source: _____ Page: _____
 1 Unicameral
 2 Bicameral, but the lower chamber has little influence in legislating
 3 Bicameral, but the *upper* chamber has little influence in legislating
 4 Bicameral, and both are about equal in importance
 5 Other (explain)
- 20-22 NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN THE LOWER CHAMBER Source: _____ Page: _____
- 23-25 NUMBER OF MEMBERS POPULARLY ELECTED Source: _____ Page: _____
- 26 PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP POPULARLY ELECTED Source: _____ Page: _____
 1 No members of lower chamber are popularly elected
 2 Less than 25%
 3 25 to 49.9%
 4 50 to 74.9%
 5 75 to 99.9%
 6 100% —all members of lower chamber are popularly elected
- 34 ELECTIONS FOR PARLIAMENT OR LEGISLATURE Source: _____ Page: _____
 1 Unicameral: all elected members chosen at same time
 2 " terms are staggered; only part elected at one time
 3 Bicameral: *all* elected members chosen at same time (both chambers)
 4 " all elected members of each house chosen separately
 5 " all elected members of *one* house

- 6 " chosen at one time along with part of the elected membership of the *other* (US model)
 all elected members of the lower house chosen at one time; upper house not popularly elected
- 7 " terms of the lower house members are staggered; upper house not popularly elected
- 8 Neither chamber popularly elected
- 9 Other (explain)
- 35 MAXIMUM TIME ALLOWED BETWEEN ELECTIONS FOR LOWER HOUSE Source: _____ Page: _____
 1 One year
 2 Two years
 3 Three "
 4 Four "
 5 Five "
 6 Six years or more
 7 No maximum time; elections are not tied to calendar at all
 8 Other (explain)
 9 Not applicable: lower chamber not popularly elected
- 37-38 METHOD OF VOTING FOR LOWER CHAMBER Source: _____ Page: _____
 11 Proportional Representation: don't know what form
 12 " " single transferable vote
 13 " " simple list and national constituency
 14 " " simple list 2 to 5 man districts
 15 " " simple list 6 or more man districts
 16 " " list & preferential voting within list
 17 " " list & transferable vote between lists

18	"	"	"	list and regional or national pools of candidates
19	"	"	"	other (explain)
20	Minority Representation:			don't know what form
21	"	"	"	single non-transferable vote
22	"	"	"	limited vote
23	"	"	"	cumulative voting
24	"	"	"	point or fractional system
25	"	"	"	other (explain)
30	Majority Representation:			don't know what form
31	"	"	"	repeated ballot
32	"	"	"	second ballot—limited to top two candidates
33	"	"	"	second ballot—limited to those who stood on the first ballot, but not top two
34	"	"	"	second ballot—not limited to candidates on the first ballot
35	"	"	"	alternative vote
36	"	"	"	other (explain)
40	Simple plurality-single ballot:			don't know the type of districts
41	"	"	"	single-member districts predominate
42	"	"	"	two-member districts predominate
43	"	"	"	three-member districts predominate

44	"	"	"	"	four-member districts predominate
45	"	"	"	"	other number: _____
46	"	"	"	"	other (explain)
50	Combination of the above:				proportional and minority representation
51	"	"	"	"	proportional and majority representation
52	"	"	"	"	proportional and simple plurality one ballot
53	"	"	"	"	minority representation and simple plurality
54	"	"	"	"	other (explain)
55	Other method of voting (explain)				

41 ELECTORAL SYSTEM FOR PRESIDENT

Source: _____ Page: _____

- 1 Not applicable: no president
- 2 Indirectly elected, election not dependent on popular vote
- 3 Electoral college tied closely to popular vote (US model)
- 4 Popular vote
- 5 Other (explain)

42 TERM OF PRESIDENT

Source: _____ Page: _____

- 1 One year
- 2 2 years
- 3 3 years
- 4 4 years
- 5 5 years
- 6 6 years
- 7 7 years
- 8 Other (explain)
- 9 Not applicable: no president

43 NATURE OF DISTRICTS IN LOWER CHAMBER

Predominant type Source: _____ Page: _____

- 1 Single member
- 2 Two member
- 3 Three member
- 4 Four member

- 5 Five member
 6 Other number: _____
 7 National constituency: all members elected at large
- 45-46 YEAR OF MOST RECENT ELECTION FOR LOWER HOUSE _____ Source: _____ Page: _____
- 47-48 NUMBER OF PARTIES GETTING AT LEAST 5% OF VOTES _____ Source: _____ Page: _____
- 49-50 NUMBER OF PARTIES GETTING ANY SEATS _____ Source: _____ Page: _____
- 57 VOTING QUALIFICATIONS FOR LOWER HOUSE ELECTIONS Source: _____ Page: _____
- 1 Universal suffrage: Age _____
 2 Universal male suffrage: Age _____
 3 Male suffrage and property restrictions
 4 Male suffrage and other restrictions
 5 Other
- 59-60 PARTY SYSTEM: # OF PARTIES SEATED IN LOWER HOUSE Source: _____ Page: _____
- 01 One-party: after the most recent election studied, one party held at least 95% of all seats in the lower chamber
- 02 Modified one-party: one party held from 75% to 95% of the seats
- 03 Two-party: the 2 largest parties held at least 95% of the seats
- 04 Modified two-party: the 2 largest held from 80% to 95% of the seats
- 05 Three-party: the 3 largest parties held at least 95% of the seats
- 06 Modified three-party: the 3 largest held from 85% to 95% of the seats
- 07 Four-party: the 4 largest parties held at least 95% of the seats
- 08 Modified four-party: the 4 largest held from 90% to 95% of the seats
- 09 Poly-party: no fewer than 5 parties held at least 95% of the seats among themselves
- 10 Other (explain)

Data on Parties

Student: _____ Country: _____

Columns 7-8: ID# _____

ColumnsInformation and Codes

- 9-10 PARTY CODE# _____ Order in alphabetical listing of parties
 Party name: _____
- 11-14 YEAR OF ORIGIN OF PARTY: _____
 Source: _____ Page: _____
- 15 CONDITIONS OF ORIGIN (explain classification below) Source: _____ Page: _____
- 1 Formed by parliamentary members with similar interests
- 2 Formed as a splinter group from another established party
- 3 Formed from a merger of two or more other parties
- 4 " outside of parliament: by religious leaders
- 5 " " " " by labor leaders
- 6 " " " " by intellectuals or philosophical societies
- 7 " " " " by regional, ethnic, or racial groups
- 8 " " " " to promote a specific issue
- 9 Other
- 16 ARTICULATION OF PARTY ORGANIZATION Source: _____ Page: _____
- 1 Weakly articulated: has co-opted party officials
- 2 Moderately articulated
- 3 Strongly articulated: specified in detail how officials are selected and has not co-opted party officials
- 17 NATURE OF PARTY LINKAGE Source: _____ Page: _____
- 1 No clear lines of authority are drawn between party organs
- 2 Lines of authority are specified between some party organs, but the authority links are bifurcated or fragmented—some organs being formally independent of others supposedly their superior

- 3 Lines of authority are clearly specified and there are not autonomous groups of party organs, but there are horizontal links between some party organs
- 4 Lines of authority are clearly specified, there is no fragmentation of authority, and there are no horizontal links
- 5 Other (explain below)

(Include a diagram if possible)

- 18 LOCUS OF INFLUENCE IN THE ORGANIZATION: NOMINATIONS Source: _____ Page: _____
 - 1 Decentralized: nominations for the lower house determined locally
 - 2 Decentralized and centralized aspects (explain below)
 - 3 Centralized: nominations for the lower house approved nationally
- 19 LOCUS OF INFLUENCE IN THE ORGANIZATION: ELECTIONS Source: _____ Page: _____
 - 1 Decentralized: financed by local organizations
 - 2 Decentralized and centralized aspects (explain below)
 - 3 Centralized: financial aid is given by national organization
- 20 BASIC ELEMENT OF ORGANIZATION Source: _____ Page: _____
 - 1 Caucus: no party membership and officials not chosen by party voters
 - 2 Precinct: no party membership but officials chosen by party voters
 - 3 Branch
 - 4 Cell
 - 5 Militia
 - 6 Other: _____
- 21 BASIS OF PARTY AFFILIATION Source: _____ Page: _____
 - 1 No formal membership: merely interest and support
 - 2 Formal membership: register as member or sign membership card *only*
 - 3 Formal membership: pay dues but *not* sign membership form
 - 4 " " sign membership form *and* pay dues
 - 5 " " sign membership

- 6 Other (explain below)
- 22 FORM OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP Source: _____ Page: _____
 - 1 Indirect only: party "membership" comes with membership in some other organization
 - 2 Mainly indirect, but there are some direct members
 - 3 Membership is about equally divided between both
 - 4 Mainly direct, but there are some indirect members
 - 5 Direct membership only
 - 6 Not applicable: no party membership
- 23 FUNCTIONAL ORIENTATION OF PARTY
 - 1 Nominating candidates and contesting elections
 - 2 Includes the above and undertakes programs of political education
 - 3 Includes the above and provides for a variety of social needs for party identifiers
 - 4 Other
- 24 MAJOR ISSUE ORIENTATION OF PARTY (Choose only one; explain your choice) Source: _____ Page: _____
 - 1 Anti-colonial
 - 2 Ethnic, or regionalistic, or national minority
 - 3 Pro-labor
 - 4 Clerical
 - 5 Anti-clerical
 - 6 Land reform
 - 7 Agrarian
 - 8 Other: (explain)
 - 9 No dominant issue orientation
- 25 IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION Source: _____ Page: _____
 - 1 Communist
 - 2 Extreme Left
 - 3 Left of Center
 - 4 Center
 - 5 Right of Center
 - 6 Extreme Right

form, pay dues, *and* go through a probationary period or have application reviewed by party officials before membership is granted

- 7 Fascist
 8 Does not "fit" on an ideological continuum
 9 Other (explain)
- 31 VOTING COHESION IN LOWER CHAMBER (Refer to average index if data are available)
 Source: _____ Page: _____
- 1 Little or no cohesion—Average Index less than 25
 2 Weak cohesion—Average Index from 25 to 49
 3 Moderate cohesion—Average Index from 50 to 74
 4 High cohesion—Average Index from 75 to 89
 5 Very high cohesion—Average Index 90 or more
 6 Other (explain)
- 33 METHODS OF DISCIPLINE
 Source: _____ Page: _____
- 1 Withdrawal of membership
 2 Withdrawal of financial support in elections
 3 Failure to designate as party candidate
 4 Both one and two
 5 Both one and three
 6 Both two and three
 7 All of the above
 8 None of the above
 9 Other (explain)
- 34-35 YEAR OF MOST RECENT ELECTION FOR WHICH DATA ARE AVAILABLE:
 ELECTION TO LOWER CHAMBER: _____
 Source: _____ Page: _____
- 36-38 % OF POPULAR VOTE WON IN ELECTION _____
 Source: _____ Page: _____
- 39-41 % OF SEATS WON IN LOWER CHAMBER _____
 Source: _____ Page: _____

Appendix B

For the purposes of the project, a party is defined as any political organization whose electoral candidates won at least 5% of the membership of the lower house of the national legislature in two successive elections between 1950-1962. The

list of parties was obtained by applying this definition to information contained in the following sources:

- The Worldmark Encyclopedia of the Nations.* (New York: Worldmark 1960 and 1963.)
- Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Volumes No. XII-XV, 1950-1962. (London: Keesing's Publications Limited.)
- Segal, Ronald, *African Profiles*. (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1963.)
- Mallory, Walter H. (ed.), *Political Handbook and Atlas of the World*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1950-1963.)
- The Europa Year Book*, Volumes I and II. (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1950-1964.)
- The Middle East and North Africa*, 11th edition. (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1964-1965.)
- Africa Report*, 8 (November, 1963).

Considerable disagreement over party names, election results, and election dates was encountered sometimes among these sources. The listing of parties given below, therefore, will undoubtedly be corrected and refined in the course of detailed research within the literature of each country, and this list should be regarded only as a preliminary definition of the universe of parties.

- 0 ANGLO-AMERICAN POLITICAL CULTURE
- 000 AUSTRALIA
- 001 Labour
- 002 Liberal
- 003 Country
- 010 CANADA
- 011 Liberal
- 012 Progressive Conservative
- 013 Cooperative Commonwealth (New Democrat After 1961)
- 014 Social Credit
- 020 IRELAND
- 021 Fianna Fail

- 022 Fine Gael
 023 Labour
 030 NEW ZEALAND
 031 National
 032 Labour
 040 RHODESIAN AND NYASALAND FEDERATION
 041 United Federal Party
 050 SOUTH AFRICA
 051 National
 052 United
 052 Republican
 060 UNITED KINGDOM
 061 Labour
 062 Conservative
 070 UNITED STATES
 071 Democrat
 072 Republican
- 1 WEST CENTRAL EUROPE
 100 AUSTRIA
 101 People's (Osterreichische Volkspartei)
 102 Socialist (Sozialistische Partei)
 103 League of Independents (Liberal After 1955, Austrian Freedom in 1962) (Freiheitliche Partei Osterreichs)
 110 BELGIUM
 111 Christian Social (PSC)—Formerly Catholic (Social Chretien, Kristelijke Volkspartij)
 112 Socialist (Socialiste Belge, Belgische Socialistische, PSB)
 113 Liberal (Liberty and Progress Freedom and Progress) (De La Liberte Et Du Progres, PLP, Partij Voor Vrijheden Vooruitgang, PWW)
 120 FRANCE
 121 Popular Republican Movement (MRP, Mouvement Republicain Populaire)
 122 Republican Radical and Radical Socialist (RGR)

- 123 Socialist (SFIO) (Section Francaise De L'Internationale Ouvriere)
 124 Union for the New Republic (UNR) (Union Pour la Nouvelle Republique)
 125 Communist
 130 FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (WEST GERMANY)
 131 Christian Democratic Union (CDU/CSU—Bavarian Wing) (Christlich-Demokratische Union, Christlich-Soziale Union in Bavaria)
 132 Social Democrat (SPD) (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
 133 Free Democrat (FDP) (Freie Demokratische Partei)
 140 GREECE
 141 Liberal (Komma Phileleftheron)
 142 National Progressive Union of Center (EPEK)
 143 Greek Rally
 144 National Radical Union (ERE) (Ethniki Rizospastiki Enosis)
 145 United Democratic Left (EDA) (Ellniki Dimokratiki Aristera)
 150 ITALY
 151 Christian Democrat (DC) (Partito Democrazia Cristiana)
 152 Communist (PCI) (Partito Comunista Italiano)
 153 Socialist (PSI) (Socialista Italiano)
 160 LUXEMBOURG
 161 Christian Social
 162 Socialist Labour
 163 Democratic (Groupement, Parti Democratique)
 164 Communist
 170 NETHERLANDS
 171 Roman Catholic People's (Katholieke Volkspartij)
 172 Labor (Partij Van De Arbeid)
 173 Liberal (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) (Volkspartij Voor Vrijheid En Democratie)
 174 Anti-Revolutionary (Anti-Revolutionaire Partij)
 175 Christian Historical Union (Christelijk-Historische Unie)

176 Communist (Communistische Partij Van Nederland)

180 PORTUGAL

181 National Union (Uniao Nacional)

190 SWITZERLAND

191 Radical Democratic (Radikal-Demokratische, Freisinnig-Demokratische)

192 Socialist, Social Democrats (Sozialdemokratische)

193 Swiss Conservative People's, Catholic Conservative, Conservatives (Konservativ-Christlichsoziale Volksparter Der Schweiz)

194 Farmers (Peasants), Artisans and Middle Class (Bauern, Gewerbe und Burger)

195 Independents' (Landesring der Unabhaengigen)

2 SCANDINAVIA

200 DENMARK

201 Social Democratic (Socialdemokratiske)

202 Moderate Liberal (Agrarian) (Venstre)

203 Conservative (Konservative)

204 Social Liberal (Formerly Radical Union) (Radikale Venstre)

210 FINLAND

211 Agrarian (Maalaisliitto)

212 Social Democratic (Sosiaalidemokraattinen Puolue)

213 Finnish People's Democratic Union (Communist) (FDPU) (Suomen Kansan Demokraattinen Liitto, SKDL)

214 National Coalition, Conservative (Kansallinen Kokoomus)

215 Swedish People's (Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue)

216 Finnish People's (Suomalainen Kansanpuolue)

220 ICELAND

221 Independence (Formerly Conservative) (Sjalfstaedisflokkurinn)

222 Progressive (Framsoknarflokkurinn)

223 People's Union (Socialist Unity, Labor Alliance, Communist) (Althydubandalag)

224 Social Democrat (Althyduflokkurinn)

230 NORWAY

231 Labor (Arbeiderpartiet)

232 Conservative (Hoire)

233 Liberal (Venstre)

234 Center (Formerly Agrarian) (Senterpartiet)

235 Christian People's, Christian Democrat (Kristelig Folkeparti)

240 SWEDEN

241 Social Democrat (Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet)

242 Center (Formerly Farmers' Agrarian) (Centerpartiet)

243 Liberal (Folkpartiet)

244 Conservative (Hogerpartiet)

3 SOUTH AMERICA

300 ARGENTINA

301 Popular Union (Peronistas)

302 Radicals (UCR)

303 Intransigent Radical Civic Union (UCRI) (Union Civica Radical Intransigente)

304 People's Radical Civic Union (UCRP) (Union Civica Radical Del Pueblo)

310 BOLIVIA

311 National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario)

312 Socialists (FSB) (Falange Socialista Boliviana)

320 BRAZIL

321 Social Democratic (PSD) (Partido Social Democratico)

322 National Democratic Union (UDN) (Uniao Democratica Nacional)

323 Labor (PTB) (Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro)

324 Social Progressive (PSP) (Partido Social Progressista)

325 Republican (PR) (Partido Republicano)

330 CHILE

331 Liberal (PL) (Partido Liberal)

- 332 United Conservative (Formerly Traditionalist Conservative) (Partido Conservador Unido) (PCU)
- 333 National Popular (Became National Democratic, Formerly Ag. Labor)
- 334 Christian Democratic (Formerly Social Christian) (PDC) (Partido Democrata Cristiano)
- 335 Radical (PR) (Partido Radical)
- 336 United Socialist
- 337 Communist
- 340 COLOMBIA
- 341 Liberal
- 342 Conservative
- 350 ECUADOR
- 351 National Velasquista Federation (FNV) (Federacion Nacional Velasquista)
- 352 Conservative
- 353 Radical Liberal, Liberal Radical (Partido Radical Liberal)
- 354 Socialist (PSE)
- 360 PARAGUAY
- 361 Democratic Colorados (National Republican) (Asociacion Nacional Republicana, Partido Colorado)
- 370 PERU
- 371 Movement of National Unification (Democratico Peruano Unificacion Nacional, Movimiento De Unificacion Nacional)
- 372 Christian Democratic (PC) (Partido Democrata Cristiano)
- 380 URUGUAY
- 381 Colorados (Partido Colorado, Gestidos, Lealtad y Unidad Batallista, Independientes)
- 382 Blancos (Partido Nacional, Union Blanca Democratica) (Includes Orthodox Herristas, Herristas, and Ruralistas)
- 390 VENEZUELA
- 391 Republican Democratic Union (URD) (Union Republicana Democratica)
- 392 Christian Social (COPEI) (Partido Social Cristiano)
- 393 Democratic Action (AD) (Accion Democratica)

- 4 CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN
- 400 COSTA RICA
- 401 National Liberation (PLN) (Partido Liberacion Nacional)
- 402 National Union (PUN)
- 403 National Republican (PRN, Calderonista) (Partido Republicano Nacional)
- 410 CUBA
- 411 Cuban Revolutionary (PRC(A)) (Revolucionario Cubano (Authenico))
- 412 Liberal
- 413 Democratic (Democratas)
- 420 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
- 421 Dominican Party (Partido Dominicano)
- 430 EL SALVADOR
- 431 Revolutionary Party of Democratic Unification (PRUD) (Partido Revolucionario Unificacion Democratica)
- 432 Party of the Renewal Action (PAR) (Partido Accion Renovadora)
- 440 GUATEMALA
- 441 Nationalist Democratic Movement (Movimiento Democratico Nacionalista) (MDN)
- 442 Christian Democratic of Guatemala (Democracia Cristiana) (DCG)
- 443 Revolutionary (Revolucionario) (PR)
- 444 National Democratic Reconciliation (Reconciliacion Democratica Nacional, Redencion) (PRDN)
- 445 National Renovation or Renewal (Renovacion Nacional) (RN)
- 446 Revolutionary Action (Revolutionare Action) (PAR)
- 450 HONDURAS
- 451 Nationalist (Nacional Conservador De Honduras) (PNCH)
- 452 Liberal (Liberal De Honduras) (PLH)
- 453 Reformist (Movimiento Nacional Reformista) (MNR)
- 460 MEXICO

- 461 Revolutionary Institutional (Revolucionaria Institucional) (PRI)
- 470 NICARAGUA
- 471 Nationalist Liberal (Liberal Nacionalista) (PLN)
- 472 Nicaraguan Conservative (Conservador Nicaraguense) (PCN)
- 480 PANAMA
- 481 National Patriotic Coalition (CPN) (Coalicion Patriotica Nacional)
- 482 National Liberal (Liberal Nacional)
- 5 ASIA AND THE FAR EAST
- 500 BURMA
- 501 Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL)
- 502 People's Democratic Front
- 503 National United Front (NUF)
- 510 CEYLON
- 511 SRI Lanka Freedom
- 512 United National
- 513 Federal (Tamil Group)
- 514 People's United Front (Mahajama Eksath Permuna, MEP)
- 515 Social Equality ((Nara) (Lanka) Sama Samaja, Trotskyist)
- 520 CHINA
- 521 Communist
- 530 INDIA
- 531 National Congress
- 532 Communist
- 540 JAPAN
- 541 Progressive (Kaishinto)
- 542 Left-Wing Socialist (Saha Shakaito)
- 543 Right-Wing Socialist (Uha Shakaito)
- 544 Liberal Democratic (Jiyu Minshuto)
- 545 Socialist (Shakaito, Social Democratic before 1955)
- 550 SOUTH KOREA
- 551 Liberal

- 552 Democratic (Democratic Nationalists before 1955)
- 560 NORTH KOREA
- 561 Korean Workers' (Communist)
- 570 LAOS
- 571 Rally of the Lao People (Rassemblement Du Peuple Lao, Laotian People's Party, Neutralist Party)
- 572 Peace Party (Neo Lao Hak Sat, Pathet Lao, Pro-Communist Party)
- 580 MALAYA
- 581 Alliance (United Malays, Malayan Chinese Association, Malayan Indian)
- 582 Pan-Malayan Islamic (PMIP)
- 583 Socialist Front (People's Party-Party Ra'ayat, Labour Party)
- 590 PHILIPPINES
- 591 Nationalist (Nacionalista)
- 592 Liberal
- 593 Democratic Nationalist (Democratic-Nacionalistas)
- 6 EASTERN EUROPE
- 600 ALBANIA
- 601 Albanian Party of Labor (Partija E Punes)
- 610 BULGARIA
- 611 Communist (BGP)
- 612 National Agrarian Union (BZN)
- 620 CZECHOSLOVAKIA
- 621 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC)
- 622 Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS)
- 623 People's (CSL) (Christian)
- 624 Socialist (CSS)
- 625 Slovak Freedom (SSS)
- 626 Slovak Reconstruction (SSO)
- 630 GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (EAST)
- 631 Socialist Unity (SED) (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands)
- 632 Christian Democratic Union (CDU) (Christlich-Demokratische Union)

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- 633 National Democratic (NDPD) (National-Demokratische)
- 634 Liberal Democratic (LDPD) (Liberal-Demokratische)
- 635 Democratic Peasants (DBD) (Demokratische Bauernpartei)
- 640 HUNGARY
- 641 Socialist Workers (MSZMP) (People's Patriotic Front) (Magyar Szocialista Munkaspart)
- 650 POLAND
- 651 United Workers (PZPR) (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza)
- 652 United Peasants (ZSL, Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe)
- 653 Democratic (SD, Stronnictwo Demokratyczne)
- 660 RUMANIA
- 661 Workers (PMR)
- 670 UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
- 671 Communist
- 680 YUGOSLAVIA
- 681 League of Communists (LCY) (Savez Komunista Jugoslavije)
- 7 MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA
- 700 MALI
- 701 Union Soudanaise (US)
- 710 MAURITANIA
- 711 Union Progressive (UPM) (Parti Du Regroupement Mauritanienne, PRM Merged UPM and Entente Mauritanienne)
- 720 MOROCCO
- 721 Istiqlal
- 722 National Union of Popular Forces (Union National Des Forces Populaires) (UNFP)
- 730 SOMALIA
- 731 Somali Youth League (SYL) (Liga Dei Giovani Somali)
- 732 Independent Constitutional (Costituzionale Independente, HDMS)

- Retrieving Information for Comparative Study* 207
- 740 SUDAN
- 741 National Unionist
- 742 People's Party (UMMA)
- 743 Southern (Liberal)
- 750 TUNISIA
- 751 National Front or Union (Neo-Destour)
- 760 LEBANON
- 761 Rashid Karami Group
- 762 Constitutionalist
- 763 El-Assaad Group
- 764 Phalangist (Kata'eb)
- 765 National Bloc
- 770 IRAN
- 771 People's (Mardom)
- 772 National (Melliyun)
- 780 TURKEY
- 781 Republican People's (CHP)
- 782 Democratic
- 790 ISRAEL
- 791 Israel Labor (Mapai, Mifleget Poalei Eretz Israel)
- 792 Freedom Party (Herut)
- 793 General Zionist (Merged with Progressives to form Liberal)
- 794 Religious National (Hapoel, Hamizrahi, and Mizrahi)
- 795 United Workers (Mapam, Mifleget Hapoalim Hameuchedet)
- 796 Unity of Labor (Achdut Avodah (Poalei Zion))
- 797 Religious Front (Agudat Israel and Poalei Agudat Israel or Labor)
- 8 WEST AFRICA
- 800 DAHOMEY
- 801 Dahomen Party of Unity (Parti Dahomeen de L'Unite, PDU)
- 810 GHANA
- 811 Convention People's Party (CPP)

208		<i>Kenneth Janda</i>
812	Northern People's Party (NPP, United Party after 1957, UP)	
820	GUINEA	
821	Democratic Party of Guinea (Parti Democratique de Guinee, PDG)	
830	IVORY COAST	
831	Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (Parti Democratique, PDCI)	
840	LIBERIA	
841	True Whig	
850	NIGER	
851	Nigerian Progressive Party (Parti Progressiste Nigerian, PPN)	
860	NIGERIA	
861	Northern People's Congress (NPC)	
862	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)	
863	Action Group (AG)	
870	SENEGAL	
871	Senegal Progressive Union (Union Progressiste Senegalaise, UPS)	
880	SIERRA LEONE	
881	Serra Leone People's (SLPP)	
882	All People's Congress	
890	Togo	
891	Committee of Togolese Unity (Comite or Parti de L'Unite Togolaise, CUT or PUT)	
892	Movement of Togolese Youth (Mouvement de La Jeunesse Togolaise, Juvento)	
893	Democratic Union of the Togolese Populations (Union Democratique des Populations Togolaise, UDPT)	
894	Togolese Popular Movement (Mouvement Populaire Togolaise, MPT)	
9	CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA	
900	CAMEROUN	
901	Camerounian Union or Movement of Camerounian Union (Union Camerounaise, Mouvement d'Union Camerounaise, UCUR, MUC)	

	<i>Retrieving Information for Comparative Study</i>	209
902	Cameroun Democratic (PDC, Parti Democratés Camerounais) (DC)	
903	Union of the Cameroun Peoples (UPC) (Union des Peuples Camerounais)	
904	Kamerun National Democratic (KNDP)	
905	Cameroons Peoples National Convention	
910	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	
911	Movement of Social Evolution of Black Africa (Mouvement d'Evolution Sociale de L'Afrique Noire, MESAN)	
920	CHAD	
921	Chadian Progressive Party (Parti Progressiste Tchadien, PPT)	
930	CONGO—BRAZZAVILLE	
931	Democratic Union for Defense of African Interests (Union Democratique de Defense des Interets Africains, UDDIA)	
932	African Socialist Movement (Mouvement Socialiste Africain, MSA)	
940	CONGO—LEOPOLDVILLE	
941	National Congolese Movement (MNC) (Mouvement National Congolais, both Lumumba and Kalonji Wings)	
942	Bakongo Alliance or Association (Alliance Bas-Congo) (ABAKO, Association des Bakongo)	
943	National Solidarity Party (Party Solidaire Africain) (PSA)	
944	CONAKAT (Confederation des Associations Tribales de Katanga)	
950	GABON	
951	Gabonese Democratic Bloc (Bloc Democratique Gabonais) (United Front)	
952	Gabonese Democratic and Social Union (United Front) (Union Democratique et Sociale Gabonaise)	
960	KENYA	
961	Kenya African National Union (KANU)	
962	Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU)	
970	TANGANYIKA	
971	Tanganyika African National Union (TANU)	

- 980 UGANDA
 981 Uganda People's Congress
 982 Democratic
 983 Kabaka Yekka
 990 ZANZIBAR
 991 Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP)
 992 Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP)
 993 Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP)

Appendix C

CURRENT SET OF CODES FOR SUBSTANTIVE INFORMATION

- 0 *What Is a Political Party—Definition, Functions, Theory*
 00 Definition of a Political Party
 01 Typology of Parties (Specific Reference to Typology)
 02 Purpose of Studying Parties—Why Interested in Studying Parties
 03 Theory About Parties
 04 Functions of Parties
 05
 06
 07
 08
 09
- 1 *How Does a Political Party Begin—The Origin of Parties*
 10 When Was It Formed
 11 Who Formed It
 12 Why Was It Formed—What Were Its Goals (Ideology)
 13 How Was It Formed
 14 What Was Its Group Support
 15 History of Party
 16
 17

- 18
 19
- 2 *What Does A Political Party Do—Party Activities*
 20 Selects Candidates or Officials
 21 Conducts Election Campaigns
 22 Formulates Party Policy (e.g., Process of Platform, Resolutions)
 23 Influences Government Policy (Inc. Legislative Voting, Intro. of Bills)
 24 Propagandizes Its Goals and Activities
 25 Discipline—Punishments or Rewards
 26 Raises Funds
 27 Causes Demonstrations, Riots, Assassinations, etc.
 28 Intercedes in Government Action on Behalf of Citizens
 29 Social Functions (e.g., Education, Recreation, Social Welfare)
- 3 *Who Belongs to the Party—Actors and Supporters*
 30 Party Supporters (Identifiers and Usual Voters)
 31 Party Contributors (Money)
 32 Party Members
 33 Party Workers or Activists
 34 Party Leaders and Officials
 35 Party Candidates
 36 Party Members in Government Posts (Includes Legislators)
 37 Group Support (e.g., Votes or Funds)
 38 Organizational Support (e.g., Endorsements, Votes, or Funds)
 39 Party Factions (i.e., Organized and Continuing)
- 4 *How Is the Party Organized—Party Structure*
 40 Local Party Organization (e.g., Branch, Precinct, Ward)
 41 Constituency Party Organization (e.g., Cong. Dist. in U.S.)

- 42 Regional Party Organization (e.g., States in Federal System)
- 43 National Party Convention or Conference
- 44 National Party Committee (Inc. References to Central Party Org.)
- 45 Legislative Party Organization (Inc. References to Chamber Leadership)
- 46 Evaluation of Functional/Dysfunctional Aspects of Structure
- 47 Evaluation of Articulation (Formality) of Party Structure
- 48 Evaluation of Centralization (Locus) of Power, Influence, or Authority
- 49 Ancillary Organization

- 5 *What Does the Party Seek to Accomplish—Party Goals (See Also Code 46)*
- 50 Gain Control of Government (Win Votes)
- 51 Engage in Coalitions
- 52 Place Members in Government Offices (Appointments)
- 53 Promote Specific Issues or Goals
- 54 Promote Ideology
- 55 Subvert the Government
- 56
- 57
- 58
- 59
- 6 *Under What Conditions Does the Party Operate—Political Environment*
- 60 National Crises (e.g., War, Revolution, Assassination, Depression)
- 61 Political Issues of Consensus and Cleavage (Inc. Ideologies)
- 62 Electoral System (Mechanics of the System, Suffrage)
- 63 Popular Participation in Politics (e.g., Turnout, Discussion of Politics)
- 64 Political Norms and Attitudes
- 65 Bureaucracy

- 66 The Executive (e.g., President, Prime Minister, Cabinet)
- 67 The Legislature
- 68 Government Structure and Political History (Inc. Colonial Experience, Democracy, Totalitarianism)
- 69 Geographical Allocation of Powers—Federalism
- 7 *Under What Conditions Does the Party Operate—Social, Economic, Geographic*
- 70 Economic
- 71 Geographic Divisions—Regional or Sectional Characteristics
- 72 Social
- 73 Religious
- 74 Social Norms and Attitudes
- 75 Activities of the Military (Inc. Veterans)
- 76 Student Activities
- 77
- 78
- 79
- 8 *Are There Any Other Parties—Party System*
- 80 Number of Parties
- 81 Election Results (General Elections, Presidential, Parliamentary)
- 82 Stability of Parties in the Party System
- 83 Interparty Competition (Use for Relative Strength)
- 84 Interparty Cooperation—Coalition Behavior, Electoral Alliances
- 85 Origin, Support and History of the Party System
- 86 Status of the Party in the Party System (Inc. Legal and Functional Status)
- 87 Typology of Party Systems
- 88
- 89
- 9 *How Have Political Parties Been Studied—Methodology*
- 90 Data Sources
- 900 Sample Surveys of Individuals
- 901 Election Returns or Census Data
- 902 Newspapers, Books or Journals

- 903 Government Publications or Party Documents
- 904 Interviews With Party Officials or Leaders
- 905 Roll Calls
- 906 Personal Experience
- 907
- 908
- 909 No Data Sources Given
- 91 *Scope of Study*
- 910 Single Case Study—Country
- 911 Single Case Study—Party
- 912 Area Survey
- 913 Purposive Sample Survey of Parties
- 914 Probability Sample Survey of Parties
- 915 General Theory
- 916 Comparison of Case Studies—Countries
- 917 Comparison of Case Studies—Parties
- 918
- 919
- 92 *Focus of Study*
- 920 Methodology in the Study of Political Parties
- 921 Party Origin
- 922 Party Activities
- 923 Party Composition
- 924 Party Structure
- 925 Party Goals
- 926 Political Environment of the Party
- 927 Economic, Social, Geographical, and Religious Environments
- 928 Party Systems
- 929
- 93 *Date of Data (Not Necessarily Publication Date)*
- 930 Prior to World War II (1939 or Earlier)
- 931 1940–1944
- 932 1945–1949
- 933 1950–1954
- 934 1955–1959