

Corrections for German Parties

German FDP:

Var. 8.01: Structural Articulation

Original Codes: 1950-1990: 7
Corrected Codes: 1950-1970: 7
 1971-1990: 10

The change is based on the information gathered from Katz and Mair. Katz and Mair present that in 1971 the function of general Secretary was created (p.357). Moreover, they provide the year when three additional members are added to the National Executive. 1968 should be added to the text. Finally, the year 1978 should be added to the last paragraph of the justification as the year when a member of the European parliamentary fraction is member of the Praesidium.

Var. 9.01: Nationalization of Structure

Original Codes: 1950-1956: 3
 1957-1979: 5
Corrected Code: 1950-1959: 3
 1960-1979: 5

Janda does not give any justification for the change in 1957. Instead, he states:

“Party composed of land associations. They may have created sub-divisions depending on local requirements. Three identifiable levels of FDP organization: Federal Party, Land Associations, Sub-divisions of Land Associations. While land associations enjoyed somewhat more decision making power in the FDP than in the other two parties, the federal party organization still had ultimate control over party organization. During the first half the land associations enjoyed more autonomy, but *in 1960-61*, the federal party (*under Mende*) strengthened its position.” (italics added)

Mende became the leader in January 1960 and therefore there was a change in 1960 instead of 1957.

Var. 9.03: Selecting Parliamentary Candidates

Original Codes: 1950-1953: 5
 1954-1990: 6
Corrected Codes: 1950-1952: 5
 1953-1990: 6

The correction is based on Janda's own justification: "By law, nominations for constituency seats were the responsibility of the constituency party associations. However, *since 1953*, the FDP won almost no seats in constituency elections and depended on list candidates, which are named in convention at the Laender level with some sort of national review. The code for the first three years, then, recognized some constituency association participation on candidate selection. That for the second half recognized the joint roles of the land and national organizations." (italics added)

Moreover, it seems more reasonable to attribute the change to 1953 rather than 1954 because there were elections in 1953.

German CDU:

Var. 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization

Original Codes: 1950-1962: 6
 1963-1966: 7
 1967: 8
 1968-1990: 6
Corrected Codes: 1950-1990: 6

Codes for this variable are from 0 to 6 where:

0: Either there are no identifiable party organs or the only organs that can be identified are national organs

6: The most intensive level of organization for the party can be found throughout the country; while the strength of these organizations may be variable, the coverage is thorough.

There are no codes of 7 or 8 provided in the coding scheme and there is no justification of a change between these years.

The second, third, fourth and sixth paragraphs should also be removed since they are dealing with foreign extensiveness.

Var. 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

An explanation should be added to the coding scheme of the variable. The variable looks both to national committee and council meetings. If national committee and council are different bodies the average of the number of meetings each has should be taken for coding.

Var. 8.06: Maintaining Records

The code given to 'publishing program' variable cannot exceed 2. Therefore, the codes should be given as:

1950-1968: 10 (2,0,8)
1969-1986: 13 (2,3,8)

1987-1990: 16 (2,6,8)

Var. 9.04: Allocating Funds

No coding change. Change in the justification part:

On page 35 it says that in 1969 coding decreased by 1. However, there is an increase. It should be corrected as “Coding increased by 1 to reflect this change in collection of monies.”

German SPD:

Var. 5.01: Ownership of Means of Production

Original Coding: 1950-1956: 4
 1957-1962: 1
Corrected Codes: 1950-1956: 4
 1957-1958: 1
 1959- 1990: -1

Janda's justification: During the early years of the first half, SPD party policy still called for nationalization of much basic industry and the seizure of some portion of large financial empires. However, this Marxist posture was already being deemphasized during the first half. By 1957 Ollenhauer and the party had called socialism to question, and the party program did not even mention socialism, instead emphasizing competition. By the end of the second half, the party no longer favored government ownership, but merely some government regulation.

Justification by Jeff Sandling: In 1959 at the Bad Godesberg convention, the SPD abandoned the party's traditional Marxist ideology and adopted principles of freedom, justice, and private ownership in a parliamentary, democratic system (Paterson, 1986, p.128). Another SPD expert concurred, "Nationalization was considered no longer the major principle of a socialist economy but only one of several, and then only the last, means of controlling and preventing economic concentration and power" (Braunthal, 1983, p.10). Thus, the coding change took place in 1959 as a result of the SPD's new philosophy of government ownership, which was to promote competition and to accept some government ownership only when it was deemed absolutely necessary.

There is a coding change in 1957. However, Janda doesn't provide specific information on why there was a change and how. There is a change in 1957 because Pogunte and Zahn provides the quotation from the party manifesto in the Issue Change booklet: "Nationalized concerns, which are important for an effective economic policy in the interest of the consumer and for a healthy/realistic pricing policy, should remain within the hands of the government" (p.111).

Therefore, there is a coding change in 1957 (4 to 1) and then, as Sandling provides the information, there is another change in 1959 (1 to -1).

Var. 5.02: Government Role in Economic Planning

Original Coding: 1950- 1956: 4
1957- 1990: 1
Corrected Codes: 1950- 1958: 4
1959- 1990: 1

Correction is based on Scott Case's justification. It is based on the Bad Godesberg of 1959.

Var. 5.03: Redistribution of Wealth

Original Coding: 1950- 1956: 3
1957- 1962: 1
Corrected Codes: 1950-1958: 3
1959-1990: 1

Justification is based on the information provided by Jeff Swaddling. However, he talks about Bad Godesberg as it was in 1969. This error should be corrected and the justification paragraph should be moved to the year of 1959.

Var. 5.05: Secularization of Society

Original Coding: 1950-1956: 1
1957-1994: -2
Corrected Codes: 1950-1958: 1
1959-1962: -2

Scott Case gives the justification for the code changes.

Var. 5.07: Alignment with East/ West Blocs

Original Coding: 1950-1956: 2

1957-1962: -5
Corrected Codes: 1950-1952: 2
1953-1958: -1
1959-1965: -5

Janda’s justification: “ During the early years of the first half, the party was somewhat antagonistic towards the US, and advocated negotiations with the Eastern Bloc. This position changed rapidly, and by the mid-1950s the party had completely abandoned any attempts at reconciliation with the East. During the second half, the SPD continually emphasized its wholehearted support for the US and the SPD foreign policy was almost identical to that of the CDU”.

However, it doesn’t provide any justification for the change in 1957. There is a change in 1953 based on the quotation from the party manifesto provided by Pogunte and Zahn in the Issue Change booklet under the heading of defense spending: “We are not against strong hands, because the Soviets are no Pacifists, and their plans of expansion are real and dangerous”. “The experiences of the past few years seem to show us that people place too much one-sided value on armament and on having the cannons ready as the ultimate option again.” “Peace and security through communication- not threats of war through armament of the West!” (p.106).

For the change in 1959, justification was provided by Jeff Swaddling: “Because it was realistic and wanted to enhance its electoral chances, the SPD embraced the policy of Western integration after 1959.”

Var. 5.09: Supranational Integration

Original Coding: 1950-1956: -2
1957-1962: 3
Corrected Codes: 1950-1958: -2
1959-1962: 3

“It was at the Bad Godesberg conference of 1959 that the SPD broke its links with its Marxist past. (...)Even more crucial than these new domestic orientations was the party’s acceptance of a bipartisan foreign policy and of membership of EEC.” (Tony Burkett. 1979. “The Federal Republic of Germany” in Political Parties in the European Community edited by Stanley Henig p. 99)

Var. 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

Original Codes: 1950-1982: 5
 1983-1990: 6
Corrected Codes: 1950-1990: 5

The justification provided by Janda refers to Braunthal (1983, p.29). Although it is clear from Braunthal (1983) that the party increased the frequency of local meetings (from the code of 5 to the code of 6) sometimes between 1950 and the publication of Braunthal’s book, it has not been possible for us to narrow the time span during which the change occurred. Hence we have opted for leaving the code of 5 throughout the entire period.

Corrections for the British Parties

UK Labor

Var. 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

Original Coding: 1950-1956: 6
1957-1990: 5
Corrected Codes: 1950-1954: 6
1955-1990: 5

The justification is based on the date of elections and the information gathered from Pelling's book of 'A Short History of the Labour Party' (1968). There were elections in 1955 and Pelling states in his book: "the election was a quite one. (...) The electors were apathetic, meetings were generally small, partly, but only partly, owing to the use of television as a political medium; and the Labour Party machine in particular was shown to be very rusty" (p.114).

Var. 9.02: Selecting the National Leader:

Original Coding: 1950-1980: 4
1981-1987: 3
1988-1990: 1
Corrected Codes: 1950-1980:4
1981-1987:3
1988-1990:2

The correction is based on the justification provided by Janda: "The change in 1988 stems from the election of party leadership on a 'one-man, one-vote' principle by all individual members of the party. This extended to seven seats on the NEC one year later. The change may be attributed to Kinnock's attempt to reduce trade unionists (and the left's) influence within the party (Seyd in King et al, 1993: 88-9)."

UK Liberals

Var. 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

Original Codes: 1950-1990: 7

Corrected Codes: 1950-1990: 4

The correction is based on the justification provided by Janda. “The Council meets four times per year. Other bodies overlap membership with the Council and therefore these other bodies are considered to be ‘inner organizations.’ The coding reflects the frequency of meeting by the Council. The National Executive Committee meets eight times a year. The Assembly meets annually. The Standing Committee meets monthly (Kavanagh, 1983: 124-5). Norton adds that the Liberal Parliamentary Party (LPP) meets weekly when the House is sitting (Norton, 1983: 144).”

From this justification it is clear that the code of 4 is more appropriate than the code of 7.

UK Conservatives

Var. 5.02: Role in Economic Planning

Original Codes: 1950-1978: 2
Corrected Codes: 1950-1960: 1
1961-.... : 2

Based on the justification provided by Janda, there was a change from 1 to 2 when Selwyn Lloyd became the Chancellors of the Exchequer in 1960.

Var. 5.09: Supranational Integration

Original Codes: 1950-1956: -1
1957-1965: 1
Corrected Codes: 1950-1959: -1
1960-1965: 1

The change in 1960 is justified by Janda (1980, 208). “The Conservative Party identified itself strongly with the preservation of national sovereignty throughout the period. However, as economic difficulties increased, the Conservative government moved closer to political and economic rapprochement with Europe. The formation of EFTA in 1960 was followed by an attempt to join the EEC, although the difficulties in accommodating commonwealth trading privileges to European tariff agreements were partly responsible for the deadlock of negotiations.”

Var. 5.16: Immigration

Original Codes: 1950-.....: -2
Corrected Codes: 1950-1957: 0
1958-.....: -2

The justification provided by Janda speaks about a conference in 1958. Because we do not have any information for the years before 1958, 0 is more appropriate for this period.

Variable HI5 Regulations of the Private Sector

Original Code: 1992: +3

Corrected code: 1992: +1

Modified justification in the 1992 Platform:

"We are committed to reducing the burden of regulation on business in general, and farming in particular...

We will enforce science-base controls on the use of chemicals in food production and will maintain our policy of open access to information on pesticide safety...

A proper balance needs to be struck between essential protection for the public and over-zealous and intrusive controls aimed at the elimination of all conceivable risk. It is wrong that new regulations, designed to deal with isolated problems, should interfere with the private arrangements of citizens or with reasonable commercial practices that have earned broad public acceptance."

"All of the privatised utilities have a special regulator who is responsible for promoting competition reviewing prices and protecting the public interest. We have introduced legislation to increase the powers of these regulators to the level of the strongest.... We are ensuring that the regulators have the powers they need to promote competition and safeguard the interests of the customer by controlling prices increases. We will increase competition in the gas and water markets.... We are giving the regulators powers to set standards of service, covering such matters as fixed appointment times for service calls."

The party is against regulation in general, but does accept the need for regulation in order to foster competition. We believe this justifies a code of +1 rather than +3 given the language of the coding scheme.

Corrections for United States Parties

Republican Party

Variable H15 Regulation of the Private Sector (Capitalism)

Original year of change: 1972: -2

New year of change: 1971: -2

The change is based on the information gathered from Janda (Variable 5.02 Government Role in Economic Planning):

President Nixon, in 1971, introduced his New Economic Plan--an unbalanced budget that subscribed to wage, price, and credit controls. (Reinhard 1983: 223) (Research by Brady) (Change made by Matthew Kates because of new policies of government involvement in the economy.)

The decision taken in 1971 formed the basis of the party's position in the 1972 platform.

Therefore, the change actually took place in 1971, prior to the writing of the 1972 platform.

Variable H16 Minority Rights

Original Code: 1972-1980: -3

Corrected code: 1972: -3

1976: -2

1980: -3

Modified justification in the 1976 Platform:

(We omit the last sentence in the original codebook, "the thrust is very similar to 1972 and 1980.") We include: "Instead of viewing government programs with ever increasing expectations, we must readily assume the obligations of wage-earners, taxpayers and supporters of our government and laws." Not only does the party continue to oppose the quota system and other types of affirmative action, but also there is less emphasis on any particular new policy or specific action to promote minority rights. Hence, the code of -2 is more appropriate for 1976.

Modified Justification for the code (-3) in the 1980 platform:

The platform calls for enforcement although it still warns about the use of quota and other administrative measures that may discriminate against others. Yet, its statement is stronger than

the 1976 platform with respect to protecting minority rights. The 1980 position is closer to that in the 1972 platform, and hence we reinstate the code of -3.

Democratic Party

US Democratic Party:

Var. 8.06: Maintaining Records

Original Coding: 1950-1987: 8 (1, 3, 4)
 1988-1990: 12 (1, 3, 8)

Corrected Codes: 1950-1955: 4 (1, 3, 0)
 1956-1986: 8 (1, 3, 4)
 1987-1990: 12 (1, 3, 8)

The correction is based on the justification provided by Janda in terms of maintaining membership lists. There is no information on any list before 1956. “The Democrats did maintain mailing lists of financial contributors, especially through their sustaining membership plan begun in 1956.”

The change in 1987 based on the justification provided by Sabato (1988): “In 1985, the DNC moved the mailing program in-house, resulting in a savings for the party of \$300,000 per year. The DNC’s mailing list grew from 25,000 names in 1981 to over 500,000 donors in 1987.”

Var. 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization

An explanation should be added to the coding scheme of the variable that clears the coding rule for this variable. The variable looks to the control *over* activities. It is not both about judging control and judging activity.

Variable H16 / Minority Rights

Original Code: 1964-1968: -3
Corrected code: 1968: -4

Modified justification in the 1968 platform:

Although the platform does not have any language at all regarding affirmative action, it obviously does not hold any negative statement against policies in this direction, such as official quotas, as had been the case in the preceding platform. In this way, it also sets the ground for the party’s pro-strong position (-5) for the succeeding platforms in protection of minority rights in the form of affirmative action. Hence, the code of -4 signifies this gradual shift.