

Country: **Denmark**

Party: **Christian Peoples**

Program: 1971 (This was officially the party's first program, though it was not adopted by anyone except those who started the party. It was used as the party's program for its first election.)

Coders: Lars Bille, Robert Harmel

H01 Individual Freedoms

+1

Includes a statement that supports a blanket protection of civil rights; does accept intrusions in certain events/areas.

H02 Personal Taxes -1

The income tax has "exceeded beyond what it should be and has impeded the individual from making extra effort." Says reform/reshuffling of tax burden must take place, including the lowering of personal taxes.

H02B Total Taxes -3

"The scope that the public sector has reached...necessitates collecting considerable amount of taxes, duties, etc." Accepts high taxes as necessary.

H03 Scope of Government -3

(See above under H02B; accept wide scope as a given.) Opposes state ownership. They consider the distinction between public sector and business as obsolete, and favor cooperation instead.

H04 Social Services -4

Favors a wide range of social services. However, child care is a family matter. In cases where that's necessary, subsidy should go directly to parents. Also, public kindergartens should actually be increased. Don't really favor expansions in general, though.

H05 Health Care -4

"The Danish health care system must be increased in accordance with the economic possibilities of the country." Says some support should go to private detoxification centers, etc.

H06 Environmental Protection -1

"There has to be an effective action against pollution, done with both national and international legislation." Common guidelines must be established.

H07 Education

Assumes public education, but "the school money has to follow the child, to make it possible for parents to have a true opportunity to choose the particular form of school..." This implies that "school money" could go to private schools.

H08 Agricultural Supports -4

Favor substantial support for agriculture in the form of subsidies, loans, education, research.

H09 Cultural Supports -

2

Generally favors substantial support for art, but with money going to buy works rather than to support artists to produce the works. While these are not direct subsidies, per se, there is clear indication of support for the arts, as well as direct subsidies to libraries.

H10 Defense Spending

+3

Endorses spending sufficient money to create a reliable defense. Should stay in NATO and fulfill obligations there. Therefore need a defense "not only on paper but also in reality."

H11 Foreign Aid -

5

"Technical, economic, and commercial aid should be given higher priority," should work with mission societies, who can serve as advisors and contact persons.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -

2

"Endeavors to rehabilitate should be increased." Prisons need to be modernized since no one is being made better in jail now. However, violations of basic human rights should continue to be punished.

H13 Centralized Power

+2

"Political decentralization should be increased and local governments should be strengthened."

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production +3

Oppose state ownership generally. Does allow for possibility of public, under some circumstances, to own a majority of shares (in isolated cases).

H15 Regulation of Private Sector +3

There should be cooperation between business life and the public sector. Economic policy should be conducted in general terms, and not "by regulations on separate areas of activity."

H16 Minority Rights

9 8

Nothing

H17 Women's Rights

9 8

Nothing

H18 Immigration

98

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Christian Peoples**
Program: **1972 (Principle Program. First program adopted at the party congress.)**
Coders: Lars Bille, Robert Harmel

H01 Individual Freedoms

+1

Implies need to protect civil rights, but also argues for recognizing that the "whole is more important than the parts. Similar to 1971.

H02 Personal taxes

+1

Favors progressive income tax. "The unreasonably high level of income taxes has to be decreased through cutbacks in administration and through efforts that can reduce social expenditures considerably."

H02B Total Taxes

+1

(See statement under H02) Want total taxes to be cut back through preventive efforts to keep social expenditures down. Much more on cutting back than in 1971.

H03 Scope of Government -

1

Support a "small business" with fruitful cooperation between workers and capital. Should increase basics of "social liberalism."

H04 Social Services -4

Stresses Christian charity more than in 1971 as justification for broad social services. Same position, basically, as in 1971.

H05 Health Care

-4

Same position as in 1971 (but shorter).

H06 Environmental Protection

-1

Same as 1971 (but shorter).

H07 Education

-1

Same as 1971.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Says nothing

H09 Cultural Supports

-1

More reserved than 1971. "Message-oriented art does not have to be supported by the public." There should, though, be an opportunity for supporting experimental art.

H10 Defense Spending

+3

Same as 1971

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

Same as 1971

H12 Lawbreakers

+0

Calls for efforts to rehabilitate wrongdoers and prevent crimes. Also says you need punishment (with element of inconvenience) in order to recognize the reality of guilt in the individual.

H13 Centralized Power

+2

Same as 1971

H14 State Ownership

+4

Even more opposed to state ownership than in 1971.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+3

Same position as in 1971.

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

-1

Advocates equal pay for equal work.

H18 Immigration

98

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Christian Peoples**
Program: **1986 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Bille, Robert Harmel

H01 Individual Freedoms

+1

Same as 1972

H02 Personal Taxes

+1

Basically the same as 1972

HO2B Total Taxes

+1

Same wording as 1972

H03 Scope of Government

-2

Tone suggests acceptance of broader scope than in 1972.

H04 Social Services

-4

Same position as in 1972. Stresses helping people who need help to help themselves. But really quite broad in supporting social services.

H05 Health Care

-4

Same as in earlier platforms (1971,72)

H06 Environmental Protection

-4

Goes quite a bit further than 1972. Names specific areas in which there is responsibility. "The fight against pollution poses great demands to the public sector, to business, and to the public at large." The cost should, in principle, be paid by polluters. There must be severe punishment for polluting and not correcting it.

H07 Education

Basically the same as 1971 and 1972.

H08 Agricultural Supports

-1

Laudatory toward agriculture and small farms. Supports subsidies to encourage ecological production.

H09 Cultural Supports -

1

Same as 1972, but specifically says subsidies should go to art that supports the positive attitudes toward life.

H10 Defense Spending

+3

Same as 1972

H11 Foreign Aid -5

Should reach level of 1% of GNP in a short time (a few years) and then continue to rise to 2%.

H12 Lawbreakers

+0

Same as 1972

H13 Centralized Power

+2

Same position as in 1971 and 72.

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

Same as 1972.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+3

Notes need for environmental regulations. Basically the same as 1972.

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

1

"Work in the home should be considered as any kind of work" as regards economic security during pregnancy and when ill, etc. (No "equal pay for equal work" this time because now a matter of law.

H18 Immigration -1

"Hospitality and forwardness should be the guidelines." "All who are allowed to live in Denmark should, so far as possible have the same rights as Danish citizens." "It is not possible or desirable to open the borders so everybody can enter the country."

Country: **Denmark**

NOTE: This was coded from the summary of the program printed in the Folketing yearbook. It is not a complete manifesto, nor should it be considered fully comparable to the other, full programs used for coding other parties and years. Variables not mentioned can be assumed to have the value of 98.

Party: **Conservative People's**

Program: **1956 (Folketing 1956)**

Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Individual Freedoms

+2

"Freedom from public interference and one-dimensionality must be preserved. The party maintains respect for the individual citizen."

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

"There should be better condition for private savings." Also favors "economic justice" in personal taxes.

H02B Total Taxes

Advocates preserving the right to deduct certain types of things for taxation purposes.

H04 Social Services -

3

Advocates expansion of social security (which in the Danish system means a broad range of social services). Also advocates a role for private insurance.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

"Denmark should have a strong defense, according to the needs of the times, safeguarding our independence and in accordance with our national and international commitments."

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

"Democracy must guarantee the many independent businesses. It must be a goal to maintain a free, strong, and independent middle class."

(1960 and 1957 programs are the same as 1956 for the above parties.)

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Conservative People's**
Program: **1970 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

-1

"The liberal and social conservatives have always fought on two fronts: against complete liberalism and against authoritarian socialism." Basically, then, the party feels that people must be given freedom to make their own decisions, but within a social democratic context. This suggests a willingness to accept a lot of limitations on individual freedom. Though they favor some reduction from the current level of regulation, we feel that a score of -1 is appropriate.

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

+1

"The Conservative Peoples' party wishes that income tax is reduced and this is covered by rationalizing administration in the public sector and partly compensated for by indirect taxation." Though the party clearly favors some reduction, there is nothing in the document to suggest that it favors a major reduction from the current levels. We feel a code of +1 is appropriate.

H02B All Taxes

+0

While neither clearly favoring or opposing change in the overall tax levels, the platform does acknowledge that if income taxes are reduced, then there will have to be offsetting increases in indirect taxes. We consider this to be a "true zero" (i.e. true center) position.

H03 Scope of Government

-3

The platform makes clear that the party is concerned about over-concentration of power. They also discuss improving the effectiveness of the public sector through - administrative reform. And "there should be a review of all laws to get rid of things that the public sector should not be dealing with at all." At another place, it advocates "neither a government-directed economy, nor a pure liberalistic economy." While arguing for less scope than is currently the case, there is nothing to suggest that it favors anything less than government with quite broad scope, especially given all of the programs which are mentioned for continued or even increased involvement.

H04 Social Services

-5

It is clear from the platform that the party favors government with very broad scope. Just for instance, "...society must make it possible for families to decide who should work and who should stay at home; there must be a sufficient number of kindergartens; ...must increase child support schemes..." They favor continuing and/or expanding a wide variety of programs, while not calling for reductions. The score of -5 seems totally justified in this case.

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing.

H06 Environmental Protection

-4

The platform strongly advocates heavy regulation of the private sector, and it can be inferred from what is said that it would also endorse a direct role by the government in environmental protection/improvement.

H07 Education

-1

The party clearly favors continuation of a dominant role for public education, while also advocating some programs for encouraging developing some private education.

H08 Agricultural Supports

+3

Though generally opposing subsidies for agriculture, an exception states that some aid should be provided to new, young farmers in need of capital.

H09 Cultural Supports -

5

The platform is very strong and general in advocating governmental support for the arts. The ultimate objective: to make the arts available to everyone in Denmark.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

The party accepts obligations that come from membership in NATO, and presumably would support incremental increases needed for keeping those obligations even in inflationary times.

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

Favors a very extensive program of foreign aid.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

-3

The platform makes it clear that the party favors rehabilitation over punishment, even stating that treatment in courts needs to be more humanized than it is now.

H13 Centralized Power

98

Though the platform favors more local power than is the case now, it is not possible to determine from the language what the preferred distribution would be in the end.

H14 State Ownership

98

Says nothing.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

While generally calling for reductions in regulation, the platform does identify some specific areas where it favors regulation: i.e., regulation to prevent monopolies and environmental regulation.

H16 Minority Rights

-4

Relevant minority: Greenlanders (regional, linguistic, ethnic, and racial). The platform is very positive toward extending all rights of citizenship to the Greenlander "minority." The dominant group is apparently also being asked to suffer a bit to accomplish the goal of equality, in that Danish workers in Greenland should no longer receive more pay than Greenlanders just because the former are working away from home.

H17 Women's Rights -

1

There is nothing in the language which suggests that the party favors affirmative action programs that would require sacrifices on the part of men, the platform clearly advocates positive programs of the government to enhance equality for women.

H18 Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**

Party: Conservative People's Party

Program: 1981 (Principle Program)

Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms -

1

"The balance between state and citizens is to be reevaluated; the total impact should be limited so as to reach a better distribution between public and private activity, thereby creating better conditions for individual initiatives." In general, the position of this platform seems to be the same as that of 1970.

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

+1

Favors a reduction in direct personal taxation, though there is no indication that the party would favor abolishing all income tax. To the contrary, there is a statement justifying taxation in general (see H02B).

H02B Total Taxes

+1

"The Conservative People's Party advocates a lower level of taxation, simplification of taxation laws... Taxes and fees are necessary to solve societal problems, but the taxation level in Denmark is too high."

H03 Scope of Government

+1

"We shall reduce the public sector's dominant role," presumably meaning there should be a balance (i.e. more balance) between public and private sectors. The

document advocates retractions, without favoring any offsetting expansions.

H04 Social Services

-4

There is no indication of opposition to the current social service scheme, with the exception of encouraging that the level of supports be kept sufficiently low that people are still encouraged to seek employment. Unlike 1970, however, this platform does not include endorsement for extensive widening of current programs (Hence, the -5 then, and the -4 now).

H05 Health Care -

3

Advocates a mixture of public and private. "The Conservative People's party will maintain the citizens' free choice to have the doctor they want." Also opposes programs that would result in socialization of doctors, specialists, dentists, etc. "But at the same time, it is important to guarantee that no one will be excluded for economic reasons from making use of the total societal services... The hospital taxes should continue to be primarily a task for the provincial governments." So while the party favors private sector development in this area, it also favors governmental guarantees, and does not suggest that the government should get out of the health care business itself.

H06 Environmental Protection -

1

The party favors governmental regulation for environmental protection, but there should be reasonable periods allowed for adjusting to the new rules. Unlike the previous program, this time there is no mention of the strong, direct role of government.

H07 Education

-1

Very much the same as in the previous program.

H08 Agricultural Supports

+4

The party favors deregulation of agricultural policy. Also "the government should not transfer funds from one sector of production to another." Advocates abolishing the special tax on agriculture. The aim seems to be to eliminate agricultural support, though there should be support for new farmers when just starting out.

H09 Cultural Supports -

4

Generally, very supportive of government support of culture. Unlike the previous program, there is little mention of the need to substantially **increase** cultural supports from the already high level.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

Same as earlier.

H11 Foreign Aid

-4

Though still favoring broad and deep foreign aid, this document is somewhat more reserved than the previous program. "Danish foreign aid should primarily go to those countries that have a good human rights record, but continuing the economic growth in our country is the best guarantee for our ability to assist development." The statement is very positive toward governmental aid, but somewhat more reserved than earlier.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

-3

Advocates developing other sanctions than prison, with the goal of "bringing

these people back to normal working and living conditions." Favors more crime prevention activities.

H13 Centralized Power

98

Says nothing that allows coding this variable.

H14 State Ownership of the Means of Production

98

Says nothing that is clear enough to allow coding this variable.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+2

Same words as in the 1971 program, plus more: "Economic activity should be strengthened vis a vis the public sector."

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights -

1

Essentially the same as in the previous program, except for specifically rejecting special treatment for women. "The Conservative party wishes a real equality between men and women, ..., but..."

H18 Open Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Conservative People's**
Program: **1992 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms -

1

While stressing the essence of individual freedom, the document also emphasizes the need for responsible action. "Freedom can never be unlimited, and the limit is when the exercise of freedom infringes upon others' freedom... Our attitude is that society should not be involved in those problems that can be solved as well or better by the individual." With regard to the environment, "it is obvious that there must be collective responsibility also because the interests of the individual in the short run is not identical with the interests of the community in the long run. We believe therefor in the community as a natural part of the individual's freedom, and therefore reject the idea of a caretaker's attempt to remove individual freedom." So while favoring some limitations on individual freedom, clearly advocates keeping the level of such regulation quite low.

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

98

Says nothing that justifies a code for this variable.

H02B Total Taxes

+1

Advocates reduction in the general level of taxation, but does not specifically favor **major** cuts.

H03 Scope of Government

+2

In a stronger statement than was in the previous program, this document says that: "The Conservative party will continue to reform, modernize, and limit the size of the public sector., favors the public sector should continue to secure for its citizens quality services, but in fewer areas than so far."

H04 Social Services

"The social system should be built on the principle of self-help. The social system should help the weakest. There are too few resources for the worst off if everybody receives public services... Public tasks should be solved in the best and least expensive way whether it happens in the private or the public sector..." Specifically favors reforms that will result in fewer "guardianships."

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing.

H06 Environmental Protection -

1

Though the statement is quite general and vague, it is possible to infer that the party favors a role for the government in environmental protection; the lack of specificity, however, indicates that the party was unlikely to favor an extensive governmental program.

H07 Education

+1

Favors less regulation over education in general, regardless of who the provider

is. There does not seem to be an assumption that the government should be the dominant provider.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Says nothing.

H09 Cultural Supports

-4

Clearly places a high value on the arts, noting that classical culture is something the public should be concerned about, while at the same time encouraging the development of new forms of art. "We shall protect the Danish characteristics and Danish culture and actively promote it." Such statements clearly imply advocacy of a large governmental role in sponsoring such activities.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

The program contains a clear commitment to increased defense spending. "We must have a functioning, strong Danish defense, which is modernized in accordance with technological developments." There is nothing to suggest that the party would favor **substantial** increases, however.

H11 Foreign Aid -

4

"We shall continue our efforts for international development aid," but the party favors linking this to human rights issues. In essence, there is no change from the party's previous position on foreign aid.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

Says nothing about this at all (The only references are to having better equipped police and more crime prevention).

H13 Centralized Power

+1

In this platform, the party clearly indicates that it favors shifting power from the national to the local levels. "The Conservative People's party will limit public activity and the state's role, by strengthening the "closeness principle" and the individual's influence. We will increase decentralization and introduce self-governance, introduce greater consumer influence, more delegation to the local governments,..." Given a status quo of very centralized power, and that the party does not explicitly call for stripping the state of all but minimal power, we feel that a +1 is appropriate in this case.

H14 State Ownership of the Means of Production

98

Says nothing (perhaps because so little is publicly owned now, or perhaps because they feel it is obvious that the party opposes state ownership; it is impossible to determine).

H15 Regulation of the Private Sector

+3

"The market economy is a 'social responsibility' (or a closely related concept)... Only in a society with the welfare and prosperity that a market economy can create is it possible to make an effective effort to help the weak, the sick, and the environment." "Economic policy should be developed so that business and citizens get the widest possible range to work within." (The statement under H01 above is also relevant here, especially in noting the importance of acceptance some regulation of behavior to assure that the collective interest is taken into account; we assume this is meant to apply to the economic sector as well as to individual freedoms.) This is a stronger position than was in the previous program.

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

98

Says nothing.

H18 Open immigration

98

Other than saying that refugees should be helped as closely as possible to their own countries, it says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**

Party: **Liberal (Venstre)**

Program: **1956 (from Folketing, 1956)**

Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

NOTE: This was coded from the summary of the manifesto in the parliamentary yearbook, and should not be considered as complete as (or for that matter, comparable to) the codes which were derived from the complete programs for other parties and other years.

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

Advocates protecting constitutional freedoms and preserving individual citizens' responsibilities for themselves, resulting in "people in freedom and under responsibility at work."

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

+1

The party favors maintaining limited income tax, but specifically states that "an important part of the taxes should be put on 'non-necessary consumptions'." In other words, while not opposing income tax in totality, the party prefers the heavier burden be placed on luxury taxes.

H02B Total Taxes

-1

"Production and savings should not be limited through too heavy taxation."

H03 Scope of Government

+1

In several places, there are references to the need to preserve private initiative, and to keep taxation low. "Government's task is mainly to support production and commerce," but no claim is made that government should own them. Advocates a balanced and careful "public household."

H04 Social Services

98

Too general to be coded.

H05 Health Care and H06 Environmental Protection

98

Too general to be coded.

H07 Education

+1

"Private schools must be supported so that their education can be of equal standard to the public school system." "Local self-government for education... must be maintained, and school and education freedom must be protected."

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Says nothing.

H09 Cultural Supports

98

Says nothing.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

"A defense which fulfills our international commitments."

H11 Foreign Aid

98

Says nothing.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers and H13 Centralized Power

98

Says nothing with which this can be coded.

H14 State Ownership

+3

"There should be freedom to establish business companies... [and] taxation that is favorable to business." "Private initiative must be preserved." "The individual citizen's responsibility for himself must be preserved, and competition must be ensured as the most important regulator for economic life... taking into consideration the needs of the whole society."

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+2

See H14 above. Also, "The right to work cannot be conditioned on membership in a union."

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

98

Says nothing.

H18 Open Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**

Party: Liberals (Venstre)

Program: 1963 (Principle Program)

Coders: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+4

"Any person must be free to form his own existence, seek education, develop abilities, choose occupation and make use of free time, as he pleases"

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

+1

The party favors reduction in income tax and more indirect taxation

H02B Total Taxes

+0

Taxes should not increase

H03 Scope of Government

+2

"The government's share of the increasing prosperity must be limited due to the further growth in production and prosperity"

H04 Social Services -

5

Extensive program for social welfare

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing.

H06 Environmental Protection

9 8

Nothing

H07 Education

+1

The party favors an expansion of the school system and mention "private schools must be given adequate economic conditions."

H08 Agricultural Supports

-3

Mentions maintaining current support schemes

H09 Cultural Supports

-4

Extensive support for promoting (but not creating) cultural activities.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

"..defense sector must be given adequate resources"

H11 Foreign Aid

-3

"Denmark must contribute to increase standard of living in developing countries."

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

Says nothing

H13 Centralized Power

+1

"A suitable decentralization should be implemented so that quick decisions can be reached in matters not requiring central decision making."

H14 State Ownership

+4

"Production results and productive efforts should only be removed from the individual and the free market where tasks of societal interests can not be met in another way"

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+3

Implied in the program is that the party favors little regulation.

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights

98

The platform says nothing.

H 18 Immigration

98

Nothing

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Liberals (Venstre)**
Program: **1970 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Robert Harmel, Niels Wammen-Jensen

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+3

"On the grounds of freedom the people must build its future. Through political democracy the people shape the framework for interaction between individuals and groups who respect the right to freedom and enterprise of other individuals and groups." (p 6) "The power of society should be a tool to further and guard the thriving and free unfolditure of individuals and groups limited alone by the same rights of others. Power of society should be set in where these rights are threatened by concentrations of power or abuse of power. The legislative power sets the framework for the free unfolditure of individuals, groups, and organizations and it is the responsibility of parliament and the government, that the power to do so is kept by the democracy and isn't undermined, thereby damaging the vital interests of the community or the thriving and freedom of men." (p 8) (See also pages 9, 10, and 44.)

This program seems to be somewhat more favorable toward governmental limitations than is the case for either the 1963 or 1979 platforms.

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

"It should be considered whether taxes on fortune could be replaced entirely by a taxation of growth in value." (p 17) "We should strive towards a considerable simplification of tax legislation and the taxation of income should to a greater extent be replaced by taxation on expenditure. Means of production (including property tax) shouldn't form the basis of taxation." (p 20) "In a society of consumption it is natural that a considerable part of the entire taxation rests on expenditure directly or indirectly, rather than on initiative, production, and savings." (p 19) Here, the party clearly favors major reduction in direct taxes and replacement of those monies by indirect forms of taxation.

H02B Total Taxes

+0

(See quotations under H02 above.) Each time the platform refers to reduction in direct taxation it suggests or implies an alternative mechanism for making up the difference. While not specifically saying so, it appears that the party is assuming the need for maintaining the current overall level of total taxation.

H03 Scope of Government

+1

This program seems, on a whole, to be more supportive of government roles than is true for either the 1963 or 1979 platforms. The "+1" score seems to adequately capture the overall tone and content of this program.

H04 Social Services -

5

As in 1963, the party favors an extensive program of social welfare. The program advocates moving administrative responsibilities to the counties and municipalities, but does not advocate reduction of social services generally. In fact, it makes clear that when people need help in emergency situations, they should not be made to feel badly about asking for help. (35)

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing about health care.

H06 Environmental Protection

-1

Though never directly stating that the government should be involved in doing this or that regarding the environment, the program does include a section on "Physical Planning for a Better Society," which includes portions on housing, city communities, and pollution (divided into water, air, noise, food chains, "nature, technology, and recultivation," and international). Here it can be inferred that some level of government would eventually be involved regulatively, as when the program suggests that corporations should be expected pay something (in "expenditure"), when necessary, to be environmentally responsible.

H07 Education

+1

"Public school is the central part of the educational system... The public school should be made as a universal school..." (pp 37-38) Under "Private Schools," says "The fruitful cooperation between public schools and free and private schools, this meaning also youth and boarding schools, should be carried on. Public support for private schools should ensure that it is financially manageable to fulfill the educational duty using this method." (38)

H08 Agricultural Supports -2

The party would like to reduce hinderances on the operations of farms. (24) It also says that soil that is cultivated should not be taxed. (20)

We give the code of -2 because this statement seems consistent with what will be said in the 1979 platform (which Svasand and Harmel coded earlier as a -2).

H09 Cultural Supports -

4

"The investment policy into art production is principally, although not finally, determined through the State's art fund." (p 30) It favors that the work of the fund should be more decentralized. "The support should to a greater degree go to the work. It should be supplied with arrangements which can break down the artificial division between classical and new artistic forms of expression..." (30) Favors continued public support for specialized schools (højskoler) in various aspects of culture.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

Favors more of a voluntary army, and better conditions for those who are drafted. This will result in increases in the "financial framework" for the military.

H11 Foreign Aid -

4

Basically accepts and supports current level of governmental foreign aid. Should cooperate internationally with other wealthy countries. Should not use political standards to determine whom will get aid.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

Says nothing.

H13 Centralized Power

+2

"Decentralization is a fundamental principle in a liberal democracy, because it places decisions as close as possible to man, local democracy, and because it provides variety and the individual with as many opportunities to choose from as possible." The statement is stronger here than in either the 1963 or 1979 platforms.

H14 State Ownership

+4

"the necessary interventions should not destroy the market mechanism..." (16)

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"Private initiatives should have the best conditions possible in a modern society. This cannot be achieved by avoiding every form of public intervention. Public planning should be made in such a way as to provide the basis for private dispositions to be reasonable also seen from the view of society and for the individual to dispose as safely as possible." (18) In particular, society has to intervene "when free competition has been destroyed by economic concentrations of power." (21) On the other hand, "private enterprise works best under the steering of competition and free market." (21)

H16 Minority Rights

98

Nothing.

H17 Women's Rights

98

Nothing.

H 18 Immigration

98

Nothing.

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Liberals (Venstre)**
Program: **1979 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+4

"The individual freedom is limited solely by the consideration for others and other's freedom, and to the vital interests of the community. The community's tasks are to protect the weak, determine common frames and secure respect for and preservation of these."

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

+1

"income taxes to be limited"

H02B Total Taxes

+0

Seems to be favoring same level of total taxes

H03 Scope of Government

+2

Essentially the same position as in 1963

H04 Social Services

-5

Cut-backs are not proposed, but several measures suggest greater use of monetary incentives and support rather than fixed institutions.

H05 Health Care

-3

Assumes continuation of private doctors, rejects any monopolization (including by the public) of pharmaceutical information. Patients must have freedom of choice - even with regard to public hospitals.

H06 Environmental Protection

-1

Nothing on environmental protection as such but on energy: "...alternative sources of energy to be stimulated and exempted from taxation."

H07 Education

+1

"There should be good opportunities for creating free and private schools"

H08 Agricultural Supports

-2

"Agricultural legislation and tax legislation must ensure that agricultural property can be bought by those willing to cultivate. Taxes on cultivated areas should be abolished."

H09 Cultural Supports

-4

Several proposals for public subsidies, no arguments for cut backs.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

"Sufficient means for education and use of existing forces and equipment . . . should ensure adequate defense preparation."

H11 Foreign Aid -

4

Unspecific in the program but mentions several general goals indicating wide public support.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

-3

"Prisons should aim at bringing the prisoner back to a normal life in society."

H13 Centralized Power

+1

"more decentralization"

H14 State Ownership

+4

"The economic policy should be built on the liberal market economic system."

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+3

(see H1)

H16 Minority Rights

-1

More independence for Greenland/Faero Islands.

H17 Women's Rights

-1

"..gender equality principle must be made valid in all laws."

H 18 Immigration

98

Nothing

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Liberals (Venstre)**
Program: **1986 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Bille, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+4

"Greater Personal Freedom." Similar to position taken in 1979

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

+3

If a person wants an extra job, he should be able to keep a larger portion of what he earns there. "The tax pressure has to be lowered."

H02B Total Taxes

+2

Favors more indirect taxes, but wants less direct income tax, particularly on a progressive basis.

H03 Scope of Government

+3

"It's not a welfare state, but a welfare society." Will "give more room for personal initiative."

H04 Social Services -4

Favors extensive range of social services but also advocates citizen's right to choose private sector alternatives.

H05 Health Care

-2

Basically the same position as in 1979. "There should be given possibilities for establishing private hospitals."

H06 Environmental Protection

-3

"The public sector has to make laws that force those who pollute to clean up after themselves and pay for themselves. Additionally, environmental taxes and subsidies need to be introduced."

H07 Education

+1

Same statement as in 1979.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Says nothing about agriculture

H09 Cultural Supports

-3

"We have a responsibility to preserve and develop Danish culture." It seems to Lars Bille that the party is backing off slightly from its earlier level of support.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

They say almost nothing about defense policy. "We have the will to defend Denmark." Lars Bille assumes this means no change in its policy since 1979.

H11 Foreign Aid

98

Says nothing on foreign aid at all.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -1

Though there is a trend toward a tougher stance with regard to incarcerating violent criminals, it is left open what should be done with them once in prison. This does seem to indicate, in any case, a shift to the right since 1979.

H13 Centralized Power

+1

Same general position as in 1979

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

" ... economy is the economic system which creates the most welfare."

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+4

"We need greater economic freedom. Danish society is still restricted by too many restrictions."

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing

H17 Women's rights 98

Says nothing

H18 Open Immigration 98

Says nothing

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Progress**
Program: **1973 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Robert Harmel, Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+5

Under "Fighting Pollution," says "Thanks to the last ten years' growth away from poverty, Denmark is now in a position where it can afford to remove most of the barriers and problems limiting the initiatives of its citizens that lawmakers and administrators over the past several years have pulled over the population... should recognize that any restriction encourages further restrictions. This evil spiral must be broken. As long as others are not negatively affected, each citizen must be allowed to act as he pleases."

Says that on June **23**, 1980, there should be a public burning of all paper from the income tax authorities. (This relates to the promise of eliminating all income tax within seven years.)

H02 Income Tax

+5

Advocates eliminating all income tax over a seven year period.

H02B Total Taxes

98

Says nothing about overall level of taxation.

H03 Scope

+5

Inferred from statements throughout the platform is that the party at this point favored absolute minimal state; favors all types of reductions.

H04 Social Services

+2

(same as 1975)

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing.

H06 Environmental Protection

-5

"Even if it means more taxes, more bureaucracy, and more restrictions, the authorities should act when it comes to environmental protection... We want strict rules for fighting pollution that eliminate businesses that are heavy polluters." This is a stronger statement than occurs in later platforms, since here all three of the main targets of the party are allowed when it comes to fighting pollution.

H07 Education

98

Says nothing.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Says nothing from which this can even be inferred.

H09 Cultural Supports

98

Says nothing.

H10 Defense Spending

98

Says nothing. We know that Glistrup stated his own position on defense spending, but it was never the official position of the party.

H11 Foreign Aid

98

Says nothing.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

Says nothing.

H13 Centralized Power

+1

Stresses that there are very many useful capacities within local governments, which are not now adequately tapped because of the bulk of paperwork from the ministries. Presents a generally positive view of local government. Though there is no specific statement about what the ideal mix of powers would be, we infer from the more general statements that the party at this point slightly favors local over national government.

H14 State Ownership

98

Says nothing.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+3

"The best way to allow Danes to earn more money, etc., is to let economic life be as free as possible, as free as a tight environmental protection law would allow for." Also accepts rules to allow workers to unionize.

In later platforms, there are also somewhat stronger statements about specific examples of regulations that need to be dropped.

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights 98

Says nothing.

H18 Open Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Progress**
Program: **1975 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+5

"Even if the party is not strong enough to implement all of its program, the conditions of living for an ordinary Dane will improve for every step we take in the direction of reducing income taxation, the flood of papers, and the increasing legislation and rule-making... Only by eliminating these can we do something about unemployment, the deficit, and oppression."

Under "Legal System" they also say "the authorities' ability to interfere in the private sector should be limited to the most serious types of crimes."

H02 Income Taxes

+5

(see above) "There should be a law that eliminates regular personal taxation over a five-year period."

H02B Total Taxes

+4

(Was left out of original data set. According to Svasand, who rechecked the original platform later, this should be coded +4. No quotation was provided to support this code, however.)

H03 Scope of Government

+4

H04 Social Services +2

Basically same as 1989/91. Does not favor total elimination, but rather its limitation to those who really need it. Would increase social security scheme for the elderly.

H05 Health Care

-3

"Just as for social security and for fighting pollution, the Progress party will use a larger percentage of the national income for health care... increasing capacity in hospitals, stop the closing down of local hospitals." Also favors an increase in private nursing homes. This is a stronger leftist position than the party takes in 1984 and in 1989/91.

H06 Environmental Protection

-4

Under taxation, includes expenditures for environmental protection as one acceptable reason for increasing taxes. (also see quote under H05 above)

H07 Education

(same as 1989/91)

H08 Agricultural Supports

+5

(same as 1989/91; see also H15 statement)

H09 Cultural Supports

+5

(basically the same as 1989/91)

H10 Defense Spending

-1

"The defense agreement of 1973 has determined Danish military policy over the next four years. It has such an overwhelming majority of support in the parliament that also after 1977 we must assume that there will be a majority of support in parliament for NATO. As long as this is the case the total military budget cannot possibly be cut down." This is clearly a less positive statement than comes in later platforms. The implication here is that if it thought it would do any good, the party would advocate reductions.

H11 Foreign Aid

+5

"Absolutely no foreign aid funds." No mention of any exceptions to that rule.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

Says nothing on punishment or rehabilitation.

H13 Centralized Power

98

Says nothing.

H14 State Ownership

+5

(see statement under H15 below; by inference, would oppose government owning any of the means of production)

H15 Regulation of Private Sector +5

"To let enterprises thrive in peace is the greatest favor society can do to them. All experience shows that our officials and politicians are fools when it comes to handling enterprises. For that reason alone they ought to refrain from trying to use their economic planning ideas. Of course, there are also stupid private enterprise people, but they go bankrupt, at least as long as you don't subsidize them out of the taxpayers' pockets. Limited government regulation is by and large unrealistic because restriction encourages restriction."

Unlike in later platforms where some specific areas of regulation are allowed, there are no exceptions noted here to the general rule of opposing all regulation.

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights

98

Says nothing.

H18 Open Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**

Party: **Progress**

Program: **1984 (Principle Program)**

Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+5

"Each paragraph in the law that is decided upon implies that a piece of personal freedom is killed. Each paragraph that is repealed moves us in the opposite direction."

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

+5

(same as 1989/91) "The Progress Party will remove income tax over a seven year period, and until then will gradually increase the limit where you don't pay any taxes."

H02B Total Taxes

+3

(same as 1989)

H03 Scope of Government

+4

H04 Social Services

+2

"With regard to social affairs, money must be spent where there is a real need for them. One must avoid that Denmark develops to a paradise where some people can live for years in luxury paid for by hardworking fellow citizens... Those who are in need of individual help should have help that is designed for their particular situations, and not based on general laws and regulations." (basically same as 1989/91)

H05 Health Care

-2

(exactly same language as 1989/91)

H06 Environmental Protection

-4

(same position as 1989/91; covered under taxes)

H07 Education

+2

(Basically same position as 1989/91) "To avoid total governmental uniformity and to motivate parents to activity, it is a wonderful thing to have a wide spread of private schools. These schools should be supported every month, according to the number of students."

H08 Agricultural Supports +5

(Basically same as 1989/91) "Support for enterprises results in government control and socialization." In addition, it is wrong to support enterprises that cannot survive on their own. Subsidies also cause enterprises to focus more on how to get more public support than their competitors, rather than on how to make their businesses work better.

H09 Cultural Supports

+5

(same as 1989/91)

H10 Defense Spending

+1

(same as 1989/91)

Hi 1 Foreign Aid

+5

Though the statement in the platform is strongly opposed to governmental foreign aid as in the 1989/91 platform, this time no exceptions (for catastrophes) are mentioned.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+4

"Prisons should be prisons, and not narcotics nests or small hotels, where inmates come and go at their own wishes." More is said against the rehabilitation of prisoners in the 1989/91 platform. In the 1984 platform, it is clear that the party feels prisons are the problem, but it is never stated that rehabilitation is what is wrong. It is clear that the party wants more emphasis placed on punishment.

H13 Centralized Power

98

The party says nothing like what is stated in 1989/91.

H14 State Ownership +5

The platform says the government should cease all types of public subsidies, and government monopolies should be abolished, so by implication, the government should have no role in the economy at all. It is also said in other places, with more direct reference to regulations, that private business owners understand much better how such things are to be done than do government bureaucrats. Hence, we feel confident in giving the party a +5. (Lack of a clear statement may be due to the fact that there is not much state ownership in Denmark, as there is in Norway and Sweden. Hence, it is a less relevant issue in Denmark.)

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+4

(same as 1989/91)

H16 Minority Rights 98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights 98

Says nothing.

H18 Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Progress**
Program: **1989/1991 (identical programs for both years)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+5

The platform says "No to the guardian society." The best society is the one that leaves citizens at peace, without governmental interference. All acts of government undermine individual freedoms, while the repeal of any act is a victory for individual freedom. So, the party not only favors no new regulations, but repeal of all existing regulations.

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

+5

The party not only opposes personal income tax, but also opposes any taxes on inheritance or personal wealth. They would allow for a limited sales tax (preferably on "luxury items"), but not what would be considered "personal" taxes.

H02B Total Taxes

+3

The Progress party opposes new taxes except for battling pollution, taxes on liquor, etc., taxes that result from international obligations, and fees for public purse as a form of payment for what is received.

H03 Scope of Government

+4

Though there is no single statement that specifically deals with scope of the

government in the platform, it can be inferred from reading the entire document that the party advocates very small government, but government that would not be limited just to defense (as would justify a code of +5).

H04 Social Services +2

The platform recognizes the need for government to take care of the needy and to provide for the elderly, but suggests that the amount currently spent is too large. Prefers a drastic reduction in the overall expenditures for social services. They specifically want child support to be phased out, and day care centers should be provided only by the private sector (i.e. government should get out of this business). They oppose "universal social programs" and prefer individually targeted responses to people's problems.

H05 Health Care -2

The platform favors preventive health care to reduce later costs. The party prefers maintaining small hospitals, rather than going to just a few large ones. It advocates "competition" in the health care sector, but clearly does not advocate government getting out of the business.

H06 Environmental Protection -4

The party favors an extensive environmental role. "One cannot avoid for a long time that the fight against pollution will cost more public administration and more in taxation, if the environment is to be saved rapidly." In principle, though, the one who pollutes should pay the full cost of cleaning it up. The platform also states that international cooperation is extremely important, and by our inference, that means the government will have to be directly involved.

H07 Education

+2

The party favors an extended system of private primary schools, but funded out of the public budget. They should be run, however, by the private sector. Each school should be run as an independent unit, without governmental interference; they should be run by parents. Because the schools are to be fully funded from the public treasury, we give the plan a +2.

H08 Agricultural Supports

+5

The party advocates dealing with agriculture in the same way that all other types of businesses are handled: i.e., without governmental involvement. This would mean dropping all regulations of farming, and by our inference, all governmental supports as well.

H09 Cultural Supports

+5

The platform states that "public regulation and public supports for cultural activities should cease to exist."

H10 Defense Spending

+1

Accepts Danish membership in NATO, and the obligation of Denmark to live up to the economic consequences of such membership. The platform states explicitly that "the forces must be properly equipped." So while the party does not strongly advocate any major increases, it accepts the current level of defense spending, and from its other statements, would apparently approve of incremental increases to keep up with inflation.

H11 Foreign Aid

+4

"Any form of foreign aid must be voluntary and not organized by the state." However, provision is made for the state giving aid in circumstances of catastrophe.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers +5

The platform states explicitly that the party does not favor rehabilitation as an alternative to punishment. "Too much attention has been given to the criminals rather than to the victims... Prisons should be prisons, and not some place where people are being given special privileges... It's necessary to keep people in isolation, etc., and it is not to be looked at as something evil... The welfare society's treatment of prisoners, with all kinds of social workers, priests, and psychologists, etc, actually makes criminals much worse. They get the impression that everything will come to them without any efforts, and the taxpayer pays for this party while the victims are forgotten."

H13 Centralized Power -2

The party feels that most decisions should be made in the individual household. "To the extent that public control or public authority should be accepted, it must be carefully considered where the public authority can be best exercised." The platform makes clear that the preference of the party is for public authority to be exercised by the central authorities, when the public needs to be involved at all. Local authorities are likely to be too close to the situation, having too much knowledge about it to render a good decision.

H14 State Ownership

+5

The party platform opposes any state ownership of means of production.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+4

Implied in the program is that the party favors repealing most of the regulation that now exists, though not all of it, since regulation is specifically allowed for environmental reasons and for "a few good rules based on common sense" to cover safety of workers (which in the latter case would actually mean a reduction in the number of regulations now in existence to deal with safety).

H16 Minority Rights

98

The platform says nothing. Though mention is made of Greenlanders, it is in the context of saying that Greenland and the Faroes are not really party of Denmark. Because many in Greenland take the same position, it is not possible to view this as a prejudice against Greenlanders.

H17 Women's Rights

98

The platform says nothing.

H18 Open Immigration

+3

"Foreigners are welcome to stay and work in Denmark, so long as they to no extensive degree impose additional expenditures on Danish taxpayers, and do not pose a risk of serious criminality... Foreigners should not be given special treatment in housing, education, employment, or getting access to institutions. Denmark should receive persons who have to flee their own country due to unfair government prosecution based on their race and when Denmark is a natural country for them... or refugees picked up by Danish ships. Also, limited groups of refugees may be received in accordance with the U.N. Commissioner for Refugees. It is the government's responsibility to take care of refugees' basic care. If they are to have better care, they must provide it for themselves or it must be provided by some private concerns."

"Denmark has received too many refugees already and this puts an unreasonable strain on local areas... Although the rules have been tightened since 1986, they are still much too liberal when it comes to family reunification. It is, however, important to stress that is the stupid Danish laws that have caused the invasion of foreigners. It is therefore unreasonable to blame foreigners for exploiting the laws as they were when they came."

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Progress**
Program: **1994 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms +4

The opening statement of the program states that "The Progress party's goal is that society must be organized to protect the individual's personal freedom as much as possible. The Progress party is opposed to the use of force and regulation over private citizens to achieve political goals." Then "Because the Progress Party wishes as much personal freedom as possible, all taxes should be reduced as much as possible." Later it says: "The Progress party wishes for a significant change in the structure of the Danish society, as the only party that will continue to fight for less governmental interference and greater personal freedom." Our assessment is that this statement is significantly more equivocal than previous statements regarding individual freedoms. The language of "as much as possible" seems to leave some wiggle room. Specifically, there is no statement this time saying that removal of any act is a victory for personal freedom. Hence, we do not think that a "+5" is appropriate any longer.

H02 Income/Personal Taxes

"All taxes are uncomfortable. Taxation removes individual freedom from people. Therefore taxes shall be reduced, and income tax abolished. Income tax is the most harmful of all kinds of taxes." There is a concrete proposal to abolish income tax over a period of from 6 to 7 years.

HO2B Total Taxes

+3

(See H02 statement above) "The Progress party can accept that there are certain kinds of taxes -- for instance, on tobacco, alcohol, cars, and gasoline -- but they

should be reduced as much as possible. ... can also accept taxes for environmental protection ... want also a value added tax as the basic form of tax revenue, when income taxes are removed, but the current VAT level is too high." "The Progress party is opposed to new taxes and fees, or increases in such, except if the party can obtain support for five other proposals" which amount to reductions in other types of taxes.

H03 Scope of Government

+4

"Government should be limited as much as possible by privatization, debureaucratization, and reducing rules and regulations as much as possible." So while the party continues to favor very limited governmental scope, it certainly envisions the result being more than just a government limited to defense functions.

H04 Social Services

+2

"Our point of departure is that everybody should be able to manage by themselves. But citizens that for shorter or longer periods need assistance, should get it. Society cannot ignore those who are in need." The rest of the statement is very similar to what was in the 1989 program.

H05 Health Care -2

"The most important aspect of health care is preventive health care." The party favors public finance of health care, with competition among providers. "Hospitals should be independent and private economic units." It is not clear who should actually **own** the hospitals, however; it only says they should be organized as businesses. They certainly do not want the public sector out of the business; they just want private sector competition with it.

H06 Environmental Protection -

4

This is exactly the same wording as for 1989.

H07 Education

+0

Suggests the government should pull out of certain specialized areas of education, including adult education. If taxes were lower, people could pay for their own adult education. Also, the government should pull out of language training for immigrants. On the other hand, they propose that "everybody should start school at the age of 6 [rather than 7, as now]." The latter would be a costly change, paid for from the public purse. Parents should be able to choose between public and private schools, but the public should pay for private education. "In principle, higher education should be free of charge." Either a +1 or +0 would seem justified here; we opted in favor of +0 to indicate that this appears to be significantly more supportive of the government's role in education than had been the case previously.

H08 Agricultural Supports +5

The main emphasis is to remove as much regulation as possible. "Any kind of public support to influence the organization of production should be removed." This would seem to justify the +5, since virtually all (if not all) public support would be of that type.

H09 Cultural Supports

+4

The only place where public involvement is justified is for educational libraries and libraries for the handicapped. Museums must be self-supporting, except that "it is a public task to help in the preservation of objects of major historical interest so that a passing lack of interest from the public should not lead to such objects disappearing." Since allowance is made this time for some limited areas of governmental support, it is a deviation from the statement in the previous program that called for elimination of all cultural supports.

H10 Defense Spending

-1

"The Progress Party sees the end of the Cold War as a possibility for reducing the Danish defense force." They oppose use of Danish forces would be used for "environmental protection in Eastern Europe." They also favor more a volunteer defense. All of this is obviously intended to reduce expenditures on defense. This is at least a -1, and an argument could be made for -2. We opt for the -1 because in other places there are calls for maintaining and modernizing equipment.

H11 Foreign Aid

+4

The same as last time.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+3

"Sentences should take more care of the victims' situations than the criminals'. So victims should receive compensation from the offenders... 'Sentences' does not necessarily mean prison sentences, but could mean various services to society, treatment, or similar things." This is a marked departure from the statement in the previous program, though there is still a call for more severe punishment for violent crimes. They also favor introducing private prisons and electronic prisoning (i.e. house arrest).

H13 Centralized Power

-2

Want to abolish intermediary level of government, giving their functions to the local governments. "The central government and other authorities should not have the opportunity to interfere in how municipalities handle their authority." This would effectively undo the impact of the national law that currently limits how municipal governments act and what they do. "Local governments should, in other words, to a greater degree determine their own affairs, and the elected representatives should be responsible to the electorate without interference from the national parliament." There

is nothing here to suggest, though, that the local governments should get more of the central government's responsibilities, though the locals should have more autonomy in doing what they do and should take over some provincial responsibilities. We give same code as last time.

H14 State Ownership

+5

The party platform opposes any state ownership of the means of production.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+4

"The Progress party will dismantle all public participation, control, and regulation of economic activity." However, since the section on environmental protection calls for "reasonable" regulations only, some regulation is obviously to be allowed.

H16 Minority Rights 98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights 98

Says nothing.

H18 Open Immigration

+4

"Denmark should only exceptionally receive immigrants... too many refugees... should not be integrated into Danish society... foreigners who have been involved in criminal offenses should be expelled after serving their sentences... family reunion is

an unacceptable ticking bomb under our social system... there should be major restrictions in Danish immigration policy." This seems even more restrictive than in the previous platform.

Country: **Denmark**

Party: **Social (Radical) Liberals**

Program: **1955 (Principle Program)**

Coders: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms +4

"The belief that governmental decisions could bring prosperity for people in general is lost, and it is recognized that a too powerful government is incompatible with popular rule. On the other side, a popular democracy can never accept a liberalism allowing organizations and monopolized power to restrict the individual's personal and economic freedom."

H02 Income Taxes

+2

The party favors reduction in income tax.

H02B Total Taxes

+2

All proposals (which are few) in the program indicate a general lower taxation level

H03 Scope of Government -3

Though there is no single statement that specifically deals with scope of the government in the platform, it can be inferred from reading the entire document that the party advocates very active government, but government should not deal with defense or be heavily involved in running business.

H04 Social Services -3

The platform proposes a number of expanded public services: "The social policy must seek to eliminate the causes of social poverty and prevent accidents caused by poverty, by enabling the individual to increase its possibilities to help itself" (then follows a number of new proposals).

H05 Health Care

+1

Indicate in several proposals that private institutions must be given adequate support.

H06 Environmental Protection

98

Says nothing.

H07 Education

+1

The party favors an expansion of the school system and notes that "private schools must continue to functions side by side to public schools and be supported."

H08 Agricultural Supports

-3

Mentions a series of current and new support schemes

H09 Cultural Supports

-1

The platform states that there should be public support for youth oriented leisure activities.

H10 Defense Spending -3

"Denmark must make it clear that its contribution to its own and NATO's defense is limited to a dimension suitable to Danish economy and social progress, and a restructuring of defense must involve a considerable decrease in Denmark's military expenses and of military service. In cases where decisions within NATO requires member states new commitments that are seen as dangerous for Denmark or for the preservation of world peace, Denmark must make use of its veto"

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

98

H 14 State Ownership

+4

"Private business is the most valuable power in society" Does oppose monopolies, even private ones.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector +4

Implied in the program is that the party favors little regulation.

H16 Minority Rights

-1

"National minorities within Denmark must be given full linguistic and cultural freedom".

H17 Women's Rights

98

The platform says nothing.

H18 Immigration

9 8

Nothing

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social (Radical) Liberals**
Program: **1969 (Working Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+4

As 1955.

H02 Income Taxes

+0

Total taxation level to be maintained.

HO2B Total Taxes

+0

As above.

H03 Scope of Government -3

As 1955.

H04 Social Services

-5

Several expansion proposals.

H05 Health Care

98

Nothing.

H06 Environmental Protection

-2

"Economic means must be found for cleaning polluted rivers and prevent further pollution. Particular support should be offered economically weak areas."

H07 Education

+2

As 1955, but this time mentioned specifically in a separate paragraph.

H08 Agricultural Supports

-3

As 1955.

H09 Cultural Supports

-5

"Increased public support for cultural activities" (followed by a lot of specifics).

H10 Defense Spending

-4

"Military expenditures should be strongly reduced in favor of these (i.e. "conflict reducing efforts") and other positive measures."

H11 Foreign Aid -5

"DK must as soon as possible increase its support to 1% of GNP" (Several other positive measures mentioned).

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

-3

"A real humanization of imprisonment must be implemented."

H13 Centralized Power

"A number of public tasks, hitherto managed by the state, must be transferred to local decisions."

H14 State Ownership

+4

As in 1955.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -3

Implied in the program is that the party favors most of the regulation that now exists, and that more must be done to guarantee the right of workers/employees to influence decision making in the work place.

H16 Minority Rights

"Alien act must be administered so that foreigners, particularly those of different races, are not treated unfairly".

H17 Women's Rights -1

"..gender equality principle must be made valid in all laws and implemented by all public agencies"

H18 Immigration

98

Nothing

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social (Radical) Liberals**
Program: **1976 (Working Program)**
Coders: Lars Bille, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitations of Individual Freedoms

+4

"For freedom of thought, religion, and speech."

H02 Income Taxes

98

Says nothing

H02B Total Taxes

98

Says nothing

H03 Scope of Government

-3

"Favors a policy which takes as its point of departure in the human being not the administration in the states or in the concentration of business." Should be involved in areas of defense or business. Same as 1955 position.

H04 Social Services -

3

Very positively oriented toward social services. Particularly points to the unemployed and sick.

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing

H06 Environmental Protection

98

Speaks about need for concern about environment, but doesn't say who should be responsible for it. A "green" plank, but nothing to use in coding this particular variable.

H07 Education

98

Strong on universal education opportunities, but nothing to use in coding this variable.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

The word "agriculture" not used at all in this program.

H09 Cultural Supports

-3

"Culture and art should be supported by the public; and artistic independence should be secured as an absolute prerequisite for a living democracy." Promotes a "versatile" cultural policy.

H10 Limits on Defense Spending -5

Opposes "militarism and nationalism." Calls for "comprehensive disarmament" with the aim of total disarmament.

H11 Foreign Aid -

4

"The demand of developing countries of a new economic world order should be carried through." Should work through international organizations. Sounds weaker than in 1969.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -4

"The fight against criminality must be concentrated on eliminating the causes of crime, and the treatment of lawbreakers should concentrate on rehabilitation and education."

H13 Centralized Power

98

Other than calling for citizen participation at both levels, says nothing.

H14 State Ownership of the means of production

+2

"Government" should be owned by society (Georgison). Otherwise, continues to assume private ownership is preferable, without directly saying so.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -1

Promotes more economic decision making in the work place. Doesn't question current amount of regulation. Does say a few things that seem positive about current regulation.

H16 Minority rights

-1

"For securing the rights of minorities."

H17 Women's Rights

-2

"For securing the formal as well as real, equality between the sexes." Says that family members' independence as individuals must be recognized and protected in law. This is a slight strengthening compared to 1969.

H18 Open immigration

98

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1961 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

-3

Speaks of "respect for the individual" and "freedom of belief, speech, association, etc." But also says "Democratic socialism must work for democratization of the whole society, including regulation of the economic system... Inequalities in capitalistic society and unlimited economic power is the real danger that is threatening a free society."

H02 Income Tax

-5

"That income that is at the level of what a family needs for existence should not be taxed. The more you earn above what is needed, you should pay accordingly." Says the same should apply with regard to a capital gains tax.

HO2B Total Taxes -

5

"The purpose of taxation is to acquire the means necessary to do all the common tasks and will in addition function to redistribute inequalities in income and wealth." There is absolutely no discussion of need to make any cuts.

H03 Scope of Government

-4

"The concern for the whole population must be put before private profit interests... The concern for the whole society demands that the community as a whole must take the full responsibility for investment and production..." Though the party clearly favors a very broad scope for government, we feel -4 is more justified in this case than would be a -5.

H04 Social Services -

5

"It is the of active social policy to create security for everyone." The platform advocates increases in social security arrangements. "It is the responsibility of the community to help everybody who is struggling in poverty."

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing.

H06 Environmental Protection

98

Says nothing, except a brief statement on nuclear power, which does not directly involve environmental protection, per se (i.e., though skeptical about nuclear power, the party does not specifically oppose it).

H07 Education

-4

"It is the responsibility of society to make sure that there are adequate schools and institutions and qualified teachers available to meet the growing need for more education." The party does not, however, specifically advocate that the public should be the sole provider of education.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Says nothing.

H09 Cultural Supports

-5

"It is the responsibility of society to create the basis for a rich cultural life..."

H10 Defense Spending

+1

"Until the United Nations has created safety and security for all countries, Denmark must secure its own defenses....," implying that decreases may be preferred under the more ideal conditions, when they occur. "The way Denmark should protect itself is through cooperation on a regional basis."

H11 Foreign Aid

-1

"...the Danish people shall give its contribution to securing world peace and furthering social justice," presumably meaning by "Danish people" the government on their behalf.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

Says nothing.

H 13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership of the Means of Production

-4

"Where the society needs demand so, the society must take full responsibility for investment and production."

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-4

(see H14 above)

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights

98

Says nothing.

H18 Open Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1969 (Working Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Individual Freedoms

-3

Basically the same as in 1961.

H02 Income Tax

-4

Advocates a "democratic taxation policy," meaning progressive, direct income tax. The party is, in general, for a high level of taxation. "Taxes are high; they account for a considerable portion of the national income and of the individual family's budget, and they are not likely to become less in the coming ten years." "It is only if we introduce indirect taxation that direct taxation should be lowered."

H02B Total Taxes

-5

(see H02 above) In fact, the party favors a high level of taxation overall, though it may involve some shifting among types of taxes.

H03 Scope of Government -

4

Same as in 1961. "It is characteristic that the most dynamic societies are those where the public sectors are very large."

H04 Social Services -

5

Advocates a very comprehensive social program, with many mentions of specific areas in which expansions are favored, and none mentioned that should be reduced.

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing.

H06 Environmental Protection

-1

Advocates increased regulation against pollution. Also favors government expenditure for research about pollution.

H07 Education -4

There is a lot about education in this program. Though there is nothing about public v. private, both the volume that is said about education and the lack of any specific statement encouraging private sector development of education leads us to think that a -4 is probably appropriate.

H08 Agricultural Supports -3

This time there is a great deal about agriculture, unlike in the previous program. There is a generally supportive statement concerning agricultural supports, but that over a ten to fifty year period much of it should be phased out. It is clear, though, that the party is positively inclined toward agricultural subsidies overall.

H09 Cultural Supports

-5

Advocates a very extensive program of cultural supports. More libraries, support for artists, support for theaters, etc.

H10 Defense Spending

+1

Advocates keeping the defense at about its current level.

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

Includes a very ambitious program of foreign aid. "Denmark must hurry up to get its foreign aid program above 1% of the GNP..."

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

-3

"Many crimes must be seen as the product of the factors of social order," meaning the dysfunction of social order. "The treatment must therefore primarily be built upon resocialization."

H13 Centralized Power

98

Says nothing that would support coding this variable.

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

Advocates "economic democracy.' While not advocating that the public own all of the means of production, the platform does make clear that the public has not only a right but an obligation to own when state ownership is needed.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -

4

"Where structural changes have removed possibilities for employment in particular areas of the country, the public, by investing by giving loans and guarantees to existing enterprises, should create reasonable geographical distribution of occupational possibilities." Advocates regulation for workers' protection. In general, favors broad regulation of the private sector.

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights -

3

"The position of women in the labor market must be strengthened. Through education, prejudices should be broken down, and laws should be enacted to remove inequalities in pay and choices between men and women."

H18 Open Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**

Party: **Social Democrats**

Program: **1971**

Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Individual Freedoms

-3

Basically the same as in previous program.

H02 Income Tax

-3

Advocates making the current system more fair, but does not advocate decreases overall. In fact, favors increases on profits and inheritances.

H02B Total Taxes -5

Nothing indicates that there should be a reduction in taxes from the currently high levels.

H03 Scope of Government

-4

Essentially the same as in previous program.

H04 Social Services

-5

Favors a very comprehensive program of social services, with no mention of need to reduce.

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing.

H06 Environmental Protection

-1

Advocates stricter regulation for environmental protection. "Those who pollute should pay for it."

H07 Education

98

Says nothing related to public v. private.

H08 Agricultural Supports

-3

Favors continuing support for agriculture in the coming years. The position is essentially the same as in 1969.

H09 Cultural Supports -5

Favors starting "decentralization" of cultural policies, while not implying that there should be less state money for it. Continues to advocate a very broad program of cultural supports.

H10 Defense Spending -3

"We should build a defense on a core of volunteers... local defense... Furthermore, one should carry out reductions in the army, the navy, and the air force."

H11 Foreign Aid

98

Says nothing.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

-3

Advocates limiting the use of imprisonment and more effort directed at preventing criminality. Basically the same position as in 1969.

H13 Centralized Power

"All tasks that are not naturally state tasks should be transferred to provincial and local governments." (essentially the same position as the Conservatives)

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

Says nothing on state ownership as such.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-4

Favors regulating for pollution, safety, etc. Essentially the same position as earlier.

H16 Minority Rights

-2

"As full employment is the goal, the availability of foreign workers must be in accordance with that goal." "Foreign workers must be guaranteed the same wage and salary conditions as Danish workers, and the employer must contribute to giving them reasonable housing." Hence, there is a generally positive view of protecting the rights of those immigrants already in Denmark, while cautioning against too many more.

H17 Women's Rights

-3

Same as in previous program.

H18 Open Immigration

-1

(see H16 above)

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1973 (Working Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Individual Freedoms

-3

Favors wage earners' part ownership (wage earners' democracy).

H02 Income Taxes

-3

Advocates a shift in taxation so that higher income workers pay more than they do now, and that there should be a shift in general from income tax to other types of taxation. In reality, though, they ask for a tax increase to reduce the number of possibilities for tax deductions, as well as advocating a corporate tax and other types of increases.

H02B Total Taxes

-5

Advocates increase from already high taxation. (See H02 above.)

H03 Scope of Government

Advocates planning in various aspects of society, but does not specifically call for extensive government ownership.

H04 Social Services -

5

"Social security system must provide a quick and efficient economic assistance and help, in the many cases of illness, accidents, and other temporary problems." "In cases not covered by unemployment benefits, for example economic losses related to changing occupations, loss of family provider, and similar circumstances, there must be assistance not just helping against economic difficulties, but that also guarantees a reasonable standard of living and that resists the effects of the loss of family income." "Everywhere in the country there must be sufficient abilities to get dental care, medical care, and social assistance."

H05 Health Care

98

Says nothing directly related to this variable.

H06 Environmental Protection

-4

Talks of the need for further regulations and control of factories and other sources of pollution. Favors environmental research, presumably paid for by the state. Advocates environmental planning and public support for research into recycling.

H07 Education

-4

Advocates extensive public education. Does not mention private education at all. Since it does not oppose private education in specific terms, we do not feel a -5 would be justified.

H08 Agricultural Supports -2

Says a lot about agriculture, but nothing about governmental support for agriculture with the exception of the need for subsidies for young farmers. Not as much specific commitment to supports as was the case in the 1971 program. Support is now mentioned only as an instrument for rationalization.

H09 Cultural Supports -

5

Advocates special support for a number of specific types, but also favors broadly ranging supports "independent of commercial and single interests."

H10 Defense Spending -

3

Says NATO membership is acceptable only because there are no realistic alternatives. "Within NATO Denmark should work to strengthen disarmament policy, and should oppose any extension of NATO tasks." (No mention of volunteers or private sector finance, however.)

H11 Foreign Aid -

5

"The party will work in support of developing countries by giving increasing professional, economic, and cultural support... Denmark as soon as possible should provide government support for developing countries at least at the 1% GNP level."

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -

3

"Several crimes are socially conditioned and criminal policy must therefore be seen in light of social and educational policies... The system of prisons must be reformed in order to improve the prisoner's chance of coping in society. The current efforts to place prisoners in places of work and educational institutions outside of prisons must be continued... Old fashioned prison buildings must be discontinued."

H13 Centralized Power

98

Says nothing that allows us to code this variable.

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

-1

While not directly advocating state ownership of a broad range of means of production, the party does favor state representatives in large corporations. "In large business enterprises with a dominant influence in the labor market, there should be representatives from society." In another place, advocates a nationalization of pharmacies.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -

4

(See also H01 above.) "The concept of equality implies that society must be given possibilities to ensure good living conditions for people with fewer means, and act as a counterforce against private power concentration and special interests." "Consideration for people should come before productivity." "Production facilities that involve health concerns for their employees must be stopped."

H16 Minority Rights -

1

Says nothing. Under "Guest Workers," says "they must be guaranteed the same working conditions as Danish workers."

H17 Women's Rights

98

Says nothing.

H18 Open Immigration -

3

"Immigration of guest workers must not be so extensive that it threatens the employment or salary levels of Danish workers."

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1977 (Principle Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Individual Freedoms

-4

"Society shall counteract the differences that have emerged through inheritance and environment so that no one is prevented to live a rich and meaningful life because of limited conditions." The ultimate goal should be allowing people to accomplish what they want, but "not at the cost of other people but in cooperation with them." On the other hand, freedom of expression and freedom of association, demonstration, and striking are to be protected.

H02 Income/personal Taxes

-3

Advocates maintenance of heavy income tax across all levels, though graduated.

H02B Total Taxes

-5

H03 Scope -

5

Advocates a wide range of social and other programs; no hint of wanting any reductions.

H04 Social Services -5

"Social and health policy should be strengthened through longterm planning for housing, leisure, education, employment, social solidaric incomes policy. The social and health service is to be equal for everybody and is to be financed through solidaric means."

H05 Health Care -5

"Health care is to be provided by society. All employees, including doctors and dentists, are to be employed by the public sector."

H06 Environment -

2

All forms of energy should be placed under governmental control. Those who pollute should pay for the cleanup. There should be special fees for using scarce resource, and both positive and negative policies with regard to recycling.

H07 Education

-4

Though there is mention of the need to spend more on education generally, nothing is said about the preferred mix of private and public. Though a -5 might be justified, given that the status quo is almost universally public instruction, we have decided on a -4 since there is no stated opposition to private instruction.

H08 Agricultural Supports

-5

The platform favors nationalization of agriculture. "Any possibility of speculation in soil and housing should be eliminated." Though it is actually beyond -5, we decided

not to invent a -6 just for this party.

H09 Cultural Supports

-5

Advocates extensive cultural supports, as in previous programs.

H10 Defense Spending

98

In a very vague statement, they say they want to remain in NATO "so long as the organization is used to create an atmosphere of cooperation and detente between east and west." Also "want to support work toward decreasing tensions... across traditional lines of conflict." The statement is not sufficient to support coding our variable.

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

Wants a very extensive program of foreign aid.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

Says nothing.

H13 Centralized Power

-1

"There should be the greatest possible local self government, but taking into consideration the needs of the whole society." "We must reach a different balance between decisions that are made nationally and that are made locally."

H14 State Ownership

-5

The platform advocates national ownership of all of the means of production.

H15 Regulation of the Private Sector

-4

It can be inferred from many places in the platform that the party prefers heavy regulation across a wide variety of sectors of the economy.

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights. -

4

Platform has very ambitious goals with regard to equality for women. "The content of the educational programs should be changed so they better correspond with women's preconditions," for instance. "Occupational choices between men and women, which have so far been made according to social norms, should be encouraged to have more movement," thereby presumably advocating some affirmative action.

H18 Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1979 (Working Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms:

-3

H02 Income Taxes

-3

"..the disadvantages of the income tax system have become more visible...it must be reformed and simplified" Says also that any reduction in personal level taxation to be compensated for by extending the total tax base.

H02B Total Taxes

-5

H03 Scope of Government

-4

Strong emphasis on planning in all sector and levels. No indication of reduction of public sector.

H04 Social Services

-4

Program contains an extensive role for government in social services. No indications of cut backs in services or programs, if any change the opposite, but this is not made very explicit.

H05 Health Care

98

Private sector not mentioned

H06 Environmental Protection -

4

"Government to pay for research into new forms of energy." Proposes a series of regulatory measures, particularly through taxation to combat pollution and protection of soil and ground water.

H07 Education

98

Lots about education in general but not a word about private

H08 Agricultural Support

-3

"SD ...a self-supported agricultural sector..... SD will actively remove support schemes violating EU treaties and support EU agricultural policies" (I assume this means the party is in favor of EU subsidies)

H09 Cultural Support

-4

"All art forms and the consumers choice to be ensured independence of commercial and special interests."

".. equal access to new productions to make sure the possibilities for expressions are not monopolized by particular classes or segments in society."

H10 Defense Spending -

1

Does not explicitly endorse an increase or decrease, certainly not the former.
More like status quo

H11 Foreign Aid -

4

"SD argues that Denmark as soon as possible contributes 1 % of BNP in foreign aid"

H12 Rehabilitation of Law Breakers -

3

"Prison system to be reformed in order to help prisoners back to society" "Week-end prisons and 'service to society' should be considered" "a more humane treatment of prisoners, suspects and victims"

H13 Centralised power -

1

Does not specify directly, but the emphasis on 'planning' at all levels and that local plans must be coordinated with higher level plans imply a centralisation

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production -

3

"..the public sector to invest in particularly riskfilled new productions in need of large capital, in partnership with private and cooperative interests"

"....representatives from society to be in majority in leading units of credit- and insurance companies"

"..government establish a postal bank"

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-4

"In our opinion it is necessary to supplement general economic management through several selective measures, directed and concentrated at selected areas of the economy. Through a combination of general and selective means it will be possible to direct the development of economic sectors."

H16 Minority rights

-2

Favors voting rights in local elections for immigrants

H17 Women's Rights

-2

Stresses equality in occupations, salaries etc, but does not mention special measures

H18 Immigration

98

Not mentioned

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1980 (Working Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

-3

No obvious change from previous program.

H02 Income Tax

-3

Basically the same as in 1977.

FMB Total Taxes

-5

Basically the same as in 1977.

H03 Scope

-4

No longer advocates ownership of the means of production, but still favors very broad social services.

H04 Social Services

-5

Advocates a very broad range of social programs, **covering medical and social** programs, both for care and prevention.

H05 Health Care -

4

There is no mention of the 1977 statements concerning all health care professionals being employees of the government. It is implicit that the party advocates expansion of health programs, but not to the extent of 1977.

H06 Environment

-3

Speaks positively about programs that already exist for dealing with problems that are here today, and advocates more preventive programs for the future. There is no mention of who is to pay for what. Does want an extensive governmental role in regulating production.

H07 Education

-4

Advocates a very extensive program of educational reform, teacher training, etc., all of which points in the direction of a significant governmental role. (For justification of -4 code, see H07 under 1977 platform.)

H08 Agricultural Supports -

3

"Social democracy will preserve the family farm as the dominating form of agricultural business." Advocates support particularly for young farmers just starting up. On the other hand, want to remove the general support scheme currently in place, and replace it with more "directed" supports.

H09 Cultural Supports -5

Supports a broad range of cultural subsidies and incentives.

"Art in all its forms of expression, and the consumer's choice of cultural activity, should be guaranteed independent of commercial interests."

H10 Defense Spending -

1

Accepts NATO because there is nothing better. "But within NATO, Denmark will work for reduction in overall level of forces in Europe... and work to prevent the spread of nuclear arms." "Denmark must resist expansion of the tasks for NATO... NATO cannot be considered to be a goal in itself."

H11 Foreign Aid -

5

Favors extensive foreign aid programs. Advocates Denmark increasing its foreign aid commitment. Willing to accept some type of international development tax.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -3

Very positive toward rehabilitation programs. "Removing people's freedoms should be organized in such a way as to do as little harm as possible, at the same time as they can prevent future crimes." "The aim must be... so that a better possibility is created for reintroduction into society."

H13 Centralized Power

98

Says nothing.

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production -

1

"It is necessary to have greater coordination between the public and private sectors' efforts to increase both parties' economic activity." There is no advocacy of taking over all means of production in this platform (as there was earlier). "The society can be involved in production in areas of particular societal importance."

H15 Regulation of the Private Sector

-4

Still advocates a broad range of heavy regulation.

H16 Minority Rights

-3

See H18 below, treating immigrants as the minority for this case.

H17 Women's Rights

-5

With reference to women in the labor market, pointing to unequal opportunities and status, says "it is necessary to change this situation of inequality. This could be done with special actions for women. And as the policy of equality gives results, it can be repealed." Favors legal measures that give preferences to women.

H18 Immigration -

3

"The legal position of immigrants should be strengthened. There should be language instruction and so forth, so that immigrants' families can adapt to Danish society." Advocates a visiting scheme from the social sector to care for immigrant women's needs, as part of a very broad range of support mechanisms for immigrants. "The work of immigrants has benefited all of Danish society... Danish society is given

cultural and human values by the culture of the immigrants."

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1984 (Working Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

-3

Same as earlier.

H02 Income Tax

-3

Absolutely no indication that the party wants the current high levels of personal taxes reduced.

H02B Total Taxes

-5

same as for H02

H03 Scope -

5

"Social democracy rejects large scale privatization of social services... supporting collective solutions and that common goods are paid for through taxation... rejects a reduction in public services."

H04 Social Services -

5

See H03. In a number of specific points, advocate continuation of very high level and broad range of social services.

H05 Health Care -

4

"When choosing solutions to health sector problems, one should take into account what is for society the least expensive solutions." Advocate a more effective coordination of doctors, hospitals, etc., stopping short of arguing for strengthening the public role in this.

H06 Environment -

4

Favors strengthening existing legislation and environmental research, presumably to be paid for by the government. Advocate keeping environmental concerns in the agricultural sector, regulation of gasoline for cars, regulation of coastal areas.

H07 Education

-4

There is no suggestion that there should be less private education, but the platform does advocate subjecting private schools to the same standards as public schools, and there should be better coordination between the two sectors. So the party favors more regulation than is currently the case.

H08 Agricultural Supports -

3

The party favors some special types of agricultural supports: some special assistance for new farmers and some other special financial supports for the farming community.

H09 Cultural Supports -

5

Almost identical statement to that included in the previous platform. (Nine columns in the program are devoted to discussion of cultural supports.)

H10 Defense Spending

The platform is quite lukewarm about NATO membership; don't see an alternative, but otherwise would prefer something else. "Parallel with the disarmament of nuclear weapons there must be disarmament of conventional weapons as well." "The military defense should be structured as a defensive popular defense;" hence the party would oppose further professionalization of the military.

H11 Foreign Aid -

5

"Denmark should as soon as possible increase its public support to developing countries to at least 1% of the gross national product." (previous statement also included in earlier platforms)

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -

4

"Some people have a much higher risk of getting into conflict with criminal law than others, often caused by factors the individual cannot control, such as low education, unfavorable childhood living conditions, ... The system of punishment has so far too much had a character of punishing rather than contributing to rehabilitation or prevention."

H13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

-1

Very similar statement to that included in the 1980 platform.

H15 Regulation

-4

Same as 1980.

H16 Minority Rights

-3

Same as 1980.

H17 Women's Rights

-5

In various sections of the platform, statements are included referring to the need to equalize more across genders, or specifically to help women. The platform says that when the public sector is involved in employment opportunities, special attention to be paid to equalizing employment for women.

H18 Immigration

-3

Same as 1980.

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1988 (Working Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

-2

Does not deal with this issue directly, but under environmental politics the party favors public regulations over private property, i.e. farmer's owned non-cultivated land, to secure leisure access for the general public

H02 Income Taxes

-3

"Total taxes to be maintained at current level. But personal income tax to be reduced through extending the tax base and restructuring of taxation" (Says later that any reduction in personal level taxation to be compensated for by extending the total tax base)

HO2B Total Taxes

-5

H03 Scope of Government

-3

Does not specifically favor expansion nor reduction in the public sector, but claims the need for reorganisations etc. (Could be a 'euphemism' for cuts). Most parts of the program advocate a significant role for the public sector.

H04 Social Services -

4

Program contains an extensive role for government in social services. No indications of cut backs in services or programs, if any change the opposite, but this is not made very explicit.

H05 Health Care -

4

"...no to private hospitals and payments for services at hospitals". (Program proposes a number of public regulations to promote public health qualities)

H06 Environmental Protection -

4

(This is one of the most extensive parts of the whole program and proposes a series of regulatory measures(some of which requires increased public administration), particularly through taxation to combat pollution and protection of soil and ground water)

H07 Education

98

(Lots about education in general but not a word about private)

H08 Agricultural Support

-2

H09 Cultural Support

-4

"Budget for cultural activities to be increased by 50% the next four years ... Artists to be guaranteed a reasonable economic situation...support for theatres, museums..."

H10 Limits on Defense Spending

-0

"Defence spending to be kept as is today"

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

"Denmark to work for an international level of 07% of GNP in foreign aid"
"Denmark's next aim is a technical and economic assistance equivalent to 2% of GNP"

H12 Rehabilitation of Law Breakers -

1

"a more humane treatment of prisoners, suspects and victims" (Program stresses mostly preventive actions)

H13 Centralized Power

+3

"Soc.dem. will work for a decentralization of decision-making authority as widely as possible" "..several more decisions may better be made at the regional and local levels, even extending to individual institutions"

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

Not mentioned in the program.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -

4

The program calls for an extension of democracy into the economy. Advocates much stronger employee participation in decision making. Private sector in the economy also regulated through environmentally targeted taxation, protection of employees. In sum there is considerable public regulation.

H16 Minority Rights

-3

Deals with immigrants. Stress support for the national culture and language.

H17 Women's Rights

-3

Stresses equality in education, decisionmaking, occupations, salaries etc, "It will be necessary to use positive preferences and quotas until real equality and influence is achieved"

H18 Immigration -

2

Program speaks positively about receiving 'refugees', but does not advocate more 'immigration'. Otherwise, a generally very positive view of immigrants, of integration of immigrants and respect for their local culture. Confirms Denmark's commitment to UN refugee works

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Social Democrats**
Program: **1992 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Svasand, Robert Harmel

H01 Individual Freedoms

-2

Same position as earlier.

H02 Income Taxes

-2

"The tax percentage is to be reduced" concerning income tax.

H02B Total Taxation

-5

"Incomes for the community come from a wide range of taxes and fees. Tax dodging should be prevented. There should be taxation of capital benefits and other work-free income sources. Thereby, there could be a lower tax percentage and a more distribution of taxes [referring to income taxes]."

H03 Scope of Government

-3

In a marked change from earlier programs, this platform argues that: "Open markets, international competition, and division of work plus the freedom of consumers to choose are the driving force for technological development and rising prosperity. In contrast, all experience shows that planned economy and guardianship mean stagnation and poverty." However, "nationally and supranationally, popular elected authorities should set the framework within which business activity should function."

H04 Social Services

-5

Though a bit less explicit than earlier, the meaning seems to be the same.

H05 Health

98

Says nothing pertinent to our coding of this variable.

H06 Environmental Protection

-4

Advocates combination of restrictions, on business, traffic, and energy, and restructuring of products toward "green technology" and less energy consuming products. "This will be supported by taxes, fees, and sanctions." Also points to the need to "control national energy resources."

H07 Education

98

Says nothing pertinent to coding this variable.

H08 Agricultural Supports

-2

H09 Cultural Supports

-5

Same general position as earlier.

H10 Defense -

2

Advocates reduction of defense parallel to global disarmament.

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

Very positive toward foreign aid, but much more general statement than in previous platforms (i.e., no call for 1% of GNP going to developing countries). There is no indication of any change in meaning from 1984, however.

H12 Rehabilitation of Criminals

98

Says nothing.

H13 Centralized Power

98

Says nothing pertinent to coding this variable.

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

See H03 above.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-4

The position on this remains about the same as in the previous platform.

H16 Minority Rights

98

Says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights

+0

Says only that the need for equality between men and women is obvious. We take the language in this document as "centrist" on the subject of what government's role should be in accomplishing the broadly stated goal, since it does not favor discriminatory practices, but neither does it spell out specific programs or actions to achieve the equality.

H18 Immigration

98

Says nothing.

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Socialist People's Party**
Program: **1959 (Principle Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+3

Specifically mentions the need to guarantee the freedom of expression, political participation, right to strike etc.

H02 Income Taxes

-3

The party favors a strongly progressive income tax.

H02B Total Taxes

-3

The SF proposes elimination of ordinary consumer taxes but, in general, favors a tax reform that will shift the tax burden towards higher income groups but eliminate tax deduction rules. (Another document: "The tax burden is too heavy", but apparently this means too heavy for 'ordinary' people)

H03 Scope of Government

-4

Though there is no single statement that specifically deals with scope of the government in the platform, it can be inferred from reading the entire document that the party advocates very active government, but government should not deal with defense (as would justify a code of -5).

H04 Social Services -

5

The platform proposes a number of expanded public services: "The social legislation and social care have not kept pace with the increasing societal wealth, compared to that of other countries" (then follows a number of new proposals)

H05 Health Care

9 8

Nothing

H06 Environmental Protection

9 8

Nothing

H07 Education

-4

The party favors a strong expansion of the public school system. No mention of private schools.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Wants to nationalize agricultural industry, organize large farms in cooperatives, keep small farms in private ownership. This statement does not directly address the issue of agricultural supports per se.

H09 Cultural Supports

-5

The platform states that "the state must make efforts to support cultural activity"

H10 Defense Spending

5

"Total Danish disarmament - elimination of all military expenses - proclamation of Danish neutrality. We consider Danish disarmament and the implementation of nonaligned foreign policy to be first and most important for our country."

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

"Disarmament will make it possible to use such means for development aid."

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership

-5

The party platform proposes "nationalization of important societal sectors: such as credit institutions, insurance companies, but also sectors dominated by monopolies, such as construction materials, oil."

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -3

Implied in the program is that the party favors most of the regulation that now exists, and that more must be done to guarantee the right of workers/employees to influence decision making in the work place.

H16 Minority Rights

98

The platform says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights

98

The platform says nothing.

H18 Immigration

9 8

Nothing

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Socialist People's Party**
Program: **1963 (Principle Program)**
Coders: Lars Bille, Robert Harmel

H01 Individual Freedoms

+3

Contains a "bill of rights" type statement

H02 income Taxes

-4

"The great inequalities in fortune and incomes has to be leveled. This requires a tax reform that ...sharpen the progression and makes effective assessment possible."

HO2B Total Taxes -

4

Calls for a "larger public fund" to be paid for, in large part, by taxes and "collective savings." (The latter apparently encompasses other types of taxes.)

H03 Scope of Government

-4

Calls for a lot of nationalization; not defense

H04 Social services

-5

Calls for social service legislation to rest on the principle that "society has a duty to take care of every human being who is not able to take care of him/her self."

H05 Health Care

98

Mentions state-paid insurance, but nothing else is said about it. (Assumes that status quo, which is completely publicly controlled health care.)

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

-4

The tone clearly assumes (and probably favors) public ownership. Calls for expansion of educational system to give everyone an equal opportunity for education.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Nothing on support for agriculture, per se. Says agriculture and fisheries should be under cooperative ownership if farmers and fishermen want to do so.

H09 Cultural Supports

-5

"The party will work for substantially larger public support to art and science in such a way as to ensure the freedom of arts and science." Would include: movies theater, radio, television, literature, music and painting.

H10 Defense Spending

-5

"The SF supports the disarmament of Denmark."

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

Clearly wants an enlargement beyond the status quo. There is no question, from the tone, that this should be a -5.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers.

-4

"The treatment of criminals should not have the purpose of punishing or isolating, but of rehabilitating."

H13 Centralized Power

98

Nothing mentioned

H14 State ownership of the means of production

-5

Calls for nationalization of banks, capital institutions of various kinds, industries, transportation. Eventually almost all business will be "publicly owned." It should be stated, though, that for SF, "public ownership" sometimes implies cooperation rather than state ownership, per se. (This distinguishes SF from Communist Party.)

H15 Regulation of private sector -

3

Tone is one of favoring regulation, though would exempt small business (e.g. family firms).

H16 Minority rights

98

Nothing said, except a statement for "human rights."

H17 Women's rights

-3

Advocates equality between the sexes. Recognizes a public responsibility to create opportunities for free choice so each sex is independent.

H18 Open immigration

98

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Socialist Peoples party**
Program: **1974 (Working Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+4

"Within the limits that solidarity requires, all men must be free..... SF rejects any social model that in the name of socialism restricts fundamental human rights".

H02 Income Taxes

9 8

Nothing

H02B Total Taxes

98

Nothing (but says in an analysis of the bourgeois state "..increasing taxation mean exploitation of the working class"

H03 Scope of Government -4

Though there is no single statement that specifically deals with scope of the government in the platform, it can be inferred from reading the entire document that the party advocates very active government, but government should not deal with defense (as would justify a code of -5).

H04 Social Services

98

Nothing

H05 Health Care

98

Nothing

H06 Environmental Protection

98

Nothing

H07 Education

-4

The party favors a strong expansion of the public school system. No mention of private schools.

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Nothing

H09 Cultural Supports

98

Nothing

H10 Defense Spending

-5

As in 1959

H11 Foreign Aid

-5

As in 1959

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

+1

"The public sector must be decentralized... especially as concerns Greenland"

H14 State Ownership

-5

As in 1959

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-3

Implied in the program is that the party favors most of the regulation that now exists, and that more must be done to guarantee the right of workers/employees to influence decision making in the work place.

H16 Minority Rights

98

The platform says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights

-2

"Measures must be implemented that liberate women from some of their traditional tasks".

H18 Immigration

98

Nothing

Country: **Denmark**
Party: **Socialist Peoples party**
Program: **1980 (Principle Program)**
Coder: Lars Svasand

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+4

"This personal freedom is a basic principle. The individual's private life can not be violated by authorities and other people. It means that people are free, responsible and without force can practice the sexuality they prefer"

H02 Income Taxes

-3

As in 1959

H02B Total Taxes

-3

As in 1959

H03 Scope of Government

-4

Though there is no single statement that specifically deals with scope of the government in the platform, it can be inferred from reading the entire document that the party advocates very active government, but government should not deal heavily with defense (as would justify a code of -5).

H04 Social Services

-5

As in 1959

H05 Health Care

9 8

Nothing

H06 Environmental Protection

-3

Through energy policy and taxation, production should be channeled into more environmentally friendly directions, but says nothing about clean-up.

H07 Education

-4

The party favors a strong expansion of the public school system. No mention of private schools.

H08 Agricultural Supports -3

(No mention of earlier cooperative plans; see 1959) mentions the need for special support schemes to create more equality among farmers as well as schemes to increase incomes in the agricultural sector. (To be paid for from proceeds of land speculation)

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

-5

As in 1959

H11 Foreign Aid -

5

As in 1959

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

+1

"The public sector must be decentralized... especially as it concerns Greenland"

H14 State Ownership -5

As in 1959

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-3

Implied in the program is that the party favors most of the regulation that now exists, and that more must be done to guarantee the right of workers/employees to influence decision making in the work place.

H16 Minority Rights

98

The platform says nothing.

H17 Women's Rights

-4

"In politics, education and employment SF will advocate gender quotas".

H18 Immigration

98

Nothing

Country: **Denmark**

Party: **Socialist People's party**

Program: **1991 (Principle Program)**

Coders: Lars Bille, Robert Harmel

H01 Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+4

"SF wants a society which gives freedom for the individual"

H02 Personal Taxes

-3

"The basis of taxation has to be partly moved from personal tax to a tax on the means of production."

HO2B Total Taxes -

2

"It is not economically or socially desirable that the total level of taxation still continues to increase." Continues to favor tax system reforms.

H03 Scope of government

-4

Same position as in 1980

H04 Social Services

-5

"The public sector is not an end in itself," such that it is best that people work out problems for themselves before government has to step in, however, "the government has a duty to secure education and health. It is necessary that the public sector steps in when the market economy fails."

H05 Health Care

98

Doesn't say anything to code this.

H06 Environmental protection

-5

Prevention is better than cure. There should be a "green GNP" used in debates. definitely wants government to regulate heavily. Industry should pay for its own pollution. Stronger than in 1980.

H07 Education

-4

Same position as in 1980

H08 Agricultural Supports

-1

"Subsidy of agriculture has to be transformed to increase production of ecologically produced products."

H09 Cultural Supports

-5

Advocates heavy support for "culture" generally, the media and newspapers should be supported as well.

H10 Defense Spending

-5

Same position as in 1980

H11 Foreign aid

-5

"When it comes to foreign aid, SF will work to see that solidarity with the poorest countries is increased. Donor countries should not make money on the aid."

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

Says nothing

H13 Centralized power

+2

Stresses giving as much power to the people as possible. "The norm in social life is that there is democratic self-determination and decentralization in the decision-making process. The local self-determining communities must be strengthened."

H14 State Ownership of the Means of Production -5

"Different forms of common ownership of the means of production and financial cooperative enterprises are the most important form of ownership."

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -

3

Same as earlier

H16 Minority rights

98

Says nothing

H17 Women's rights

-2

Advocates women's rights on grounds of also enhancing men's rights

H18 Immigration

98