
#101 - Denmark: Center Democrats (CD)

Coder: Gibson (revised 2-23-93 by RH/RG; again 12-1-95 by RH/SSh; codes and descriptions for 12.03 and 12.04 were altered by RH/RG on 3-16-96)

Note 1: "The party's organization reflects its leaders' belief that political power should be left with the voters and the elected parliamentarians rather than with the party activist" (Jacobs, 1989:53). Given this statement, where information was lacking in the literature, the score indicating maximum parliamentary control was given initially. Since that time, additional information has been provided by Lars Bille (2/93).

12.01 Candidate Selection**1973-90: 2a**

"The party's candidates for the Folketing are chosen by postal ballot among the party's members in each Amt, in order to avoid giving too much power to the local branch activists." Once the candidates have been selected their order on the ballot is determined according to the number of personal votes they receive.

(Jacobs, 1989:53) In Katz and Mair (1992), Bille notes that while the national level may comment on potential candidates for the constituency level's list, "a ballot is held among the members in the region" to make the final nominations. There is no further ratification process. Though there was a minor change in the national party's role (in 1977; Katz and Mair, Table IV.D.5.e), the overall code for this variable remains the same.

12.02 Parliamentary Leadership Selection**1973-90: 1**

Pederson says that of the 5 parties to enter the Parliament in 1973 all except the Justice Party faced building an organization from scratch. This left the local campaign activists to coopt local "notables" into leadership positions for the 1973 election (Pederson, 1987:39). Bille (2/93) confirms that the leadership of the parliamentary group is selected by the parliamentary party alone, and that this was integrated into party rules after 1973.

12.03 Conformation to Extraparliamentary Positions**1973-90: 1b**

There is no reference to requirements that the parliamentary group follow extraparliamentary positions. The party's national

congress cannot pass binding resolutions on matters of policy. (Jacobs, 1989:53) In fact, it is the parliamentary group that we deemed to be totally responsible for formulating the party's positions on public policy. (See Variable 12.06.)

12.04 Discipline of Parliamentary Representatives

1973-90: 1b

There are no formal discernible techniques for disciplining representatives, but Bille (2/93) indicates that in practice, it is actually the parliamentary group itself that administers discipline. In fact, it is the parliamentary group that we deemed to be totally responsible for formulating the party's positions on public policy. (See Variable 12.06.)

12.05 Rotation Requirement/Tenure Limitation

1973-90: 99

"The party has a rule that any elected Folketing member has the right to be a candidate in subsequent elections, even if not chosen by party members in the postal ballot. This is to allow voters and not the party organization to judge. In practice this rule has never had to be applied." (Jacobs, 1989:53) According to Bille (2/93) law requires reselection between elections.

12.06 Public Policy Positions

1973-90: 1

"The party's national congress is held once a year. The national congress cannot pass binding resolutions on matters of policy..." (Jacobs, 1989:53). There are however, two smaller bodies beyond the congress, the National Council and the Executive. Neither is dominated by the parliamentary group, the latter seems more important since it is smaller and meets once a month. (Thomas, 1987:284) Bille (2/93) confirms that the code of "1" is appropriate, adding that among the Danish parties, it is the Center Democrats who are most clear on this point, publicly proclaiming the parliamentary group's independence.

12.07 Primary Leader of the Party

1973-1990: 5

According to Bille (2/93), the ranking of the leaders has always followed this order in the Center Democrats: #1, party chairman; #2, parliamentary group leader; #3, national chairman. Hence, the code of 5 is appropriate. It is the party chair position that has been held by Jacobsen and then Jacobsen's daughter.

#102 - Denmark: Christian People's Party (KrF)

Coder: Gibson (with typos corrected by RH/SSh on 1-22-96)

A national chair existed first, then after the party gained seats in 1973, a parliamentary leader emerged, but no details as to how are given (Jacobs, 1989:57).

It is a party formed around a specific grievance, the moral decline of Danish society. Therefore, its representatives have a very clear mandate when elected. This would lead one to expect that on certain key issues, such as abortion, conformity to the party principles is required, but on other issues they would be allowed more flexibility. Jacobs supports this when he says that on economic matters they are not strongly ideological (Jacobs, 1989:58).

Overall then, I think that we can expect that the extraparliamentary wing will be stronger than the parliamentary wing. Because the party has never achieved significant representation in the Folketing, one can expect that this wing does not hold a great deal of power.

12.01 Candidate Selection

1970-90: 2b

According to Table IV.D.5.d, "The nomination takes place in a meeting where all members in the constituency can vote... The national committee shall approve the proposed candidate before a nomination. Can add names to the list."

12.02 Selection of the Parliamentary Leader

1970-90: 1

A position of parliamentary chair exists, separate from the national chair. However, no indication is given of how this person is selected. Bille confirms (2/93).

12.03 Conformation to Extraparliamentary Positions

1970-90: 2b

According to Bille (2/93), there is no formal provision on this in the rules, but in practice, the extraparliamentary party adopts manifestos and broad political statements on specific issues. These are expected to be followed by the parliamentary party.

12.04 Discipline

1970-90: 1a

According to Bille (2/93), there is no formal provision in the rules on this, but in practice, it is the parliamentary group itself that administers discipline.

12.05 Rotation Requirement**1970-90: 99**

According to Bille (2/93), reselection between elections is required by law.

12.06 Public Policy Positions**1970-90: 3**

Bille (2/93) indicates that the appropriate code is probably 3, but it could be a 2. However, information in Katz and Mair, Table IV.D.4.d, supports the conclusion that the extraparliamentary party (both through the conference ("the highest authority on policy..."), the national committee, and the national executive) has the upper hand in policy making/implementation.

12.07 Identity of Party Leader**1970-90: 3a**

It would seem that the national chair is more dominant in party affairs than the parliamentary chair. He is the one referred to in Jacobs' section on "Personalities," (Jacobs, 1989:58). It is unclear whether this is a function of the smallness of the parliamentary wing, or statutory decree. Bille (2/93) indicates that this changes over time, depending on personalities and on whether the chair of the national party is also an MP. From 1991 until 1993, "it is divided."

#103 - Denmark: Conservative People's Party (Conservative; KF)

Coder: Gibson (typos corrected, and code for 12.07 added, by
RH/SSh on 1-22-96)

Note 1: Speaking generally, Jacobs (1989:43) notes that the parliamentary group "...enjoys great freedom of manoeuvre" from the annual national congress, which cannot bind it in any way. Initially, this was taken to indicate a high level of parliamentary autonomy. Hence, where information was not available, the value of the highest degree of parliamentary control tended to be applied. Since the initial coding, Lars Bille has been consulted (2/93) and has provided additional information which was used to revise the initial codes.

12.01 Candidate Selection**1950-90: 2a**

Candidates are chosen through local ballots or at party meetings (Jacobs, 1989:44).

According to Elder et al (1988:149), "in the event of a parliamentary vacancy the next person on the party list (or the next most popular person bearing the party label) moves up to fill the place."

Members of the European Parliament (MEP's) are chosen by the national representatives assembly. Candidates are put forward by the Amts and subject to recommendation by the party leaders (Jacobs, 1989:44).

In Katz and Mair (1992), Table IV.D.5.g, Bille says that individual members "propose and elect," and candidates are actually elected at a nomination meeting where all members are allowed to attend. From at least 1971 to 1989 (when this provision was dropped), the national committee was "entitled to call for a meeting in the regional organization and members of the National Committee may attend the meeting." We are assuming that this did not mean that ratification by the national level was required.

12.02 Parliamentary Leadership Selection**1950-90: 1**

A leader does exist; the "Folketing group has a separate chairman." "The Parliamentary group has an elected chair." He/She can also be party leader and chief spokesperson, e.g. Poul Schluter. "Leadership of the party and leadership of the parliamentary group are strictly separate" (Stammen, 1980:136 n18).

In the absence of any specific reference a score of 1 was

assigned; see Note 1.

Lars Bille confirms that this is the appropriate code (2/93).

12.03 Conformation to Extraparliamentary Positions

1950-90: 2b

No information provided. However, given that the Parliamentary group plays a strong role in formulating public policy and that some extraparliamentary control is exerted, a score of 2b (no requirement to follow ex.parl. party) was given.

Bille (2/93) indicates that while there is no formal provision to this effect in the rules, there is a strong and clear expectation of conformation.

12.04 Discipline of Parliamentary Representatives

1950-90: 1a

"There is a strong tradition of party discipline in each of the Nordic Parliaments which is enforced more by group loyalties than by a whip system, although the Norwegian and some of the Finnish parties each have an official...whip. Party groups meet each day in Denmark during the session, and a member who disagrees with his party's line is expected to give notice at this meeting rather than spring it publicly on his colleagues" (Elder, Thomas and Arter, 1988:129). This could mean that the party disciplines members for not following extra-parliamentary guidelines.

However, given the strong role that the parliamentary group has, it is assumed to administer its own discipline.

Bille (2/93) confirms that this is the proper code.

12.05 Rotation Requirement/Tenure Limitation

1950-90: 99

Law requires reselection between elections (Bille, 2/93).

12.06 Public Policy Positions

1950-90: 2

While the parliamentary group seems to enjoy a high degree of autonomy from the national organization in the form of the congress, it does have to go through the National Council to have its policies approved.

"At national level there is an annual national congress (landsradet), in which around 1500 delegates take part. Its resolutions are not binding on the Conservative parliamentary group, which enjoys great freedom of manoeuvre" (Jacobs, 1989:44).

"The Folketing group has a separate chairman, and it is the group which does most of the preparatory work on policy matters, subject to the final ratification of the national council" (Fitzmaurice, 1981:113).

"The parliamentary group proposes directions for party policy for debate by the national council, a relatively large body which is

the party's highest authority in political matters" (Delury, 1983:253). "The supreme organ is the national council...representing largely the local party districts in proportion to Conservative votes at the last election" (ibid; see also Day & Degenhardt, 1984:95 for reference to supremacy of the National Council).

Lars Bille confirms that this is the appropriate code (2/93).

12.07 Primary Leader of the Party

1950-1981:2

1982-1990:4

Bille (8/94) says that by convention, but not officially, the parliamentary group chairperson is the de facto leader of the party. When the party joins government, the parliamentary chair resigns his/her position and joins the cabinet. However, the same person remains de facto the leader of the party, even though a different parliamentary chair is chosen. In cases where multiple cabinet posts are held, and the prime ministership is one of those posts, the prime minister becomes the party leader. In cases where multiple posts other than prime ministership are held, the former parliamentary group chair remains the party leader.

In 1982, Poul Schluter, who had earlier been elected chairman of the extra-parliamentary group, became prime minister. He also became the de facto leader of the party, according to convention. This is reflected in the code change in 1982. Note, however, that the change in 1982 did not mean a shift in power from the parliamentary to the extra-parliamentary wing of the party.

#104 - Denmark: Left Socialist Party (VS)

Coder: Gibson (typos corrected and code for 12.07 added by
RH/SSh on 1-22-96)

Note 1: The Left Socialists were founded in 1967 so their scores will run from 1967-90.

Note 2: There was very little information in English about this party. However, Delury notes that they are "skeptical of the parliamentary and state institutions" and concentrate instead on pursuing their "revolutionary socialist aims in workplaces". (Delury, 1983:261; Fitzmaurice, 1981:110)). This would seem to indicate that their principal policy articulation does not come from the parliamentary group and that it is very much more focused on extra-parliamentary activity and goals. This is endorsed by Jacobs who says "The party's former Folketing group was subject to strict control from party activists" (Jacobs, 1989:50). Therefore, when no information was available the score indicating the highest degree of extraparliamentary control was assigned.

Also, VS was a break-away from the Socialist People's Party which it felt had deserted its socialist principles. This party is described by Jacobs as being "particularly characterized by the tighter accountability of its parliamentary group to the national party organization than in most other Danish parties" (see #109 Parliamentary vs. Extraparliamentary Coding).

Lars Bille was consulted and provided more information in February, 1993.

12.01 Candidate Selection

1967-90: 99 (missing)

No information available.

12.02 Parliamentary Leadership Selection

1967-90: 1

Bille (2/93) indicates that it is the parliamentary group that selects the parliamentary group's leader.

12.03 Conformation to Extraparliamentary Positions

1967-90: 3

Given the strict degree of control exercised over the Folketing group referred to numerous times in the literature a score of 3 was given indicating that they are required to conform to extraparliamentary positions and that this is effectively enforced.

Bille confirms this code (2/93).

12.04 Discipline of Parliamentary Representatives

1967-90: 3

Although Elder et al. report that "There is a strong tradition of party discipline in each of the Nordic Parliaments which is enforced more by group loyalties than by a whip system, although the Norwegian and some of the Finnish parties each have an official...whip. Party groups meet each day in Denmark during the session, and a member who disagrees with his party's line is expected to give notice at this meeting rather than spring it publicly on his colleagues" (Elder, Thomas and Arter, 1988:129). The unusually strong control exercised by the extraparliamentary group and its break off status from the Socialist People's Party in which the mass party expelled Folketing representatives indicates that a score of 3 is appropriate.

Bille suggests that this could be a toss-up between 3 and 1a, depending on what relative weights would be assigned to what is stated formally and what is done in practice. Ultimately, it is always the parliamentary group that makes the decision to carry out discipline, however (2/93).

12.05 Rotation Requirement/Tenure Limitation

1967-90: 6

Jacobs reports that "The principle of rotation was...established" (Jacobs, 1989:63). While no reference is made to whether or not it was closely or loosely followed, the strictness of extraparliamentary vigilance in general was taken to mean that it would be adhered to.

12.06 Public Policy Positions

1967-90: 4

Jacobs reports that the extra-parliamentary organization is structured such that there is a National Congress, with delegates from the party branches, a National Board of 21 members elected from the Congress, and an Executive Committee which is elected from the Board. No information is provided on the roles of these bodies, or how much influence the parliamentary group has upon them. However, they all are selected directly (Congress) or indirectly (the Board and the Executive) by the grass roots party organization, and given Note 1 that the Folketing group are strictly controlled by party activists a score of 5, indicating total control by the extraparliamentary organization, was given initially.

Bille argues, however, that a 4 is the more appropriate code throughout the period, because although the parliamentary group has no formal authority for taking policy positions, the

extraparliamentary organization was at times unable to provide a unanimous and/or completely clear directive to the parliamentary group, thus giving it some room in which to play (2/93).

12.07 Primary Leader of the Party

1967-90: 5

Bille (8/94 tape) says that the extra-parliamentary leadership is officially the party leadership, so the code of 5 is appropriate. However, it should be noted that the extra-parliamentary leadership is collective (i.e., more than one person) by the National Executive.

#105 - Denmark: Liberal Party (Venstre; V)

Coder: Gibson (slight alterations made by RH/SSh on 1-22-96)

Note 1: Thomas (1988:299) says "Generally speaking, in setting policy priorities, the parliamentary leadership of Venstre appears to be under less constraint from the rest of the party than the Radicals' leaders, whose national assembly can often be highly critical of parliamentary policy developments if they conflict with the views of party activists."

Note 2: This is supported when Jacobs and Fitzmaurice report that there was no central party organization until 1929; however Jacobs and Thomas say that they have always had strong local organizations (Jacobs, 1989:47; Fitzmaurice, 1981:112; Thomas, 1988:282). Thomas says that it is more decentralized than the Radical Liberals (ibid:283).

12.01 Candidate Selection

1950-72:3c

1973-90:2a

County organizations nominate parliamentary candidates, according to Thomas (1988:283).

In Katz and Mair (Table IV.D.5.f), Bille says that until 1973, the decision was made solely by the regional and/or constituency organizations. Beginning in 1973, "a majority on a constituency meeting can decide to hold a ballot among the members." Although the latter is only an option, we feel justified in coding the change from 3c to 2a in 1973.

12.02 Parliamentary Leadership Selection

1950-90:1

The national chair is usually the party leader and the position is often combined with chairmanship of the parliamentary group. (Thomas, 1988:284) This person is directly elected by the national conference.

Bille (2/93) indicates that the parliamentary leader is selected by the parliamentary group.

It is likely that both are true: that is, the national chair is selected by the national assembly and the parliamentary leader by the parliamentary group, and they are usually the same person. This would still justify the code of 1.

12.03 Conformation to Extraparliamentary Positions

1950-90:2b

This coding is based on Bille's comments (2/93) that there is strong expectation, though it is not present in the rules.

12.04 Discipline of Parliamentary Representatives

1950-90:1a

While there were no specific references to disciplinary techniques and who administered them, Thomas (1988) provides a table showing the degree of cohesion among parliamentary representatives in the Danish Folketing by party. Venstre ranks beneath SF, SD and RV and the Conservative party, although its unity is still very high: 94.9% for 1953-5, 96.7% for 1971-9. This, Thomas says, indicates that the breaks in Venstre's discipline were more major and comprehensive than just one or two individuals (Thomas, 1988:282).

Katz and Mair, Table IV.D.2.f, says that the national committee "Has the right to expel party organizations or members."

Bille in person (2/93) indicated that a 1a would be appropriate. Though further checking would be required to confirm this, it could be that expulsion is hardly ever (if ever) used, and hence the disciplinary techniques that are actually employed are carried out by the parliamentary group itself.

12.05 Rotation Requirement/Tenure Limitation

1950-90: 99

Law requires reselection between elections.

12.06 Public Policy Positions

1950-90:3

"The national meeting decides the party program..." (Delury, 1983:254). It meets once a year and consists of constituency representatives, the National Executive (50-60 members, mostly local party activists; see Jacobs:47), the Folketing and European parliamentary group, ministers and parliamentary candidates, and other extra-parliamentary actors (Delury, 1983:254). There are about 700-800 representatives in total, (Jacobs:47). "Congress is the supreme authority" (Fitzmaurice, 1981:112).

Thomas says that ideas come from the constituency level but that the national assembly is the decisive authority on party policy. They can hold "extraordinary meetings if necessary" (Thomas, 1988:283).

The Executive Committee is the next authority down in terms of policy (Delury:254). It consists of 11 members, including the party chair, vice-chair, treasurer and chair of the Folketing group (Jacobs:47). It is charged with discussing policy and negotiating with the parliamentary group on policy matters (Delury:254).

Bille (2/93) indicates that while the party organization does write the manifestos, etc., the parliamentary group has some leeway. However, the latter is limited by a clear expectation

that the parliamentary group will act in accordance with the extraparliamentary organization's directives. (He suggested that a value of 2 could be appropriate, but we feel that would be going too far. We prefer his second choice, a "3".)

12.07 Identity of Party Leader

1950-90:5

The party chair is the party's national leader (Jacobs, 1989:47).
(See also 12.02 above.)

Bille concurs that the extraparliamentary chair is leader (8/94).

Corrective for 2000 printing: Though 1973 was originally assigned as the beginning date for the following codes, all are actually applicable from the 1972 founding date of the Progress Party.

#106 - Denmark: Progress Party (F)

Coder: Gibson (typos corrected by RH/SSh on 1-22-96; 12.03 and 12.04 were altered by RH/RG on 3-16-96)

Note 1: The parliamentary group is very strong in the Progress Party. An official organization did not exist at first. Glistrup, the founder of the party did not want any structures at the national or local levels. This gave the parliamentary group, de facto, all the decision making power, as individuals. Since Glistrup was jailed from 1984 to 1987, the extraparliamentary organization was built up, but as of 1987 the parliamentary group was still in a dominant position. Thus, when information is lacking the score indicating the highest degree of parliamentary autonomy was given.

12.01 Candidate Selection

1973-90:4

The ultimate selection of candidates is made at the national level, by the "Main Board." They can change the nominating rules for candidates in constituencies and veto nominations (Harmel & Svasand, 1989:27; Pederson, 1987:39). Initial selection is made at the lower levels first by the party organization. Bille (2/93) concurs. Even though this is apparently the procedure that is followed, Katz and Mair (1992, Table IV.D.5.h), says that "there are no rules as regards candidate selection for national election in the central party rules." (This assumes that at the constituency level, it is the organization and not the entire membership that is acting.)

12.02 Selection of Parliamentary Leader

1973-90:1

A separate parliamentary chair exists, distinct from the national party organization chair (Harmel & Svasand, 1989:28). However, until Glistrup's jail term in 1984 he was the effective party leader in all respects. Although he was never elected as the parliamentary leader he enjoyed a lifetime position on the Main Board (Harmel & Svasand, 1989:27). By the time he returned in 1987 the party had another parliamentary spokesperson. No reference is made to selection procedures but given the strength of the parliamentary group in the organization a score indicating selection by parliamentary members only was given initially.

Bille (2/93) concurs.

12.03 Conformation to Extraparliamentary Positions

1973-90: 1b

The parliamentary group is in control. References to discipline and the statutory position of the convention make it apparent that there are limits on the positions that they can adopt, but the parliamentary group dominates the convention, and no reference is made to extra-parliamentary discipline techniques. In fact, it is the parliamentary group that we deemed to be totally responsible for formulating the party's positions on public policy. (See Variable 12.06.)

Bille (2/93) indicates that the party is now moving toward a "2b", but that it would be premature to indicate that the new expectation has been "routinized" already.

12.04 Discipline of Parliamentary Representatives

1973-90: 1b

Party discipline only applies to the most fundamental points in the party program; on other issues each MF and each party member is free to decide (Fitzmaurice (in Henig, ed.), 1979:41). No reference was made to how the discipline is effected but given the strength of the parliamentary group generally, it was assumed that it administered its own techniques. In fact, it is the parliamentary group that we deemed to be totally responsible for formulating the party's positions on public policy. (See Variable 12.06.)

Bille (2/93) confirms that this coding is correct.

In Katz and Mair (1992, Table IV.D.2.h), it is noted that the national committee "has the right to expel members." (See discussion under 12.04 for Venstre.)

12.05 Rotation Requirement/Tenure Limitation

1973-90: 99

Reselection between elections is required by law.

12.06 Public Policy Positions

1973-90: 1

"Although the party statutes stipulate that the national convention is 'the party's highest authority' there is actually very little said about its role." Its agenda is set by the Main Board; this body makes the policy decisions and its members include parliamentary group representatives. In fact this group controls its decisions (Harmel & Svasand, 1989:26-7). The Main Board is elected by the congress but structural links made it possible for the central committee (Main Board) to control the congress and thus its own composition (Pederson, 1987:39). They

also command the purse, thus acting as an efficient check on the national organization (Pederson, 1989:40). Therefore the parliamentary group is assumed to control the policy positions adopted by the party.

Addendum for 2000 printing:

The following language supporting the code of 2 for variable 12.07 was not included in the original data book produced in May of 1996, and corrects faulty information that was provided in that edition. The corrective language was developed by Harmel after consultation with Lars Bille in Copenhagen on April 30, 1999. Though the coding is not affected, the supporting information is different.

12.07 Identity of Party Leader

1972-90: 2

De jure, the party chair is the head of the national organization. *De facto*, this has never been the case. First the founder, Mogens Glistrup, was undisputed primary leader of the party, and this was the case until he went to prison in 1984. For the next five years (including the period when Glistrup was jailed) Folketing group chair Helge Dohrman and Folketing (technically: “political”) spokesperson Pia Kjaersgaard effectively shared control of the party. This was the case until Dohrman died in 1989 and Kjaersgaard, still from her position as political spokesperson, took control alone. Though Glistrup was never chair of the Folketing group (and was spokesperson only in 1976 (co-) and 1984), he was leader as the party’s founder, but was operating primarily from his position within the Folketing group. Though Kjaersgaard was never Folketing group chair, she was operating as primary leader from her position as the group’s spokesperson. Hence, it seems to us that it is most reasonable to assign the code of “2” throughout the period 1972-90. (Rejustified by Bille and Harmel, 4/30/90; see also Bille, 1997, p. 386.)

#107 - Denmark: Social Liberals (Radical Liberals; RV)

Coder: Gibson (typos corrected by RH/SSh on 1-29-96; RH/RG altered

12.03 (from 1a to 1b) on 3-16-96)

12.01 Candidate Selection

1950-69: 99 (missing)

1970-90: 2a

Constituency associations nominate parliamentary candidates (Thomas, 1987:284; Pederson, 1987:32).

Katz and Mair (1992), Table IV.D.5.c, says that from 1962 to 1970, there were no rules governing this at all. Then, beginning in 1970, individual members (i.e., as a group) were given responsibility for proposing and electing. Under constituency organization, Katz and Mair says "The nomination takes place in a general meeting. All members have the right to vote."

12.02 Parliamentary Leadership Selection

1950-90: 1

"The party's parliamentary group chooses its own chairman, who is normally the political leader of the party (unless its political leader is a government minister)" (Jacobs, 1989:50).

Bille (2/93) concurs. (See also Katz and Mair (1992), Table IV.D.4.c, Note.)

12.03 Conformation to Extra-parliamentary Positions

1950-90: 1b

There is no requirement that the parliamentary group conform to extraparliamentary programs.

The national party organization cannot bind their decisions in any way (Jacobs, 1989:50). Though no explicit statements were found to indicate that party rules permit the parliamentary group to formulate policy, we inferred from other information that it is the parliamentary group that is totally responsible for formulating the party's positions on public policy. (See Variable 12.06.) Hence, a code of 1b is appropriate.

12.04 Discipline of Parliamentary Representatives

1950-90: 1b

No discernible techniques of discipline were discovered.

Given our code in 12.06, the code of 1b is appropriate here.

Bille (2/93) concurs.

12.05 Rotation Requirement/Tenure Limitation

1950-90: 99

Law requires reselection between elections.

12.06 Public Policy Positions

1950-90: 1

The National Congress is the highest political and organizational authority (Day & Degenhardt, 1984:96). The National "Assembly" is the highest authority and only delegates can vote. However, it meets only once a year and between then the Executive acts as ultimate authority. This body consists of about 100 members, the proportion of Folketing representatives being about 4% (Thomas, 1987:284). However, "...the parliamentary group is given great freedom of manoeuvre by the national party organization, which cannot bind its decisions in any way" (Jacobs, 1989:50). The extraparliamentary group "rely heavily on the parliamentary group" (Thomas, 1987:283). The role in policy making of the National "conference" is "approving programs" (Fitzmaurice, 1981:114). Following the "old" pre-war party mould the party organization "played a secondary role in relation to the parliamentary party...the opinion of the parliamentary party would prevail...not the party organization..." which did not interfere with national politics (Pederson, 1987:33).

Katz and Mair (1992), Table IV.D.4.c, says that the national conference, beginning in 1974, has had responsibility to "discuss the political plan of the parliamentary group for next year." Bille (2/93) confirms that 1 is probably the correct code for now, though the party may be moving in the direction of "2."

12.07 Primary Leader of the Party

1950-90: 2

Bille (2/93) indicates that by tradition (though it is probably not in the rules), the chair of the parliamentary group is the recognized leader of the party.

NOTE: There are two conflicts in the literature:

1. Regarding the status of the parliamentary leader: Pederson says that the leader in Parliament "in those days (1950s)...was generally also chairman of the national organization" (1987:33). Thomas, however, says the chair of the Assembly and Executive "is not normally a member of parliament..." (1987:284) and cites Tagholt (1971:130).

2. Regarding the voting rights of Folketing members at National Assemblies: Pederson says they "participated" (1987:33), and Thomas says that "...only constituency delegates may vote" (1987:284).

#108 - Denmark: Social Democratic Party (SD)

Coder: Gibson (typos corrected by RH/SSh on 1-29-96)

12.01 Candidate Selection

1950-90: 2b

Thomas reports that in 1969 a deliberate decision was made to open the party to initiatives from constituency-level associations. This meant allowing local branches to nominate another candidate for parliamentary seat, whereas before decisions must have been made at the top (Thomas, 1977:259). Candidates for the Folketing are chosen by ballot or meetings within electoral districts. The party now generally follows the system which gives the seats to the candidate who got the most popular votes, rather than by place on a party list (Jacobs, 1989:36; Fitzmaurice, 1981:107).

Katz and Mair (1992, Table IV.D.5.b) indicates that until 1969, the decisions were made at meetings where all members could participate, at the constituency level. After 1969, the option of a postal ballot is introduced. Throughout both periods, "all nominated candidates must be approved by the national committee." (In other words, the change that occurred in 1969 apparently would not result in a different code for this variable.)

12.02 Parliamentary Leadership Selection

1950-90:1

There is a position for a Folketing Chair (Jacobs, 1989:36). The Congress is listed specifically as electing the party chair, vice-chair and secretary. No mention is made of the parliamentary leader.

According to Bille (2/93) the parliamentary group alone selects the Folketing chair, officially, but by tradition and by "unwritten rule," the parliamentary group **always** selects the party leader who was chosen by the party conference (except when the party is in power). In 1987, when there was retirement from the combined leadership position, there was a split in the party that was solved by breaking up the two leadership positions. This lasted until 1991, when the original "unwritten rule" was again understood and followed.

Bille suggests using a code of 4 until 1987, then a "1", and then a "4" again after 1991 (Bille, 2/93). However, to be consistent with our coding of this variable for the Venstre party, we have chosen to give a "1" throughout the period.

12.03 Conformation to Extraparliamentary Positions

1950-90: 2b

No specific reference was found to regulations requiring conformation. Bille (2/93) indicates that this is not included in the rules, but that there is a clear and strong expectation that the extraparliamentary organization's positions will be followed by the Folketing group.

12.04 Discipline of Parliamentary Representatives

1950-90: 1a

The party is noted for its tight discipline and cohesion (Thomas, 1977:259).

Elder et al (1988) report that "There is a strong tradition of party discipline in each of the Nordic Parliaments which is enforced more by group loyalties than by a whip system, although the Norwegian and some of the Finnish parties each have an official...whip. Party groups meet each day in Denmark during the session, and a member who disagrees with his party's line is expected to give notice at this meeting rather than spring it publicly on his colleagues" (Elder, Thomas and Arter, 1988:129). Katz and Mair (1992), Table IV.D.2.b.ii, says that the national executive "Can expell members and must confirm all expulsions." However, Bille (2/93) suggests that "1a" is the appropriate code, such that the parliamentary group itself administers discipline. The only way to understand these two statements together is to assume that expulsion is hardly ever (if ever) used, and all other discipline is carried out by the group itself.

[Note: the level of confidence for this code is lower than for that of other variables.]

12.05 Rotation Requirement/Tenure Limitation

1950-68: 99

1969-90: 2

We assume that until 1969 the party was covered by the same law that required reselection between elections for all other parties.

In 1969 major organizational changes occurred which transferred decisions concerning renomination to the basic level of the party. These included rules that candidates be renominated annually in each constituency so that they remain in touch with their electorate (Thomas, 1977: 243; Elder et al, 1988:125). However, existing candidates are automatically renominated unless 25 members of the nomination district propose another, then a vote must take place (Thomas, 1977:243).

Also, restrictions are placed upon parliamentary members in that they cannot hold seats in the Folketing, the European Parliament, and local or county level (Delury, 1983:257; Fitzmaurice, 1981:107).

12.06 Public Policy Positions

1950-90:4

The Party Congress meets every 4 years; it approves the party's program of principles after debate in the branches (Delury, 1983:257). This role of the locally based policy making structure is confirmed by Elder et al; internal rules allow party branches to take policy initiatives (Elder et al, 1988:125). Congress is the "supreme policy making body of the party..."; in 1973 it called for the drawing up a new program by 1977, the next meeting. A drafting committee was set up by the national executive (national party organization leaders, Amt representatives, the Folketing chair, plus other ex officio members) the following year and it was adopted at the next meeting of congress. The Congress is highly organized and can deal with detailed discussions of programs; it sets up working groups and considers amendments in depth (Fitzmaurice, 1981:106-7).

Since 1888 the Party Congress has been the supreme authority (Thomas, 1977:236), and has drawn up specific programs for the party to follow (Thomas, 1977:254-59). Party programs between 1973-1977 Congress's were put out for debate to the associations. In 1977 the Congress reinterpreted party principles to bring them up to date with the changing society (Thomas, 1977:257). The next highest authority would seem to be the Executive Committee; it has 15 members, one of which is the chair of the Folketing group, and it meets most frequently, every 4 days (Jacobs, 1989:36). It is the main source of coordination and continuity, deciding tactics and negotiating with other parties (Thomas, 1977:259).

Bille (2/93) says that the power of the executive committee should not be overstated. Its role is one of negotiating **on behalf of** the parliamentary group, rather than of directing the group's activities.

In Katz and Mair (1992, Table IV.D.2.b.ii), however, Bille says that the national executive is "In practice, leading party body in all organizational and policy matters." So, while Bille (2/93) suggested a code of 3 for this variable, we judge that "4" may be more appropriate.

12.07 Identity of Party Leader

1950-90: 5

The national congress, which meets every four years, elects the national chair who is effectively the party's leader.

Bille (2/93) confirms this code.

NOTE: Individual parliamentarians are closely accountable to their local organizations.

#109 - Denmark: Socialist People's Party (SF)

Coder: Gibson (typos corrected by RH/SSh on 1-29-96)

NOTE: Coding runs from 1959-90, because SF was founded in 1959. It is also noteworthy that "SF's organization is particularly characterized by the tighter accountability of its parliamentary group to the national party organization than in most other Danish parties" (Jacobs, 1989:40).

12.01 Candidate Selection

1959-90: 3b

Folketing candidates are generally chosen by secret ballot of all SF members within an Amt. Three of these organizations decide on the candidates through the number of preference votes they receive. The others adopt a party list system, whereby the order of election is determined by a candidate's position on the list with the order also being decided in a secret ballot (Jacobs, 1989:40). The control that the party organization exerts over the order in which candidates are elected "has seriously limited the room for manoeuvre of the parliamentary leadership..." (ibid). According to Katz and Mair (1992, Table IV.D.5.a), the national committee "shall approve all candidates," and this has been the case throughout the period (though in 1965 they were "...to take active part in the nominations on the local and regional levels"). From 1959 through 1969, individual members "propose and elect" at a meeting open to all members at the constituency level; in 1970, this was reduced to "electing" only. In 1970 also, "representatives from the boards of the local branches form a nomination committee." In 1976, "if a candidate list in the constituency is preferred, a ballot is held among the members in the constituency."

12.02 Parliamentary Leadership Selection

1959-90:1

The annual party congress elects all party leaders (Delury, 1989:259).

However, according to Bille (2/93), Delury's statement does not apply to the parliamentary group leader, who is actually selected by the parliamentary group itself.

12.03 Conformation to Extraparliamentary Positions

1959-90: 3

"The parliamentary group has to follow the guidelines laid down in the annual conference and has an obligation to report to the party's central committee or executive committee before voting

on important political matters" (Jacobs, 1989:40). Bille (2/93) adds that this is the only party that explicitly says that major policy moves in parliamentary have to be confirmed by the extraparliamentary organization.

(See also Katz and Mair (1992), Table IV.D.2.a.i.)

12.04 Discipline of Parliamentary Representatives

1959-90: 1a

No explicit references were found to disciplinary tactics. However, Fitzmaurice reports that "...there has been a constant tension between the Folketing group and the mass party, culminating in a purge of five MP's before the 1977 election" (Fitzmaurice, 1981:109-110). This would seem to indicate that the extraparliamentary organization exercises disciplinary power. However, Bille (2/93) says the word "purge" in the above statement is too strong; they were not actually purged, per se. Party members determined the ordering of candidates on the list, and in effect did make it impossible for these five candidates to be re-elected.

12.05 Rotation Requirement/Tenure Limitation

1959-90: 2

Bille (2/93) indicates that party rules require reselection. I.e., in this case rules as well as the law requires reselection between elections.

12.06 Public Policy Positions

1959-90: 4

The annual party conference lays down the platform guidelines for the Folketing representatives (Jacobs, 1989:40). According to Delury (1983:258), "the party congress of delegates from local branches must approve the party program." There is also a role for the party's executive committee in formulating policy between conferences. This committee is dominated by extraparliamentary members; it can have no more than three of its nine members be Folketing representatives. It meets with the parliamentary members, who must "report" before an important vote and it (i.e., executive committee) is "very powerful within the party..." (Jacobs, 1989:40). There are also 20 party committees which prepare the party's policies in specific fields, such as taxation and agriculture (ibid). Their parliamentary/extraparliamentary status is not referred to, but given the strong control by the extraparliamentary organization and the fact that they (i.e., the party committees) are mentioned after discussion of the executive committee would seem to indicate that they report to that body. Thus, even though parliamentary members are included on the executive committee, they are deliberately given minority status. Thus, while a score of 5 might be justified, Bille (2/93) suggests that a "4" would be more accurate.

12.07 Identity of Party Leader

1959-90: 5

While there is a party chairman and a parliamentary leader, the former, elected by the national conference, is more powerful than the latter, and is recognized as the party's national leader (Jacobs, 1989:40).

Bille (2/93) confirms the above statement, and indicates that this has been very clearcut throughout the life of this party.