

SWEPSA 2019 – Abstracts

Abstracts sorted by working groups

Environmental Politics.....	2
Gender, Politics and Theory.....	12
Governance and Public Administration.....	16
International Relations and European Politics.....	21
Migrations, agency-making, diaspora and transnational relations.....	24
Political Behavior and Parties (Swepop).....	27
Political theory, political ideologies and political language.....	39
Power and the Political.....	46
Public Administration and Management Practices.....	51

Environmental Politics

Accomplishing environmental governance through urban smart energy experiments: knowledge politics in infrastructural dispositions

Fredrik Envall, Linköping University

In this paper I analyze three Swedish cities which have set up “smart city” experiments in different arrangements. I ask how these specific socio-material enactments of smart cities have wider impacts on environmental governance, especially through configuring power relations and infrastructure development in their respective cities and beyond. In the city of Stockholm, the smart city district Royal Seaport, with ambitions of “world-class” sustainable city development, is intended to become an innovation hub where a range of public and corporate actors create new smart city solutions and bring Stockholm to the leading edge of technology and product development in this field. In Hyllie, a new district in the city of Malmö, a vision of smart grid and smart city is implemented in tight cooperation between municipal departments and the multinational company E.ON, which operates both the electricity and district heating grid and attempts to position itself also as a major IT infrastructure provider. The third city, Västerås, is place of a much more grassroots-driven experiment with citizen-owned energy supply and alternative visions of the organization of the energy system. In the analysis I will ask how these three experiments enact very different configurations of urban environmental governance and infrastructure management. Not only are the visions of how infrastructural change can be accomplished different, but so are the relations between public, corporate, and civil society actors in this effort, and the type of knowledge produced in these experiments as well as its addressees and forms of circulation within the city and to other cities, in other words the particular knowledge politics at work in these experiments.

The epistemic aspects of environmental transformation – lessons from transformative processes of the past

Monika Berg, Örebro University

Despite broad political and scientific agreement that society needs to move in a more sustainable direction, it has proved difficult to alter unsustainable institutions. According to previous research environmental issues are de-politicized, which prohibits fundamental structural changes. The de-politicization has been enforced by the knowledge dependence of environmental issues. This paper aims to contribute to our understanding of processes of politicization and societal transformation, and their contingency on science-policy relations. It will do so by drawing lessons from a previous societal transformation, namely the formation of the Swedish welfare state. The Swedish welfare state provides a suitable case since during its formation, economic assumptions and fundamental values were contested and

renegotiated. New institutions were initiated that transformed society substantially. By drawing lessons from previous societal transformations and their civic epistemological foundation, and comparing with today, we may identify enablers of and constraints on a green societal transformation. An external reference point enables the identification of normalized assumptions, practices and framings in contemporary society. The paper provides a secondary analysis, based on previous research, which explores the role of knowledge and civic epistemology as dominant ideas and structures were challenged in the beginning of the last century. The aim is not to explain the previous transformation, but to use the historical case as an external reference point, to gain perspective on contemporary processes.

Exploring the co-construction of meaning in environmental governance

Anke Fischer, Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet

A substantial body of literature investigates public perceptions and understandings of global environmental phenomena such as climate change, biodiversity loss and resource degradation, and, conversely, a wealth of research analyses the governance arrangements to deal with such issues. However, these large fields of inquiry rarely ever meet: There has been only limited research into people's understandings of the governance of phenomena such as climate change, and into the ways in which people make sense of the political and societal structures in which these phenomena are situated.

In this talk, I explore the potential of such a more ideational perspective to environmental governance research. I use a range of constructs, each exploring a different aspect of people's concepts of environmental governance, including social representations of governance arrangements, governance-related values and people's implicit theories of humanity, human behaviour, society and the political system. In doing so, I draw on both qualitative and quantitative empirical studies that address different areas of environmental governance such as protected area management and societal transitions to more sustainable lifestyles. My findings illustrate the usefulness of such a 'micro'-perspective that focuses on people's experiences, ideals and interpretations of environmental governance, as it provides insights into some of the factors that might help us understand success and failure of governance arrangements. At the same time, the approach also elucidates some of the social contexts and mechanisms through which ideas of environmental governance are developed and shared.

Mining Corporations Role in Climate Adaptation

Maria-Therese Gustafsson, Stockholm University

Lisa Maria Dellmuth, Stockholm University

This paper maps the attempts of the ten largest mining companies in the world to adapt to a changing climate. Mining requires large amount of water and is potentially extremely vulnerable to climate-related risks. In mining regions where water scarcity is already high and likely to increase with climate change, mining operations will not only become more difficult, but conflicts are also likely to arise with local communities over access to water resources. The manifold corporate-led initiatives that have emerged in the recent past could, therefore, potentially have positive impacts on societal resilience.

While the Paris Agreement has opened up for an unprecedented participation of non-state actors in global climate governance, we know little about corporate-led adaptation initiatives. Academic research on non-state actors in climate governance has largely focused on mitigation, and to some extent on the adaptation activities of local governments.

Based on corporate documents (reports, risks assessments and statements) and semi-structured interviews with company representatives, the paper analyses how mining companies engage in climate adaptation and how they present the rationales for such engagement. Based on our findings, we argue that in order to have positive impacts on societal resilience, corporate-led adaptation needs to take local communities' rights and interests into account, and be aligned with state-led climate adaptation planning.

By providing for novel empirical findings about corporate-led adaptation, the paper makes two distinct contributions to previous research. First, it contributes to debates on non-state actors in climate governance that has mainly focused on mitigation and largely overlooked corporate-led adaptation initiatives. Second, by shifting the focus to corporate actors, the paper advances debates on climate adaptation. We uncover the rationales and divergent interests that underpins such initiatives and, if left unregulated, may further disadvantage vulnerable populations and led to maladaptation.

Children as the New Climate Precariat: A Conceptual Proposition

Arita Holmberg, Swedish Defence University

Aida Alvinus, Swedish Defence University

In this article we make a conceptual proposition: that children and youth constitute a new climate precariat. Drawing on Standing's conceptualization of the precariat, with elements of temporality aspects, insecurity and the presence of an identity vacuum as key elements, we argue that these elements could be transferred to the context of children and youth in relation to the climate crisis. With empirical illustrations from speeches by Greta Thunberg, a young climate activist that has come to represent children's concerns in relation to the climate crisis, we develop the conceptualization of children as a new climate precariat. It is argued that in relation to temporality and security, children and youth suffer from the potential loss of a sustainable future, which spurs a need for urgent action and constant consciousness - in the

present - of future risks of insecurity. The inaction of current world leaders, companies and the general population also create a form of identity vacuum for children and youth - uncertainty regarding towards whom they should direct their claims for responsibility, and an othering across generations and space.

Bridging the Global Emissions Gap: Assembling Non-State Action in the Paris Climate Regime

Sara Holmgren, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Eva Lövbrand, Linköping University

Since the 1990s global norms of transparency has increasingly moved to the centre of environmental governance and become closely associated with the openness and disclosure of 'information'. I.e. standardised and science-based information packaged in statistical representations or indicators. Social science scholars have called for critical analytical perspectives that can help illuminate the normative values, pitfalls and power inherited in environmental information production, dissemination and use. Yet, few empirical studies contextualize and historicize information disclosure and transparency in particular issue areas. This paper makes such an empirical contribution as we investigate the 'turn to information' in the particular issue area of forests, using Sweden as the empirical point of departure. Based on interviews with persons working in private and public organisations, who in their work are the 'disclosers' or the presumed 'recipients' of the forest information disclosed, complemented with analysis of policy documents and media reporting, we illuminate how current information disclosure reproduces the historical view on forests as sources of biomass, whereas forest biodiversity and socio-cultural values are phenomena that are systematically obscured. As the information provision is biased towards forest biomass production, we argue that it is important that coming information disclosure initiatives not only focus on disseminating existing information, but that it opens up and render biodiversity and socio-cultural values visible and governable. This to ensure a sustainable Swedish bioeconomy transition. The material not only illustrates the constitutive functions of information, but also a strategic use and non-sharing of information amongst the recipients of information. We conclude that new and better dissemination of existing information is not likely to resolve the forest conflicts emerging as we transform to low carbon societies. As long as the blind spots, normative values and power inherited in the forest information production and use are overlooked, forest information disclosure will remain a clear site of contestation in itself, and not a neutral means to govern and overcome political conflicts.

Ecosystem services: A ‘good’ tool for biodiversity governance?

Erik Hysing, Örebro University

University Ecosystem services (ES) has developed into an important concept and approach to further sustainable management of natural resources and to halt biodiversity and habitat loss. Around the world, ES features ever more prominently in political rhetoric and public policy, but also businesses and organizations have embraced the language of ES. Although ES has been widely endorsed by policymakers, it is neither unproblematic nor undisputed as an approach to biodiversity governance and critics see ES as a misguided and overly pragmatic political strategy that risks lead to further exploitation of nature. The contribution of ES to the protection of biodiversity depends largely on how key public and private decision-makers understand, value and secure a capacity to act. Informed by a critical policy perspective, this paper explores how the concept of ES has been conceptualized in Swedish biodiversity policymaking, and the implications this has for how biodiversity is governed.

Bridging the Global Emissions Gap: Assembling Non-State Action in the Paris Climate Regime

Maria Jernnäs, Linköping University

Eva Lövbrand, Linköping University

The study of international climate politics has for some time been under the influence of global governance studies. The turn to global governance offers a particular way to think through the character of world politics and has brought with it an optimistic language of collective problem-solving, partnering and consensus. In response to the failed 2009 UN climate summit in Copenhagen, we learned that climate politics has turned more complex, polycentric, and networked. The age when the state was synonymous with climate governance is passing and political rule now operates in close cooperation between state and non-state actors. This cooperative language made possible the adoption of the 2015 Paris Agreement and has informed political and academic debates that followed. In order to keep global mean warming well below 2 degrees C, cities, businesses and non-governmental organizations are today regularly called upon to partner with states in the transition to the low-carbon society. In this paper we critically examine the political ideals and norms that underpin non-state involvement in the Paris climate regime. We do so by examining UN material on the Global Climate Action agenda and discursively analyzing the political rationalities they rest upon and project.

Why Study if There is No Future? The Politics of Youth Representation in the Paris Climate Regime

Jens Marquardt, Stockholm university

Eva Lövbrand, Linköping University

In September 2018, 15-year-old Greta Thunberg initiated a school strike outside the Swedish parliament in defiance of an adult world that has failed to take the mounting climate crisis seriously. In less than a year, Greta's school strike has inspired a global movement of youth climate activism. Under the label 'Fridays for Future' children and youth across several continents now mobilize to put pressure on political leaders to take more radical action on climate change and hereby secure livable and safe climate futures for generations to come. In this paper we trace how these youth-led climate change protests enter the realm of global climate governance and the international negotiation process organized around the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the 2015 Paris Agreement. We ask what political roles that are claimed by and granted to children in global climate governance, which actors that speak in their name, and which strategies they use to shape climate policy discourse and practice. Our study draws upon interviews and participant observations of children in Fridays for Future protests in Sweden and Germany, as well as interviews with youth representatives and other stakeholders at the UN climate meetings in Bonn (2019) and Chile (2020). Our paper identifies three different roles for children in global climate governance: (1) Children and youth as passive objects and moral justification for action, (2) children and youth as responsible constituents and official participants of the UNFCCC system, and (3) children and youth as political activists confronting the UNFCCC system and official climate policy agendas. By contrasting these strategies of cooperation and confrontation, we seek to advance the understanding of children and youth as political subjects in global climate governance and hereby push the study of youth representation in global affairs in new and productive directions.

Vind i nedre Norrland – en studie av utfall vid överklaganden av beslut om vindkraftparker enligt miljöbalken

Erland Sköllerhorn, Länsstyrelsen Västerbotten

Vindkraft framhålls som en viktig källa till förnybar energi vid omställningen bort från fossila bränslen. Samtidigt finns det ofta olika motstående intressen när en vindkraftpark ska etableras: allmänna intressen (natur- och kulturvärden, friluftsliv, markanvändning som rennäring samt miljöstörningar som buller) och enskilda intressen (t.ex. oro för att fritidshus ska minska i värde). Man kan anta att konflikterna vid etablering av vindkraftparker ökar över tid eftersom allt fler platser tas i anspråk och vindkraftverken blir allt större. De s.k. Miljöprövningsdelegationerna (MPD) vid länsstyrelserna beslutar om tillstånd enligt 9 kap.

miljöbalken för en vindkraftpark medan Mark- och miljödomstolarna (MMD) hanterar överklaganden av dessa beslut. Syftet med denna studie är att undersöka vilka aktörer som överklagat MPD-beslut, typer av argument, om MPD-besluten beslut ändras av domstolen och domstolens motiveringar. Aktuella aktörer är enskilda, samebyar, NGO och företagen som ansöker om tillstånd. Preliminärt urval är 14 nyare domar fattade av MMD vid Östersunds tingsrätt. Resultaten efter innehållsanalys kan jämföras med motsvarande tidigare studier av domar vid Umeå tingsrätt och Växjö tingsrätt. Därmed ökar underlaget för att visa variationen inom landet. Studien ökar också underlaget för att diskutera outputlegitimiteten vid nuvarande tillståndsprovning av vindkraftparker.

Integrating Climate-Related Security Risks in Swedish Development Cooperation: Experiences from Sida and Swedish Embassies in the Horn of Africa

Veronica Broden Gyberg, Linköping University

Malin Mobjörk, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

Societies worldwide are facing a new class of security challenges posed by climate change. Although there is an ongoing debate about the causal mechanisms linking climate change to violent conflict, researchers and policy makers widely agree that climate-related change exacerbates existing vulnerabilities which undermines human security, societies well-being and indirectly influences violent conflicts. The burgeoning research examining how intergovernmental organizations are framing and responding to climate-related security risks shows that organizations with fundamentally different mandates are in the process of developing their work to conceptualize and integrate security risks posed by climate change. A general understanding is that the most effective policy approaches will consist of preventive measures applied to mitigate the adverse effects of climate change. Therefore, development organizations are key in addressing and mitigating climate-related security risks. This paper contributes to the growing research on how organizations are integrating climate-related security risks with a case study of how the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) is framing and developing its responses. In 2015, Sida was tasked by the Swedish government to integrate human rights, environment and climate, gender, and conflict in all its operations; from strategies and policies to monitoring and evaluation of the practical implementation and results. This makes Sida a well-suited case of how an organization is integrating climate-related security risks in its policies and practices. Based on document analysis and 15 semi-structured interviews with 24 Sida staff in Stockholm and at embassies in the Horn of Africa, the analysis contributes with insights on the relationship between environmental and climate change to the discourse of peace and conflict; how integrated approaches are being implemented; and how organizational factors contribute to the preconditions for addressing and mitigating with climate-related security risks.

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Maria Nordbrandt, Uppsala University

Green deliberative theorists argue that inclusive public deliberation should improve conditions for collective efforts to mitigate social and ecological unsustainability (Barry 1999, Dryzek 2000, Eckersley 2004, Goodin 1992). One of the most topical scholarly debates include how public deliberation can become more democratic in light of the challenges of modernity (Mansbridge et al. 2012), such as the volatility of the Anthropocene (Dryzek 2016, Dryzek and Stevenson 2014). In this paper, I take as point of departure the normative notion advanced by Owen and Smith (2015: 27-28) that the “deliberativeness” of spaces for political contestation should be evaluated by the extent to which they “uphold or undermine democratic deliberation” – that is, whether or not they encourage citizens to engage in ongoing mutual exchange of reasons with different minded others.

The paper utilizes Dutch panel survey data and provides a rare empirical evaluation of the extent to which social media encourage or undermine users’ motivation to deliberate across lines of difference and reflect on new ideas – central tenets of deliberative democracy. Despite the widespread use of social media today, their effect on users’ motivation to consider and reflect on viewpoints that are meaningfully different from their own has not been adequately addressed empirically.

I find that the most frequently used social media site, Facebook, has a strong presence of people with a comparatively low interest in deliberating before making up their minds. As such, it may contribute to making politics accessible to a broader public beyond people who are likely to seek out political information and deliberation elsewhere. However, the main finding is that frequent use is associated with decreased motivation to deliberate and to reflect on new ideas, all else being equal.

The paper concludes by discussing implications for green deliberative democratic theory and beyond.

Power in the institutional relations of Environmental Assessment through the practitioners’ lens

Alexandra Polido, University of Aveiro

Protect ecosystems, build inclusive societies, and promote resilient communities is crucial for Sustainable Development. Environmental Assessment (EA) of policies, plans and programmes plays a central role in achieving these goals due to its systematic and participated assessment process. However, EA has an undeniable political and institutional dimension, with a need for cooperation and coordination between different actors, such as, decision-

makers, practitioners (including planners), and civil society. A key factor impacting on this dimension of EA are the existing power relations. In the literature, power relations linked with EA, are studied with different perspectives: (i) EA as a mediation tool, associated to power and conflict; (ii) power as a mean of manipulation of stakeholders by interest groups through public participation; (iii) relationship between knowledge and power, regarding the legitimacy of knowledge produced in EA; and, (iv) the power practitioners have to influence EA outcomes. Previous work showed the importance of ownership by practitioners on the EA effectiveness and quality. However, how the political and hierarchical relations within institutions influences the role of practitioners and therefore the development of EA processes remains unexplored. Without such an understanding, we are left with an inadequate analysis that may lead to decisions with poor democratic and environmental protection values. This research will fill this gap by exploring the existing political and hierarchical power relations within the EA institutional dimension and its influence on practitioners' ownership of EA process. This project will enhance and promote the debates on the institutional and political nature of EA and make an important contribution in shaping EA theory and practice, leading to more transparent and accountable decisions. Furthermore, the results obtained here will set a solid basis for future research lines exploring the manipulation of stakeholders in public participation of EA processes.

‘Climate refugees’: the un-natural extension of formal refugees?

Alessandra Paiusco, Örebro University

The 20th century has been dubbed “the century of refugees”. This is due not only to the fact that a previously unseen number of people became displaced in the aftermath of the various European conflicts, but also because the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (and its 1967 Protocol) finally set in stone the basis of refugee law – and provided the univocal definition of refugees as individuals living outside their country which are unable or unwilling to return to due to fear of persecution. Today, not only the numbers of climate change and natural disaster displacements are growing, but so are the catastrophic forecasts which contribute to make the issue of potential ‘climate refugees’ a priority to be addressed. The UNHCR, for example, is well aware that the Earth’s climate seems to be changing at a rate that is exceeding most scientific forecasts, and recognizes that some families and communities have already been forced to leave their homes in search of new beginnings because of climate change. My research links refugee studies and environmental politics with the aim to establish whether ‘climate refugees’ should be considered an extension of the established conceptualization of formal refugees (as per the 1951 Convention). The term ‘climate refugee(s)’, cited between quotation marks, signals the lack of legal and political framework that would invest the term of the same level of univocal significance. Similarly, the term un-natural serves the function of highlighting the dichotomy between the natural evolution of displacement phenomena and the un-natural prerogative of anthropogenic

climate change. This will be achieved exploring the legal void emerged in recent cases involving citizens of Small Island Developing States.

The Legitimacy of Orchestration: The Case of the Fossil Free Sweden Initiative

Naghmeh Nasiritousi, Stockholm University

Julia Grimm, Vrije University Amsterdam

The task of decarbonizing the world's economies is both daunting and urgent. States have historically employed legislative and executive powers to direct societal actors toward common goals. Yet, the scale of the decarbonization challenge is so great that states need to mobilize a range of actors in order to achieve decarbonization in a legitimate manner. Consequently, we have seen the emergence of orchestration attempts by states, whereby they use soft or indirect forms of steering to coordinate and engage non-state actors in order to achieve policy objectives for example in regard to decarbonization. A case in point is the Fossil Free Sweden Initiative that the Swedish government launched ahead of COP21 in Paris in 2015. This initiative brings together a range of Swedish non-state actors in an effort to, through dialogues and cooperation, speed up reductions in greenhouse gas emissions. This type of steering raises a number of pertinent questions: How can such an initiative gain legitimacy amongst actors that it seeks to orchestrate and how can it maintain this legitimacy in the face of competing interests? Building on recent literature on legitimacy and the roles of non-state actors in climate governance, this paper uses the case of the Fossil Free Sweden Initiative to highlight key factors and considerations in establishing and maintaining legitimacy in orchestrating a varied set of non-state actors. Drawing on interviews with the organizers of the initiative, as well as with members and non-members, this paper offers new insights into the legitimacy of orchestration with significant implications for how to understand rule-making and governance in the Swedish context of decarbonization.

Gender, Politics and Theory

‘It’s about gender equality and all that stuff...’ –Enacting policies on Gender Based Violence into everyday preventive work in rural Sweden

Sara Nyhlén, Sweden University

Katarina Giritli Nygren, Mid Sweden University

Drawing from the experiences gained from a research project focusing on gender-based violence in rural Sweden, this paper focuses on how government policies aimed at addressing gender-based violence against girls and young women are enacted, translated and contested at the regional and local level. In previous studies the regional level is seldom focused on, and we know very little of the connection between the local and regional levels. The paper is based on analysis of interviews with key policy actors at the regional and local levels, including school personnel. Departing from policy enactment combined with institutional ethnography, the paper explores how policies on gender-based violence are translated into prevention activities, but also how the different actors enact the policy in relation to the institutional setting and professional role. The analysis also shows how the enactment is entangled in understandings of gender, race, equality and traditions. The analysis makes the different power relations visible, and the production of power in policy is better understood, as it highlights how some dimensions are given priority in relation to others.

An intersectional lens on digital exclusion and the implementation of sustainable development

Karin Skill, Linköping University

In this paper I want to engage with digital exclusion, an idea often mentioned in relation to digital divide but seldom explored or defined, particularly as the digital divide has been extended to treat not just access but also digital competence as a requirement for becoming digitally included. The policy ambition for inclusion is at the center of our current research on the relationship between sustainable development and digitalization, since digital competence is required for democratic participation in society. The paper will be a conceptual discussion about the usefulness of an intersectional perspective to understand digital exclusion, in order to grasp how to implement the sustainable development goals as expressed in Agenda 2030 in Sweden. The policy objectives in the UN Agenda 2030 for sustainable development, which was adopted in 2015, calls for inclusive practices in all member countries that consider the 17 sustainable development goals as indivisible and to “leave no one behind”. To facilitate the follow up in the developments of the goals all have indicators which should be disaggregated, where relevant, by income, sex, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability and geographic location, or other characteristics, according to the UN Fundamental Principles of Official Statistics. In the paper I will discuss possibilities and challenges of studying digital

exclusion and digital inclusion with an intersectional perspective, specifically when we approach more qualitative studies.

Jämställdhetsintegrering i kommunal organisationsförändring

Sara Svedenmark, Mittuniversitetet

Detta paper/avhandlings-PM beskriver en studie av jämställdhetsintegrering vid en omorganisation i en mellanstor svensk kommun. Studien undersöker med ett kritiskt perspektiv vad som associeras med jämställdhetsintegrering och hur det beskrivs, förstås och implementeras i arbetet med organiseringen av två nya nämnder och förvaltningar och vilka problem det förväntas lösa.

Kommunen i studien står, liksom många andra svenska kommuner, inför kommande utmaningar när det gäller att leverera välfärdstjänster till medborgare. Samtidigt visar forskning att arbetsvillkoren försämrats och att ohälsotalen bland medarbetare i dessa verksamheter ökat. New Public Management(NPM), med målstyrning, mätning och kontroll har haft stort genomslag i offentliga organisationer och kritiken mot denna styrform har växt. De marknadslika idealen har inte varit lämpliga i politiskt styrda organisationer som ska leverera välfärd, där ekonomisk rationalitet begränsat synen på vad som är effektivt och där arbetsvillkor för professioner har försämrats. En ny modell för styrning, som bygger på tillit, ses som en möjlig väg till förändring som ökar nyttan för medborgare och skapar bättre arbetsmiljö för medarbetare.

Den första delstudien fokuserar på förändringsprocessen, där policydokument och intervjuer med politiker, chefer och medarbetare utgör empiriskt material. Den andra delstudien fokuserar på vilka förändrade förutsättningar den nya organiseringen skapar för medarbetare i deras vardagliga arbete och i deras möte med medborgare.

Studien har ambitionen att följa processen med jämställdhetsintegrering av de nya nämnderna och förvaltningarna för att se om och hur det kan bidra till att kommunen kan leverera välfärd till medborgare i det som beskrivs som offentlig sektor bortom NPM, med ökad tillit.

Sär-skilda män? En undersökning av organisationen Vi är Sveriges 6-stegsmetod för att utbilda nyanlända män i manlighet och jämställdhet

Joakim Johansson, Märladalen University och Uppsala University

En av de största utmaningarna för svensk integrations-och inkluderingspolitik är hur människor med utländsk bakgrund ska få behålla sina kultur-yttringar och samtidigt bli en del av det svenska samhället. Vi-är-Sverige är en organisation som grundades år 2018 i Västerås

av Vladimir Ahmed (VA). VA växte upp med ”svenska värderingar” i skolan och ”kurdiska värderingar” hemma, och önskade både behålla sina kulturyttringar men samtidigt vara en del av det svenska samhället – en drivkraft bakom bildandet av Vi-är-Sverige. Organisationen arbetar med en s.k. 6-stegsmetod där man utbildar utrikesfödda nyanlända män i ”svenska värderingar” med särskilt fokus på ämnen som mansnormer, maskulinitet och jämställdhet. Navet i 6-stegs metoden är sex samtalsmöten under ledning av VA, där varje möte varar 1 timme och 15 minuter med teman som man och manlighet, jämställdhet, varför män lyssnar mer på män än på kvinnor, normer och könsroller. Organisationen har hittills haft sex genomförda omgångar på olika platser i Västmanland. Föreliggande uppsats undersöker och diskuterar användningen av den 6-stegsmetod som ”Vi-Är-Sverige” arbetar med. Hur funkar den egentligen för att inkludera fler nyanlända och utrikesfödda män och pojkar? Ett delsyfte är att i linje med så kallad följeforskning genomföra undersökningen på ett sätt som både under och efter undersökningen möjliggör återkoppling till ”Vi-är-Sverige” och kan stödja dess arbete med och utveckling av 6-stegsmetoden. Detta arbete fokuserar således på hur metoden fungerar i praktiken. Studien genomförs med hjälp av samtalsintervjuer, observationer och fokusgrupper, där en samtalsgrupp vid Carlforska gymnasiet, Västerås, bestående av 13 pojkar/unga män i åldern 17-21 år bosatta i Sverige 1,5-3 år och med bakgrund från Afghanistan, Syrien, Irak och Somalia följts under hela 6-stegsförloppet. Arbetet bedrivs utifrån teoretiska perspektiv på genus, manlighet och jämställdhet inom det genusforskningsfält som går under benämningar som studier i män och maskuliniteter, kritisk mansforskning och liknande.

Arctic Women Representation on Twitter: a Form of Digital Arcticism?

Marie Francisco, Linköping University

This paper will analyze how Arctic women, i.e. women descents from indigenous Arctic populations, are portrayed on Twitter by different political actors and whether it is a form of digital arcticism as developed by Carina Ren and Anders Kristian Munk, with Edward Said’s concept of orientalism at the base of the reflection. The question here is whether Arctic women are portrayed online in a fantasized and exotic way, and if they are active or passive in the creation of online content, either as subject or writers of publications. In this respect, the Twitter feeds of the Arctic Council, the governments of Canada and Sweden, UN Women and United Nations for Indigenous People will be analyzed. The aim is to see which aspects of indigenous women’s lives are highlighted and how much these very women get to express themselves directly or through the sharing of their publications, speeches and initiatives within the Twitter feeds of the above-mentioned political actors.

The paper will further discuss intersectionality between gender and indigeneity in the context of the Arctic, and how digital arcticism and limited presence in the digital public spheres can be a renewed form of political discrimination. This discussion will be made at the light of Anne Phillips’s work on the politics of presence.

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Isobel Squire, Malmö University

The conceptualisation of gender as an ideology began as a Catholic project in response to feminist and LGBTQ+ movement gains made during the UN World Conferences in the in 1990s on issues related to reproductive rights and gender mainstreaming. Today, “gender ideology” rhetoric and opposition to feminist and sexual politics is becoming more and more visible at the national, regional and international level. This year the US attempted to remove the word ‘gender’ from documents being negotiated at the UN, Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro has proposed legislation that will prohibit the term ‘gender’ in instruction of ‘all levels of teaching’ and Hungary has begun a shutdown of its gender studies programs. While opposition to feminism and gender equality policies is not a new phenomenon, academics agree that recent developments mark a distinctly new phase and with it, a need to better understand these diverse contemporary forms of anti-genderism and growing opposition to progressive understanding of gender and sexuality. In seeking to better understand the diffusion of anti-gender attitudes this paper considers the ways in which “gender ideology” may be better understood as competing, and increasingly powerful, new norm operating in opposition to international gender equality norms. It reflects upon the ways in which we might rethink traditional approaches to norm theory through the analysis “gender ideology” as a conservative, illiberal norm and how we might better understand anti-gender activists as norm entrepreneurs.

Whose problems, whose voices? The debate about women and film in dailies

Maria Jansson, Stockholm University

In the year 2000, the government tasked the Swedish Film Institute (SFI) with improving gender equality in the Swedish film industry. Today Sweden’s film industry is celebrated as the most gender equal film industry in the world. However, statistics from the SFI show that Swedish film is far from gender equal. In addition, the introduction of different policy efforts has given rise to loud criticism in the media and within the industry. The aim of this paper is to analyze if and how the implementation of gender equality reforms have affected the way that the topic women and film have been discussed in Swedish dailies. Have the subject matters changed as gender equality policies have been implemented? Have the conceptualization of problems changed? Who is given voice at different times? Drawing on theories of gender and the public sphere, the paper argues that over time women filmmakers voices become less salient, as does discussions about the actual conditions in the film industry and the links between women behind the camera and how women are portrayed on screen. On the other hand, the number of experts and bureaucrats as well as the number of men filmmakers increase over time, as does the issues of the number of women and discussions about policy reforms.

Governance and Public Administration

Vind i nedre Norrland – en studie av utfall vid överklaganden av beslut om vindkraftparker enligt miljöbalken

Erland Sköllerhorn, Länsstyrelsen Västerbotten

Vindkraft framhålls som en viktig källa till förnybar energi vid omställningen bort från fossila bränslen. Samtidigt finns det ofta olika motstående intressen när en vindkraftpark ska etableras: allmänna intressen (natur- och kulturvärden, friluftsliv, markanvändning som rennäring samt miljöstörningar som buller) och enskilda intressen (t.ex. oro för att fritidshus ska minska i värde). Man kan anta att konflikterna vid etablering av vindkraftparker ökar över tid eftersom allt fler platser tas i anspråk och vindkraftverken blir allt större. De s.k. Miljöprövningsdelegationerna (MPD) vid länsstyrelserna beslutar om tillstånd enligt 9 kap. miljöbalken för en vindkraftpark medan Mark- och miljödomstolarna (MMD) hanterar överklaganden av dessa beslut. Syftet med denna studie är att undersöka vilka aktörer som överklagat MPD-beslut, typer av argument, om MPD-besluten beslut ändras av domstolen och domstolens motiveringar. Aktuella aktörer är enskilda, samebyar, NGO och företagen som ansöker om tillstånd. Preliminärt urval är 14 nyare domar fattade av MMD vid Östersunds tingsrätt. Resultaten efter innehållsanalys kan jämföras med motsvarande tidigare studier av domar vid Umeå tingsrätt och Växjö tingsrätt. Därmed ökar underlaget för att visa variationen inom landet. Studien ökar också underlaget för att diskutera outputlegitimiteten vid nuvarande tillståndsprövning av vindkraftparker.

Between the Regulatory State and the Networked Polity—Revisiting Central-local Government Relations in Sweden

Mikael Granberg, Karlstads universitet

Ingemar Elander, Mälardalens högskola och Örebro universitet

Stig Montin, Göteborgs universitet

In 1990 Elander and Montin published an article drawing on Rod Rhodes' multi-dimensional resource approach. They concluded that central-local government relations in Sweden could be summarized as a case of “decentralization and control”, i.e. central government centralizing (financial) power while decentralizing responsibility for much of its policy obligations to local government. Here we revisit this article taking into account a number of tendencies that have appeared since then. The aim of this paper is to analyze central-local government relations in Sweden after 1990, focusing upon the interplay between central and local government, market and civil society. We situate the analysis within the broader scholarly framework of post-war developments in terms of the regulatory state and the networked polity. We highlight a number of developments, some of which could be hinted at

in 1990, while others appeared later. A new local government act was introduced in 1991, Sweden joined the EU in 1994 and the period since 2010 has seen a strong tendency towards central state re-regulation and judicialization of local government. In line with a general trend commonly referred to as “neoliberalism” profit-driven competition has become a guiding principle producing a significant increase in the number of private welfare providers. Parallel to this there has been a revitalization of civil society networks through horizontal capacity building, visible in environmental, migration and other policy areas. Challenged by state re-regulation, marketization and civil society re-vitalization local self-government in Sweden thus has to manoeuvre in a political landscape quite different from the one thirty years ago. The article gives three main contributions to the scholarly literature on central-local government relations: the relationship is not a zero-sum game; relations to actors in market and civil society have to be given greater attention; and Rhodes resource framework is still useful as a basic analytical tool.

Frontline bureaucracy in Europe’s Asylum Management The development of norms, values and discretion under conditions of goal ambiguity

Johan Ekstedt, Malmö University

This paper is a theoretical contribution to micro-level analysis of the role of norms and values inside European institutions working with refugees and other migrants today. In essence, it is a merger between Michael Lipsky’s Frontline Bureaucracy (FB) theory and New Institutionalism, amounting to what can be labeled micro-institutionalism. In order to exemplify how this theoretical framework can be used, I also give a brief case-study of the European Asylum Support Office (EASO). I begin by describing the usefulness of Lipsky’s FB-theory to analysis of migration bureaucracies. The conditions of goal ambiguity under which frontline bureaucrats in European asylum management agencies work, together with the complex ethical questions they encounter, should, in theory, create significant incentives to exercise discretionary power. Moreover, Lipsky’s convincing notion of frontline bureaucrats’ actions “being” the policy is presented, which legitimizes my strong emphasis on the micro-level. However, limitations to Lipsky’s theory are also covered. I draw on New Institutionalism’s theory of power, which holds that norms and values are central to understand how organizations direct the work of their employees. Rejecting both the Weberian notion of an “Iron Cage” of bureaucracy and Lipsky’s idea that bureaucrats have complete agency, I propose that bureaucrats are institutionalized by the organization, but that the organizations is then in turn influenced by both the bureaucrats working for it, and society more generally. The process occurs with the establishment of particular norms in everyday operations, which are governed by well-established values. In order to exemplify this theoretical framework I will show how officers working for EASO are shaped by the agency, through for example trainings, but how they in turn then also shape the agency through both formal and informal channels.

Multi-level governance of migration policy - Challenges, tensions and actors in the Swedish case.

Jon Nyhlén, Stockholm University

Gustav Lidén, Mid Sweden University

In the field of migration policy, it has become evident that subnational policies are important since they actually deal with local policy efforts in relation to the reception and inclusion of immigrants. This paper originates from a book project where local migration and integration policies in Sweden are in focus. An emerging literature verify such standpoints by showing how divergences in policies between national and local level appear. The theoretical starting point is taken in a Multi-level Governance perspective specified thru vertical and horizontal governance. To be able to understand the role of local migration policy a simple division between vertical and horizontal perspectives can be utilized. How power over policy is shared between different administrative levels is a question of vertical aspects whereas acknowledging different actors participating in networks, between and within organizations, is a question of a horizontal perspective. More complex, though, the intersection of dynamics generated by vertical and horizontal dimensions appear to be the setting for the inquiry of migration policy that also will involves the negotiating and bargaining between the involved actors on the output of policy. Empirically, this paper draws on an analysis of the development of the policy field, including previous reforms, combined with interviews with public officials representing both national and local actors. In summary, this material makes it possible to examine multi-level governance relations within this policy sector. The results show that there are significant challenges within this governance structure that involves tensions between national and local level when it comes to negotiations and bargains.

Managementbyråkrater och organisationsprofessionella – ett hot mot välfärdsstaten?

Patrik Hall, Malmö University

Sedan 1990-talet har organisationsprofessionella grupper, det vill säga aktörer med sin primära expertis inom styrning och ledning av organisationer, ökat i den svenska offentliga sektorn. Det handlar om grupper såsom ledare, strateger, controllers, HR-experter och kommunikatörer som kan sägas ha gjort karriär på NPM-reformerna i offentlig förvaltning och vars löner och status vanligtvis är klart högre än äldre tiders administratörer. Den primära symbolen för dessa grupper är ”generalistchefen” – dvs chefen som ”kan” organisation men inte den kärnverksamhet som organisationen ägnar sig åt. Forskning tyder på att antalet organisationsprofessionella ökar i högre grad än personal i den offentliga sektorns kärnverksamhet, vilket har beskrivits som ökning av ”kalla” händer (chefs- och managementpersonal) på bekostnad av de ”varma” (lärare, hälso- och sjukvårdspersonal och socialarbetare). Tillkommer gör att dessa olika grupper har olika syften med sin verksamhet,

något som ofta relaterats till ökad administrativ belastning för kärnverksamheten liksom ökad statlig kontroll över delegerad verksamhet.

Finns det ett samband mellan ökningen av organisationsprofessionellas inflytande och de protester vi har kunnat se inom offentlig sektor under senare år (läkare-, sjuksköterske-, undersköterske-, lärare-, förskollärareupprop)? Handlar det inte bara om protester mot besparingar utan också om en felaktig dimensionering av välfärdens organisationer där kärnverksamheten får ta de ekonomiska smällarna först?

Dessa stora frågor är svåra att besvara. Detta paper syftar till att, utifrån ett nyligen erhållet forskningsanslag från Forte ("Byråkratisering av offentliga organisationer? En jämförande studie av organisationsprofessionella i Sverige och Nya Zeeland"), ge en översikt rörande organisationsprofessionellas expansion, med internationella utblickar, samt diskutera de motsättningsfyllda logiker som präglar olika grupper inom offentliga organisationer med delegerat resultatansvar. Paperet kommer att utvecklas till ett kapitel i en antologi som ges ut av Statskontoret. Då projektbidraget nyligen erhållits finns alltså inga resultat att presentera, utan paperet ger primärt en översikt av forskningsläget.

"From red tape to smart tape" - Better regulation programs as neoliberal bureaucratization

Linda Nyberg, Lund University

Despite decades of reforms to make the public sector less bureaucratic and more business friendly, governments are still accused of causing bureaucratic overload. An ever-increasing number of overly complicated and costly regulations is said to create economic burdens for businesses that threaten economic growth and development. Beginning in the early 1990s, governments all over the world have been responding to this problem through what has become known as *better regulation programs*. The aim of these programs is to control the regulatory process so that the benefits of old and new regulations outweigh their costs.

As the term "better regulation" signals, these types of programs are presented by policymakers as a rational and evidence-based solution to bureaucratization. This paper questions this view by drawing out the ideological assumptions that supports this way of reasoning about the quality of regulations. Through a policy analysis of documents from six European countries, the OECD and the European Commission, this paper shows how BR programs, although different in scope, focus and methods, share a view of politics as a potential threat to rational decision-making. Based on these results, I will argue that BR programs can be seen as an example of *neoliberal bureaucratization*: the establishment of new rules, administrative procedures and government agencies with the purpose of protecting the market from the irrationalities of politics. A form of government that ironically builds on the same belief in central planning that neoliberalism seeks to challenge.

Inspecting the deregulated railway: A reform trajectory towards audit culture in the Swedish railway sector

Martin Qvist, Stockholm University

The field of transport policy in Sweden has been subject to substantial and subsequent NPM-reforms where new market segments have been introduced gradually over the last 30 years. During this period, the railway sector has been transformed from a state monopoly to one of the most liberalized systems in Europe. In research on administrative reforms, the expansion of audit, inspection and evaluation is often seen as a response to problems of accountability, fragmentation and loss of central control following from market reforms. The aim of this paper is to examine how this general development is shaped by sector specific characteristics and local institutional arrangements. It is based on a historical study of the reform trajectory of the Swedish Railway Inspection from the late 1980s and onward. The study shows how market reform is closely intertwined with changes in the organization, practices and professional orientation of the inspection agency. In addition, the process of transformation has largely been shaped by Europeanization and an increasing embeddedness of the Swedish railway sector in EU regulations

International Relations and European Politics

Practices and persuasion in the Political and Security Committee

August Danielson, Uppsala University

What is the relation between socialization theory and practice theory, and for what reasons should they be combined in order to better understand why EU foreign policy can continue to be produced, despite increasing levels of contestation between member states? While socialization theory assumes that all actors involved in processes of persuasion and norm suasion actively reflect upon the arguments that are being made in order to understand what is most appropriate in a given situation, practice theory views such processes as the tacit outcome of the intersection between one's prior dispositions and their position in a social field. In other words, both theories implicitly assume that both the persuader and the target of persuasion share the same degree of reflexivity about the process that they are both involved in. By making this assumption, scholars of both socialization and practice theory have neglected the possibility of a "practice of persuasion" – the non-reflexive, practical know-how of using representations and/or norm-laden arguments. By reviewing the main tenets of socialization and practice theory, as well as interviewing 25 permanent representatives to the Political and Security Committee (PSC) – the main body of policy coordination within EU foreign policy – this paper seeks to gauge the respective theories' explanatory power in regards to processes of persuasion characterized by a sender-recipient divide in terms of reflexivity, intentionality and normativity.

What is at stake?

How ordinary people make sense of information influence

Charlotte Wagnsson, Swedish Defence University

Analysts warn of authoritarian regimes exploiting information as a weapon to undermine democracies in the new media environment (Walker 2016; Ramsay and Robertshaw 2018). Moreover, national governments as well as the EU are undertaking measures to counter this problem, ranging from education in media literacy to the establishment of agencies tasked with countering disinformation (European Council, 2015). Yet, while politicians worry about information warfare (e.g. Mogherini, 2016) and allocate significant resources to its remedy, the adverse effects of information influence remain to be settled. There is a particular lack of knowledge on ordinary citizens' views on and reactions to this purportedly new threat. People might worry about everything from being fooled reading fake news on Facebook, to information influence spurring radicalization, or even terror attacks and foreign invasion (e.g. Mahood and Rane 2017; Awan 2016; Archetti 2019). In contrast to most research on information influence in international relations, which foremost deals with formation and projection, this study looks into reception and audiences by

exploring ordinary peoples' understandings and conceptualizations through a series of focus groups among Swedish citizens. Knowledge on ordinary peoples' views is crucial because a) citizens are important targets of information warfare; b) they can contribute to increasing the problem by constructing and spreading disinformation; and c) they ought to be involved in public debate on the problem and in particular on solutions that can be controversial since measures undertaken in response to information warfare can infringe upon democracy, freedom and security. The following research questions have guided the study: How do ordinary people make sense of information influence? Do they view it as a serious problem, and if so, for what reasons?

The Digital Diplomacy of NATO's Muscle Build-Up: Mirroring and Appropriating Russia's Traditional Values?

Elsa Hedling, Lund University

Emil Edenborg, Utrikespolitiska Institutet

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), is a late adopter of digital diplomacy - the use of social media to foster its relationship with international publics. In a more competitive information environment, NATO has only recently grasped the opportunities of reach and engagement of social media to promote the alliance's identity and role in international politics. In the fall of 2018, NATO held its largest military exercise since the end of the Cold War, Trident Juncture. The historic event was promoted through a campaign featuring social media influencer Lars Løkken Matberg as "the face of NATO". The campaign however displays more than the adaptation to digital diplomacy, specifically in its somewhat surprising display of muscular hypermasculinity. Løkken Matberg, lieutenant in the Royal Norwegian Navy, is a part-time model with impressive physique whose looks alludes to a Viking, who frequently appears on NATO's social media accounts. We suggest that the campaign and its highly gendered representations mirror and appropriate aspects of Russia's project of promoting "traditional values" internationally, which presents Russia and its president Putin as a masculine force in contrast to "effeminate" Europe. Thus, the paper uses the campaign "the face of NATO" as a site for analysis of NATO's response to Russian public diplomacy. The paper makes two contributions. Empirically, it contributes with one of the first in-depth case studies of the digitalization of NATO's public diplomacy and thus to the emerging field of digital diplomacy. Theoretically, it draws attention to reciprocity in the competition over publics in international politics. By uncovering the ways in which the face of NATO campaign mirrors and appropriates norms of Russia's traditional values, it makes a valuable contribution to the assessment of Russia's international influence. It also furthers the understanding of the ways in which public diplomacy is increasingly securitized.

“Who do I call if I want to speak to Europe?”: The case for a public administration turn in Europeanization studies

Michel Vincent Anderlini, Malmö University

Despite a rich literature within the field of Europeanization studies, that has examined the conditions between the transformation of policies, procedures, rules and instruments under the influence of the European Union towards associate countries (Radaelli, 2003; Featherstone & Radaelli 2003; Mair, 2004), such as countries within the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), less attention has been devoted to the institutional apparatus behind such norm transfer processes. Indeed, selective compliance, referring to the partial implementation of EU rules in national contexts, has been explained by looking further into three main features within ENP countries, such as: the degree of misfit between domestic rules and EU legislation (Cowles et al. 2001; Börzel & Risse 2003); the presence of other governance providers in their neighborhood (Lavenex & Schimmelfennig, 2009); or the political agendas of governing elites (Ademmer and Börzel, 2013, Bolkvadze, 2016). However, the European Union has been very often characterized as a unitary actor “speaking with one voice” towards its target countries (Wouters et al., 2013; , Börzel & Van Hüllen, 2014). My contribution will argue that by extending the public administration turn in EU studies to the Europeanization literature (Trondal 2007; Trondal et al. 2010), new and promising research avenues will be able to highlight the significance of institutional dynamics in norm transfer processes, such as the impacts of existing institutions and institutional change. Particularly, I will underline three key aspects borrowed from the public administration literature on the EU Commission - “presidentialization”/“decentralization” (Kassim et al, 2013), “bureaucratization” (Ibid.), and “silozation” (Trondal, 2012) – in order to examine how such characteristics could be impact how policy transfer works beyond the EU’s borders and allow to question the “unitary actor assumption” in the existing Europeanization literature.

Migration, agency-making, diaspora and transnational relations

“We should call them our friends” -Negotiations on welfare and social security entitlements for EU migrants in Sweden

Sara Nyhlén, Mid Sweden University

The aim of this article is to analyse the understandings about EU citizens rights by taking a closer look at the ways in which discourses on welfare operate within the nexus of humanitarian care, social care and migration in relation to EU migrants. By this it is possible to outline how different rights becomes attached to different citizens and how apparently incompatible discursive regimes are intertwined and nourish one another. As a basis for our analysis, we use a newly finished EU-project, which we have been following for three years. The project is a cooperation between three municipalities, NGOs and the Swedish church, aimed to increase social inclusion and empowerment among vulnerable EU-migrants. Departing from the theoretical concepts of Balibar's (2008) discussion of the relationship between nation and citizenship and conceptualize the duality where exclusion is seen a fundamental aspect of the nation-state since it links humans rights to citizenship but also to certain ethics. The analysis show how the project workers, both employed and voluntary, in different ways contributes to the understanding of what EU citizens rights are, who they belong to, individualizing and personalizing human rights and how goodwill and Christian ethics becomes an implicit part in the welfare discourse. It also show how the project and the project workers became part of the reconfiguration of the state power, using the trust between the project and the migrants granting the actions legitimacy, as well as prohibiting critique of the actions from the project.

Rising Conditionality in the Swedish Unemployment Insurance System and its Effects on the Social Protection of Immigrants

Lutz Gschwind, Uppsala University

Unemployment insurance in Sweden is traditionally very generous when compared to other systems in Europe. However, a series of labour market reforms during the years 2007 to 2011 have markedly lowered both coverage and replacement rates of the system. Part and parcel of this reform was a re-organisation of the funding structure. Membership fees for insurance funds were raised in proportion to the unemployment risk of its members in order to finance tax cuts for paid workers. The ultimate goal of the reform was to widen the disposable income gap between people with and without employment in order to 'make work pay'. Outcomes of the reform have been studied extensively in the past, but research efforts remain rather limited for a group that tends to be most exposed to the risk of unemployment: foreign-born immigrants. This gap in the literature is addressed in the study. The effect of the reform on migrants' social protection is studied empirically with help of Swedish register data.

Regression analyses are used to compare benefit receipt of foreign and native-born members of society over the course of the reform. Preliminary results of the study indicate that the reform widened the income gap between unemployed migrants and natives. Such a result implies that the reform of the insurance system had rather unintended consequences for what is, after all, a growing share of the Swedish population. Rising benefit conditionality for the goal of making work pay contributed to a disproportional decrease in migrants' social protection and, as a result, a deepening of economic stratification along the lines of country of birth.

Reception of immigrants among Swedish municipalities

Gustav Lidén, Mid Sweden University

Jon Nyhlén, Stockholm University

In the field of migration policy, it has become evident that subnational polities are important since they actually deal with local policy efforts in relation to the reception and inclusion of immigrants. In this manuscript, consisting of a draft of one of the chapters from a forthcoming monography that focuses on local migration and integration policy in Sweden, the reception of immigrants in Swedish municipalities is given attention. This mainly descriptive chapter focuses on the numbers that describe Swedish municipalities' reception of immigrants. This will provide both a comprehensive quantitative review of the complete municipal sector in Sweden based on the issue of immigration but will also make it possible to notice important patterns that have occurred over the years. Considering the temporal focus, the first part of the chapter display data of key variables over long time series whereas the chapter thereafter will distinguish between the situation before and after the policy shifts that occurred in the wake of the refugee crisis in 2015. This design will enable comparisons both over time as well as allow comparisons between Swedish municipalities. In addition to describing the admission of immigrants, some attempts are given to also identify patterns that provide better understanding for the distribution among municipalities.

The Political Repertoires, Strategies and Impacts of Anti-deportation Campaigns: the case of young afghans in Sweden

Jonathan Josefsson, Linköping University

In the wake of the increasing efforts of democratic states of the Global North to enforce immigration control and deportations (Andersson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011; De Genova 2010 and 2017), anti-deportation campaigns for non-citizens right to stay have become standing feature of the political landscape in contemporary democracies (Hasselberg 2015; Josefsson 2017; Corruccer 2012; Nicholls and Fiorito 2015). Actors of the civil society have taken

political actions to claim the rights of non-citizens through extra parliamentary actions such as protests, petitions, blockades, squatting, litigation cases and marches in alternative political spaces of social media, schools, streets, squares, courts and outside agency buildings.

While these campaigns have been the subject of some scholarly attention in recent years, the knowledge is still scant about what political repertoires and strategies are used and what political impacts these have for stopping deportations and secure basic rights for non-citizens through policy change. In this paper, focus is put on the political repertoires and strategies (Tilly and Tarrow 2015) of anti-deportation campaigns and their political impact in contemporary Sweden. The paper draws on a case study of the resistance against deportation by a group of young Afghans in Sweden, *Ung I Sverige*. Based on materials from the groups own Facebook page, media-reporting, participant observations and interviews, the repertoires, strategies and impacts are being mapped and analyzed. The results demonstrate how an intricate web of repertoires and strategies have been used to achieve, if yet not the ultimate goal of amnesty for the entire group, to influence party politics, agencies decision making and public discourse at different levels for the hindering of deportations and to enforce new legislation for the protection of rights for this group.

Political Behavior and Parties (Swepop)

Political Recruitment At Work

Linuz Aggeborn, Uppsala University

Henrik Andersson, Uppsala University

We investigate workplace recruitment into party politics using Swedish registry data for the years 1990-2014. The research question we pose is twofold. First we investigate whether an individual is more likely to become a nominated politician if there is a politician working at the same workplace in the previous mandate period. We investigate this by narrowing our analysis on small group of workers in the same workplace, having the same occupation and the same gender in order to pinpoint coworkers. Second, we investigate whether the recruitment mechanism is different into center-right and center-left political parties. We ask whether it is more likely to become a nominated politician if there is a politician working in the workplace representing the political majority in the municipal council, the county council or the parliament in the previous mandate period. The mechanism analysis takes place within a regression discontinuity (RDD) framework.

New Alliances? The Swedish 2018 Government Formation

Anders Backlund, Södertörn University

In this paper I analyse the Swedish 2018 government formation as a case of mainstream party reactions to the radical right. Seen as such, the Swedish case is of theoretical interest given the strong parliamentary position of the radical right party the Sweden Democrats (SD) and the formation of a “cross-bloc” coalition between the otherwise polarised left and right political blocs. As “uncoalitionable” parties such as the SD gain more legislative weight, mainstream right-wing parties face difficult choices about which government coalitions to join or support. While coalition research tends to focus on structure at the cost of agency, this study combines both to assess how factors such as party size and ideological proximity interacts with the motivations and strategies of the parties. More specifically, I use an analytical framework distinguishing between different types of adversarial/accommodative arguments made by mainstream party representatives about their relationship with the Sweden Democrats. This framework is used to study 1) changes in the rhetoric used by mainstream party leaders in parliamentary debates, and 2) changes in mainstream parties’ parliamentary behaviour towards the SD. The results show how the Swedish centre-right parties have been on diverging trajectories vis-à-vis the SD for much of the previous mandate period. I also use these results to explore the difficulties faced by coalition theory to predict government formations in contexts of changing and multidimensional political conflict.

The discouraging effect of the radical right. An experimental study of the importance of party cues on voters' assessment of political proposals

Sofie Blombäck, Mittuniversitetet

Niklas Bolin, Mittuniversitetet

The radical right continues to make electoral progress. While the general and, by large, continuous increase in support has been going on for at least two decades it is only recently that we can regard the radical right party family as one of the large ones. Despite this, there are reasons to believe that its full potential has yet to be revealed. Previous research suggest that parties of the radical right might suffer from a stigmatization effect, that is, voters are reluctant to vote for them since supporting them is regarded as less socially acceptable. Similarly, it has been suggested that due to the lack of a reputational shield some segments of the electorate will find proposals from the radical right less compelling compared to a situation where the exact same proposal is presented by one of the mainstream parties. While this seems like a convincing hypothesis, we are not aware of any systematic Large-N studies testing this claim. Against this background, this study employs an experimental survey design to empirically test whether political proposals are assessed differently dependent on who the sender is. Specifically we have conducted a survey experiment, in a panel with Swedish voters, randomizing the sender in order to measure whether political proposals are less favored if they are presented by the radical right Sweden Democrats instead of one of the mainstream parties the Social Democrats and the Moderates.

Legitimizing the radical right: An experimental study of social influence

Kalle Ekholm, Stockholm University

Hanna Bäck, Lund University

Emma Renström, University of Gothenburg

Social psychology has taught us that views and attitudes of people in general are influenced by what other people think and the norms surrounding them. In this study we explore if citizens' sympathy towards radical right parties is influenced by mainstream party attitude towards the pariah party. Research has indicated that a large segment of society hold negative and prejudice views against immigrants and other out-groups. While this is the case, a societal anti-prejudice norm could explain why relatively few people act out these attitudes. This study aims to identify how individual voter sympathy towards antiimmigrant parties changes when mainstream political forces challenge this anti-prejudice norm and legitimize radical right parties. In a survey experiment (n = 1,136) respondents were randomly assigned into two treatment groups and one control group. The treatment varied in mainstream party recognition of the Sweden Democrats (SD). Recognition in this study is seen as willingness to cooperate

with the SD in a national parliamentary setting. The analytical focus is individual psychological traits of voters. Two hypotheses are guiding the paper, first, we hypothesize that people who are less inclined to control their prejudice are more prone to be affected by mainstream recognition of the radical right. Second, people with the personality traits high conscientiousness and low openness (as opposed to other big five personality types) are more likely to sympathize with radical right parties when these are deemed legitimate by society. By utilizing well-known psychological indicators to explain individual voter sympathy towards the radical right we hope to shed new light on this question of mainstream party interaction with pariah parties. The initial findings suggest that individuals who are less inclined to control their prejudice are much more likely to sympathize with radical right parties when mainstream parties are recognizing them as legitimate political actors as opposed to pariahs.

Welcome to the Party? A Field Experiment on Ethnicity and Party Activism

Lina Eriksson, Stockholm University

Kåre Vernby, Stockholm University

Immigrants are underrepresented in politics. One reason may be that party membership is lower among immigrants than among natives particular (e.g. da Fonseca, 2010, Messina 2004). In this paper we ask: Are parties as open and accommodating to potential activists whose names signal that they are immigrants, or have immigrant parents, as they are to individuals with native-sounding names?

To answer this question, we conducted a field-experiment in the run-up to the 2018 elections, in which we sent emails from hypothetical individuals to local party officials expressing an interest in joining their party, participating in meetings and contributing to the upcoming election campaign. We varied the names of the hypothetical individuals to test whether aliases with Arabic-sounding names receive as many replies as those received by aliases with Swedish-sounding names? Moreover, we examined whether the tone as well as the information content of the replies varied depending on the name of the sender.

Our experiment is designed to evaluate how welcoming parties are to self-starters; i.e. individuals who become active in parties by their own initiative, for instance by directly approaching local party branches. There are several reasons for this focus. First, they are the most common type of party member.¹ Second, there are signs that “self-starters” make up growing shares of party memberships (Scarrow and Gezgor, 2010). Third, and finally, self-starters are also likely to be more committed to and engaged in party activists and therefore also more likely to take on important roles than those passively recruited by the party.²

While experimental studies of this type are common when studying discrimination in

the labor market, and have also been applied to study the interaction between citizens and public officials, we are not aware of any similar studies that center on how ethnicity shapes the interaction between potential activists and party organizations.

Representation as a Continuous Game – Generating Public Acceptance of School Closures

Peter Esaiasson, University of Gothenburg

The burden of making controversial decisions comes with the position as a political representative. Still, the success of the individual representative, as well as the democratic system as a whole, lies in the capacity to generate and sustain legitimacy in the eyes of the public. While most research in the field focuses on the processes leading up to the decision, this paper draws attention to developments after the final authoritative decision is taken. The nature and character of the procedural arrangements that precedes the decision are, however, treated an integral aspect of the post-decision phase as they set a mind frame through which post-decision actions of politicians are interpreted. Theoretically, we identify four post-decision factors under the control of politicians that potentially affect the acceptance of controversial decisions: that politicians provide post-decision justifications, that politicians are willing to engage in a continued dialogue on how to handle negative consequences of the decision, that politicians show respect by personally meeting the ones most concerned, and that politicians remind the losing camp about the rules of the democratic game. Using the case of the closure of a local school, we design a conjoint experiment with a representative sample of Swedish citizens in which we vary the process leading up to the decision, whether or not an individual is directly affected by the decision, and the post-decision actions of politicians.

The socioeconomic foundations of political party formation

Olle Folke, Uppsala University

Jás Szulkin, Uppsala University

Johanna Rickne, Stockholm University

This paper tests Kitschelt's (1994) theory on labor market socialization and political party formation. In administrative data for the full Swedish population, we operationalize the occupational and market experiences believed to socialize political preferences on the left-right and libertarian-authoritarian issue dimensions. We find that new political parties—the Green party and the Radical Right party—have mobilized politicians from the clusters of experiences predicted by the theory. The socialization experiences of these politicians also deviate from the politicians in traditional parties in the ways predicted by the theory.

Signaling Drug Opinions

A survey experiment on parties' impact on citizens' policy positions

Annika Fredén, Karlstad University

Emma Renström, University of Gothenburg

Hanna Bäck, Lund University

We hypothesize that parties are able to influence voters about their stance in controversial issues. From confirmation bias theory, we hypothesize the impact should be confirmative, rather than persuasive. We test this hypothesis in a proportional representation context (Sweden) where we use a large-N survey experiment to manipulate party messages about a proposal to legalize cannabis for private use. Voters are randomly assigned to positive, negative, or to no information about the policy proposal, given by their most preferred, their least preferred or an anonymous party. The findings support our overarching hypothesis: voters become more restrictive toward liberalizing drug policies when they hear that their party is against it or if their anti-party supports the proposal. However, we find no effect of influencing policy positions toward a more positive stance. Quantitative text analysis supports the claim that voters' argumentation about the proposal is emotional rather than related to facts and that consent plays an important role for the tendency to support the status quo position.

Voting rights, eligibility and age in Sweden during the Twentieth century

Jonathan Josefsson, Linköping University

Bengt Sandin, Linköping University

According to the prevailing historiography, the political compromises of 1909 and 1918 signified the end of the struggle for universal and equal suffrage in Sweden. However, several parts of the potential electorate were at the time and in the following century excluded from the right to vote. The one group of Swedish citizens that is still excluded from voting are persons under 18 year. Even if this age limit has remained since 1974, from a historical perspective the voting age, and also the age of eligibility to political assemblies, have certainly been subject to changes and intense political debate. Yet, with few exceptions (Beckman 2018, Gustafsson 2001) these have largely been neglected by research.

In this paper we analyze arguments, actors and the political contexts that propelled the changes in voting and eligibility age during the twentieth century. Through analysis of parliamentary records, we aim to give a new empirical contribution to age as a key yardstick

for political citizenship in the Swedish democratization process and demonstrate how the changes in voting age mirrors both a shifting and complex political landscape as well as changing notions of children and youth.

The analysis indicates that the raising of voting and eligibility age from 21 to 24/27 was intended to preserve constitutional and political stability. It was the fear of the radical youth that underwrote the conservatives argumentation. The lowering of age limits during the 1930 - 1940s were based on arguments that indicated a changed view of youth – from posing a threat to contributing to society. From the 1960s the emphasis were increasingly placed on young people's participatory rights, skills and the relation between voting age and other age limits. The empirical findings we argue have implications for our understanding of the exclusionary mechanism of the Swedish democratization process and for how we theorize political citizenship for children and youth.

An Answer to Right-Wing Extremism?

The Response of the Elites of Civil Society to the Nordic Resistance Movement

Erik Lundberg, Dalarna University

This article expands on the understanding of the democratic potential of civil society as a response to right-wing extremism. Drawing on evidence from locally based civil society elites, it analyzes tolerance and political participation directed against the neo-Nazi Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM) prior to the 2018 Swedish election. Results show that civil society elites find it difficult to tolerate the NRM, are attentive to political discussions about the movement, are relatively well informed and take an active stand against the NRM. However, elites are reluctant to engage in public deliberation about the NRM and have participated in manifest political activities to a lesser extent, primarily by means of promoting the importance of democracy and human rights, encouraging dialogue about the NRM with citizens and reducing the visibility of the movement in public places. The article concludes that civil society plays a role as a bulwark against right-wing extremism; however, discreet and seemingly limited manifest participation that is taking place in the public sphere indicates that we should not take civil society for granted even in critical situations in strong liberal democracies.

Bildning(s)vägar till kommunpolitisk makt

– kunskapers värde bland socialdemokratiska ledare

Louise Malmström, Linköpings universitet

Jämfört med flertalet andra länder är diskrepansen mellan befolkningens utbildningsnivå och förtroendevalda politikernas utbildningsnivå mindre i de nordiska länderna. I stället

för omfattande akademisk utbildning och examina från elituniversitet som väg till politiska toppositioner kan vi här se att andra bildningsvägar än den akademiska varit betydelsefulla. Detta är extra tydligt inom svensk socialdemokrati där ledande politiska företrädare historiskt ofta skolats inom SSU eller fackföreningsrörelsen och genom studieförbundens studiecirklar och folkhögskolekurser.

Den här artikeln syftar till att få ökad kunskap om vilken roll dessa alternativa utbildningsvägar spelar i dag och vilka kunskaper, erfarenheter och egenskaper som värderas inom svensk socialdemokrati. Både vad avser vilka som nomineras och väljs och vad dessa förtroendevalda sedan värdesätter för att kunna utföra uppdraget på ett tillfredsställande vis.

Mina data har inhämtats genom fältanteckningar från deltagande observation, 74 enkäter och 18 djupintervjuer med initiativtagare till, samt deltagare och kursledare på, en socialdemokratisk ledarutbildning. Utbildningen vände sig till ordföranden och gruppleddare i framför allt kommunstyrelser men även i kommunfullmäktige, regionstyrelser, riksdagen och partiorganisationen.

Med hjälp av Bourdieus teoretiska begrepp symboliskt kapital analyserades materialet och olika slags kunskaper, som tillerkänns värde inom svensk socialdemokrati, identifierades. Dessa var framför allt kommunikativa kunskaper, ideologiska kunskaper, kunskaper förvärvade genom arbetslivserfarenhet och akademiska kunskaper. Det senare visade sig dock vara tvetydig då det enligt informanterna var värdefullt för att kunna utföra ledaruppdraget men ofta värderades lågt eller till och med var till nackdel för att bli vald.

Som en mer betydelsefull bildningsväg för att bli vald än den akademiska framstår fortsatt den partiinterna, fackliga eller föreningsdrivna utbildning som ofta bedrivs i samarbete med studieförbund och folkhögskolor. Även tidigare ledarskapsutbildningar och erfarenheter inom föreningsliv och arbetsliv värderades.

No title

Maria Nordbrandt, Uppsala University

Despite the widespread use of social media today, and the worry of some theorists that they are ‘echo-chambers’ that amplify opinion extremity and undermine democratic deliberation (Haidt 2016, Sunstein 2001, 2018), their effect on users’ motivation to consider and reflect on viewpoints that are meaningfully different from their own has not been adequately addressed empirically. The paper utilizes Dutch panel survey data and provides a rare empirical evaluation of the extent to which social media encourage or undermine users’ motivation to deliberate across lines of difference and reflect on new ideas – central tenets of deliberative democracy.

The stepping-stone for the paper is the debate in deliberative democratic theory about how public deliberation can become more inclusive, authentic and consequential in light of the challenges of modernity (Mansbridge et al. 2012). I take as point of departure the normative notion advanced by Owen and Smith (2015: 27-28) that spaces for political contestation should be evaluated by the extent to which they “uphold or undermine democratic deliberation” – that is, whether or not they encourage citizens to engage in ongoing mutual exchange of reasons with different minded others.

I find that the most frequently used social media site, Facebook, has a strong presence of people with a comparatively low interest in deliberating before making up their minds. As such, it may contribute to making politics accessible to a broader public beyond people who are likely to seek out political information and deliberation elsewhere. However, the main finding is that frequent use is associated with decreased motivation to deliberate and to reflect on new ideas, all else being equal.

The paper concludes by discussing implications for inclusive public deliberation and beyond.

Pre-Birth Factors, Post-Birth Factors, and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Swedish Register Data

Sven Oskarsson, Uppsala University

Rafael Ahlskog, Uppsala University

Karl-Oskar Lindgren, Uppsala University

Understanding how the inclination to be politically active is reproduced across generations is of paramount interest to scholars of political behavior. In this paper we use population-wide register data from Sweden, including validated turnout information from five national elections held between 1970 and 2010, to address this issue. We use our data to construct three samples of parent-child pairs. The first one includes parent-child pairs in which the children were raised by their biological parents ($N > 11,000,000$). The second sample consists of all native adoptees aged 18-50 at each of the five elections paired with their adoptive and biological parents ($N > 35,000$). We use this sample to decompose the overall transmission into pre-birth or biological factors, measured by biological parents voting, and post-birth or social factors, measured by adoptive parents' voting. The last sample includes transnational adoptees and their (Swedish) adoptive parents ($N > 52,000$) and enables us to corroborate some of the results based on the native adoptee sample and also to more closely examine the social transmission path.

Our estimates suggest that the overall intergenerational association in voter turnout is both social and biological in nature. However, the relative importance of the biological and social

transmission pathways differs quite drastically depending on the individuals' age and the consistency in parental cue giving. In essence, the social and biological pathways behave like communicating vessels such that the conditions that amplify the social transmission at the same time weaken the biological mechanisms, and vice versa.

Polarisation and Political Dissatisfaction – a comparative multilevel analysis of the relationship between polarisation and political dissatisfaction

Alexander Ryan, Mittuniversitetet

Susanne Wallman-Lundåsen, Linköpings universitet

There are conflicting viewpoints regarding the effects of globalization and increased diversity on social cohesion. Some scholars have posed it as an ideological cleavage between cosmopolitan and communitarian values (Strijbis, Helmer & De Wilde 2019), while others argue that globalization has a civilizing effect on attitudes towards others. In this paper, we will depart from the cleavage between communitarian and cosmopolitan values. More concretely, we focus on differences between individuals when it comes to (a) attitudes towards immigration and (b) whether individual's express more local/national or global/cosmopolitan values. The aim is to analyse how differences in immigration attitudes and local/cosmopolitan values affect social and political trust, as well as attitudes to democracy. Previous research has shown that immigration attitudes correlate with factors such as social and political trust (Herrero and Criado 2009). However, few studies have analyzed how contextual country level variables, such as party system polarisation, moderate this relationship. In addition, there is a need to further explore possible consequences of this cleavage line in light of recent political developments and the availability of new comparative individual-level data. We will use data from the European Values Study, which covers at least 44 European countries and includes the latest data release in 2019. The data is analysed with multilevel models, with individual's nested at the country level. Firstly, we test the degree to which immigration attitudes and local/cosmopolitan values correlate with social/political trust and attitudes towards democracy. Secondly, we analyse variables at the country level that moderate this relationship. Most importantly, we test the moderating effect of party system polarisation, which we measure with Dalton's (2008) polarisation index and data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey.

Well-Being and Political Participation in Ageing Populations.

Maria Solevid, University of Gothenburg

This paper investigates how well-being among older people affect their political participation levels and to what extent the well-established relationships between resources/motivation and political participation are moderated by the level of well-being.

The paper combines political participation research together with the theory of capability developed by Sen and later also Nussbaum. Capability is commonly understood as the functionings that makes life valuable to an individual and captures what people are effectively able to do and to be. From a capability perspective, well-being and quality of life, rather than subjective general health, becomes more relevant determinants of political participation.

The hypotheses are that well-being is positively related to political participation (H1) and that respondents with high level of education (H2) and political interest (H3) that also have high level of well-being will show even higher participation levels. To test the hypotheses, this paper uses data of approximately 9 000 respondents age 65 and older in 26 countries from the European Social Survey (ESS) in 2012. Well-being is measured using an index tapping feelings of attachment, security, role, enjoyment and control. Political participation is measured using an index of activities including contacting politicians, work in political party, organizational work, signing petitions and taken part in demonstrations.

The preliminary results indicate firstly that well-being affects levels of political participation among older people, that is, older people experiencing higher levels of well-being are also more active. Secondly, well-being more strongly levels of political participation among seniors with higher levels of education and interest in politics respectively. Among older individuals with low well-being, participation is low disregarding of degree of education or interest in politics. The latter finding implies that the overtime and across contexts robust effects of education and political interest on political participation are not valid for all older people in Europe.

Segregationsgrundade grannskapseffekter på mellanmänskligt förtroende

Per Strömblad, Linnéuniversitetet

Inom olika samhällsvetenskapliga discipliner, och inte minst inom forskning om politiskt beteende, har det under lång tid utvecklats intresse och metoder för att systematiskt studera aktörer och strukturer parallellt. En utgångspunkt är då att attityder, preferenser och beteendemönster inte endast antas beror på faktorer som kan knytas till individer (såsom kön, nationellt ursprung, utbildningsnivå eller position på arbetsmarknaden), utan också kan influeras av faktorer som hänför sig till individens sociala omgivningar (som exempelvis sammansättningen av socioekonomiska eller etniska grupper i olika bostadsområden). Skillnader i utfall beror i så fall också på egenskaper som definieras av kontexten, och i denna studie riktas sökarmen mot vad skillnader i befolkningssammansättning mellan grannskap – som är en följd av rådande boendesegregation – kan betyda för mellanmänskligt förtroende.

Data hämtas från en storskalig intervjuundersökning, genomförd i Sverige i början av 2000-talet, till vilken också geokodad information finns tillgänglig och kan utnyttjas i kombination med moderna GIS-baserade tekniker. Det sistnämnda möjliggör att registerdatabaserade demografiska och socioekonomiska egenskaper för ett flexibelt antal "närmaste grannar" kan knytas till intervjuundersökningens respondenter och i nästa led utgöra underlag för kontextuella variabler. Betydelsen av variationer mellan empiriskt definierade grannskap av olika storlek (med t.ex. 800, 1600 eller 3200 invånare), snarare än administrativt avgränsade områden, kan därigenom utforskas. Studien drar på så vis också maximal nytta av kombinationen av registerdata och surveydata i analyser av hur etnisk och socioekonomisk segregation kan påverka mellanmänniskt förtroende. Analyser görs av vad skillnader i upplevda kontakter mellan grannar betyder i detta avseende, varvid såväl tillitsfrämjande som tillitshämmande kontakter framträder – ett resultat som tycks ha sin grund i komplexa samspelseffekter mellan individers ursprung, befolkningssammansättning i grannskapet och graden av "känslighet" för kontakter mellan grannar som tillhör olika befolkningskategorier.

När det slutar som det börjar: Regeringsbildningen 2018/19

Jan Teorell, Lunds universitet

Hanna Bäck, Lunds universitet

Johan Hellström, Umeå universitet

Johannes Lindvall, Lunds universitet

Efter den längsta regeringsbildningsprocessen i svensk politisk historia bildades i januari 2019, av de 255 teoretiskt möjliga alternativen, en minoritetsregering med samma statsminister och partisammansättning som 2014. Frågan är varför. Stort fokus har här lagts vid Centerns och Liberalernas agerande under hösten, men utgångspunkten i detta papper är att alla riksdagspartiers agerande är viktigt för att kunna förstå regeringsbildningen. Jämför man med statsministeromröstningen efter valet 2014 är det faktiskt två andra partier som ändrat sin röst: Moderaterna och Kristdemokraterna, som lade ned sina röster 2014 men röstade emot i januari 2019. Centern och Liberalerna agerade i detta avseende egentligen precis som de gjorde 2014, då de också lade ned sina röster, men det krävdes ändå sju talmansrundor, tre sonderingsförsök och två rejäla förhandlingsomgångar med Socialdemokraterna och Miljöpartiet innan de kunde befästa detta beslut. Även efter att den så kallade "januariöverenskommelsen" kunde föras i hamn krävdes dessutom Vänsterpartiets passiva stöd, under ett "misstroendehot", för att regeringen skulle kunna tillträda. Utan att själva någonsin vara direkt inblandade fanns det dessutom ett åttonde parti, som allting enligt många bedömare egentligen handlade om: Sverigedemokraterna. Syftet med detta papper är att på basis av ett stort antal intervjuer med de mest centrala aktörerna inom samtliga partier kartlägga och analysera denna komplicerade process och förklara det utfall den ledde

fram till. I enlighet med den tidigare forskningen på området kommer här såväl partiernas ideologiska som deras strategiska överväganden att beaktas.

**Unemployment – a road to political disengagement or political mobilisation?
Scrutinising the conditional effect of contextual unemployment using Swedish register data**

Marcus Österman, Uppsala University

Karl-Oskar Lindgren, Uppsala University

How does unemployment and labour market downturns affect electoral participation? This question, which dates back to the classical studies in political sociology of the 1930s, has received renewed attention in the aftermath of the Great Recession. Yet, scholars differ in their views on how voter turnout is affected by the state of the economy. Some have argued that unemployment and economic hardship lead to political distrust and apathy. Others, however, claim that high unemployment instead has the potential to mobilise voters for policy change and can thus result in higher turnout. Recent scholarship has asserted that these diverging effects may be reconciled by separating individual and contextual effects of unemployment and by considering how these interact. That is, individual unemployment has been shown to have a negative effect on turnout when the unemployment rate is low, while the effect in high unemployment contexts has been found to be close to zero or even positive. Scholars have argued that unemployment is seen as a personal failure in low unemployment contexts, leading to abstention, but regarded as a social problem when the unemployment rate is high and may then mobilise voters. However, a dilemma with studying the conditioning effect of contextual unemployment is that the composition of the unemployed tends to vary considerably over the economic cycle. When the unemployment rate is low, the unemployed are less resourceful than when unemployment is high. A conflicting hypothesis is thus that the conditioning effect of the context rather depends on dynamic selection into unemployment, rather than diverging causal effects. We study this question using Swedish state-of-the-art individual-level register panel data for the period 1991-2014. In the paper we reproduce the conditional effects of contextual unemployment from earlier contributions but show that these effects largely disappear when dynamic selection into unemployment is adequately controlled for.

Political theory, political ideologies and political language

Parental Imprisonment, Social Justice and Intolerable Inequality

William Bülow, Stockholm University

Lars Lindblom, Linköping University

A rather common view is that many of the negative effects of parental imprisonment are unjust because children of prisoners are unjustly harmed by their parents' incarceration. While this view is initially plausible, we argue that it is unsatisfactory. The reason for this is that even if children of prisoners aren't unjustly harmed by their parent's incarceration, they are still much likely to be worse off compared to other children. Instead, we suggest that the question to ask is whether the inequality that children endure as a consequence of parents' incarceration is a tolerable inequality or not. We suggest the social injustice associated with parental imprisonment should be viewed from the philosophical perspective of liberal egalitarianism, and in particular the family of views commonly referred to as *luck egalitarianism*. According to such view, inequalities are tolerable only if they reflect the choices and responsible actions of the persons that are concerned. In making this argument we show that children of prisoners endure two forms of intolerable inequalities: children are denied goods that are important for adult life in terms of unequal opportunities and goods, but also goods that can only be enjoyed during one's childhood. Having defended this view, we explore its implications for policy and indicate that it can affect both the practice of punishment and family law.

From revolutionary Paroles to Democratic Rhetoric: Replacement of the Political Vocabulary of the Norwegian Labour Party

Kristina Krake, Amsterdam University

This paper examines the Norwegian Labour Party's political language in the Interwar Period. The aim is to assess whether and how the Labour Party's shifts in political strategy affected its rhetoric. By this linguistic focus the paper contributes to a nuanced understanding of the Labour Party's controversial political changes, which took place several times within two decades. In 1918 the Norwegian Labour Party turned to the radical left and joined The Communist International 1919–1923. Albeit the party modified its revolutionary stance subsequently and in 1933 accepted parliamentary means, the party stressed its sceptical attitude towards parliamentary democracy as late as in 1930. In this respect, the Norwegian Labour Party can be considered as an exemption within the Nordic labour movement. The method applied in the paper combines a quantitative and qualitative analysis of a sample of concepts, crucial to the discussions and framing of the decisions, agreed on at the party congresses. The quantitative analysis clarifies the frequency and impact of key concepts, whereas the qualitative approach contextualises the

conceptual configurations. The findings show that the Norwegian Labour Party aligned its rhetorical vocabulary to the party's political objectives. Most significantly, the party replaced the concept revolution with democracy. However, the findings also reveal that the Norwegian Labour Party did not embrace the existing parliamentary democracy. Instead, the party leadership introduced the notion of a future social and economic democracy. The case study provides new insights on the Norwegian Labour Party, which helps to explain how highly contested as well as distinct changes in the political compass were made possible. In a wider perspective, the case study demonstrates the benefits of conceptual history, complementary to a classic focus on policy making and political behaviour.

No title

Maria Nordbrandt, Uppsala University

The stepping-stone for this paper is the debate in deliberative democratic theory about how public deliberation can become more inclusive, authentic and consequential in light of the challenges of modernity (Mansbridge et al. 2012). I take as point of departure the normative notion advanced by Owen and Smith (2015: 27-28) that spaces for political contestation should be evaluated by the extent to which they “uphold or undermine democratic deliberation” – that is, whether or not they encourage citizens to engage in ongoing mutual exchange of reasons with different minded others.

The paper utilizes Dutch panel survey data and provides a rare empirical evaluation of the extent to which social media encourage or undermine users' motivation to deliberate across lines of difference and reflect on new ideas – central tenets of deliberative democracy. Despite the widespread use of social media today, and the worry of some theorists that they are ‘echo-chambers’ that amplify opinion extremity and undermine democratic deliberation (Haidt 2016, Sunstein 2001, 2018), their effect on users' motivation to consider and reflect on viewpoints that are meaningfully different from their own has not been adequately addressed empirically.

I find that the most frequently used social media site, Facebook, has a strong presence of people with a comparatively low interest in deliberating before making up their minds. As such, it may contribute to making politics accessible to a broader public beyond people who are likely to seek out political information and deliberation elsewhere. However, the main finding is that frequent use is associated with decreased motivation to deliberate and to reflect on new ideas, all else being equal.

The paper concludes by discussing implications for deliberative democratic theory and beyond. All in all, the paper makes an empirical contribution to a thus far highly theoretical debate.

Trust never sleeps

On conceptual history of trust and the delineation between trust and distrust

Paul-Erik Korvela (University of Turku, Finland)

Isak Vento (University of Helsinki, Finland)

In this paper we scrutinize the conceptual history of political trust. Even though trust is one of the most central concepts of political science and sociology and a number of scholars have sung its praise in the form of social capital and related concepts, its conceptual history remains largely unwritten. Our paper focuses especially on the border between trust and distrust. Distrust in government and the political system is often deemed negative and as a sign of unhealthy political situation, but from certain other perspectives distrust of power is an essential feature of democratic politics. Distrust in government and leaders can topple down regimes, but it may also prevent totalitarian developments. Well-founded criticism also functions as a source of public renewal or innovation.

Following Rosanvallon et alia, we argue that distrust is in some sense a democratic virtue. What we intend to provide in the paper is a typology of political distrust and its relation to trust. Empirical political science has provided clues to this direction already in the 1950's, but we approach the issue from a conceptual history viewpoint. The beneficial (or rational) side of distrust is traceable to theoreticians like Machiavelli, and most democratic systems have checks and balances for power and power-hungry elites. While it is apparent that some forms of distrust are detrimental to political system, some others are necessary. Conversely, some forms of trust are needed for political system to function properly, whereas blind unconditional trust is clearly not desirable. The conception of political distrust can be clarified by differentiating between the objects of distrust in the political system, which we believe might increase the understanding of the democratic value of political distrust. Perusing the traditions of political theory from the viewpoint of distrust provides ample fulcrum for this typology.

Born Equal, Unequal as We Grow? The Relation between Population Size and Public Opinion on Equality

Ran Goren, Åbo Akademi University

Democracy, according to common definitions, is a system of governance in which the equality of all members is crucial. The pivotal role of equality for democracy has historically yielded a wide range of texts on the factors which may cultivate equality in political units. Since Ancient Greece, among the most recognized factors impacting equality has been the size of the population of political units. Interestingly, despite the long debate and its relevance

to democracy, the impact of population size on societal attitudes towards democratic equality has achieved little theoretical consensus. Moreover, this relation has been rarely examined in empirical studies of public opinion within political science. Hence, the objective of the research is to examine the impact of the population size of political units on public attitudes towards democratic equality. The essence of the research is surveying whether the number of people within states and municipalities affect their opinion on several components of democratic equality, such as: equal civic rights, equal standing before the law, equal formal opportunities for political participation, access to political information, adequate living conditions and avoidance of poverty, and equal tangible resources. The preliminary research hypothesis, based on previous theoretical and empirical propositions, is that there is a negative relation between the population size of political units and their democratic egalitarian orientation. The research method is a comparative public opinion analysis, using both existing data from cross-national surveys, as well as original data from a survey among citizens of municipalities in Finland. Using this method, this study shall provide novel knowledge on the factors which impact democracy, as well as on the impact of the ongoing transformations of the size of political units throughout the globe.

What's missing in the literature on expertise in democracy?

Siri Sylvan, Uppsala University

The role of experts in modern democracy has recently become a hot topic in public discourse. In the wake of the Brexit referendum and the election of Donald Trump, several scholars and commentators have expressed their concern about an alleged crisis of expertise. The crisis of expertise is commonly described as a problem for democracy: If citizens are no longer able to tell fact from fiction, or to distinguish genuine expertise from propaganda, this seems to make public opinion vulnerable to manipulation. Against the backdrop of the debate on the crisis of expertise, this paper will critically examine the theoretical literature on the role of experts in democracy. We often say that experts should be ‘on tap, not on top’ – but the meaning of this simple proposition remains an open question. According to the traditional view in democratic theory, experts ought to function as means to political ends. I will argue that this account is in need of revision. The standard view seems to prescribe an apolitical conception of expertise that is neither feasible nor desirable. Instead of understanding experts as instrumental to politics, I suggest that they should be understood as instrumental to the capacity of citizens to make autonomous judgements.

No title

Elin Palm, Linköping University

Under the current migration governance of the European Union (EU), state sovereignty is manifested in migrant interdiction, interception and detention policies that are intended to prevent unauthorized migrants from reaching the EU but also to deter prospective migrants from embarking on cross-Mediterranean journeys. While reinforcement of the Schengen region's external borders is a key feature of the EU's internal migration politics, collaboration with third country regarding migration control is a central aim of its external migration policy (Palm, 2016a) and extra-territorial migration management has, in the past decade, become a standard feature. In close collaboration with third country, the EU has managed to curb the outflux of migrants from transit and sending countries. In effect, irregular migrants are prevented from exit as well as from entry. This article explores the ethical justifiability of such practice, by questioning commonly invoked models of justification such as the sovereignty "model". This paper has a special focus on the permissibility of recent partnership agreements regarding migration control between the EU and Libya. Limitations of this partnership model are discussed, both by looking at possible legal and philosophical restrictions.

Idealism and realism in the Anthropocene

Kristin Hällmark, Uppsala University

The increasing presence of human activities in nature has prompted geologists to argue that we have entered into a new geological epoch, *The Anthropocene*, in which humanity is recognized as the dominant earth-shaping force. The concept of Anthropocene alludes that something has changed in the very composition of nature. Within the literature of green political theory, the general conception seems to be that the Anthropocene presents new facts about reality, rendering existing theories about the environment inadequate or misleading. Should the notion of a new geological epoch prompt us to rethink theories of for example the value of nature or environmental justice? Normative theory is interested in questions of value, principles and ideals. These values, principles and ideals can be used to evaluate existing institutions, norms and practices. However, how fact-sensitive these theories should be is an open question, one which has been heavily debated within political theory. In this paper, I will look at the debate between realists (who claim that normative theories should not only focus on what should be done, but on what should be done given the political circumstances and possibilities) and idealists (who focus on political ideals regardless of the political circumstances). The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it is to bring together the literature of the Anthropocene and the methodological discussion on fact-sensitivity. Both these literatures have discussed intensely lately, but rarely simultaneously. Second, the aim is to consider what impact facts of Anthropocene can and should have on (environmental) normative theories, i.e. *can and should the Anthropocene have something useful to say for normative political theory?*

No title

Oskar Hultin Bäckerten, Uppsala University

It is an empirical fact that party membership is rapidly declining in most modern democracies, and it is a ubiquitous trope that parties are in a state of crisis. The question, however, is what party membership brings of value to the linkage of people with power – which arguably is what party government is ultimately about. Should declining party membership numbers cause concern, and if so, why?

In this paper, I explore some aspects of the linkage that parties provide between citizens and the state, and to what extent party membership is important for the values that parties provide in representative government. The conclusion is that there is a need for parties to have an anchoring in the citizenry that goes beyond simple vote-aggregation, and that parties could fulfill this role as membership organizations, if they manage to articulate and aggregate political conflict along salient political and social fault-lines. The question is not only about representation of people and their interests, but also about the “popular element of democracy”, i.e. participation in the political parties, which is valuable to the extent that it is based on pertinent political issues. Party membership is conducive to this – in most practical circumstances even necessary – under certain conditions that are discussed further in the paper.

Governing cooperation between autonomy and control: on midnight-football and the formation of civil society

David Ekholm, Linköping University

Relations between what has been presented as the civil society and the state (or municipalities), have been a recurring theme in the history of modern political thought. This paper focuses empirically on two cases of a sports-based intervention, midnight-football, promoting social inclusion, targeting the perennial discussion of the distinctions between public sector and civil society, the constitution of civil society and the role of civil society in the art of government. The paper explores how “civil society” and “municipality” domains are formed and made distinct in discourse, and the rationalities of governing promoted. Based on interviews with key representatives of involved agencies, this is examined from a governmentality perspective. Four different rationalities are analyzed. First, cooperation can be viewed in terms of conflict and competition. Civil society autonomy is promoted as a prerequisite for legitimacy. Second, the relative autonomy of civil society, creates a lack of control over the management, practices and objectives. Third, cooperation is characterized by a relative consensus between the management and the municipality. Autonomy in articulating objectives and defining the rationality of the intervention seems not to constitute an obstacle for cooperation. Fourth, civil society autonomy is safeguarded by maintaining a distance between the municipality and

intervention management. The distance established is utilized in order to govern at a distance by means of providing goals for the performing association and conditioning support upon these goals. Imbued in the variety of rationalities of cooperation articulated are particular technologies for promoting social change and inclusion. This is discussed in terms of the construction of civil society as a governmental domain of intervention, where different kinds of socio-pedagogical efforts can be played out. Accordingly, civil society is formed through the interconnections between the governmental technologies promoted, in the balance between autonomy and control, governing the forms of modern and liberal freedom.

Power and the Political

Samförstånd och smidighet – om avpolitiseringsen av regional utvecklingspolitik

Johanna Tangnäs, Karlstads universitet

Detta paper diskuterar hur avpolitiseringsen av svensk regionalpolitik ser ut och hur den fungerar. Med regional avses den subnationella regionala nivån, och det är texter om görandet av politik inom området regional utveckling som kommer att analyseras. Syftet är att på basis av tidigare forskning undersöka hur avpolitiseringsen av den svenska regionalpolitiken går till och vilka uttryck den tar. Den litteratur som behandlas är främst statsvetenskaplig, men även kulturgeografiska texter inkluderas. Jag har valt att fokusera på litteratur som rör svensk regionalpolitik specifikt, men även texter om avpolitiseringsen i mer generell bemärkelse finns med för att placera litteraturen i ett bredare sammanhang. Jag argumenterar för att de texter som analyseras visar att det har skett en avpolitiseringsen av svensk regionalpolitik samt att denna tar sig uttryck i tre övergripande teman som jag identifierat i litteraturen. Dessa teman utgörs av brist på artikulerade intressekonflikter, en tradition av konsensusbyggande och organisatoriska förändringar som underlättar eller cementerar avpolitiseringsen. Det första temat, brist på artikulerade intressekonflikter, innefattar beskrivningar om en nedtonad, dold eller till och med avsaknad av en konfliktdimension i regionalpolitiken. Det andra temat som berör själva traditionen av konsensusbyggande i regionalpolitiken, visar på uttryck för hur enighet har utvecklats till ett överordnat förhållningssätt till de politikområden som behandlas. Det tredje och sista temat för avpolitiseringsen som identifieras i litteraturen är organisatoriska förändringar som på ett mer eller mindre institutionaliserande vis underordnar eller utesluter kontroversiella områden från regionalpolitikens görande.

“We should call them our friends” -Negotiations on welfare and social security entitlements for EU migrants in Sweden

Sara Nyhlén, Mid Sweden University

The aim of this article is to analyse the understandings about EU citizens rights by taking a closer look at the ways in which discourses on welfare operate within the nexus of humanitarian care, social care and migration in relation to EU migrants. By this it is possible to outline how different rights becomes attached to different citizens and how apparently incompatible discursive regimes are intertwined and nourish one another. As a basis for our analysis, we use a newly finished EU-project, which we have been following for three years. The project is a cooperation between three municipalities, NGOs and the Swedish church, aimed to increase social inclusion and empowerment among vulnerable EU-migrants. Departing from the theoretical concepts of Balibar's (2008) discussion of the relationship between nation and citizenship and conceptualize the duality where exclusion is seen a fundamental aspect of the nation-state since it links humans rights to citizenship but

also to certain ethics. The analysis show how the project workers, both employed and voluntary, in different ways contributes to the understanding of what EU citizens rights are, who they belong to, individualizing and personalizing human rights and how goodwill and Christian ethics becomes an implicit part in the welfare discourse. It also show how the project and the project workers became part of the reconfiguration of the state power, using the trust between the project and the migrants granting the actions legitimacy, as well as prohibiting critique of the actions from the project.

No title

Eleonora Stolt, Stockholms universitet

EU:s överstatliga politik för lika behandling mellan könen framställs ofta som unionens flaggskepp inom socialpolitiken, ett område där EU historiskt sett har haft begränsat mandat. I så väl interna som externa narrativ lyfts detta politikområde fram som ovanligt framstående ur ett internationellt perspektiv. I följande text, som utgör det fjärde och sista empiriska kapitlet i en avhandling om möjlighetsvillkoren för EU:s likabehandlingspolitik, undersöks perioden från millennieskiftet till ikraftträdande av Lissabonfördraget. I och med att Lissabonfördraget träder i kraft kommer skyddet mot könsdiskriminering att ingå i en enhetlig diskrimineringslag vilket får omfattande konsekvenser för såväl den politiska förståelsen av ojämställdhet mellan könen som dess organisatoriska hantering. Utifrån en genealogisk ansats med diskursteoretiska inslag undersöks jämställdhetspolitiska debatter i Europaparlamentet och Ekonomiska och Sociala Kommittén. I fokus för analysen står partigruppernas diskursiva strategier och försök att använda de legislativa och politiska handlingsutrymme som fördraget och andra rättsliga texter och handlingsplaner medför. I synnerhet frågan om individuell kontra kollektiv rätt utgör en vattendelare samtidigt som den diskursiva repertoaren blir allt snävare under tidsperioden vilket får till följd att partigrupperna anammar varandras argument och de ideologiska skiljelinjerna blir mindre skarpa. Delvis motstridiga diskurser om å ena sidan en förstärkning av de mänskliga och grundläggande rättigheterna och å andra sidan ökade krav på anpassning och flexibilitet på arbetsmarknaden tycks förenade i en uppslutning kring en viss typ av funktionell individualism. Avslutningsvis diskuteras resultaten av dessa politiska debatter i relation till den övergripande politiska utvecklingen i EU där inte minst EU-domstolen under denna period börjar hänvisa till rättspraxis från tidigare fall mot könsdiskriminering i mål om facklig organisering för att hävda individens rätt gentemot kollektiv organisering. En avsikt med denna studie är att ge ett bidrag till tidigare forskning om EU:s utveckling i frågor om jämställdhet och lika behandling genom att visa på hur ideologiska och partipolitiska konflikter tar sig uttryck och är verksamma i forandet av politiken.

No title

Marcel Mangold, Örebro universitet

Denna syftar till att begreppsliggöra en alternativ förståelse av demokratisk förnyelse och förstärkning, bortom public policy och idéer om en demokratisk infrastruktur (från ovan), som ofta vilar på olika former av styrning och biomakt (Mangold 2018). Genom att undersöka teoretiska begrepp från litteratur om allmänning-görande och fall av ockupationer, men även mer kontraktliknande arrangemang som allemansrätten, försöker texten att begreppsliggöra några grundläggande inslag och dynamiker i en icke-statlig och relationell demokratiförståelse. I centrum för denna motkunskap om demokratisk förnyelse och förstärkning står frågor om förhållandet till livsvärlden, närhet (rum/plats, kropp, icke-separation) och ett försök att utmana normaliseringen av ökad ojämlikhet.

Limits of the GDPR in Regulating Profiling and Algorithmic Decision-Making.

Michaela Padden, Karlstad University

Andreas Öjehag, Karlstad University

As policy makers seek more effective and efficient forms of service delivery, there lies great appeal, for example, in distributed networks of sensors, cameras and meters to generate big data for improved management of utilities such as transport and energy. In addition to these more technical solutions, the potential offered by big data for profiling (social credit scoring) and automated decision-making has also seen an increase in use by governments in social and welfare-based decisions in areas such as education, social welfare, healthcare and justice. In this paper we present an analysis of the GDPR and key policy documents related to its instalment. We do this by adopting a “What’s the problem represented to be?” (WPR) approach as we seek to understand the political rationalities underpinning this policy, as well as ‘silences’ or ‘gaps’ in the GDPR with respect to potentially discriminatory practices. These assumptions in turn presuppose specific constructions of subjects and objects within the policy dynamic. The paper also aims to identify ‘silences’ or ‘gaps’ in the GDPR with respect to potentially discriminatory practices such as profiling, nudging, predictive governance and algorithmic decision-making.

No title

Oscar Larsson, Swedish Defence University

Swedish security- and crisis management has since the beginning of the 1990s experienced discursive and organizational changes which has given rise to substantial shifts in

responsibility – from state to individuals. This article aims to analyze and discuss the shift as well as the strategies deployed by the state to encourage crisis awareness and preparation among its citizens. The article notes that the governance of individual crisis awareness and preparation follows a liberal rationality in that it does not involve juridical or disciplinary tactics but operates on the sustained freedom and choice of individuals to comply. The shift in responsibility and the current forms of governance defies the theoretical and philosophical foundation of the liberal state and opens up important questions on defining the boundary of individual contra state responsibility for individual security and property. According to the liberal theory of a ‘social contract’ between the state and the citizen, individual liberty is exchanged for basic security provision provided by the state. This has also served as the foundation for the legitimacy of state power and its dominating power and monopoly of violence. If this contract and social bound is renegotiated in current crisis management in Sweden, it also invokes concern for the fundamental legitimacy of the state.

Assemblage thinking and its contribution to power critical policy analysis

David Scott, Karlstad University

Andreas Öjehag-Pettersson, Karlstad University

During the last decade, *assemblage thinking* has gained substantial influence in anthropological, sociological and human geographical studies of how policies are produced through processes of assembling (Larner & Higgins, 2017; Clarke *et al.* 2015; Savage, 2018). Originating in the works of Deleuze and Guattari (1985), the concept of *assemblage*, has been taken up by policy scholars to study how policies in a range of areas are results of complex processes of drawing together non-human artefacts, practices and discourses to provisional and unstable wholes. A contribution made by assemblage thinking is to provide a more nuanced understanding of the emergence of policies through active processes of assembling. In a context of increasing marketization and managerialization, assemblage thinking is a fruitful tool to explore how translation practices, brokerage between interests, incorporation of global tools and instruments and the use of consultant expertise are assembled to make policies come to life. Assemblage thinking as it has been mobilized to study such disparate areas as education (Savage & Lewis, 2018), homelessness (Baker & McGuirk, 2017) and community forest management (Murray Li, 2007), has emerged as a reaction to the “policy transfer”-tradition, developed in mainstream political science and in which the dynamic and complex process of policy design is often disregarded (Peck & Theodore, 2015). In this paper, we discuss how assemblage thinking can be used in policy analysis and in combination with political science’s preoccupation with analysis of power relations and their effects on democracy. We argue that assemblage thinking is able to enrich policy analysis theoretically and empirically and that political scientific power analysis can be developed through this thinking. Our argument is illustrated through two different ways of mobilizing assemblage thinking empirically, partly through an ongoing study on how

development aid projects can be considered products of assembling and an earlier study on how regional policy can be understood as an assemblage in terms of an object of governing.

Prospective mining and histories of land, property and belonging

Ulrika Waaranperä, Malmö University

For some time, mining has mainly appeared to be a question about distant and desolate places left behind by time, progress and urbanization. Mining formed a substantial part of the backbone of the Swedish export industry, but it did not cause much political debate. However, as a result of recent shifts in global market trends and environmental concerns, as well as an increased policy pressure for new sites of extraction, at the national and regional level particularly **of** rare earth minerals, mining is unquestionably back in as a pressing economic, environmental and political issue. The recent surge in prospective explorations for minerals in Sweden has at multiple locations been met with protests, indicating that mining is not only bound to be located someplace, but that it will always transform places, spaces and natures. Whether such transformations are threats or promises is never self-evident but questions of prospective mining cuts to the core of the political. This paper aims to propose a theoretical frame for understanding how debates over prospective mining can be understood as political processes, that will simultaneously constitute and be constituted by understandings of property and belonging. How are mineral territories created through prospective mining, fixing particular definitions of land and community? Which histories of property and belonging are mobilized to defend local land rights? How are some resources rendered legible for extraction and some lands worthy of protection in discourses on mineral extraction, on the one hand, and environmental protection and conservation, on the other? Taking a number of cases of resistance against explorative mining in Sweden as its starting points, the text will revolve around the (admittedly broad) scope set by these questions to suggest how the politics of explorative mining can be theoretically unfolded.

Public Administration and Management Practices

Variations in national inspection styles?

A comparison of Swedish healthcare, eldercare and primary education

Linda Moberg, Uppsala University

Mio Fredriksson, Uppsala University

Karin Leijon, Uppsala University

The widespread reliance on privatized provisions of welfare in Sweden has led policy makers to institute national inspection agencies control whether providers of publicly funded services fulfill statutory requirements. However, although Swedish healthcare, eldercare and primary education have been similarly affected by marketization, there is some evidence suggesting that the way national inspection agencies supervise these sectors is strikingly different. These differences are puzzling since the government has decided that all of the three sectors are to be supervised using controlling inspections. To shed light on to what extent the inspection strategies differ between these three sectors, we investigate how the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (SSI) and the Health and Social Care Inspectorate (HSCI), supervise the service providers. The paper focuses on three aspects of the inspectorates' work: (i) initiation of inspections; (ii) assessments made during inspections on site; and (iii) choice of penalties.

The findings show that for primary education, the SSI performs regular inspections and uses detailed checklists. If the SSI identifies that a school is failing to meet national requirements it may command specific action as well as impose fines. In contrast, the HSCI, which supervises Swedish healthcare and eldercare providers, does not use checklists and seldom impose fines. Moreover, the HSCI does not supervise providers on a regular basis. It suggests that the SSI has adopted a uniform style of inspection while the inspection style of HSCI is situational. The paper proposes that the differences in inspection style can be explained by the lack of a clear definition of service quality in the health- and eldercare sector.

These findings have important implications for professional discretion. Whereas the uniform style of inspection could undermine professional discretion among teachers, the situational inspections in the area of eldercare and healthcare imply that the work of HSCI risks being unpredictable.

Surviving the competition?

On public home care services in a marketized elderly care

Jessika Wide, Umeå University

David Feltenius, Umeå University

In Sweden, home care services is a municipal responsibility. After the introduction of the Act on System of Choice (LOV) in 2009, a mix of providers of home care services has developed in many municipalities: private, public and non-profit. The question is how public home care services has developed in this context: Has it been marginalized by private providers or is it still the most dominant provider (as before LOV)?

The study departs from the literature on the marketization of elderly care. We argue that this literature has focused primarily on private and non-profit providers in home care service, while public performers has been “taken for granted”. However, it is important to also consider the functioning of the public provider in an environment of marketization. For instance, an elderly care without a public alternative runs the risk of being too strongly dominated by values from the private market, such as efficiency.

The purpose of this paper is to describe and explain the market share of public providers of home care services in Swedish municipalities with LOV (150 municipalities) in 2010-2017. The paper is based on an analysis of statistics from Statistics Sweden (SCB). The result is that there is a significant variation between the municipalities that have adopted LOV. There is one group of municipalities where the public provider has a low share of the market, one group with a balance between private and public providers and one group where the public provider is dominant. Considering the group of municipalities where the public provider is weak, we argue that the consequences of this for values governing elderly care practice needs to be investigated further.

Silent voices in a digital world – a literature review

Helena Lacobaeus, Linköping University

A shift towards a more digitalised society changes the expectations on what an active citizen needs to know and do. According to Rothstein, the quality of government, e.g. access to public services, is central for the perceived legitimacy of the state.¹ Who is excluded from public services, democratic influence and information when digitalisation changes our expectations and practices? This review aims at giving a broad picture of earlier studies of the digital divide, the gap between individuals and groups when it comes to ability to access and use ICT.

The review is based on a combination of books, articles and reports from databases such as Scopus and Libris as well as from the World Wide Web. The initial search strategy returned several thousand results, but this was significantly reduced by narrowing the search by language and timeframe.

The results are categorised to show trends within the last ten years but with special focus on earlier studies intended to make the voices and needs of digital non-users and infrequent users heard. In the Nordic political context, the digital divide is often primarily presented as an age-related issue. However, previous studies show that the question is far more complex. In order to learn from non-users, who are unlikely to fill out the surveys for analysis of democracy and political participation, other methods such as focus groups have proven effective. The results from the review could be used to outline future research that both find ways to make the voices of underrepresented groups heard, and improve our understanding of what is required to be included in digital society.

Citizens' views on administrative procedures in Finnish Internet discussions

Kanerva Kuokkanen, University of Helsinki

The aim of this paper is to look at how citizens talk about administrative procedures in Internet discussions. The theoretical framework is related, first, to the mainly politico-administrative discussion about “regulatory” or “administrative burden” (OECD 2012) and the more academic literature on management bureaucracy (Hall 2012) and neoliberal bureaucratisation (Hibou 2015). In practice, much of the administrative burden tends to concentrate on people who are already in a vulnerable position, usually recipients of social benefits (Kuokkanen 2018). Second, the paper employs literature about the relation between public authorities and citizens, such as that on “street-level bureaucrats” (Lipsky 1980, Zacka 2017), but also studies on emotions and trust towards public authorities. Finally, as the most central discussions concern the discussants’ experiences of social benefits and welfare services, the paper reflects the current situation of the Nordic welfare state and its potential exclusion mechanisms. The research material consists of discussions concerning social security and benefits on Finland’s largest Internet discussion forum Suomi24. In this sample, negative experiences of administrative procedures and public authorities tend to be overrepresented, but the data gives an insight into personal experiences and viewpoints of the discussants, rarely reached through other channels. The preliminary results show the importance of asking for advice from peers rather than public authorities in fear of sanctions; the complexity and cracks of the social security system in case of people with multiple problems; and critique towards street-level bureaucrats and low trust towards the system as a whole among the discussants.

Understanding competence needs for digitalization – Voices from Swedish municipalities

Lotta Gröning, Linköping University

Cecilia Nordqvist, Linköping University

Elin Wihlborg, Linköping University

The development of e-government forces officials and politicians to keep up with digitalization. Still, there is a lack of studies of e-government considering the actors behavior, attitudes and cognitions (Meijer & Bekkers ,2015). E-leadership is the use and blending of electronic and traditional communication. It implies awareness of current information and communication technologies (ICTs), selective adoption of new ICTs for oneself and the organization, and technical competence in using those ICTs (van Wart et al., 2019). Swedish municipalities have high local autonomy and extensive responsibilities to provide welfare but they address and lead digitalization differently and thus leadership is critical for the implementation of digitalization in their public administration.

This paper aims to present a study of competence needs in e-government of Swedish municipalities in order to develop e-government and retain democracy. The study consists of 24 interviews with municipality chairmen and leaders. The inductive analyze focus on leadership, organization, attitudes and access to technology. The results indicate that there is a great variation in the forms and degrees of digitalization. There are those still focusing on broadband implementation and others are in the stages of implementing artificial intelligence (Ai) or even having an innovation hub developing and testing new e-services. Small municipalities tend to be the less digitalized and lacking resources for digitalization as well as other duties. Municipal care of elderly and school stands out as the most mature area of digitalization and it is here we find examples of Ai.

Our inductive analysis indicates that communication between decision makers and executing staff is essential to facilitate digitalization. The abilities to communicate in a trustworthy way demands competence both regarding technical issues and the organization. Several respondents, in particular from small municipalities, report a perceived lack of competence in digitalization and Ai. They tend to see digitalization as inevitable rather than helpful, while those reporting to be more competent describe possibilities. When relating our inductive analysis to theories on public organization we can conclude that politicians and officials need confidence in their digital competence to gain the necessary positive attitude to support digitalization. They need to collaborate in networks to get an overview of existing possibilities for digitalization and Ai, improve their competences and to embed change management into daily work instead of unique projects

High Principles and Dirty Hands?

Policy politics and ethics of local public managers in Sweden

Joachim Åström, Örebro University

Jan Olsson, Örebro University

Erik Hysing, Örebro University

The politics-administration dichotomy has been widely rejected as a realistic description, while related values of political neutrality are still cherished by public administration scholars and practitioners. This contradiction is studied empirically in this article with help of survey data on local Swedish public manager's policy involvement and attitudes when it comes to bureaucratic values. In short, the results show that a large majority of the public managers are involved in policy politics by influencing the development of local government policies; goals and strategies of their departments; and goal interpretation and implementation. This extensive policy politics is partly dependent on organizational factors: managers working in richer, administrative departments, and small-sized local governments report relatively higher levels of policy influence. Second, a very large majority of the public managers agree to statements about neutrality and objectivity, while there is more than 10 percent of the respondents that disagree. Public managers in relatively poor departments with relational working tasks are a bit more prone to disagree. Third, public manager's support for neutrality and objectivity is not empirically related to policy activities. It is thus perfectly possible to support values of neutrality and objectivity and still being deeply involved in policy politics. Fourth, the empirical picture becomes more complex when the public managers take a stand in relation to tentative ethical dilemmas. These results seem to be in accordance with what is expected from public managers; that is focusing on consequences and knowledge within the framework of the law. However, the results also show that the ethical dilemmas are not black and white for the managers. For instance, 20 percent of the respondents would probably *not* take action against illegal decisions within their organization. Overall, public administrations seem to have a gray zone area of contradictory values and behaviors in which public managers widely take stand for high principles and occasionally get dirty hands.

Institutionalism and Public Administration

Jan Olsson, Örebro University

Institutions have always been of great concern to public administration, both in a practical and analytical sense. The new institutionalism, developing in different versions from the early 1980s, has contributed new and varied insights on how institutional factors shape the life of public administrations. Instead of mainly focusing on formal rules and organizations, as in traditional ('old') institutionalism, new institutionalism perceives of institutions in a broader sense, as patterned behavior also following from informal rules, norms, and habits. Different institutional perspectives continue to develop with some mutual borrowing of ideas but they also specialize, which help us understand how public administrations are shaped by: the historical legacies of institutions; institutions as incentive structures designed to increase trust and compliance; institutional rules and norms that socialize organization members; organizational adaptation to major institutional trends; and institutions as cultures of communication. These perspectives are specific lenses, which bring valuable, complementary insights. However, it is argued that institutionalism has largely neglected political aspects in the interaction between institution and agency, which needs to be

explored and elaborated on in future research. The political character of public administrations is very complex and varies from individual preference falsification in order to adapt to institutions to subversive actions for trying to undermine or secure existing institutions.

No title

Fredrik Carlsson, Linköping University

The use of digital technology in the Swedish public sector is progressing with an increasing number of e-services (public services offered partly/in whole digitally) being implemented, offering new ways of delivering existing and new services digitally to clients. The introduction of e-services has impact both on the service provided to client and the internal management. With focus on the later, concerns arise about what value positions appear on the different levels in the decision-to-implementation stages regarding e-services and these impact on the end-result. This study focuses on the design-to-implementation stages of e-services in Luleå Municipality, where in recent years the mere number of e-services provided has increased dramatically. The nature of these services can be split up in two distinct types – the first type is externally oriented directly towards the client and the other type is internally oriented toward another authority or other organizations such as a different municipality. This study will focus on both types and what role different value positions might play in different contexts. By conducting interviews with officials in different service areas, analyzing written policy and written e-service orders through a value position lens I aim to gather and cluster value positions into a framework, compare and illustrate how value positions change throughout the design-to-implementation stages by following a few different cases. I will then elaborate on to what extent these findings are in line with previous research: the expected learnings are connected to the questions 1) what value positions are common in e-service implementation and 2) how and where does these value positions divert when going from policy formulation to final implementation and 3) what implications this might have to successful implementation of e-services.

Addressing Digital Diversity in a Digitalized Society: Ethics of Care in a Swedish Library Context

Johanna Sefyrin, Linköping University

Mariana Gustafsson, Linköping University

Elin Wihlborg, Linköping University

As societies become increasingly digitalized, the requirements to live in these societies continuously increase, in terms of digital access, knowledge and competence. In the Swedish context, many who face problems with living in this society come to public libraries and ask for help. In this paper we use the concept of ethics of care in order to explore and reconceptualize the entangled relations that come into play when employees (librarians and others) in a Swedish public library context work to support citizens with digital problems. The empirical material comes from a case study of employees working with these issues in a Swedish library context, and the analysis shows that the librarians on a daily basis are faced with rather complex and entangled digital issues, which often require concern, time and effort – care – to solve, as well as balancing ethical dilemmas concerning both privacy issues, and the often vulnerable positions that the visitors are situated in.