A SURVEY OF RESEARCH IN THE AREA OF
DEMOCRACY IN SCANDINAVIA 1990-1996

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INTRODUCTION

This is not an evaluation of research environments in the area of democracy. The purpose of this publication is more modest. The aim is to pinpoint the research environments at Scandinavian universities in the area of democracy. Furthermore, some research environments and projects in the area of democracy at British, Dutch and German universities are listed as well. The publication is mainly based on a request to all the departments of political and social sciences at universities in the Scandinavian countries. From these we have received descriptions of the research environments, programmes and projects concerning the area of democracy in the period of 1990-1995.

All the political science departments at the Scandinavian universities have responded to our request. Hence, in this sense the publication can be considered to be a comprehensive list of the research in the area of democracy in the Scandinavian countries. However, we cannot be sure that all individual researchers at these departments have contacted us and thus, they may not figure in our publication. It is also possible that other departments than the ones in political sciences and other institutions than the universities conduct research in the area of democracy but it is our impression that most research in the area of democracy is being carried out at the departments of political science. Though, we are aware that there is a risk that we do not get knowledge of some interesting projects that take a different approach to democracy than traditional political science.

When we set out to make this publication our aim was more ambitious. We had hoped to be able to present an almost comprehensive list of research environments in Northern Europe. However, with the resources we were willing to invest in this project, this proved to be too ambitious. The responses we received from the Northern European countries outside Scandinavia were scattered. And it would be very demanding with regard to time resources to collect the data in order to provide a comprehensive list of democratic research in these countries. Hence, only the British, Dutch and German universities that responded immediate to our request
have been listed. Thus, contrary to the list of Scandinavian research of democracy, this list is not comprehensive.

We are aware of the on-going debate presenting the view that the concept of democracy has become subject to indiscriminate use or an essentially contested concept. Almost "everything" can be termed research within democracy. However, we have not tried to limit the concept of democracy here by defining it. The criteria for judging the relevant research within democracy has been that the research programmes and projects should focus on democratic issue, or at least that aspects of these are included in programmes or projects, theoretically or empirically.

The publication provides an overview of research in the area of democracy. It shows a number of different approaches to research with relation to democracy. With the description of the single research projects this provides an almost comprehensive view of the way of presenting problems, methods and results in the area of democracy. It is also possible to identify that the different countries focus on different aspects of democracy. Besides from providing an overview of research in the area of democracy, the publication is relevant in a number of different ways as well. Through the publication it is possible for researchers in the different countries to identify researchers in other countries who are working within the same field. Furthermore, the publication may be useful to PhD-students who work within the area of democracy and wish to conduct part of their study at a different university than the one they have been enrolled at. Through the publication they may identify the most relevant university for their subject. Furthermore, the publication lists an extensive bibliography on literature on democracy. It lists all recent publications on democracy (1990-1995) in the Scandinavian countries.
HOW TO USE THE PUBLICATION

The research programmes and projects within the area of democracy are listed under 14 sub topics. The topics are

1. Democracy in general
2. Democracy and citizenship
3. Democracy and electoral behaviour
4. Democracy and EU
5. Democracy and Gender
6. Democracy and National Government
7. Democracy and Organizations
8. Democracy and Political Parties
9. Democracy and Public Administration
10. Democracy and Third World Countries
11. Democracy and Welfare Institutions
12. Democratization Processes
13. Local Democracy
14. Theories of Democracy

Each sub topic describes the research within democracy in this particular area. First, the research programmes within the particular area are described. We conceive research programmes as organized and institutionalised programmes where several researchers participate in the programme. Secondly, research projects are described within the particular sub topic. These are more loosely organized research projects where two or more researchers cooperate. The difference between these and research programmes may be very fine, and from time to time it has been a subjective evaluation where to list the different programmes. However, the distinction between research programmes and research projects have been maintained in order to ease the presentation and lay out. Thirdly, the individual researchers’ projects are described within the particular topic of democracy. To sum up, each sub-topic consists of three parts:

1. Research programmes
2. Research projects
3. Individual research projects

The programmes and projects are listed by country. The research programmes and projects within the Scandinavian countries are listed in the beginning of each section in the succession Denmark, Norway, Sweden. The German, Dutch and British
programmes and projects are listed towards the end of each section in the succession Germany, The Netherlands, The United Kingdom.

The descriptions of the programmes and projects consist of: 1. The title of the programme or project, 2. The name of the person to contact, 3. A short description of the programme or project, and 4. The names of the participants of the programmes or projects (if any).

At the beginning of each sub-topic there will be cross-references to other sub-topics and programmes and projects of related interest. At the end of each title of the research programmes and projects, there will be cross-references to other relevant sub-topics or programmes/projects that are of particular interest to the programme or project in question.

A bibliography listed by the 14 sub-topic is provided. The bibliography is also listed alphabetically towards the end.

Finally, a list of addresses of all the universities and institutions mentioned in the publication is presented.

The publication is made in cooperation with Prof. Jørgen Goul Andersen and Senior Lecturer Lars Torpe, both Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University. Furthermore, several members of the research programme “Democracy and Democratization - Dimensions of citizenship” at Aalborg University have been helpful in order to provide information on researchers and institutions within the area of democracy. Lars Jørgensen has been involved in the project as a student worker.

Vibeke Normann Andersen
1. TOPIC: DEMOCRACY IN GENERAL

1.1 RESEARCH PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY IN GENERAL

1.1.1 Title: Democracy and Democratization (See also: 3-5, 8, 10 12-14)

Contact: Prof. Erik Damgaard, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of programme: The programme focuses on the ideas and principles of the Western countries' forms of governance and on realization of these ideas and principles under changing economic, social and political conditions. Democracy is a fundamental and classical problem both in the political debate and in political science. However, the issue has received a current and immediate interests. There is a great interest in the mode of operation of the Danish political system. An initiative has been taken towards a Danish audit of power and a discussion of the need for changing the constitution has arisen. There is a considerable interest for new forms of democracy and citizen participation, e.g. the participation of public service users and decentralization. An attempt to apply democratic government to the former authoritative regimes in Eastern Europe and to third world countries is taking place. Democracy has become an important aspect of international politics. It raises the question of democratic control of supra-national decision-making in for instance the European Union and the question of supra-national authorities intervention in the internal affairs of other nations in order to secure fundamental democratic human rights. The increasing interest for democracy in the political debate has brought forward a need for debating on a qualified basis. This increases the need for research in order to clarify the above-mentioned problems. The programme is an attempt to strengthen the already ongoing research in the area of democracy at the Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University. The programme consists of four parts: 1. Democratic theory and new forms of democracy, 2. The functioning and problems of functioning of democracy, 3. The extension of
democracy to more countries. 4. Democracy in supra-national decision-making. The projects of the individual participants of this research programme are listed under the relevant topics below.

**Participants:** Prof. Ole Borre, Senior Lecturer Drude Dahlerup, Senior Lecturer Jørgen Elklit, Senior Lecturer Jørn Loftager, Senior Lecturer Ole Nørgaard, Senior Lecturer Jørgen Dige Pedersen, Senior Lecturer Thomas Pedersen, Lecturer Jørgen Poulsen, Senior Lecturer Karen Siune, Senior Lecturer Palle Svensson, Prof. Curt Sørensen, Senior Lecturer Georg Sørensen, Research Fellow Lene Bøgh Sørensen, Prof. Lise Togeby, Senior Lecturer Ole Tonsgaard, all Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University.

1.1.2 Title: **DEMOS: Democracy and citizenship in transition** (See also: 2-3, 5, 9, 13-14)

**Contact:** Senior Lecturer Birthe Siim, Dept. of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, **Denmark.**

**Description of programme:** The point of departure of this programme is an attempt to assess the present political governance - at European, national and local level - from a democratic theoretical approach. The issue is relevant in two ways. 1. Due to the importance attached to the concept of democracy - both as a normative ideal and an innovative instrument. 2. Because of the gap experienced by many people between the expressed ideals of democracy and the way the political processes are actually carried out. New problems as well as new possibilities have arisen. The new problems in citizenship are closely connected with the devolution of the nation-state and the politicization of civil society. Issues of sovereignty have partly taken an upward turn towards the European and global level and partly a downward turn towards the local level. Many of the distinctions which were supposed to be necessary for delimiting democratic communities and securing control over the political use of power have been blurred and thereby have lost much of their theoretical and practical significance. Notions of state sovereignty and conceptions of citizenship, for example, are no longer unproblematic when it comes to studying the boundaries between national parliaments and international bodies, between central and local governance, between politicians and administrators, between
private and public spheres, and between the traditional citizenship role and the special user and client role of individuals in relation to public authorities. The new possibilities of citizenship are most importantly people's widespread belief in democracy as the way of organising and governing society. Advances in information technologies and learning also open up a variety of new avenues of active citizenship. They indicate a pressure for instituting new forms of political involvement supported by the active trust of lay-actors in their governance abilities to influence and take responsibility of their own life-styles and ways of living. The programme will focus on explaining and discussing theory, problems and empirical data at three levels: 1. At a normative theoretical level the possible implications of the classical democratic elements of equality, liberty and solidarity in the modern concept of democratic community will be discussed. 2. At a general theoretical analytical level an analysis of the existing political democratic institutions and their interaction with the surrounding world will be carried out. 3. At a concrete level of investigation the focus will be on some of the changes having taken place in political participation, organization and ruling with the aim of improving the possibility of evaluating the problems and potentials of democracy. The programme consists of six sub-themes: 1. New developments within political democratic theory, 2. Globalization and citizenship, 3. Social change and citizenship, 4. Empowerment and new kinds of community and solidarity, 5. The political importance of gender, 6. Local democracy in transition. The programme runs from 1996 to 2000. The projects of the individual participants in this research programme are listed under the relevant topics below.

Participants: Senior Lecturer Johannes Andersen, Prof. Jørgen Goul Andersen, Senior Lecturer Henrik Bang, Senior Lecturer Erik Christensen, Research Fellow Birthe Klok Frederiksen, Senior Lecturer Karin Hansen, Research Fellow Niels Nørgaard Kristensen, Senior Lecturer Øjvind Larsen, Lecturer Børge Rasmussen, Senior Lecturer Lars Torpe, all Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Lecturer Ann-Dorte Christensen, Senior Lecturer Birthe Siim, Dept. of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Research Fellow Vibeke Normann Andersen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense.
1.1.3 Title: Democracy and Institutional Change

**Contact:** Senior Lecturer Lars Bille, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, **Denmark.**

**Description of programme:** For more than a century, the nation state has been the cornerstone of the democratic form of government in Denmark. Today, the nation state is the centre for crucial processes of change. The nation state and its central authorities are under challenge from two sides - from above, from transnationalization and European integration, and from below, from decentralization and localization. The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of these challenges on democratic values and on the democratic form of government. The project will study change, and the processes of change, at three levels: the transnational level, the central state level and the local level. Five component projects are part of this umbrella project. The umbrella project operates with two general theses: 1. Autonomizing is characteristic of contemporary developments in the political order. Political power and administrative competence are increasingly diffused to different forms of political institutions. The political order is becoming polycentric rather than monocentric. 2. Complex processes of change are characteristic of contemporary political developments. Political initiatives are undertaken in many different places, by many different actors, unfold in different ways but are increasingly interwoven with each other. Impulses for change come from political parties and legislative organs but also - and perhaps primarily - from other processes of change. The one change constitutes the impulse for another - and vice versa. Change become complex rather than linear. The project runs from 1996 to 1999. The five component projects are:

**A. Title: The struggle about concepts: Changes in political concepts and democratic change in Denmark.** (See also: 14)

**Contact:** Lecturer Uffe Jakobsen, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

**Description of project:** The purpose of the project is to comply with basic clarification of central concepts of democracy in that the content and use of a
number of central political concepts are basically unclear and contested. This is true of the very concept of politics and, in addition, of such key concepts as, for example, the state, power, institution and democracy. It is increasingly unclear as to what are the prerequisites, content and institutional basis of democracy and it is also unclear as to what is the current condition of democracy. The project will therefore examine which democratic values have been formulated and institutionalized in the post war period.

Participants: Senior Lecturer Jan Iversen, Centre of Cultural Studies, Aarhus University; Prof. Finn Collin, Prof. Sverre Raffnsøe, Inst. of Philosophy, Pedagogics and Rhetoric, University of Copenhagen.

B. Title: Europeanization of Danish Administration (See also: 4, 9, 13.1.3B)
Contact: Senior Lecturer Ove K. Pedersen, Center for Public Organization and Management, Copenhagen Business School.
Description of project: Since 1986, political and administrative institutions in Denmark have entered into close interaction with European institutions within the framework of the European Union. This sub project will reveal changes and processes of change in connection with the implementation of the European Single Act (the "inner" market). The first task is to study what changes the implementation of the "inner market" has had for central administration in Denmark. The second task is to study how these changes have been implemented. Finally, how these changes challenge the democratic order of government must be assessed.

Participants: Research assistant Dorthe Pedersen, Inst. of Management, Politics and Philosophy, School of Business Studies; Prof. Bengt Jacobsen, SCORE, University of Stockholm, Sweden; Prof. Per Lægreid, LOS, University of Bergen; Senior Lecturer Inger Johanne Sand, University of Oslo, Norway
C. Title: The interaction of politicians and administration in the policy process on the formulation of the public sector. (See also: 5, 9, 13.1.1 D-E) 

Contact: Senior Lecturer Tim Knudsen, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

Description of project: Processes of change in and around the public sector are accompanied by changes in the Parliamentary chain of steering. The old actors of the national state and of institutions such as political parties, Folketing, government, central administration and municipalities change and function in a new framework. Interaction takes new forms. The relationship between politicians and civil servants changes. What is considered policy and what is considered administration? The project will examine how the Folketing, the government as a whole, the individual ministers and administration and its personnel interact in the policy processes. Part of the project will be compared with similar situations in the other Nordic countries.

Participants: Lecturer Hanne Nexø Jensen, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

D. Title: The institutional development of public administration (See also: 5, 9, 13.1.1 D-E)

Contact: Prof. Torben Beck Jørgensen, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

Description of project: Institutional developments in public administration (and in official administrative policy) have, for more than 20 years, been heavily influenced by a movement we may call "away from politics"; that is the autonomizing of public organizations. Autonomizing primarily involves a process of secession of public organizations from formal, hierarchical political control which typically are replaced by other means of extended control. Autonomizing has appeared in a number of ways; from the creation of professional, autonomous public agencies in the sixties and seventies to the use of budgetary frameworks, legally private forms of organization, contract steering, user payment, competition between public tenderers, contracting out
etc. A number of themes will be studied: 1. Will autonomizing entail that policy making moves down the administrative system - that is, become decoupled in relation to constitutional democracy? Or will politics flower as a principally, value-oriented debate? 2. Will public organizations get a more distinctly policy-formulating role? 3. Are public organizations forced to steer politicians (input) and users (output) - a steering that collides with established values (democratic responsibility and user responsiveness)? 4. Do the tasks of public organizations gradually change character? 5. Can “autonomized” public organizations come in conflict with territorial democracy when the boundaries of district, municipality, county and national boundaries are abolished in order to create competition? 

Participants: Research Prof. R.A.W. Rhodes, University of Newcastle, United Kingdom; Prof. Tom Christensen, University of Oslo; Prof. Per Lægreid, University of Bergen, Norway; Prof. Kerstin Sahlin Andersson, SCORE, University of Stockholm, Sweden; Ph.D. Allan Krasnik, Senior Lecturer Signild Vallgårda, Dept. of Social Medicine, University of Copenhagen; Lecturer Carsten Greve, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University; Research Fellow Lotte Jensen, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen; Senior Lecturer Marianne Antonsen, Roskilde University Centre; Senior Lecturer Niels Henrik Topp, University of Copenhagen, Denmark; Prof. Barry Bozeman, Georgia Tech., Atlanta, USA.

E. Title: Democracy from below. The new complexity and the political practices of everyday life (See also: 13)  
Contact: Prof. Jørgen Goul Andersen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Senior Lecturer Jens Hoff, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

Description of project: The purpose of the project is: 1. To examine if, and how, local political institutions contribute to a political empowerment of individuals and communities, and to democratic political government, and 2. To examine, more generally, the orientation of individual citizens in the new, complex, political order. The focus on local political institutions includes "traditional" as
well as new ones (for example political parties as well as user boards), state as well as civil society institutions (for example municipal boards as well as housing associations), formal as well as informal (for example trade unions as well as single issue movements or informal networks of users). The designs of such institutions are expected to play a major role for the empowerment of individuals, as well as in local democratic governance. Political empowerment cannot be limited to the effects of local political institutions. Empowerment, both at the individual, as well as at the community level, is likely to be affected also by national and transnational political institutions as well as by the ongoing processes of transnationalization and autonomization. Thus, the project will investigate also the effects of these institutions and processes, in order to get a comprehensive picture of the democratic "learning loops". Case studies will be used to examine these questions.

Participants: Senior Lecturer Bolette Christensen, Research Fellow Morten Madsen, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen; Lecturer Eva Sørensen, Lecturer Jacob Torfing, Dept. of Social Science, Roskilde University Centre; Senior Lecturer Henrik Bang, Senior Lecturer Lars Torpe, Senior Lecturer Karin Hansen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Senior Lecturer Johannes Andersen, Senior Lecturer Lene Dalsgaard.

1.1.4 Title: The Democracy Project (See also: 2, 6-8, 12, 14)

Contact: Lecturer Uffe Jakobsen, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

Description of programme: The programme was started in 1993 with the purpose of promoting theoretical as well as empirical research on democracy both within already established democracies as well as in relation to democratization processes. The background for the programme is recent years' extensive societal change at both international, national, local and institutional level. The problems of democracy are highly relevant here. The projects of the individual participants in this research programme are listed under the relevant topics below.
Participants: Senior Lecturer Tage Bild, Senior Lecturer Lars Bille, Senior Lecturer Henning Bregnsbo, Research Fellow Jacob Christensen, Senior Lecturer Jens Hoff, Research Fellow Lotte Jensen, Senior Lecturer Morten Kelstrup, Senior Lecturer Tim Knudsen, Research Fellow Morten Madsen, Lecturer Hans Jørgen Nielsen, Prof. Gunnar Sjoblom, all Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Research Fellow Torben Bundgaard Pedersen, Center for Organization and Public Management, Copenhagen Business School, Lecturer Carsten Greve, Prof. Jørgen Goul Andersen, both Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University; Lecturer Eva Sørensen, Dept. of Social Science, Roskilde University Centre; Head of Research Henrik Christoffersen, The Research Institute of the counties and municipalities in Denmark.

1.1.5 Title: The Normative foundation of the public sector (See also: 4, 9, 11, 14)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Norwegian Research Centre in Organization and Management, Norway.

Description of programme: The public sector is under pressure. Critics of the public sector are raised from different sides. The immediate cause of this is the general economic situation, unemployment figures and new ideological and political constellations. Questions of distribution and priorities are still more important. The welfare arrangements are put to the test and challenge the very value and normative foundation of the public sector. The purpose of the programme is, among others, to describe the conditions for collective action and to develop norms for evaluating the public sector. This will also provide a better understanding of the complex concerns and standards of evaluation in the public sector. Furthermore, it will strengthen the competence and development of concepts in normative political theory. What are the reasons for public interference and regulation? Is there a limit for public action? What is the relationship between the autonomy of the individual and the legitimacy of state power? To grasp these phenomena, we need to clarify the concept of action and extent the concept of rationality. Several projects are run as part of the programme. One is termed “The public dimension”. A central point of this project is to show how the many concerns that must be considered in the public sector,
before making a decision, mean that the very understanding of rationality must be extended. A second project is “The political order”. The focus here is on the mechanisms that keeps the pluralistic societies together and on how it is possible to make binding decisions under conflict. A third project is “the Europeanising of nation state democracy”. Which concepts of democracy and sovereignty are at risk in the Europeanising process? Finally, the boarders between the public and private sector are considered. Have these boarders changes over time and what are the challenges to the public sector in this connection? The project runs in 1995 and 1996.

**Participants:** Ole Brekke, Marit Skivenes, Anders Molander, Norwegian Research Centre in Organization and Management.

### 1.1.6 Title: The Audit of Democracy and power in Sweden (See also: 2.2.4)

**Contact:** Prof. Olof Petersson, Dept. of Political Science, University of Uppsala, Sweden.

**Description of programme:** The directive of the audit of power raises a number of central questions about the power in the Swedish society. Of what consequences are the differences in living standards and distribution of different resources for the actual possibilities for citizens to participate in the decision making process? How are the resources of power and influence distributed in different areas of Swedish society? How does the development of society affect different forms of execution of power? The central concepts of the audit are “democracy”, “power” and “development of society”. The programme was completed in 1990. The audit is published by SOU (Statens offentliga utredningar), see bibliography.

**Participants:** Prof. Yvonne Hirdman, Dept. of History, University of Göteborg; Senior Lecturer Inga Persson, Dept. of Economics, University of Lund, Sweden; Prof. Johan P. Olsen, University of Bergen, Norway.
1.1.7 Title: The Council of Democracy (See also: 2)

Contact: Prof. Bo Rothstein, Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg, Sweden.

Description of programme: The purpose of the programme is to monitor the condition of Swedish democracy. The programme attempts to develop a concept of democracy that can function as a critical instrument of analysis. It discusses the rule of citizenship, the legal state and the efficient state. The project investigates 1. How Swedish democracy measure up to the standards of an ideal democracy? 2. How Swedish democracy has developed the past two decades?

Participants: Peter Esaiasson, Jörgen Hermanson, Michele Micheletti, Olof Petersson, Dept. of Government, University of Uppsala.

1.1.8 Title: The Democratic Audit of the United Kingdom (See also: 2.2.4)

Contact: Prof. David Beetham, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds, United Kingdom.

Description of programme: A joint Human Right Centre, University of Essex and Charter 88 Trust project. Prof. David Beetham is a consultant to the programme. Criteria for auditing the level of democracy and methods of implementing an audit have been developed. The criteria and methodology were developed for the United Kingdom, but have general applicability to both developed and developing democracies.

Participants: Prof. K. Boyle, S. Weir, Human Rights Centre, University of Essex.
2. **Topic: Democracy and Citizenship**

Topics and projects of related interest: 1.1.6, 12.1.2, 13.1.2A

2.1 **Research Programmes on Democracy and Citizenship**

2.1.1 Title: *The Citizen in the Modern Welfare State*  
*Contact:* Prof. Willy Martinussen, Dept. of Sociology and Political Science, University of Trondheim, *Norway.*  
*Description of project:* “Participant corporatism” has become the institutional framework for the public roles of the individual as a client, a consumer of services and goods, a participant in politics, a member of an organization, and an activist. These roles are interrelated, and often present a complex network of individual and collective preferences, rights and obligations. The project focuses on the intricate amalgamation of participant and recipient rights that is the unique feature of Scandinavian citizenship. In many areas, the legislation has given individuals the right to participate in decisions and to influence them. The citizen study has investigated the interplay between rights and participation in a number of areas or systems of coordination. The project is part of a large international cooperative project. The project is completed.  
*Participants:* Nils Asbjørnsen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oslo.

2.2 **Research Projects on Democracy and Citizenship**

2.2.1 Title: *Citizenship - democracy and political participation* (See also: 1.1.2, 5)  
*Contact:* Senior Lecturer Lars Torpe, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, *Denmark.*  
*Description of project:* Based on a national survey, the project outlines patterns of political participation in Denmark from user participation in schools and nurseries to participation in political parties, voluntary associations, grass-roots activities and
contacting officials. The project focuses on class, generational and gender differences in political participation. The project was completed in 1993, see publication list.

Participants: Prof. Jørgen Goul Andersen, Senior Lecturer Johannes Andersen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Lecturer Anne-Dorte Christensen, Senior Lecturer Birthe Siim, Research Fellow Kamma Langberg, Dept. of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Senior Lecturer Jens Hoff, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

2.2.2. Title: Citizenship and political culture in Denmark (See also: 1.1.2)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Johannes Andersen and Senior Lecturer Lars Torpe, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: The object of the project was to examine the support for democracy and the welfare state in the Danish population. Different dimensions of support are identified and analysed with special regard to differences between gender, class and generation. The project was completed in 1994, see publication list.

Participants: Lecturer Ann-Dorte Christensen, Senior Lecturer Birthe Siim, Research Fellow Kamma Langberg, Dept. of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Senior Lecturer Torben Hviid Nielsen, University of Oslo, Norway.

2.2.3 Title: Citizenship in Scandinavia (See also: 1.1.2, 1.1.4)

Contact: Prof. Jørgen Goul Andersen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: The Project examines the trends and patterns of citizenship in the Scandinavian countries by using data from the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish citizenship projects, as well as secondary material. Apart from drawing a comprehensive map of political participation in Scandinavia, the aim of the project is twofold: 1. to examine the effects of the welfare state on resources and opportunities of participation (building on the assumption that the welfare state has to a large degree replaced class mobilisation in these respects), and 2. to examine some of the
main contemporary challenges to citizenship of the homogeneous welfare (nation)states: marginalisation of the labour market; internationalisation and European integration; and immigration.

Participants: Senior Lecturer Jens Hoff, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

2.2.4 Title: Citizenship Inquiry (See also: 1.1.6, 1.1.8)
Contact: Prof. Willy Martinussen, Dept. of Sociology and Political Science, University of Trondheim, Norway.
Description of project: The project investigates citizenship in Norway. The purpose of the project is first, to give a view of how citizens belonging to different social groups are connected to the larger social community. Two issues are examined. 1. To what extent does the individual citizen participates; 2. to what extent do the citizens have a sense of belonging to the values of the different communities. Secondly, the purpose of the project is to examine the conditions of the welfare of the individual citizen. The point of departure is that social anchoring through participation and a sense of community increases the welfare of the individual citizen. The project was completed in 1993.

2.2.5 Title: British Political Participation
Contact: Prof. Gerraint Parry, Dept. of Government, University of Manchester, United Kingdom.
Description of project: This is a study of British political participation. The result has been published, see bibliography. It was completed in 1992.

2.2.6 Title: Poverty First Hand (See also: 10.2.1)
Contact: Prof. Ruth Lister, Department of Social Sciences, Loughborough University, United Kingdom.
Description of project: The research project “Poverty First Hand” involves discussions with people with experiences of poverty about the meaning of poverty, definitions of poverty and strategies to combat poverty. It is attempting a more democratic approach to poverty research and is inspired by a commitment to encouraging the greater involvement of poor people in anti-poverty action.

Participants: Peter Beresford, David Green & Kirsty Woodward, Dept. of Social Sciences, Loughborough University.

2.3 INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH PROJECTS

2.3.1 Title: Citizen wages (See also: 1.1.2)
Contact: Senior Lecturer Erik Christensen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: The project discusses problems and possibilities for citizen wage to become an element of a more universal socio-economic citizenship by changing the concept of labour and provision/support.

2.3.2 Title: Comparative Conceptualizations of Citizenship (See also: 1.1.2, 5, 12)
Contact: Senior Lecturer Birthe Siim, Dept. of Planning and Development, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: The overall aim of the project is to analyse the interplay between citizenship and gender in different models of democracy and to explore the similarities and differences in the use of key concepts of citizenship like freedom, equality and solidarity. The project focuses on the meaning of political vocabularies on gender and citizenship in different social and political contexts, showing the importance of different philosophical and institutional configurations for understanding contemporary vocabularies on gender and citizenship. The project cooperates with The European research project under the network “Theory and Research on Gender, Welfare State and Citizenship” coordinated by Jet Bussemaker, Faculty of Social-Cultural Sciences, Vrieje Universiteit, Amsterdam.
2.3.3 Title: **Democracy and citizenship** (See also: 1.1.2, 14)

*Contact:* Senior Lecturer Johannes Andersen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, **Denmark**.

*Description of project:* The project makes a presentation and discussion of the relations between the different roles of modern democracy, the democratic dialogue, the political institutions and the political regulation in a historical perspective.

2.3.4 Title: **Democratic participation processes in the social housing sector in Denmark** (See also: 1.1.4, 13)

*Contact:* Research Fellow Lotte Jensen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, **Denmark**.

*Description of project:* A research of democratic participation processes in the social housing sector in Denmark in the nineties. Main theoretical interests are network theory, neo institutionalism, phenomenology and hermeneutics as a methodological strategy for investigating the relationship between interpretation and action related to local democratic decision making and management.

2.3.5 Title: **The political idea of citizenship** (See also: 1.1.2, 14)

*Contact:* Senior Lecturer Lars Torpe, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, **Denmark**.

*Description of project:* The project examines the origin and development of different conceptions of citizenship.

2.3.6 Title: **Political participation and citizenship at the local level** (See also: 13)

*Contact:* Research Fellow Allan Dreyer Hansen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, **Denmark**.

*Description of project:* The research focuses on political participation and citizenship at the local level in Norway and Denmark. The main theoretical perspectives are democracy, citizenship and the debate between communitarians and liberals.
2.3.7 Title: Teledemocracy

Contact: Senior Lecturer Marcus Schmidt, Business School of Southern Denmark, Denmark.

Description of project: In 1991 Marcus Schmidt started working on a research project on how to use a touch tone phone for gathering survey data. A panel of respondents was calling in once each day and providing answers to a prerecorded voice posing questions to them. The project worked to further the device and broadening the approach: What would happen if one would mail background information on the issues at hand, say weeks in advance? According to this approach they would be asked to provide answers after having deliberated about the issues for some time. Second, what would happen if this information was mailed not to a small sample but to the public? It would be an electronic democracy! The project has studied literature on teledemocracy (Arterton, Barber, Slaton etc.) and a book on the subject has been published, see bibliography.
3. TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

Topics and projects of related interest: 4.1.1-4.1.2, 6.2.3, 8, 10.2.2, 10.2.4, 10.3.2, 13.1.1B, 13.3.1

3.1 RESEARCH PROGRAMMES ON DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

3.1.1 Title: The Norwegian Programme of Electoral Research

Contact: Bernt Aardal, Institute for Social Research, University of Oslo, Norway.

Description of project: The Norwegian programme of electoral research was introduced at the Storting Election of 1957 by Stein Rokkan and Henry Valen. Except for the election of 1961, the programme also covers all subsequent Storting elections, which are held regularly every fourth year.

Participants: Prof. Henry Valen, Institute for Social Research, University of Oslo.

3.2 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

3.2.1 Title: The Danish Election Project (See also 1.1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.4)

Contact: Prof. Jørgen Goul Andersen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University or Prof. Ole Borre, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of project: The Danish Election project was initiated by Prof. Ole Borre and associates in 1971 and it has carried out surveys in all subsequent national elections. Apart from analysing determinants of the vote in individual elections, the project analyses long-term tendencies in political mobilisation and political cleavages, as well as numerous theories and models of voting behaviour.

Participants: Hans Jørgen Nielsen, Steen Sauerberg and Torbern Worre, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen; Ingemar Glans, Ole Tonsgaard and Karen Siune, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University.
3.2.2 Title: Comparative Election Administration Study (CEAS) (See also 10, 10.2.2, 12)

Contact: Staffan Darnolf, Dept. of Political Science, Göteborg University, Sweden.

Description of project: The main purpose of the CEAS project is to analyze how countries with different experiences in organizing parliamentary elections are coping with democratic aspects of its execution. To measure unique functions and roles of election administrators, a survey is utilized. A questionnaire is currently being distributed to election commissioners of 112 consolidated and emerging democracies. Thus, there will be found a variety of countries moving towards free and fair elections.

Participants: Yonhyok Choe, Dept. of Political Science, Göteborg University.

3.2.3 Title: Swedish National Election Studies et.al.

Contact: Mikael Gilljam, Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg, Sweden.

Description of project: At the Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg half the personnel are involved in research on representative democracy, involving electoral studies, studies of political parties etc. The projects are as follows "Swedish National Election Studies 1956-"; "Representative Democracy Facing 2000"; "Nordic Legislatures and Legislators"; "Nordic EU-Referenda", "The SOM-Institute"; "Party Propaganda in Democratic Societies"; "Hidden Dimensions Among Nordic Voters". Contact the Department for further details.

Participants: Peter Essiasson, Lennart Weibull, Sören Holmberg et.al., Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg.

3.2.4 Title: Scottish local government elections (See also 5, 8)

Contact: Hugh Bochel, Dept. of Policy Studies, University of Humberside, United Kingdom.

Description of project: Since 1974 a database of each round of elections for Scottish local government has been established. In addition to the collection and analysis of the results the project has monitored areas such as: number of candidates; women
candidates and councillors; turnout; party shares of voters; the nature of party competition; the number of uncontested wards; and the performance of minor parties.

*Participants*: David Denver, Dept. of Politics and International Relations, University of Lancaster.

### 3.3 Individual Research Projects on Democracy and Electoral Behaviour

#### 3.3.1 Title: The election of the Sachsen-Anhalt state legislature on June 26 1994

*Contact*: Dr. Jürgen Plöhn, Dept. of Political Science, Martin-Luther University, Germany.

*Description of project*: The project focusses on three aspects of the election of the Sachsen-Anhalt state legislature: 1. its timing because of the so-called "Gehälteraffäre", i.e. the effects of scandals in a parliamentary democracy; 2. its results and their explanations in terms of the social structure and value structure in one of the new Länder (federal states) of Germany; 3. its outcome with respect to the formation of a minority government and the parliamentary opposition.

#### 3.3.2 Title: Voting Behaviour

*Contact*: Research Fellow Kirsten Mensch, Dept. of Political Science, Darmstadt University, Germany.

*Description of project*: The research subject is the explanation of voting behaviour, especially turnouts, with the help of a rational choice approach. The project will cover the capabilities of rational choice explanations in a more general sense, the specific problems concerning voters’ turnouts as well as the problems concerning empirical methods studying this field (that is aggregate data analysis versus individual data analysis). The research will probably run an empirical analysis as well.
4. TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND E.U.

Topics and projects of related interest: 1.1.3B, 13.1.3B, 1.1.5

4.1 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND E.U.

4.1.1 Title: The Danish referendums on the European Union (See also 1.1.1, 3)
Contact: Senior Lecturer Ole Tønsgaard, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.
Description of project: The project is an analysis of the Danish referendums on the European Union. One part of the project describes the process of the referendums. The other part of the project is more theoretical and discusses the mass medias' influence on the result of referendums and which factors that are important for the explanation of the behaviour of the voters at referendums. Project completed.
Participants: Senior Lecturer Karen Siune, Senior Lecturer Palle Svensson, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University.

4.1.2 Title: The referendum on Norwegian EU-membership (See also 3)
Contact: 1st. Amanuensis Anders Todal Jenssen, Dept. of Sociology and Political Science, University of Trondheim, Norway.
Description of project: The referendum on Norwegian EU-membership was an event of historical importance. The purpose of the project is to study the Norwegian public opinion on the EU in a broad context, that is, to study the motives of the voters, the elite participation through organizations such as No to EU, The European Movement and Social Democrats' against EU, and the media coverages of the EU conflict. Studies of the 1972 referendum indicate that social position (gender, age, habitation, education, occupation, trade and income) was of considerable significance to the viewpoints of the voters.
Participants: Prof. Ola Listhaug; Prof. Per Arnt Pettersen; Prof. Kristan Ringdal, all Dept. of Sociology and Political Science, University of Trondheim; Prof. Henry Valen; Senior Lecturer Bernt Aardal, Inst. of Social Research, University of Oslo.

4.2 Individual research projects on democracy and the E.U.

4.2.1 Title: Democratic theory, federalism and European integration (See also 1.1.1)
Contact: Senior Lecturer Thomas Pedersen, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.
Description of project: The binding decisions that affect the lives of the citizens are no longer made only by the national governments and parliaments, but also by supranational institutions like the EU. The question of democratic control in Danish politics of EU is raised in a project on democratic theory, federalism and European integration.

4.2.2 Title: Transnational Party Grouping in the European Parliament (See also 8)
Contact: Dr. C. Lord, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds, United Kingdom.
Description of project: The project is doing research into the transnational party grouping in the European Parliament as democratic networks.
5. TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND GENDER

Topics and projects of related interest: 2.2.1, 2.3.2, 3.2.4, 13.1.3A

5.1 RESEARCH PROGRAMMES ON DEMOCRACY AND GENDER

5.1.1 Title: Gender and Citizenship: Social Integration and Social Exclusion in European Welfare States (See also 1.1.2)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Birte Siim, Dept. of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of research programme: The objective of the project is double: 1. To develop a new conceptual and methodological framework for the comparative study of gender and citizenship in European welfare states and 2. to produce a compilation of case studies that illustrate the multidimensional features of women’s social exclusion and the multiple forms of participation in work and politics in different policy contexts. To discuss the gaps in existing knowledge and to develop a conceptual framework for gender and citizenship a series of five seminars have been scheduled during a period of 36 months focusing on different themes. The project runs from 1995 to 1998.

Participants: Jane Lewis, London School of Economics, United Kingdom; Ilona Ostner, Georg August Universität, Göttingen; Chiara Saraceno, Department of Sociology, University of Turino, Italy; Trudie Knijn, Utrecht University, The Netherlands; Barbara Hobson, Sociologiska Institutionen, Stockholm University, Sweden; Jacqueline Heinen, Université Paris VII, Denis Diderot, France; Mary Daly, Georg August Universität, Göttingen, Germany; Liisa Rentalaiho, Department of Health, Tampere University, Italy; Arnlaug Leira, Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway; Bérengère Margues-Pereira, Université Libre, Bruxelles, Belgium.
5.1.2 Title: Half the power? Nordic women's course to democracy and equality
(See also 1.1.2)

Contact: Viveca Ramstedt-Silén, Svenska Social- och Kommunalhögskolan,
University of Helsingfors, Finland.

Description of research programme: This is a Nordic comparative project. The purpose is to collect and put into perspective the distinctive changes in the Nordic women's relation to democracy and equality during the past thirty years. One part of the project focuses on citizenship, the Nordic welfare states, and the political communities. The other part of the project focuses on state feminism and institutionalisation of the politics of equality in the Nordic countries. It runs from 1995 to 1997.

Participants: Lecturer Ann-Dorte Christensen & Senior Lecturer Birte Siim, both Dept. of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Denmark.

5.2 Research projects on democracy and gender

5.2.1 Title: Gender, Power and Democracy - the interplay between women's citizenship and political participation in France, Denmark and England (See also: 1.1.2)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Birte Siim, Dept. of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: The overall objective of this project is to engender the concept of democratic citizenship by a combination of a political-philosophical analysis of gender in classical and modern theories of democracy and a comparative analysis of the interplay between models of democracy and gender in three selected democracies. The project analyses key concepts in democratic theory. Both in the liberal, republican and social-democratic understanding these are based on a division between the public sphere of politics and the private sphere of the family. This separation is at the same time a separation between the experiences and interests of women and men. The guiding hypothesis is that France, Britain and Denmark represent models of democracy and of gender characterized by a different dynamic
between women's social and political citizenship. The theoretical perspective of the project is double: 1. To understand and explain the importance of politics for gender relations, and 2. To understand and explain the political meaning of gender for the development of modern democracies. The project is an integrated part of both the Feminist Research Programme and the Democratic Research Programme at Aalborg University. The results of this research project will be published in English (1996).

**Participants:** The project cooperates with Ruth Lister, Loughborough University, **United Kingdom** and other researchers who participate in the Comparative Conceptualization project coordinated by Jet Bussemaker, Vrie Universiteit, Amsterdam, **The Netherlands** and the research group "L'Etat et Rapports sociaux de Sexe", coordinated by Jacqueline Heinen, Université Paris VII, Denis Diderot, **France**.

### 5.2.2 Title: Women in Scottish local government

**Contact:** Hugh Bochel, Dept. of Policy Studies, University of Humberside, **United Kingdom**.

**Description of project:** This is a research on women candidates and councillors in Scottish local government. It is focusing on the electoral performance of women, their council "careers" once elected, and barriers to women's participation in local government. The project runs from 1995 and onwards.

**Participants:** Catherine Bochel, Dept. of Policy Studies, University of Humberside, **United Kingdom**.

### 5.3 Individual Research Projects on Democracy and Gender

#### 5.3.1 Title: From passive to participant. The collective political mobilisation of women in Denmark in the 1970s and 1980s (See also 1.1.1)

**Contact:** Prof. Lise Togeby, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.
Description of project: The point of departure in the project is that women used to be passive in the political arena, now they are active participants in that arena. The doctoral thesis describes and explains the changes in women’s political participation and attitudes during the 1970s and 1980s. The project was completed in 1994.

5.3.2 Title: Women in politics (See also 1.1.1)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Drude Dahlerup, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of project: In this project, Drude Dahlerup views democracy as uncompleted from a feminist point of view.

5.3.3 Title: Changing Democracy? Empirical Studies on Women's Representation in the Swedish Parliament

Contact: Research Fellow Lena Wängnerud, Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg, Sweden.

Description of project: One of the major changes in Swedish society during the twentieth century is the inclusion of women in politics. Especially during the past 20-25 years the number of women in the parliament has increased dramatically in Scandinavia. In the 1994 election in Sweden, the number of women in the Parliament reached 41 percent. What can this change learn us about shifts in power relations between different groups in society? Starting in theories of democracy and feminist critiques, it has mainly empirical ambitions. Two fields are in focus. First, is there evidence of any, towards women, negative gender bias in the way an institution like the Swedish Parliament works. More specifically, this part of the project deals with how women and men are distributed in the standing committees and in other areas of specialisation in the parliamentary work. Secondly, is there evidence of female parliamentarians changing the political agenda in a special way. In feminist theory, especially in Scandinavian discourse, much is written about women's special interests in politics. The project is to be completed in 1997.
5.3.4 Title: Gender, Class and work  
Contact: Christina Bergqvist, Dept. of Government, University of Uppsala, Sweden.  
Description of project: This study investigates the participation and representation of women in the political decision making concerning politics of equality, insurance of parents and reforms of pensions. It looks at seven different decades and asks if the increasing representation of women has an effect on the content of politics?

5.3.5 Title: The power of men and the interests of women  
Contact: Christina Bergqvist, Dept. of Government, University of Uppsala, Sweden.  
Description of project: The project describes the increasing representation of women in the Swedish Parliament, governmental boards and in the larger interest organizations since the general and equal right to vote was legislated. The mechanisms that further and prohibit an increasing representation of women are investigated. The project is completed.

5.3.6 Title: The Political Relevance of Gender: Norwegian Party Politics 1970-1990 (See also: 6, 8)  
Contact: Senior Lecturer Hege Skjeie, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oslo, Norway.  
Description of project: The project explains the high level of participation among women in Norwegian elite politics. It also asks what the participation of women means to the content of politics. The central empirical questions raised are: 1. If and how gender specific interests are expressed in political negotiation processes and decision-making processes; 2. How the political priorities - that is the concrete choice among competing alternatives - reflect new negotiations on the content of politics based on demands from new participating groups; 3. If the new participants of the political elite contribute to produce such changes. The analysis is based on interviews with members of parliament and government and on the programmes of the political parties during 1973 to 1989. The project was completed in 1992.
5.3.7 Title: Feminism and democracy

Contact: Prof. John Hoffman, Dept. of Politics, University of Leicester, United Kingdom.

Description of project: This project is an examination of the question as to whether feminism and democracy share a similar status as "momentum concepts". It involves a discussion of feminism, democracy and sovereignty. The project was completed in 1994.
6. TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Topics and projects of related interest: 5.3.6, 1.1.3C

6.1 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

6.1.1 Title: A Comparative Study of Trust in Government
Contact: Prof. Ola Listhaug, Dept. of Sociology and Political Science, University of Trondheim, Norway
Description of project: The project compares trust in government in Norway, Sweden and the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s.
Participants: Prof. Arthur Miller, Dept. of Political Science, University of Iowa, USA.

6.1.2 Title: The Council of Ministres: Leadership in Collectivity
Contact: Hege Skjeie, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oslo, Norway.
Description of project: The project involves a comparative study of Norwegian governments from the beginning of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s. This includes four "Arbeiderparti" (labour) governments, one "Høyre" (Conservative) government and one right wing coalition government. The project analyses the problems of mandate and governance taking the point of departure in the government's relations to its own party/parties, its own party members of the parliament and the central party organization. The project focuses particularly on the legitimacy of the political leadership in times of strong internal opposition and on the government's encounter with this opposition. More generally, the patterns of coordination which are established in order to secure a continuous contact among the three organs (government members, parliament members and the party organization) and the developments of such patterns of coordination over time are studied. This is expressed partly through the choice of concrete organizational solutions, partly through individual overlapping memberships of different party elites. The project is part of a larger Norwegian Centre for Research in Organization
and Management programme: “Democracy and the development in society - visions and conditions of settings”. It runs from 1992 to 1996.

Participants: Lars Langegen, Arbeiderbevegelsens Arkiv og Bibliotek; Research assistant Lihe Rieber-Mohn, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oslo.

6.1.3 Title: Professional knowledge, special interests and lay management
Contact: Hilmar Rommetvedt, Norwegian Research Centre in Organization and Management, Norway.
Description of project: The project analyses the relation between common interests and special interests, between judgements of lay management and professional knowledge. It focuses on forms of action and cooperation between professionals, representatives of interests and politicians. Important changes in the functioning of the Norwegian political system will be analysed. Changes in the relations between government and parliament (Storting), and between parliamentary democracy, corporative representation and lobbyism are central to the project. It runs from 1994 to 1996.

6.1.4 Title: State organization, democracy and economic modernization. Comparative study of the Nordic/Baltic Area (See also: 12)
Contact: Thorvald Gran, Dept. of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway.
Description of project: This project rather supports the Skocpol/Rueschemeyer idea of “bringing the state back in”, looking for the impact of state on other processes in society. The project investigates how state organization matters for economic modernization in peripheral states. The project attempts to relate the variations in form and timing of the transition to modern industrial capitalism in the Nordic and Baltic states to the variations in state forms and state power. The project operates with three hypotheses: 1. That in states dominated by imperial powers (peripheral states) the modern capitalist economy will be export oriented, without the formation of a national bourgeoisie, 2. That a democratic form of state is a necessary condition for mobilizing a national mobilization alliance (between farmers and an urban
bourgeoisie), strong enough to break the imperial dominance, and 3. A necessary instrument for establishing national self-control of a modern economy (autocentricity) is a strong and professionalised executive authority. In the Nordic peripheral states that process succeeded, while in the Baltic area it did not. The method of research is to trace over time: a. The power and economic strategies of the imperial powers; b. The effects of and reactions to those strategies among political movements in the Baltic countries, and; c. How and to what degree the democratic (elected) organs of the state strengthened the national modernizing movements and alliances relative to the imperial powers. The Baltic study is interesting in a Nordic comparison. What were the main differences in the national developments? A comparison of successes with failures increases the chance of finding essential political/administrative mechanisms producing autocentricity. The project can also be of importance for the present discussion in the Baltic on how to organize new, democratic, professional state with modern ability.

**Participants:** Dr. Saulauskas, Vilnius University, Estonia; Prof. Tilly, New School New York, USA; Master Student Trælhaug, Dept. of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway.

### 6.1.5 Title: Democratic and authoritarian attitudes and democratic conflict behaviour of juveniles

**Contact:** Steffen Harbordt, Institute of Political Science, Technical University Berlin, Germany.

**Description of the project:** The project investigates empirically democratic and authoritarian attitudes as well as democratic conflict behaviour of juveniles (age 16 - 21) who are in vocational training in industry in Berlin. Main variables are 1. Democratic & authoritarian attitudes and three conflict strategies of the juveniles, 2. (Reported) educational styles and conflict strategies of their parents, 3. Leadership styles and conflict behaviour of their vocational instructors (both self-reported and reported by the juvenile trainees). The project ran from 1989 to 1994.
Participants: Michael Franger, Almut Kuebler, Silvia Schmidt, Institute of Political Science, Technical University Berlin in cooperation with the Federal Institute for Occupational Education.

6.1.6 Title: National Identity and citizenship in the multicultural society in the United States of America.

Contact: Prof. Dr. Hans Vorländer, Institute for Political Science, Technical University Dresden, Germany.

Description of project: The project analyses the political state of multicultural society in the United States of America. It focuses on the relationship between national identity, ethnic differences and citizenship. The project is based on an analysis of the American discourse on national identity, of US American immigration and naturalization-legislation as well as of the current debate on multiculturalism.

Participants: Dr. Dietrich Herrmann, Katharina Rürup M.A., both Institute for Political Science, Technical University Dresden.

6.1.7 Title: Beliefs in Government (See also: 1.1.1)

Contact: Kenneth Newton, Dept. of Government, University of Essex, United Kingdom.

Description of project: This is a study of democratic political attitudes in Western Europe in the post war period. The project is based on an extensive collection of survey evidence. It is an empirical and cross-national comparative research. The core of analysis is the individual citizen. The results challenge widely argued theories of mass opinion and much writing about citizen attitudes towards government and politics. The project is completed and five volumes in the series “Beliefs in Government” have been published in 1995 by Oxford University Press, see bibliography.

Participants: Prof. Ole Borre, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark; Prof. Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Prof. Dieter Fuchs, Prof. Oskar Niedermay, Dept. of Political Science, Free University of Berlin, Germany; Prof.
6.1.8 Title: Conditions of Authoritarianism, Fascism and Democracy in Inter-war Europe (See also: 12.1.3)

Contact: Prof. Dr. Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Dept. of Political Science, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany.

Description of project: This is an international comparative research project on the survival or breakdown of democratic regimes in the inter-war period. It covers 18 cases and involves more than 20 collaborators. It has originated within the European Consortium for Political Research. A two-volume edition based on the project is forthcoming at Macmillan. The project is completed.

Participants: Prof. Jeremy Mitchell (co-chairman), Oxford University, United Kingdom. Contact either of the chairmen for details of the other participants.

6.2 Individual Research Projects on Democracy and National Government

6.2.1 Title: Danish State building (See also: 1.1.3C, 1.1.4)

Contact: Tim Knudsen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

Description of project: The project focuses on state-building processes in Denmark in a historical perspective. Part of the project describes elements in the normative foundation for Danish democracy. It also investigates some of the basic institutions in Danish democracy like the parliament, the government, the ministers' role, the civil service, and local government. Furthermore, it draws attention to some of the limitations in the Danish system. A book called “Dansk Statsbygning” has been published in 1995, see bibliography.
6.2.2 Title: Ideals and Politics. The History of the Constitution of 1953 (See also: 8)

Contact: Lecturer Søren Eigaard, Institute of History and Western Civilization, University of Odense, Denmark.

Description of project: The project analyses the strained relationship between the established political parties - Socialdemokratiet, Det radikale Venstre, Venstre and Det konservative Folkeparti - in the years after the Second World War. It investigates the negotiations and the difficult process of revising the Constitution, which took place in the years from 1946 to 1953. Furthermore, it studies issues like the dissolution of the bicameral system and the introduction of the unicameral system, the Danish "version" of the parliamentary system plus the new and important sections in the revised Constitution concerning referendums. The project ran from 1990 to 1993.

6.2.3 Title: The political use of the referendum in Denmark after 1945 (See also: 3, 8)

Contact: Lecturer Søren Eigaard, Institute of History and Western Civilization, University of Odense, Denmark.

Description of project: The project researches the political use of the referendum in Denmark after 1945. The possibility of referendums came into the revised constitution in 1953. This development changed the parliamentary system in Denmark: Especially, after the first referendum was held in 1963, and the result showed that there was a gap between the majority in the Folketing and the voters who voted no to the bill. How has the referendum been used by the political parties during the past 50 years? How has the possibility of a referendum on a controversial political issue left its mark on the political life in Denmark? What kinds of issues have been used? Which roles does the referendum play in the political life in Denmark?
6.2.4 Title: The Riksdag, the Power and the Glory
Contact: Magnus Hagevi, Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg, Sweden.
Description of project: The project “The Riksdag, the Power and the Glory” is about the influence and status of the individual Riksdag members. It runs from 1995 to 1997.

6.2.5 Title: Advice and consent of the US-Senate for the appointment of Justices of the US Supreme Court
Contact: Dr. Jürgen Plöhn, Dept. of Political Science, Martin-Luther University, Germany.
Description of project: This is a study on institutional power sharing in the presidential democracy of the USA. The project analyses the role of the US-Senate in the appointment process of Supreme Court Justices after World War II. By case studies and statistical data the study showed a shift of power towards judiciary committees of the Senate. The project is part of a long-term research project on courts in the political systems of Western democracies.

6.2.6 Title: The reality of responsible government in Western democracies: the resignation of cabinet members in a comparative perspective
Contact: Dr. Jürgen Plöhn, Dept. of Political Science, Martin-Luther University, Germany.
Description of project: The “Habilitation” project tries to link the concept of responsible government to empirical research on cabinet members in Germany, the USA, Great Britain and Switzerland. The theoretical part of the study deals with various philosophical, theological, sociological, administrative, judicial and political concepts of responsibility and trust. In the empirical part, the concept is operationalized with respect to the resignation of top level members of the executive branch of government (1970-1990). Partly recurring to British approaches, the project is heading for an empirical comparison of parliamentary and presidential democracies with one party of multi party executives. The project runs from 1992 to 1997.
6.2.7 Title: Constitutional debate in Britain

**Contact:** Prof. Heidrun Abromeit, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Technische Hochschule Darmstadt, Germany.

**Description of project:** The project is concerned with the changing scope of state activity. It discusses three different forms of sovereignty and legitimation: the people, parliament and the constitution. Empirically, the focus is on the constitutional debate in Great Britain. The project was completed in 1994.

6.2.8 Title: Beyond the state (See also: 14)

**Contact:** John Hoffman, Dept. of Politics, University of Leicester, United Kingdom.

**Description of project:** A general critique of the state which includes the question of democracy within it. It also discusses the question of democracy as a post-statual concept. The project was completed in 1995.
7. TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND ORGANIZATIONS

7.1 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND ORGANIZATIONS

7.1.1 Title: Trade union democracy (See also 1.1.4)
Contact: Senior Lecturer Tage Bild, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.
Description of project: This is a project on the challenges to trade union democracy in modern society. The intention is to analyse how the tendencies towards partly individualization in the membership and partly decentralization in the bargaining system and the political administrative structures influence the union democracy, the ability of interest representation and community generation. The project is part of the research project APL (The Employee Perspective on Working Life and Politics).
Participants: Research Fellow Morten Madsen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen; Prof. Henning Jørgensen, Senior Lecturer Morten Lassen, both Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University

7.1.2 Title: Voluntary organizations and changes in the relationship between public and private
Contact: Senior Lecturer Per Selle, Norwegian Research Centre in Organization and Management, Norway.
Description of project: The project provides an overview of how the voluntary society of organizations has changed during 1945 to 1995. It discusses modern theories of democracy and theories of the civil society in relation to the way the voluntary society of organizations has changed. The project also analyses the connection between organization changes and changes in society. The conclusion is that the voluntary organizations will have a more defined role in society and in the democratic process in the future. The project was completed in 1995.
Participants: Konsulent Bjarne Øymyr, Norske Samfunnsvitenskapelig Data-tjeneste, Bergen: Research Fellow Kristin Strømsnes, Senior Lecturer Gunna Grendstad, University of Bergen.

7.1.3 Title: Voluntary organizations and changes in the boarder settings between public and private

Contact: Senior Lecturer Per Selle, Norwegian Research Centre in Organization and Management, Norway.

Description of project: The project looks at voluntary organizations. It takes a special interest in the Norwegian environmental organizations and their role and influence on the political system. The project is based on an empirical examination of 12 Norwegian environmental organizations. The project will be completed by the end of 1996.

7.2 Individual research projects on democracy and organizations

7.2.1 Title: Governance and Democratic Control of State Owned Enterprises in Denmark (See also 1.1.4.9)

Contact: Research Fellow Carsten Greve, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

Description of project: PhD thesis on the subject of governance and democratic control of state owned enterprises. The case studies deal with four state owned enterprises in Denmark. The theoretical part of the thesis is on the public-private dichotomy, regulation and governance theory in "policy networks" and democratic and bureaucratic control measures. The project is completed.

7.2.2 Title: Voluntary associations and democracy (See also 1.1.2)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Lars Torpe, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: The project analyses the relation between participation in voluntary associations and democracy in a historical perspective.
8. TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Topics and projects of related interest: 3.2.3-3.2.4, 4.2.2, 5.5.6, 6.2.2-6.2.3, 10.3.2, 13.1.1A-D, 13.1.3C

8.1 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL PARTIES

8.1.1 Title: Manifesto Research Group 1979-present
Contact: Prof. Dr. Ian Budge, Fellow-in-Residence 1995/96, Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences, The Netherlands.
Description of project: Collection and study of party election programmes for all post-war elections in 25 democracies.
Participants: Hans Leman, M. McDonald, Paul Pennings, R.I. Hofferbert

8.2 INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL PARTIES

8.2.1 Title: The development of the Danish party system
Contact: Senior Lecturer Lars Bille, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.
Description of project: The project analyses the development of the Danish party system. Lars Bille is also involved in the cross national project “Party Organizational Change and Adaptation”.

8.2.2 Title: Political Parties
Contact: Jan Assarson, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University, Sweden.
Description of project: The project analyses political parties and party democracy. The applied approaches are oligarchy and democratic theory. The project focuses on party organization and intra-party decision making. Case studies of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and Moderate Unity Party.
9. **TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Topics and projects of related interest: 1.1.3B-D, 1.1.5, 7.2.1, 13.1.1D, 13.1.2D-E, 13.1.3D

9.1 **RESEARCH PROGRAMMES ON DEMOCRACY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

9.1.1 Title: Legitimacy of the democratic and social constitutional state (1995-1999)

*Contact:* Prof. H.M. de Jong & J.J.A. Thomassen, Dept. of Political Science, Faculty of Public Administration and Public Policy, University of Twente, The Netherlands.

*Description of research programme:* The project "Legitimacy of the democratic and social constitutional state" is a subtheme of the research programme "Public Administration and Social Environment". The research question reads: On which principles are the democratic and social constitutional state based?; What institutional form is given to these principles within the various political contexts?; To what extent are they supported by actors involved and on which factors does this support depend, how can the actors' behaviour within these contexts be explained?; And how does the support for institutions and the actual behaviour of the actors involved effect the way in which form is given to the principles of the democratic and social constitutional state? In line with Brecht's theory of value relativism, the normative theoretical part of this subtheme looks at the nature and function of the principles of a democratic and social constitutional state, particularly in the light of their institutional design seen from a historical perspective. Research focuses on the field of general and specialized legal and political science. The empirical-theoretical part makes a connection between the value-relativistic interpretation of the principles of the democratic and social constitutional state and empirical theory development. From the perspective of the theory of civic culture, the main issue here is, the question, to what extent the political and constitutional system has been supported by the population over time and which factors influence this support.
Attention is also given, on the basis of collectivist and liberal theories of representation and participation, to the roles played by the various actors (the electorate, representatives of the people, political parties and social organizations) within the process of political decision-making. Two other themes concern, respectively, the impact of the principle of the separation of powers (particularly at the local level), both with regard to internal (political-civil servant) relations and with regard to external relations (relations between administrative layers), and the political quality of government regulation. Both the latter themes are developed on the basis of neo-pragmatic institutionalism.

Participants: Contact the above-mentioned for further details.

9.2 Research Projects on Democracy and Public Administration

9.2.1 Title: Effects of the Territorial Reform of District Administration in East Germany (See also: 12)

Contact: Prof. Dr. Everhard Holtmann, Institute of Political Science, Martin-Luther-University, Germany.

Description of project: The project analyses the consequences of the territorial reform of district administration as far as influences on the development of the spatial economic structure (changes in urban-rural relations), economic development prospects and political effects (on the district level) can already be traced. Part of the study deals with main political effects of the administrative restructuring such as changes in political organization and representation structures and in opinion making processes by investigating the political parties and the "parliament" (Kreistag) acting on district level. The question is how the "new" conditions - if there are any at all - affect the former district towns in particular. The study aims firstly to detect possible consequences of the reform at a quite early stage, as to inform government - but also district and local - authorities responsible for planning/implementing diverse compensation measures. At the same time the project deals with the specific situation of a territorial district reform in East Germany (the federal state of Saxony-Anhalt) which seems for particular reasons quite different to the one in West Germany (especially due to the central role of
district authorities in the former GDR on the one hand, and the importance of district authorities for the reconstruction of democratical structures on the other).

**Participants:** Prof. Dr. Winfried Killisch, Institute for Geography, Technical University Dresden, Anita Steinhart, Martin-Luther-University, Germany.

### 9.3 Individual Research Projects on Democracy and Public Administration

#### 9.3.1 Title: Democracy and public administration

**Contact:** Lecturer Jacob Torfing or lecturer Eva Sørensen, Dept. of Social Science, Roskilde University Centre, **Denmark**.

**Description of project:** The project takes a democratic approach to the modernization of the public sector.

#### 9.3.2 Title: Public Administration, Ethics and Democracy (See also: 1.1.2)

**Contact:** Senior Lecturer Øjvind Larsen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, **Denmark**.

**Description of project:** The project discusses ethical problems within public administration.
10. **Topic: Democracy and Third World Countries**

**Topics and projects of related interest:** 3.2.2, 12

**10.1 Research Programmes on Democracy and Third World Countries**

**10.1.2 Title:** Comparative Study of Democracy and Human Rights: Cultural Conceptions and Processes in Asia, Africa and Latin America

**Contact:** Eva Poluha, Dept. of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University, Sweden.

**Description of research programme:** The overall aim is to study how democracy, civic and human rights in a number of different settings interrelate with economy, and local culture, ethnicity, religion and politics. Following the studies carried out by ten individual projects in different countries and diverging socioeconomic settings, aspects affecting democracy, human and civic rights, will be investigated in relation to cultural, developmental and political differences. This will provide the programme with a substantial body of comparative material. It is hoped that this research programme will be useful in search of peaceful solutions to some current sociocultural, political, ethnic and gender-related problems. This is important if we wish to respect and safeguard cultural pluralism. Furthermore, by depicting the variety of local cultural forms of decision-making, it is anticipated that counter-images to the dominant Western concepts of democracy and human rights can be presented. By studying concepts, perceptions and processes of democracy and human rights, we will look at:

- how democracy is interpreted by different groups of people in the societies where we will do field work; official versions will be compared with what other categories of people think;
- decision-making processes at state levels well as at other levels in the various societies, focusing on whom power holders have to show accountability;
- democracy in relation to macro- and micro-aspects of economy - can they proceed together or must economy, as some say, proceed before democracy?
- civil society and different types of informal organizations, exemplified by social movements trying to advance to their own interests or rights, but also formal organizations such as trade unions and media;
- democracy as a form of informal politics in analogy with informal economy or the political culture.

Participants: Deborah Ericson; Eva Evers-Rosander; Daniel Genberg; Eva-Maria Hardtmann; Christer Norström; Annika Rabo, Mona Rosendahl; Per Ståhlberg; Alexander Wanek, Dept. of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University.

10.1.2 Title: Democracy and Social Capital in Segmented Societies

Contact: Senior Lecturer Hans Blomkvist, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University, Sweden.

Description of research programme: Does the institutional pattern in civil society explain levels of democratic performance and types of protest in segmented societies? By utilizing the concept of “social capital” recently developed by James Coleman and Robert Putnam the project wants to study whether differences in the type of civil society (viz. level of social capital) can explain environmental protest and government performance. “Social capital” refers to “the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organizations”, features such as “trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”. Is the theory of social capital, developed in reference to homogenous societies, also relevant in segmented societies? By studying the liberal democratic, and segmented, countries of India and South Africa the project wishes to elucidate this research problem. The idea is to systematically compare states/provinces in the two countries with high levels of social capital with states/provinces with low levels of social capital to find out the impact on 1. the performances of democratic government, and 2. environmental protests and its efficacy. The project runs in two phases; 1995-1998 and 1999-2001

Participants: Senior Lecturer Per Nordlund, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University; Ashok Swain, Dept. of Peace & Conflict, Uppsala University.
10.2 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

10.2.1 Title: Self-help, interest organization and patterns of political participation of marginalized groups in major cities in the Third World (See also 2.2.6)

Contact: Prof. Dr. Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Dept. of Political Science, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany.

Description of project: The proportion of slum-dwellers and similar persons living in marginal settlements in Third World cities have grown enormously during the last decades. How can they organize themselves to better their lot, what kinds of linkage exist to the outside economic, social and political environment, how has the recent wave of democratization affected their living conditions and their chances of articulating their interests? These and similar questions are addressed in this comparative project covering 16 settlements in eight cities in four countries (Kenya, Ivory Coast, Brazil and Chile) of the “Third World”.

Participants: Dr. Norbert Kersting; Research Fellow Barbara Happe; Research Fellow Claus-Dieter König; Research Fellow Sylvia Schmitt & Research Fellow Jaime Sperberg all Dept. of Political Science, Philipps-University Marburg.

10.2.2 Title: Multiparty Elections in Africa (See also 3, 3.2.2)

Contact: Dr. M. Szeftel, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The project investigates multiparty elections in Africa. It includes analysis of elections in South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria, Namibia, Zambia and other African countries. A forthcoming volume entitled “Voting for Democracy” is to be published, see the bibliography.

Participants: Dr. R. Sourhall, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

10.2.3 Title: Political Conditionality and the Role of External Agencies in the Democratization Process.

Contact: Gordon Crawford, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds, United Kingdom.
Description of project: The project examines the linking of development aid to the promotion of democracy, human rights and good governance. It has selected four donor agencies: the governments of Sweden, United Kingdom, the United States and the European Union. Policy implementation is being examined in detail through three country case studies: Kenya, Nigeria and Zambia. The project will evaluate such political aid policies both through the withholding of assistance (negative measures) and the positive support given to projects promoting democracy and human rights.

Participants: Prof. L. Cliffe, Prof. D. Beetham, Dr. M. Szeftel, Dr. C. Baylies, M. Ngunyi, Dr. B. Okunade, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds.

10.2.4 Title: The Political Transition to Independence in Namibia (See also 3) Contact: Prof. L. Cliffe, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds, United Kingdom. Description of project: The project conducts a study of the independence elections and the Constituent Assembly in Namibia. The project ran from 1989 to 1991. Participants: Dr. R. Bush, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds; Dr. D. Pankhurst, University of Bradford; I. Lindsay, University of Central England; Dr. B. Tsie, B. Mokopakgosi, University of Botswana.

10.3 INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

10.3.1 Title: Explaining Political Violence in Democracies - A case study of the Kashmir Conflict Contact: Sten Widmalm, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University, Sweden. Description of project: A doctoral dissertation on the development of democracy in India and the course of conflict. The project is based on field studies of Kashmir during the 1980s and a similar analysis of the development in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Ex Yugoslavia.
10.3.2 Title: Party propaganda the African way: Electioneering in Zimbabwe and Botswana (See also 3, 8)

Contact: Staffan Damolf, Dept. of Political Science Göteborg University, Sweden.

Description of project: This is a study of the latest parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe and Botswana. It describes the channels of communication used by the political parties while campaigning, as well as analysing the political message send by the chosen channels. Why some of the political parties use certain channels of communication, even if they are not considered to be the most efficient, will be explained. The media's coverage of the political parties will also be analysed. The project will be completed in 1996.

10.3.3 Title: Politics and democratization in third world countries

Contact: Prof. Axel Hadenius, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University, Sweden

Description of project: In this project, Axel Hadenius is working with politics and democratization in third world countries, particularly in Africa. He is concerned with the roles of institutions, the role of civil society in the democratization process and constitutional issues such as electoral systems, presidentialism vs. parliamentarism etc.

10.3.4 Title: Studies of Asian democratization

Contact: Senior Lecturer Olle Törnquist, Dept. of Government-Development Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden

Description of project: The project compares over time the importance of democratization for renewal-oriented popular movements and associated organizations in three very different contexts, within Indonesia, the Philippines, and India. The central questions of the project are: what is the importance of democratization for renewal-oriented radical movements and organizations? And what is most important? Do they, though the situation is very different, carry the potential of anchoring and broadening democracy in the area - just as popular movements, and especially the more organised labour movements, did during the democratization of Western Europe? The project has been carried out since 1991.
10.3.5 Title: Politics of the media in Thailand and Pacific Asia

Contact: Dr. Duncan McCargo, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds, United Kingdom.

Description of project: This project conducts research into the political role of the Thai media especially during and after the mass demonstrations of May 1992. Wider work on the political role of the media in the Asia-Pacific region. The project is a comparative analysis based on several case studies.
11. TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND WELFARE INSTITUTIONS

Topics and projects of related interest: 1.1.5, 2.2.4, 13.1.3E

11.1 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRACY AND WELFARE INSTITUTIONS

11.1.1 Title: Utilities and duties of the welfare state
Contact: Prof. Per Arnt Pettersen, Dept. of Sociology and Political Science, University of Trondheim, Norway.
Description of project: Besides from producing and providing welfare goods, the welfare state has an important function in relation to creating legitimacy of the political system. If the citizens lose faith in the politicians in this area, it may have wide spread consequences for the general legitimacy of the public authorities and the political system. The focus of this project will be on conceptions of and attitudes towards the welfare state. One of the perspectives is that there is an increasing distance between those who are socially integrated and those who in different ways are excluded from social communities. The project analyses the differences in how deeply rooted people are in welfare communities and if this has any significance of their values of and preferences towards welfare politics. The aim is to examine the connection between peoples' general conceptions of justice and their view on social politics. Do people try to live according to few, simple and basic principles of justice or do people employ different corduroy of justice within different areas of distribution? (Based on the theories of Elster and Walzer). Do we find consistency between principles and views on concrete policies?
Participants: Prof. Willy Martinussen, Dept. of Sociology and Political Science, University of Trondheim; Researcher Ann Helen Bay, INAS.
11.2 Individual Research Projects on Democracy and Welfare Institutions

11.2.1 Title: Civil society, welfare society and democracy (See also 1.1.2)
Contact: Senior Lecturer Øjvind Larsen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.
Description of project: The project attempts to clarify the new civil society based on changes of the welfare society.

11.2.2 Title: Forms of solidarity and sense of community in the welfare state
(See also 1.1.2)
Contact: Research Fellow Birte Kloch Frederiksen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.
Description of project: This PhD thesis is on forms of solidarity and sense of community in the Danish welfare state. An empirical analysis of different forms of solidarity in the Danish society will be carried out.
12. DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESSES

Topics and projects of related interest: 3.2.2, 6.1.4, 6.1.8, 9.2.1, 10

12.1 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESSES

12.1.1 Title: A comparative analysis of political development in Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia (See also: 1.1.1)

Contact: Prof. Curt Sørensen, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of project: This is a comparative analysis of regime transformations and development of democracy in Central Europe. Lene Bøgh Sørensen is doing a PhD dissertation in relation to the project. The title of the dissertation is “The Political Development and Regime Transformation”. It presents and discusses theories of development, regime transformation and development of democracy in light of the Hungarian case. Curt Sørensen is also working on a project called “The relationship between working class movement and the development of democracy in Central Europe and Scandinavia”.

Participants: Research Fellow Lene Bøgh Sørensen, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University.

12.1.2 Title: Citizenship and the State in the Middle East (See also: 2)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Nils A. Butenschøn, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oslo, Norway.

Description of the project: Many key problems involved in the process of building new political institutions in for instance the Palestinian territories link into the concept of citizenship. Concern over the prospects of democratization, over the role of religion in the state, and over the prospects for political stability in the wake of the peace process all impinge critically on the question of citizenship. Citizenship refers to the legal and institutional foundations of individual rights and obligations towards state authority. It involves civil, political and social dimensions, and can be
seen as representing the "anatomy" of socio-political relations in a society. Questions addressed in the project are among others: How Middle Eastern ideas - however diverse - of organising political authority relates to Western and universal conceptions of citizenship? What is the significance of citizenship in distributing resources and political power in Middle Eastern States as well as its role in forming political identities and loyalties?

**Participants:** Senior Lecturer Manuel Hassassian, Faculty of Arts, University of Bethlehem, Israel, Dr. Uri Davis, Centre for Middle East and Islamic Studies, University of Durham, United Kingdom.

12.1.3 Title: Authoritarianism and Democracy in South-, Central- and Eastern Europe - A Comparative Analysis of the Present Conditions in Light of the Experiences of the Inter-war Period. (See also 6)

**Contact:** Prof. Dr. Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Dept. of Political Science, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany.

**Description of project:** The project is a follow-up of the inter-war project (see 6.1.8) and was started at an international symposium in Prague in May 1995. It involves 16 countries (almost all of which, except Czechoslovakia, were "breakdown" cases in the inter-war period) and more than 20 collaborators now including participants from all Eastern European states. It analyses conditions of post-authoritarianism and post-communism in both a systematic comparative and longitudinal perspective. The cases of (relatively) successful consolidation in Southern and Central Europe are contrasted with the present conditions in Eastern Europe in order to assess the broader conditions of a survival of the new democratic institutions there.

**Participants:** Contact Prof. Dr. Dirk Berg-Schlosser for details on the participants.

12.1.4 Title: Comparative Democratization

**Contact:** Dr. Jean Grugel, Dept. of Politics, The University of Sheffield, United Kingdom.

**Description of project:** The project provides a study of Southern European, Latin American and Eastern European cases of transition and a review of transition
literature from the perspective of international political economy. To be published by Macmillan in 1998.

Participants: Ian Kearns, Dept. of Politics, The University of Sheffield.

12.1.5 Title: Political Culture and Social Innovation in the Russian Parliament (1990-1993)

Contact: Dr. J. I. Gleisner, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The project examines voting behaviour, political culture and factions in the Russian Parliament. It also studies the relations between Parliament and Government.

Participants: V. Sergeyev, N. Biryukov, Russian Academy of Sciences.

12.1.6 Title: Social Movements and Transition in Latin America and Eastern Europe.

Contact: Dr. Jean Grugel, Dept. of Politics, The University of Sheffield, United Kingdom.

Description of project: A project on social movements and transition towards democracy in Latin America and Eastern Europe. The project collaborates with AIETI, Madrid.

Participants: Ian Kearns, Lucy Taylor, both Dept. of Politics, The University of Sheffield.

12.2 Individual Research Projects on Democratization Processes

12.2.1 Title: Democracy and democratization - the third world (See also 1.1.1)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Georg Sørensen, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of project: The general problems and questions of democratization processes are considered in this project. An investigation of the conditions that
promotes the establishment of democracy and the processes through which this establishment is carried out. Georg Sørensen takes a special interest in third world countries.

12.2.2 Title: The Democratization process in Balticum and Russia (See also 1.1.1)

Contact: Lecturer Jørgen Poulsen, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of project: The project investigates the democratization processes in Balticum and Russia.

12.2.3 Title: Government structure, administrative organization and economic development (See also 1.1.1)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Jørgen Dige Pedersen, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of project: The question raised in this project in relation to democratic processes is if democratic governance promotes economic growth and welfare? The relationship between economic development and democracy is being analysed.

12.2.4 Title: The politics of transition in the Baltic states (See also 1.1.1)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Ole Nørgaard, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of project: After the dissolution of the Eastern bloc past 1989 a new wave of democracy has spread. This project focuses on the democratization and economic reform policies in the Baltic Republics. It offers a comparative analysis of the three Baltic states.

12.2.5 Title: Theories of democratization (See also 1.1.4)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Uffe Jacobsen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.
Description of project: The focus of this project is on theories of democratization in relation to the political, economic and national transitions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

12.2.6 Title: Democratization of South Africa
Contact: Per Strand, Dept. of Government, University of Uppsala, Sweden.
Description of project: The project conducts research in the area of democratization of South Africa. It focuses particularly on the negotiations of the new constitution. It takes an interest in constitutionalism, democratization processes and the political expression of ethnicity in plural societies.

12.2.7 Title: Democratization processes and social capital in Central America
Contact: Eyvind Reyes, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University, Sweden.
Description of project: The project analyses democratization processes and social capital in Central America.

12.2.8 Title: The relationship between the state and civil society in liberalization and democratization processes
Contact: Per Nordlund, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University, Sweden.
Description of project: The project focuses on the relationship between the state and civil society in liberalization and democratization processes. It also involves a comparative study between Zambia and Zimbabwe. It explains relations of power and political domination.

12.2.9 Title: The Political Economy of Eastern Europe in Transition
Contact: Ian Kearns, Dept. of Politics, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom.
Description of project: The project looks at the transition in Eastern Europe from a perspective of political economy.
13. TOPIC: LOCAL DEMOCRACY

Topics and projects of related interest: 1.1.3E, 2.3.4, 2.3.6

13.1 RESEARCH PROGRAMMES ON LOCAL DEMOCRACY

13.1.1 Title: Leadership in local government
Contact: Prof. Poul Erik Mourtizen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense, Denmark.
Description of research programme: In international political science and public theory of organization, a tradition within the study of leadership and the roles of leaders has developed in recent years. One of the purposes of this research programme is to develop an environment in Denmark for theoretical and empirical studies of leadership in municipalities. In the past decade, the surroundings in which the political and administrative leadership act have changed dramatically. This concerns changes in the political and administrative organization, changes in the relationship between leadership and institution, changing economic conditions and changes in the views and demands of the population concerning the public sector. The programme runs in the period 1993 to 1998. Five sub-projects are run under the research programme:

A. Title: Recruitment of municipal politicians (See also: 8)
Contact: Senior Lecturer Jørgen Elklit, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University; Prof. Mogens N. Pedersen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense, Denmark.
Description of project: During recent years there has been a tendency towards difficulty in recruiting new politicians to the boards of municipalities and a tendency towards large replacement among the elected. This makes an examination of political recruitment at local level highly relevant. The project examines the recruitment of politicians and their conceptions of roles in order to achieve an understanding of their individual and collective behaviour,
especially the behaviour in connection with constitution of and coalition in local government.

Participants: Research Fellow Ulrik Høj, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense.

B. Title: Local election campaigns and elections strategies (See also 3)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Jørgen Elklit, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University; Prof. Poul Erik Mourtizen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense, Denmark.

Description of project: The aim is to analyse how election campaigns are carried out at local level. More specifically the project takes a point of departure in an analysis of the strategies and tactics that the political parties and independent candidates used in the election campaign prior to the municipal election in November 1993. The project will make analyse the actual effect of the used strategies.

Participants: Research Fellow Annie Gaardsted Frandsen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense.

C. Title: The role of parties in municipal politics (See also 8)

Contact: Lektor Jørgen Elklit, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University; Prof. Poul Erik Mourtizen, Prof. Mogens N. Pedersen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense, Denmark.

Description of project: Most agree that any modern political parties must solve the following four tasks in order to succeed: 1. Political mobilization and socialization, 2. Selection and training of political candidates and leadership, 3. Conduct of interests, 4. Political formulation of ends. No one has attempted to use these concepts to analyse the party activity at municipal level. The past decades, the membership organizations of the political parties have been weakened. Great difficulties have arisen in making the organizations work and hence, in their appearance as legitimate actors. Thus, there are both theoretical as well as practical-political reasons for investigating how political parties at
local level function.

Participants: Research Fellow Roger Buch Jensen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense.

D. Title: Political Leadership (1.1.3C-E, 8, 9)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Kurt Klaudi Klausen, Prof. Poul Erik Mourtizen, Prof. Mogens N. Pedersen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense, Denmark.

Description of project: Besides the classical representation role, the politicians have a leadership role internally in relation to the municipal administration. There is little systematic knowledge of the content of the leadership roles and their execution and question of priority between representation and government/leadership. Thus, the focus of this project will be on the role of representation and the role of leadership.

Participants: Research Fellow Rikke Berg, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense.

E. Title: Administrative Leadership (See also 1.1.3C-E, 9)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Kurt Klaudi Klausen, Prof. Poul Erik Mourtizen, Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense, Denmark.

Description of project: Until recent years the local government officer was an anonymous public servant. Today he or she is in focus. At the municipal level there is an increasing focus on the leadership role. The focus on the public leaders is reflected in leadership research, which explicitly or implicitly sees the leader as the decisive factor in order to understand the behaviour of organizations. However, from another point of view the behaviour of organizations is seen as a function of the surroundings of the leader, either in close organizational surroundings (structure, culture, inertia) or in more distant socioeconomic surroundings (resources, demands, needs, pressure). An analysis of the relation
between politicians and public servants will be integrated in this project and the project "Political Leadership".

Participants: Research Fellow Vibeke Normann Andersen, Amanuensis Niels Ejersbo, Research Fellow Morten Balle Hansen Dept. of Political Science and Public Management, University of Odense

13.1.2 Title: Norwegian Local Government in a European Context

Contact: Professor Harald Baldersheim, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oslo, Norway.

Description of research programme: On a European-wide basis, trends in and challenges to local government show many parallels. These include a growing emphasis on consumer choice regarding local service provision and the introduction of competitive practices in procurement and service delivery, often accompanied by a devaluation of traditional party politics in the eyes of the public. In local administration, a move away from bureaucratic methods towards management concepts inspired by ideas from the private sector is discernible. Furthermore, reforms in central-local relations emphasise decentralization and local accountability. Scandinavia, for example, has seen the introduction of the "free commune" experiments, whereas Britain has stressed the concept of an "enabling authority". Many of these reforms as well as local developments seem increasingly inspired by a consumerist rather than a deliberative conception of local democracy. The role of the local citizen may be changing accordingly in this context. The project runs from 1992 to 1996. The projects, relevant to the area of democracy, run under the programme is described below:

A. Title: Consumers, taxpayers, citizens. An inquiry into Democratic Citizenship in the context of local government (See also: 2)

Contact: Prof. Lawrence Rose, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oslo.

Description of project: The project focuses on the political behaviour, attitudes and role perceptions of individuals. Local government in most countries provide the setting in which individuals have their principal exposure to politics and
public administration. Local governments in Norway are "first-line" producers of the vast majority of public goods and services used by individuals in their daily lives. To understand the content and evolution of democratic citizenship it is therefore important that empirical investigations of the topic be anchored in a local context. The project is based on national surveys of citizens that reflect variations in the characteristics of local municipal government and on in-depth case studies of selected municipalities.

B. Title: Local Political Leadership - Councillor Careers
Contact: Prof. Auden Offerdal, Dept. of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen.
Description of project: In this project councillors and samples of citizens from selected municipalities are interviewed about political recruitment process, councillor career patterns, and attitudes to local politics. A particular concern is the search for explanations of the tendency for Norwegian councillors to leave local politics after a shorter period than their counterparts in other countries.

C. Neighbourhood Councils - their role in community development and political mobilisation
Contact: Prof. Nils Aarsæther, Dept. of Social Science, University of Tromsø.
Description of project: In this project neighbourhood councils in selected municipalities within Norway and Denmark are studied. A particular emphasis is put on possible contrasts between their role in "modern" and "traditional" communities.
Participants: Torill Nyseth, Dept. of Social Science, University of Tromsø, Norway; Allan Dreyer Hansen, Inst. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

D. "Top Down" and "Bottom Up" - reform strategies in Great Britain and Scandinavia (See also: 9)

Description of project: This project contrasts approaches of local government reforms pursued by central governments in Great Britain and Scandinavia in the 1980's. Which strategy is the most effective one with regard to "modernising" local government? How do local authorities respond to national initiatives? Four local authorities - two Norwegian and two British - are selected for purposes of in-depth case studies.

E. Administrative Culture and Leadership (See also: 9)

Contact: Prof. Harald Baldersheim, Norwegian Centre for Research in Organization and Management, Bergen.

Description of project: Norwegian local authorities increasingly import management concepts and styles from the private sector as well as from other national settings. How do these "alien" imports function in a local government setting traditionally characterised by a culture of community-focused orientations, consensual politics and non-hierarchical modes of administrative operations? Surveys of national samples and selected municipalities are carried out to answer these questions.

13.1.3 Title: Democracy in Transition. Swedish Municipalities and County Councils in Local Territory.

Contact: Prof. Gunnel Gustafsson, Dept. of Political Science, Umeå University, Sweden. Dr. Anders Lidström, Dept. of Political Science, Umeå University is responsible for coordination.

Description of research programme: The programme "Democracy in Transition" aims at analysing organizing and decision-making from the perspective of change. Two main themes are researched within the programme. Firstly, the relationships between governmental, economic and civil agencies at different territorial levels (national, local and supranational), and the extent to which these are changing with regard to their influence on the distribution of service, welfare and power in the
local territory are analysed. Secondly, the capacity, under these circumstances, of governmental and other actors in the local territories to capture and realize citizens’ desires and demands. How much and in what respect is the democratic paradigm changing? The project runs from 1992 to 1997. The programme consists of five projects which are described below:

A. Title: Women's Organization and Influence in the Local Society (See also: 5)

*Description of the project:* This project represents an innovation in the context of research on local government. A sex/gender perspective is taken as the starting point for studies of women’s collective action and the opposition these actions encounter. The empirical investigations focus on the way in which women organize and practice democracy as women. An attempt is made to formulate a feminist political theory.

*Participants:* Prof. Gunnel Gustafsson, Malin Rönnblom BA, Dept. of Political Science, Umeå University; Senior Lecturer Maud Eduards, Dept. of Political Science, University of Stockholm, Sweden.

B. Title: Transnational and Local Autonomy (See also: 1.1.3B, 4)

*Description of the project:* The focus in this study is the increasing weaving together of states in Western Europe. Political issues that have traditionally been domestic matters have acquired a European dimension. The project aims at examining the implications of transnationalization particularly for the regional and local levels.

*Participants:* Prof. Janerik Gidlund, Johan Eriksson BA, Dept. of Political Science, Umeå University; Senior Lecturer Magnus Jerneck, Dept. of Political Science, Lund University, Sweden.

C. Title: Citizens and Politicians (See also: 8)

*Description of the project:* The aim is to analyse on the one hand, the relationships between citizens and politicians at the local and regional levels
and, on the other hand, municipal and county councillors' roles in the political system. Central to the study are issues of representativeness, citizens' knowledge of and participation in the political system, and politicians' tasks and work conditions in a situation that demands new forms of organization and procedures. Comparisons will be made with previous local government research in order to illuminate the changes that have taken place.

**Participants**: Senior Lecturer Henry Bäck, Marika Sanne BA, Dept. of Political Science, University of Stockholm; Dr. Folke Johansson, Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg, Sweden.

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**D. Title: Public Administration in the Local Territory** (See also: 9)

*Description of the project:* The project draws attention to the autonomy of the public administration in the local territory. Relationships with municipal politicians and citizens as well as with clients, other local administrations, organizations, international networks, the state and supranational bodies are studied. In addition to an overall study of the public administration in the local territory, case studies of the local educational network, local implementation of national and global environmental protection policies and local economic developments are planned.

**Participants**: Senior Lecturer Björn Beckman, Senior Lecturer Paula Uddman, Dept. of Political Science, Lund University; Senior Lecturer Evert Vedung, Erik Klefbom BA, Dept. of Political Science, Uppsala University, Sweden.

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**E. Title: Local Production of Welfare** (See also: 11)

*Description of the project:* The relationship between citizens and the production of welfare within the local territory is investigated within this project. The supply of and demand for public service is studied as well as citizens' assessments of these services. Attitudes to public service production will be analysed through mail questionnaires, interviews and case studies. Particular emphasis will be placed on the possibilities for citizens to influence services.
Participants: Prof. Lars Strömberg, Senior Lecturer Lennart Nilsson, Vicki Johansson BA, Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg; Dr. Tommy Möller, Mattias Hassbring BA, Dept. of Political Science, Uppsala University, Sweden.

13.1.4 Title: Local Governance

Contact: Professor Gerry Stoker, Dept. of Government, University of Strathclyde, United Kingdom.

Description of research programme: The programme is concerned with changes in the way that public services are managed and decisions about priorities and strategies are made within localities. The local arena has a more complex array of institutions engaged in public affairs and provision. The role of government has shifted away from a narrow emphasis on direct service provision to a broader range of activities involving contracting, regulation, enabling, and leadership. The boundaries between public, private and voluntary sectors have become less clear-cut. The local arena is characterised by a complex array of interactive relationships. The broad aim of the programme is to understand these emerging relationships and assess their significance for government, citizens, public service provision and local democracy. The research provides a theoretical and empirical understanding and assessment of the emerging system of local governance. The project runs from 1994 to 1997. The projects, relevant to the area of democracy, run under the programme as described below:

Title: ESRC 20 - Public Opinion and Local Citizenship

Contact: Prof. Bob Miller, Dept. of Politics, University of Glasgow, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The project investigates public opinion on different levels by interviewing samples of: the general public; participants in elected local governance (elected councillors) and participants in non-elected/appointed local governance - such as board members of TECs/LECs.
Title: ESRC 21 - Participation, Partnership and Sustainable Development: Promoting Local Agenda

Contact: Stephen Young, Dept. of Government, University of Manchester, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The project hopes to contribute on two fronts. First it should be possible to develop performance measures and techniques against which to assess the operation of "third force" organizations in the environmental field. Second, the project will assess the potential and limitations of participation in environmental issues.

Title: ESRC 22 - Sustainability and Maturity in Community Based Housing Organizations

Contact: Prof. David Clapham, University of Wales, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The project examines the durability of community-based, resident controlled housing organizations focusing on Community Ownership schemes in Glasgow. Data has been collected and is being examined to reveal lessons, not only about sustaining these sorts of initiatives, but also about the quality of democratic practice within community-based organizations. Finally the way in which some community organizations have gone on to other initiatives outside housing is explored.

Title: ESRC 23 - Exclusive Space: Networks of Participation and Forward Planning in a Rural Locality

Contact: Prof. Terry Marsden, Dept. of City and Regional Planning, University of Wales, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The centre piece of this research is a case study of the Structure Plan Review process in Buckinghamshire.

Title: Governance at the institutional level in municipalities. Values in the public sector

Contact: Ph.D. student Vibeke Normann Andersen, Dept of Public Organization and Politics, University of Odense.
13.2 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON LOCAL DEMOCRACY

13.2.1 Title: Local Democracy and Participation in the Nordic Countries

Contact: First Amanuensis Helge O. Larsen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Tromsø, Norway.

Description of project: The project focuses on the organization of local self-government in the Nordic countries. The perspective is on the participatory aspect in relation to the ongoing reform process. The project focuses on the activity of the citizens as well as participation at the representative level, e.g. turnovers among local electorates.

Participants: Prof. Audun Offerdal, Dept. of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen.

13.2.2 Title: Laender-Enquete-Commissions

Contact: Prof. Dr. Walter Euchner, Institute for Political Science, University of Göttingen, Germany.

Description of project: Based on a systematic comparison of law and special case studies as well as on representative interviews with former members of the “Laender”-Enquete-Commissions the project wanted to find out to what extent the Enquete Commissions are forms of dialogic political consulting. The findings of the study demonstrate that the principles of dialogic political consulting were in fact limited acknowledgement but could not be asserted successfully judged by their members of the “Laender”-Enquete Commission.

Participants: Frank Hampel, Thomas Seidl, Institute for Political Science, University of Göttingen.

13.3 INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH PROJECTS ON LOCAL DEMOCRACY

13.3.1 Title: The Council and the local political agenda (See also: 1.1.2, 3)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Johannes Andersen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.
Description of the project: The purpose of the project is to examine the relationship between citizens, users and political institutions in the council, especially in regard to the development of the local political agenda. Special attention is brought to local government elections, local electoral campaigns and the local voter.

13.3.2 Title: Democracy and regulation in institutions of public governance  
Contact: Lecturer Eva Sørensen, Dept. of Social Science, Roskilde University Centre, Denmark.
Description of project: This is a study of the relationship between democracy and regulation in public institutions with special reference to the development of institutions in the area of schools. A case study of parents’ boards in schools in Copenhagen is part of the investigation. It was completed in 1995.

13.3.3 Title: Governance by objectives as new form of local political governance (See also: 1.1.2)  
Contact: Senior Lecturer Karin Hansen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.
Description of the project: The project focuses on local politicians’ the role of local politicians governance. It investigates problems and potentials in the combination of governance by ends and decentralization to discharging institutions and the users of these institutions with special regard to the possibility of developing a comprehensive and community based political governance at the local level. The project also discusses concepts like political community and citizenship in the modern, plural society and its influence at the local level.

13.3.4 Title: Local Citizenship (See also: 1.1.2)  
Contact: Senior Lecturer Lars Torpe, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.
Description of the project: The purpose of the project is to compare modes of participation in different municipalities in order to understand the meaning of
“locality” for citizenship.

13.3.5 Title: Participation in institutions, empowerment and the personal life
(See also 1.1.2)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Johannes Andersen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and
Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: With reference to experiences from participation in different
institutional contexts in and around the county school the possibilities for
empowerment and development of personal life are examined.

13.3.6 Title: User boards, participation and political learning (See also 1.1.2,
14.2.11)

Contact: Research Fellow Niels Nørgård Kristensen, Dept. of Economics, Politics
and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: The thesis investigates if the new parents’ boards in Danish
schools can operate as a local arena of learning in democracy and as transformers
regarding increasing political participation. The investigation is structured around
qualitative examinations of parents’
committees.

13.3.7 Title: Dimensions of rationality in local politics

Contact: 1st. Amanuensis Synnøve Jønsen, Dept. of Social Science, University of
Tromsø, Norway.

Description of project: The project conducts a study of the budgetary processes in
six municipalities in Northern Norway. The focus is on the political aspects of local
budgeting, with particular emphasis on the ways in which the political institutions
(i.e. the council and the board) cope with budgetary restraints. Do politics matter at
all? Do local politicians exploit the opportunities that exist for independent judgement and choice? How are proposals defended and decisions justified? In short, what kind of rationality is involved here? The project was completed in 1995.

13.3.8 Title: Hierarchy, game or deliberation? Towards new forms of interaction between central and local government?

*Contact:* 1st. Amanuensis Synnøve Jenssen, Dept. of Social Science, University of Tromsø, Norway.

*Description of project:* In conceptualizing the relations between central and local government, two perspectives have prevailed. On the one hand, local government is conceived as an instrument for implementing welfare state policies. This is a distinct top-down or hierarchial perspective. On the other hand, local institutions may also be conceived as autonomous actors - with the implication that there may be a conflict between local independence and central governance. Even though, these perspectives view local democracy differently, they both assume a fundamental lack of consensuses as to the rights and duties of these two levels of government. Due to this, these two perspectives only address the question of how conflicts can be managed or confined, not how they can be resolved in a rational way. An alternative perspective is elaborated, that is a perspective that can conceptualize politics as communicative rather than strategic action. The basic assumption is that the relationship between central and local authorities can be understood as a process of (rational) deliberation.

13.3.9 Title: The modernization of local government and the conditions for local democracy

*Contact:* 1st. Amanuensis Synnøve Jenssen, Dept. of Social Science, University of Tromsø, Norway.

*Description of project:* Norwegian municipalities are well into the process of modernizing and reforming their political systems. The traditional model of representative boards, for example, does not fit the demands of an expanding agenda. “Management”, “efficiency” and other concepts from the private sector have been adopted and business principles of organization seem to be gaining ground. If these reforms are serious efforts to improve the system, what are the
implications for the scope and quality of local democracy? Less attention is paid to local government as politics, that is, as a process of democratic deliberation. Reforms seem to be based on concepts that view political institutions as instruments for aggregation of conflicting preferences, and not as tools for the integration of different values and interests. Empirically, the project will focus on the reforms currently under way in the Scandinavian countries and compare these with changes taking place in the UK. The project will be carried out in 1996 and 1997.

13.3.10 Title: Local Self-government
Contact: Ingemar Elander, Dept. of Political Science, University of Örebo, Sweden.
Description of project: The project focuses on local self-government in an international, comparative perspective. The role of local government between the state and civil society is viewed as important in a democratic context.

13.3.11 Title: The dissolution of the Hamburg city council by the Hamburg constitutional court in 1993 (See also: 8)
Contact: Dr. Jürgen Plöhn, Dept. of Political Science, Martin-Luther University, Germany.
Description of project: The project centred on the first dissolution of a state legislature in Germany after World War II by a law court. It dealt with a conflict among the Hamburg Christian Democrats (1969-1993) and the court's opinion of the standards of inner party democracy in the process of candidate selection.

13.3.12 Title: Improving the qualities of democracies
Contact: Prof. Theo Schiller, Dept. of Political Science, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany.
Description of project: The theoretical approach to the study is rationality and communication in democracy. The empirical focus of the project is democratic innovations in local politics in a European comparative perspective. The project runs in the period 1995-1998.
13.3.13 Title: Investigating committees of German state legislatures as political instruments

Contact: Dr. Jürgen Plöhn, Dept. of Political Science, Martin-Luther University, Germany.

Description of project: PhD project on aspects of political control within the institutional setting of parliamentary democracy in the federal political system of Germany. The study gives the first comprehensive statistical overview on structure and process of investigatory committees on the Länder level, i.e. on the administratively most important level in Germany, dating from 1946 to 1989. Moreover, it provides in-depth case studies of selected committees of state legislatures of Bavaria, Hamburg, Northrhine-Westphalia, and Schleswig-Holstein. It was completed in 1991.

13.3.14 Title: Local Government in England and Wales, 1780-1996: The evidence of two centuries of change

Contact: Jeffrey Stanyer, Dept. of Politics, University of Exeter, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The project deals with local democracy and compares election with other methods of recruitment to public office. The findings are now being written up.
14 TOPIC: THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

Topics and projects of related interest: 1.1.5, 2.3.2-2.3.3, 2.3.5, 6.2.8

14.1 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

14.1.1 Title: Political Differentiation
Contact: Senior Lecturer Henrik Bang, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.
Description of project: The project seeks to articulate a new approach to the study of political differentiation as intrinsic to the shaping of national and local identities in democratic communities.
Participants: Torben Beck Dyrberg, Dept. of Social Science, Roskilde University Centre.

14.1.2 Title: Deliberative Democracy
Contact: Senior Lecturer Henrik Bang, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.
Description of project: The project is on deliberative democracy. It focuses on how communication skills developed within the terrains of personal life could become a model of new discursive practices. The aim of this model of discursive practices is not to reach an agreed judgement but rather to be able to live along with others in relations of mutual tolerance where the vote may be the last resort of dialogue. Such practices are not linked to democratic norms of effectiveness, solidarity, order, stability etc. but rather to the practical recognition and acceptance of difference as the basis of political decision and action on to the more general level.
Participants: Torben Beck Dyrberg, Dept. of Social Science, Roskilde University Centre.
14.1.3 Title: Political Theory and History of Ideas

**Contact:** Prof. Dr. Hans Vorländer, Institute for Political Science, Technical University Dresden, Germany.

**Description of project:** The Chair of Political Theory and History of Ideas conducts research on the topics of democracy and heterogeneity in a comparative perspective. The research includes empirical and theoretical studies in the USA, in Western Europe and in East-Central Europe. It focuses on the problem of social cohesion of liberal democracies.

**Participants:** Ulrike Fischer M.A.; Rainer Schmidt, M.A. both Institute for Political Science, Technical University Dresden.

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14.2 INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH PROJECTS ON THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

14.2.1 Title: Athenian Democracy

**Contact:** Mogens Herman Hansen, The Copenhagen Polis Centre, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

**Description of project:** An ongoing study since 1967 of the ideology and the institutions of the Athenian democracy from its foundation by Kleisthenes in 508/7 and to its dissolution by the Macedonians in 322 BC. It is the world's best known example of direct democracy at state level and, e.g. studies of other forms of assembly democracy, principally the Swiss Landsgemeinden, have helped to reconstruct the function of the Athenian democracy. The comprehensive account of the project is published in “The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes” (Oxford 1991), also available in a French, German and Italian edition.

14.2.2 Title: Critical social and political theory (See also: 1.1.1)

**Contact:** Senior Lecturer Jørn Loftager, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

**Description of project:** The project considers the development in critical social
theory with special reference to the analysis of politics and democracy as part of industrialism. It focuses on policy analysis in a critical theoretical and democratic perspective.

14.2.3 Title: Democratic theories (See also: 1.1.1)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Palle Svensson, Dept. of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Description of project: The research takes its point of departure in questions like; What is the justification for democratic governance? How has democracy been understood at different historical times? In what way is democracy part of political ideologies? The project investigates democratic theory in a historical, analytical and ideological perspective.

14.2.4 Title: Modern Reflexivity and political culture (See also: 1.1.2)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Johannes Andersen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: With the point of departure in the importance of reflexivity and culturalisation in modernity, especially the changing expressions of youth culture, the development of new forms of political culture is examined. The project focuses on how political life is integrated and transformed into manageable and meaningful contexts in relation to a reflective everyday life.

14.2.5 Title: Norm (Standard) and democracy (See also: 1.1.2)

Contact: Senior Lecturer Øjvind Larsen, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, Denmark.

Description of project: The project attempts with the point of departure in political philosophy to determine the problem of developing norms in a modern democratic society.
14.2.6 Title: Political theory (See also: 1.1.4)  
*Contact:* Senior Lecturer Uffe Jacobsen, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, **Denmark.**  
*Description of project:* The main interest of the project is in the area of political theory, conceptual history and history of political thought, particularly in relation to democracy and power.

14.2.7 Title: Radical Plural Democracy  
*Contact:* Torben Beck Dyrberg or Lecturer Jacob Torfing, Dept. of Social Science, Roskilde University Centre, **Denmark.**  
*Description of project:* The project conducts research into postmodern theories of democracy, citizenship and politics.

14.2.8 Title: Postmodern Political Theory (See also: 1.1.2)  
*Contact:* Senior Lecturer Henrik Bang, Dept. of Economics, Politics and Public Administration, Aalborg University, **Denmark.**  
*Description of project:* The project is searching for a new postmodern political theory to stop the modern displacement of the political as "truth", "right", "order" and "subordination". The displacement of the political as "truth", "right", "order" and "subordination" hinders rather than furthers the development of self-governance and popular sovereignty and thereby the formation of a balanced relationship of autonomy and dependence between political leaders and lay-actors.

14.2.9 Title: Democracy and multi cultural society  
*Contact:* Mats Lundström, Dept. of Political Science, Uppsala University, **Sweden.**  
*Description of project:* Why should people with different cultural identities and moral values be subject to common democratic institutions? The nation-state has historically been the "natural" community in which democratic institutions have evolved. Consequently, theories of democracy have taken this contextual prerequisite for granted. There is, however, a "lacuna" in theories of democracy. Generally speaking, theories of democracy have focused on the procedures of democracy - not
its context. The context of democracy is decided by the answers to two questions. 
1. By what criteria should one delineate the demos of democracy? 2. By what 
criteria should one delineate the agenda of democracy? These two interrelated 
questions concern the proper range of democratic decisions. They deal with the 
limits of political and moral neutrality of democratic institutions. The purpose of this 
project is to investigate and analyse different normative principles that can 
legitimate democracy in a multicultural society. It focuses particularly on the 
discussion between liberals and communitarians.

14.2.10 Title: Individual, Religion and Politics
Contact: Magnus Hagevi, Dept. of Political Science, University of Göteborg, 
Sweden.
Description of project: The project discusses the connection between religious and 
political believes.

14.2.11 Title: The Learning of Democracy (See also: 13.3.6)
Contact: Prof. Dr. Sibylle Reinhardt, Institut für Politische Wissenschaft, Martin 
Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany.
Description of project: The project is concerned with political learning and the 
didactics of political learning. It questions which qualifications do citizens need? 
What are the aims of political education? Which are the didactic principles in 
teaching and learning for democracy? Which methods are used in teaching suitably 
for democracy?

14.2.12 Title: Theories of Democracy
Contact: Prof. Dr. Manfred G. Schmidt, Institut für Politische Wissenschaft, der 
Universität Heidelberg, Germany.
Description of project: The project focuses attention on two related topics. 1. A 
comparative evaluation of ancient and modern theories of democracies from the 
Aristotelian school of thought to the most advanced comparative theories of 
democracies, such as Lijphart’s contribution. 2. A comparative evaluation of the
practice of democracy in different types of constitutional democracies with a major emphasis on a more detailed study of the relationship between democratic structures and the nature of policy output.

14.2.13 Title: Democracy and education

Contact: Prof. Gerraint Parry, Dept. of Government, University of Manchester, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The project “democracy and education” is part of a study of education and political thought.

14.2.14 Title: Marxism and Democracy.

Contact: Prof. John Hoffman, Dept. of Politics, University of Leicester, United Kingdom.

Description of project: This project involves an analysis of the question of Marxism in relation to the collapse of the Communist party states and the problem of democracy as a static and a post-statist concept in Marxist theory. The project is completed.

14.2.15 Title: Natural Law and the Good Polity

Contact: Research Fellow Søren Hviid Pedersen, Dept. of Government, University of Essex, United Kingdom.

Description of project: The project contains a discussion of the relationship between values and democracy. The point of departure is a natural law approach and how this relates to the concept of democracy. The thesis is split in two parts. The first part focuses on classical exponents for natural law theory which includes Thomas Aquinas, Hobbes, Pufendorf, Locke and Rousseau. Their different normative theories are found wanting and a reconstruction of natural law theory is needed. The second part tries to reformulate a natural law theory which can accommodate the new insights of modern philosophy, especially the possibility of an a posteriori essentialism. The reconstructed natural law theory is then contrasted with the theory of radical democracy (Barber and Habermas), the communitarian approach.
(MacIntyre) and lastly to liberalism (Rawls, Rorty, Raz and Kymlicka). The conclusion is that natural law theory can be used as a legitimation of radical democracy. Radical democracy is seen as the epistemological condition for the discovery of the good life and human perfection. To be completed early 1996.

14.2.16 Title: Relationship of nationalism and democracy.
Contact: Dr. J.J. Schwartzmantel, Dept. of Politics, University of Leeds, United Kingdom.
Description of project: The project discusses whether nationalism is conducive to establishment and maintenance of democratic society, or undermines the conditions for democracy.

14.2.17 Title: Sovereignty.
Contact: Prof. John Hoffman, Dept. of Politics, University of Leicester, United Kingdom.
Description of project: John Hoffman is currently working on the question of sovereignty in a way which links it to feminism, democracy and postmodernism. He is going to publish a book on sovereignty as part of the Concepts of the Social Sciences Series published by the Open University Press in Britain.

14.2.18 Title: Theories of Democracy
Contact: Anthony Arblaster, Dept. of Politics, The University of Sheffield, United Kingdom.
Description of project: The project investigates the history of both theory and practice of democracy. It analyses the gap between the ideal democracy and the limited democracy in Western democracies today.
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**TOPIC: DEMOCRACY IN GENERAL**


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**TOPIC: THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY**


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