

# Swedish Research in Political Science

*Evaluators:*

*Göran Hydén*

*Ellen Immergut*

*Arild Underdal*

*Historical Chapter:*

*Olof Ruin*

*The Swedish University System:*

*Bo Öhngren*

Swedish Research in Political Science

Vetenskapsrådet  
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# Preface

Scientific results are continuously scrutinised in the research community. Usually the reviews concern individual scholars and research projects. During the last two decades, however, there has been a growing concern in Sweden, both within and outside the university system, to establish a more comprehensive overview of the state of the art of Swedish research in an international perspective.

The main task of the *Swedish Research Council* (VR), established in January 2000, is to stimulate basic research within its broad field of responsibility. However, according to its charter, the Council is also to evaluate research and to do so on a yearly basis when reviewing research applications. In the field of humanities and social sciences, rather extensive evaluations of whole academic disciplines have been undertaken since 1985. This work now continues within the new organisation, and is monitored by the Expert Council for Humanities and Social Sciences. The disciplines evaluated so far include sociology, history, psychology, economics, linguistics, education, literature, human geography and Nordic languages. According to the Council the evaluators should be distinguished scholars chosen from research communities outside of Sweden.

The Swedish Research Council is very pleased to have been able to recruit a very prominent group of scholars as evaluators of political science: Professors Göran Hydén, University of Florida, Ellen Immergut, University of Konstanz and Arild Underdal, University of Oslo. Professor emeritus Olof Ruin has been recruited to write the historical chapter and act as a liaison to the research community. Co-ordinator of the evaluation has been Dr Bo Öhngren at the Council. As the Secretary General of the Expert Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, I would like on behalf of the Council to thank them all for their devoted work.

A vital part of the evaluation activities is the site visits. They can be of great importance for the evaluators as well as for the evaluated researchers. In this case the site visits proved to be very instructive and stimulating, partly because of the inspiring discussions provided by the evaluators, partly because of the important ground work done by the contact persons at each department. I would like to convey warm thanks to these contact persons for their effort to give the evaluation a good start.

*Bengt Hansson*

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# Members of the Evaluation Committee

**Göran Hydén** is Distinguished University Professor in Political Science at the University of Florida. He got his Ph.D. from the University of Lund in 1968 and then taught at the Universities of Makerere, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in East Africa. After seven years with the Ford Foundation, based in Nairobi, Kenya, he was offered the position of Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida in 1986. His major fields of interest are Comparative Politics and Public Administration with a special focus on developing countries.

**Ellen M. Immergut** grew up in New York, and received her Ph.D. from Harvard University. She was Assistant and Associate Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1987-1994, and since that time, has been Professor of Political Theory at the University of Konstanz. She has held appointments as Visiting Professor at the Instituto Juan March in Madrid, and the European University Institute in Florence, and served as Program Chair for the Politics and History Section and on the Executive Committee of the Section on Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association. Her research interests are in the areas of Comparative Politics with a focus on European Politics, Institutional Theory, and Public Policy, especially Health and Social Policy.

**Arild Underdal** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Oslo, and from 2002 Rector of the University of Oslo. He has previously served as Professor of Decision-Making Behaviour at the Norwegian School of Management (1986-87), and Adjunct Professor at the Center for International Climate and Environmental Research (1991-92; 1997-2000). His main fields of research are international cooperation and international institutions, with particular reference to environmental management. He currently chairs the scientific committee of the International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change (IHDP).

*Author of historical chapter*

**Olof Ruin** is Lars Hierta professor of Government Emeritus at Stockholm University. He took his Ph.D. at the University of Lund. He has held visiting professorship at American Universities and has also been a member of the executive committee of the European Consortium for Political Research as well of International Political Association. He is a former Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm University and a former Deputy Chancellor of the Swedish Universities and Colleges. Furthermore he has served as chairman both of The Council for Research in Humanities and Social Sciences and The Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education.



# Introduction



# Introduction

*Göran Hydén, Ellen Immergut and Arild Underdal*

This is the first systematic evaluation of the discipline of political science in Sweden. Against a background account of the evolution of the discipline in the country, it provides a state-of-the-art profile of the subject as we enter the new century. Based on careful reading of publications submitted by each member of department at eight universities, interviews, and comments on a first draft, this report examines issues of relevance to individual departments, as well as the political science community at large and those, like the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet), who take an interest in the state of the discipline. More specifically, it addresses the following questions:

- How does Swedish political science at large fare in a comparative perspective?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of its main fields and departments?
- How do departments rank amongst one another?
- What are the major challenges to political science research in Sweden?
- What can or should be done to improve Swedish political science research in the future?

The rest of this introductory chapter will provide a brief discussion of political science as a social science discipline, its place in Swedish public and academic life, the organization of this evaluation, criteria used for assessing performance, and the structure of this report.

## *The study of politics*

The study of politics originally emerged from philosophy and law. No one disputed its normative content; it was deliberately prescriptive. Even Machiavelli, who may be credited for having been the first to state explicitly the existence of regularities or ‘laws’ in political behavior, did so in a rhetorical rather than a scientific fashion. The idea that the study of politics can be “scientific” is a much more recent assumption. It stems from the influence that positivism—broadly understood as the idea that object and subject in research, like facts and values, can and should be separated—began to have in the social sciences in the 1930s and onwards. Those who subscribed to a positivist epistemology

were often inspired by the ideals and achievements of the natural sciences. They envisaged a discipline based on a common theoretical core consisting of law-like propositions, and prescribed methodological approaches emphasizing logical rigor, systematic (quantitative) measurement and extensive (large-N) research designs. There can be no doubt that this 'movement' had a profound influence on the discipline, particularly in the US. It also generated a considerable amount of cutting-edge research. It is, however, equally clear that its epistemological stance has been and still very much is the subject of strong and articulate criticism by social scientists who emphasize the inherent reflexivity of human behavior and call for different methodological approaches. Some 'skeptics' argue that one important task is to 'unmask' the intellectual scaffolding that surrounds each project. This 'deconstructivist' approach to the study of social phenomena has had an important influence on the discipline in the last two decades, especially in Europe. Even a cursory reading of current political science literature would suffice to demonstrate that there is no general and precise consensus about what kind(s) of knowledge the discipline can or should aim for, nor about the most effective methodological strategies for producing such knowledge.

The fact that such fundamental questions are actively debated within the discipline itself poses a substantial challenge to an evaluation of this kind. No evaluation is possible without some conception of what is 'good' and what is 'bad'; there is no such thing as a criteria-free evaluation. We have tried to examine the literature produced by Swedish political scientists in an ecumenical spirit and with an open mind to different approaches, but we make no claim of standing above the controversies within the discipline itself. Clearly, our own ideas of what constitutes 'good' political science research informs this report. Our brief from the Swedish Research Council contains an invitation to be frank and ready to pinpoint strengths and weaknesses, the 'good' as well as the 'bad'. We have wanted to respond to that challenge, and the only way we could do so was by applying a set of criteria that we believe are central and broadly (though not universally) accepted. Being aware of the sensitivity of this task, we have endeavored to communicate our evaluative comments in as constructive a way as possible.

## *The study of politics in Sweden*

With the exception of a few countries that still adhere to a totalitarian system of rule, political science research is undertaken in all corners of the world. This

does not mean, however, that contributions are evenly distributed. American influence on the shape of the discipline has been much greater than contributions from other places, especially in the past fifty years. At least two reasons account for this American 'hegemony' in the discipline. One is the mere size of the academic community in the United States; the second is the competitive and entrepreneurial climate of American academic life.

Both these factors pose challenges to members of the discipline in a small country like Sweden. Even though an increasing number of textbooks used in teaching political science have been authored by Swedes—typically in Swedish—it is difficult to get around the American influences. Intellectual ideas and values know no national boundaries. Moreover, writing a book on a given topic requires familiarity with what others have had to say on the subject. Many of the most influential figures are American scholars. This dominance may have been somewhat tempered by the emergence of a stronger European community of political scientists in the past thirty years, but the latter has only marginally changed the scene. Because Swedish political scientists are largely locked into reading and writing in English, influences from German, French or Italian political science are transmitted largely through Anglo-Saxon intermediaries. It is no coincidence, therefore, that apart from American (and Swedish) scholars, the majority of references in Swedish publications are to British colleagues. It may be no exaggeration to say that political science research in a small country like Sweden is bound to exist in the shadow of what is going on in the world's leading academic environments. Ongoing globalization through new information and communication technology is only likely to reinforce this center-periphery relationship.

This raises the important question of what would be the appropriate international 'benchmarks' against which to compare Swedish political science research. In this report we have decided to use the other Scandinavian countries, and to some extent Europe at large, as benchmarks. Some might ask why we have not 'matched' Swedish departments against their very best American counterparts. The reason is simple: the resource endowments and other circumstances are so different that one cannot expect a Scandinavian political science department to compete with, say, Harvard or Yale. Harvard recruits faculty (and students) from the world, Swedish universities from a pool of about 9 million Swedes, and some mainly from their own small region. Moreover, Harvard's resource endowments dwarf those of any Scandinavian university. Individual small country scholars may well rise to world class format, but the Scandinavian countries do not provide a congenial setting for departments to achieve such status. We believe a comparison with 'similar' environments is fairer and also more useful. The criti-

cal question is not whether Uppsala or Lund can beat Harvard or Princeton, but whether each of them performs as well as exogenous ‘circumstances’ permit.

The center-periphery relationship also constitutes a major challenge to those members of the research community who believe that they can develop a distinct ‘Swedish’ political science. How far is that a realistic aim, and what would it take to achieve it? Olof Ruin traces the evolution of Swedish political science in Chapter Two. We believe that three points that he makes are especially relevant here. The first is that the expansion of the discipline, both at student and faculty level, has created frictions within the existing organization of the Swedish university system. The second is that Swedish political science has been quite tightly associated with the interests and activities of the state. The third is that the Swedish academic career system has allowed little or no mobility and competition within the discipline. This evaluation examines these issues, discusses their significance to the discipline at present and for the future, and offers conclusions and recommendations for consideration by the readers of our report.

## *Organization of the evaluation*

It is necessary to make clear what the scope and nature of this evaluation are. It is focused on the political science community at large and departments—or the section of a broader social science department—in universities. Because of the recent growth of the discipline at university college level, references are made to the presence of political science in these institutions as well as some other places like the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, where political science research is conducted on an ongoing basis. Because political science research is increasingly trans-disciplinary, there are institutional ‘off-shoots’, such as centers for conflict and peace research or development research. We have not included the work by researchers in those places, although some may argue that they deserve to have been included. In no instance are we evaluating and ranking individuals. At the same time, in order to make the report more concrete and precise, we do make references for illustrative purposes to the contributions made by individual researchers to their department, sub-field, or the discipline at large. These references are inevitably discretionary and based on our assessment of the significance of the work by these individuals for backing up the particular point at hand. Thus, a reference to a particular individual or a particular publication does not necessarily imply that we consider this individual or publication ‘better’ than one that is not mentioned; in many

cases, all we want to say is it *exemplifies* a particular type of research or contribution.

In writing this report we have relied on the following data and information:

- Publications by each faculty member and doctoral dissertations from each department;
- Bibliometrical indicators;
- Departmental documents highlighting ongoing research not covered by existing publications;
- Interviews and site visits to each department as well as the annual meeting of the Swedish Political Science Association (Statsvetarförbundet);
- Feedback obtained from a discussion by select members of the discipline of a first draft of this document.

Each department is made up of individual researchers. Their work helps shape the profile and orientation of the department. The Swedish Research Council (The Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR) at that time) laid the foundation for this exercise by asking faculty members to submit three publications each—books, articles, or reports published between 1993 and 1999. Doctoral dissertations defended during this period were also included in the list of publications submitted to the evaluators. The only university not included was Linköping, because there is no department of political science, and (at that time) not even a section within another department. It is important to stress that reading and evaluating these publications constitute a very significant part of our overall opinion of each department and sub-field. Although it was the most time-consuming aspect of the evaluation, we wish to point out that between ourselves we read all these documents and cross-checked our respective opinions before putting them into print. Yet, what we have to say about them is inevitably subjective in the sense that it is our assessment. Such is the nature of peer review.

To allow ourselves a check on our own views of the works that we read, we did, however, decide to do a systematic analysis of the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) publication and citation records, an often-used source of determining the extent to which publications by individual scholars have influence over what others consider to be important contributions to the discipline or the sub-field. We recognize that these bibliometrical indicators have limitations and must be used cautiously, but we also believe that they constitute the sole comparative source of information regarding the value of work by individual scholars. (For a summary discussion of the usage of these indicators, see

Appendix 1 of this report). In this report, we have used these indicators primarily to get a sense of how many faculty members in each department get cited and which Swedish political scientists appear to have the greatest recognition among peers. This information helps us understand the overall status of each department within the national and international research community.

While peer review has been the most important component of our evaluation, we have engaged in consultation and dialogue with the departments in order to enable us to better understand what their objectives and strategies are, what new research initiatives faculty members have taken, and what changes in the ranks of faculty may have taken place since 1999. During year 2000 we paid a visit to all the eight departments that constitute the core units of this evaluation<sup>1</sup>. These visits provided us with additional information that we have considered in our overall evaluation of each department and field. For example, valuable information about finances, recruitment of doctoral students, and gender distribution at student and faculty level was obtained during these visits. Discussions with faculty members and doctoral students also enabled us to get a fuller opinion of the department as a functioning unit. For example, our opinion on the leadership, intellectual organization, and faculty interaction among themselves and with doctoral students was formed in large part during these visits. We also drew upon pieces of information that each of us had collected from previous contacts. It goes without saying that this is a poor substitute for systematic, in-depth study. Yet, we believe that what we say below about each department is in most, if not all, respects, the way they come across to a visiting outside team. We also recognize that because we conducted our site visits during year 2000, the information we collected then does not cover the entire time period for which publications were submitted. Moreover, in some cases significant changes have occurred in faculty over this period. Our rule of thumb has been to focus our *assessment* on the present rather than the past. Accordingly, for example, in our ranking of departments, a faculty member who has moved from one department to another will now be counted in his or her *new* location.

We should add here that we had the opportunity to attend the annual meeting of the Swedish Political Science Association in Örebro, 8–10 October, 2000. This occasion gave us a chance to interact with and interview participants, solicit the views of the Board of the Association, as well as obtain a sense of the

<sup>1</sup> These departments are at the universities of Göteborg, Karlstad, Lund, Stockholm, Umeå, Uppsala, Växjö, and Örebro. We also had briefer meetings in Stockholm with representatives of Linköping University, Södertörn University College, and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs.

professional activities at the single most important gathering of political scientists in Sweden.

Lastly, we would like to mention that we have benefited from the comments that we received on a first and preliminary draft of this report at a meeting held at Arlanda Airport on 29 March, 2001. In addition to receiving comments to enable us to correct factual mistakes in our draft, we appreciated the broad range of comments—some quite critical—that we received from those present, as well as the new substantive issues that were raised in the course of discussion that day.

## *Criteria of evaluation*

Our mandate asks us to evaluate *research*. We have not examined the teaching activities of departments except for the training of doctoral students because it is an integral part of the research enterprise of each university. In forming our opinion of each department we have looked at the following four *academic* criteria:

- *Scope* of political science research, as indicated in existing publications and proposed or ongoing projects;
- *Quality* of research as manifest in the same sources as well as in recognition by the national and international research community;
- *Relevance* of research to public discourse and to policy-making and problem-solving;
- *Strength* of graduate education programs.

The first of these criteria gives us a sense of the width of political science research in Sweden at large and within individual departments. It helps us understand not only what the main foci in Swedish political science research are, but also what the gaps are. In determining this, we have followed a conventional approach to how the discipline is organized into sub-disciplines or fields. We do recognize that the cake may be sliced in different ways, but we found this particular division useful for our purposes. In addition to the conventional main sub-disciplines, we have examined two cross-cutting fields that have seen a remarkable growth in Sweden over the past decade or so: gender and politics, and European politics. We try to assess each field primarily in terms of international state of the art research in the same field, but also in terms of interaction and cross-fertilization with other fields of political science. While, we do realize that achieving some degree of ‘independence’ may well be important for the development of a particular field, we firmly believe that

for the discipline at large it is critical to find a productive balance between specialization and integration.

In using the second criterion in our evaluation we draw on the methods discussed above: peer review of publications, and bibliometrical information available for each faculty member. In order to assess the *quality* of the research, we have relied on indicators that we view as universal, even if difficult to measure unambiguously:

- How convincing is the research in terms of design, methodology, data collection, analysis and interpretation?
- Does it make a contribution to the accumulation of knowledge, in particular theory-building, in political science, and, if so, how significant is that contribution?
- Is the research contribution effectively disseminated through placement in international peer-reviewed journals and academic presses, and effectively communicated both stylistically and graphically?

Consequently, we privilege work that is theoretically oriented over work that is primarily descriptive or more applied, and work that has been internationally recognized over work that has a more limited national or sub-disciplinary audience. Nevertheless, we wish to emphasize here that we have tried our best to read, understand and appreciate each publication in terms of what the author see as its main purpose.

The relevance criterion is important because research should have a utility value not just for the academic community but also for society at large. As Ruin shows in the next chapter, there is a long and honorable tradition in Swedish political science of serving public life in various ways. Measures include doing research that has a practical value to specific client groups or institutions, participating in public review commissions, writing articles on the opinion page of major newspapers, and serving, while on leave, in public office. In this report, we have paid attention primarily to the first two of these measures, since they are most closely related to the task at hand. In other words, we have examined publications that may have originated as part of a public review assignment in addition to those initiated as applied research by an individual faculty member.

The strength of *the graduate education program* in each department has been assessed in terms of the following criteria. The first concerns its intellectual *scope*. By this we mean the extent to which doctoral students are systematically exposed to a range of political science sub-disciplines or fields during their training. We emphasize the value of broad and integrative training, believing that

such training will enable doctoral students to engage in productive exchange or collaboration with other political scientists, regardless of specialization. The second criterion is the *depth* of the program. Here we refer to the fact that specialization is necessary in order to build communities of scholars that can take the discipline forward. Intensive and focused intellectual interaction around a more limited set of issues is required to reach research frontiers. The third criterion is the *integrity* of the program. This refers to the extent to which graduate training is able to strike a balance between the generalist and specialist aspirations of the discipline. Being exposed to only a single field or intellectual orientation is evidence of fragmentation and is, in our view, not as useful as having exposure on a regular basis to more than one. The fourth criterion is the level of *professionalism* evident in the program, especially in the methodological training of graduate students. Although we do see important merits in the ‘apprenticeship’ role of the doctoral student in his or her relationship with the principal advisor, such ad hoc exposure to what political science is all about is not enough. Given the complexity and diversity of both substance and methods in the discipline, it is important that departments are able to offer, on their own or in collaboration with others, a more coherent set of seminars or courses that give the students a sense of what the full ‘tool-box’ of political science research is made up of.

In addition to these academic criteria, we have also looked at each department in terms of its ability to provide a congenial climate or atmosphere for research—an aspect that studies emphasize as a critical determinant of performance. Four criteria have been of special importance to us. The first is the quality of *leadership*. We have been less concerned about who exercises departmental leadership. Sometimes the senior professor does; in other cases, it may be the *prefekt*; in yet others, the leadership may be shared by both. What is important is that faculty members experience a sense of direction and are motivated to perform well. The second criterion is *collegiality*. We believe that internal cooperation among faculty is an important manifestation of a good department. Like good leadership, we believe it contributes to greater productivity both at individual and departmental levels. The third criterion is mechanisms of *quality control and social learning* (e.g. self-evaluation). We believe that strong departments are those that learn from their own experience, whether positive or negative, and can take remedial measures to improve its performance. The more such measures stem from an internal evaluation by the department itself, the more likely it is to be taken seriously and implemented. The fourth criterion is *ability to raise external funds*. This ability is a measure not only of how good specific research projects are in the eyes of peer evaluators, e.g. in evaluation committees

of research-funding agencies, but also of how much extra funding is generated to support additional faculty members or doctoral students. The standard norm in the Swedish university system is that external funding should make up one third of each department's budget, internal funding for undergraduate education and research and graduate education respectively making up the other two thirds. That is an ambitious target, but one we consider acceptable as a rule of thumb. That said, we have to recognize that the *need* for external funding to some degree depends on type of project (for example, large surveys are relatively expensive), and that it tends to be easier to raise funding for certain types of research (e.g. applied research in priority sectors) than for others (e.g. classical political theory). By implication, success in fund-raising cannot be considered a reliable indicator of research quality, at least not without controlling for field and type of research.

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to say a couple of words about how we have used the second set of criteria in comparison with the academic criteria. The latter have clearly been the most important in our mind. Taken together, the former do, however, provide important clues for determining the capacity or success of a department to "get the most out of" its faculty. In comparing departments this set of criteria has therefore sometimes made the difference. We would also like to make a comment on the way we have used the English language. We have not always found it easy to standardize our individual impressions into a set of phrases that apply across the board. Nonetheless, our rule has been to use Scandinavian 'caution' rather than American 'effusiveness'. By implication, we have used superlatives only sparingly in places where we believe exceptional praise is really warranted. Conversely, we have been cautious in expressing negative verdicts.

## *Organization of the report*

Following this introductory chapter are two background chapters, both written by persons who are not part of the evaluation team. These chapters are consequently accompanied by the name of the author. The first, Chapter Two, "The development of Swedish Political science", by Olof Ruin, presents a historical overview of the development of Swedish political science. Being emeritus with a long career as a prominent member of the discipline, he is particularly well placed to provide a historical perspective that none of the members of the team could do. Chapter Three, "Political Science in the context of the Swedish university system", is written by Bo Öhngren, a senior program officer at the

Swedish Research Council. He provides us with an overview of the Swedish university system, making it possible for the reader to understand the broader institutional context in which political science operates in Sweden.

Our own evaluation is presented in three chapters. Chapter Four, "Departments and groups", examines each department or cluster of political science wherever no department proper exists. Chapter Five, "Disciplinary Fields", is a review of the major political science sub-disciplines or fields, assessing the state of the art from a national perspective. There is inevitably some overlap in the coverage of these two chapters, but we believe that looking at the discipline from both a departmental and a field perspective allows us to make a more effective assessment. Chapter Six contains our overall evaluation of Swedish political science, focusing on what we see as strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats. It sets Swedish political science in an international perspective and also takes up the challenges lying ahead.

Our main recommendations, supplied in bullet form, are summarized in Chapter Seven and addressed to various actors: departments, the Swedish political science community at large, and the agencies, such as the Swedish Research Council, that oversee and monitor performance in Swedish academic institutions. A list of all publications submitted to the evaluation team for consideration is contained in Appendix 2.



# Background



# The development of Swedish political science

*Olof Ruin, Lars Hierta Professor of Government Emeritus*

Political science in Sweden has a uniquely long history as an independent university discipline. In a formal sense this history began as early as 1622 when a chair, “The Johan Skytte Professorship of Discourse and Politics”, was established at the University of Uppsala. During more than two hundred years the scholars holding this chair, however, concentrated primarily on the study of eloquence and Latin. Therefore, in a more real sense the very start in Sweden of academic studies in politics occurred when Wilhelm Erik Svedelius, the holder of the chair during 1862–1881, in his teaching and research explicitly dealt with constitutional history and constitutional law. Since then in one sense or another, all the Skytte professors have been oriented towards the study of politics. In a comparative perspective, a birth of political science teaching and research in the 1860s rather than in the 1620s still constitutes a very early birth.

Gradually political science as an independent university discipline was established also at the other main Swedish universities. This spread is marked by the dates of researchers taking office of chairs, devoted to the study of politics. At the University of Lund a historian, Martin Weibull, received a chair in “political science and history” in 1877; he was succeeded by Pontus Fahlbeck who altogether can be classified as a political scientist. This chair in Lund was in 1902 renamed to be in “political science and statistics” and in 1926, finally, solely in “political science”. At the University of Göteborg Rudolf Kjellén, an internationally well-known representative of the geopolitics tradition, received a chair in “political science and statistics” in 1901; statistics as part of the title of the chair was deleted as late as 1952, although the holders of the chair had already previously concentrated on the study of politics. At Stockholm University finally in 1935 Herbert Tingsten, became the holder of a new chair exclusively devoted to the study of politics, “The Lars Hierta professorship of Government”.

Before the Second World War political science as an independent university subject was well established at all the universities existing in Sweden at that time. Four chairs existed. The holders of these chairs, besides Herbert Tingsten in Stockholm, were Georg Andrén in Göteborg, Axel Bruswitz in Uppsala and

Fredrik Lagerroth in Lund, all scholarly prominent and with distinctive research profiles of their own.

One more sign of the fairly early establishment of political science in Swedish academia is that a scholarly periodical, *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift*, exclusively oriented towards this discipline, began to appear already at the end of the 19th century. This review has continued to appear thereafter—in principle with four issues yearly—always published in Lund and supported by a special foundation, The Fahlbeck Foundation.

After the Second World War Swedish political science, as social sciences generally both in Sweden and many other countries, expanded and changed in many different ways. An illustration of this will be given in terms of 1) the quantitative development, 2) the trends in research, 3) the relations with Swedish society and finally 4) the relations with the international political science community.

## *The quantitative development*

The quantitative expansion of Swedish political science during the latter part of the 20th century manifested itself in different dimensions.

One dimension is the *increasing number of institutions and places* in the country where the subject came to be represented. These new institutions and places were part of the expansion generally of academic teaching and research in the country during the latter part of the 20th century. Six new universities were added to the four already existing, namely Umeå University in the 1960s, Linköping University in the 1970s and finally universities in Luleå, Karlstad, Växjö and Örebro in the 1990s. The last four were given explicit university status after having earlier been classified as “university colleges”. At the end of the century there were, besides these ten universities, altogether approximately forty other centres for higher education.

Political science is today represented not only at all the nine universities but also at a number of those other centres for higher education. These in turn can be divided into three groups: university colleges, other publicly financed institutes and finally those that are independent of public authorities (think tanks of different kinds). The distinction between the two former groups depends on whether the institute in question is organised under the Ministry of Education or not; all the university colleges are subordinate to this ministry. Research and teaching in political science are combined not only at the universities but also at many of the university colleges. Of course it is always difficult to define what

is to be classified as “academic research and teaching” in politics, what not. One definition is to say that such an activity is to be pursued by people who at least have a Ph.D. in political science.

At the universities political science teaching and research has as a rule been pursued in departments solely concentrated on this very discipline; the tendency to organize university life in fairly autonomous departments corresponding to specific disciplines grew in strength during the first post-war decade. At the university colleges, on the other hand, the study of politics is often part of fairly large departments containing one or several social science fields. Presently a dozen of the university colleges have political science in their program.

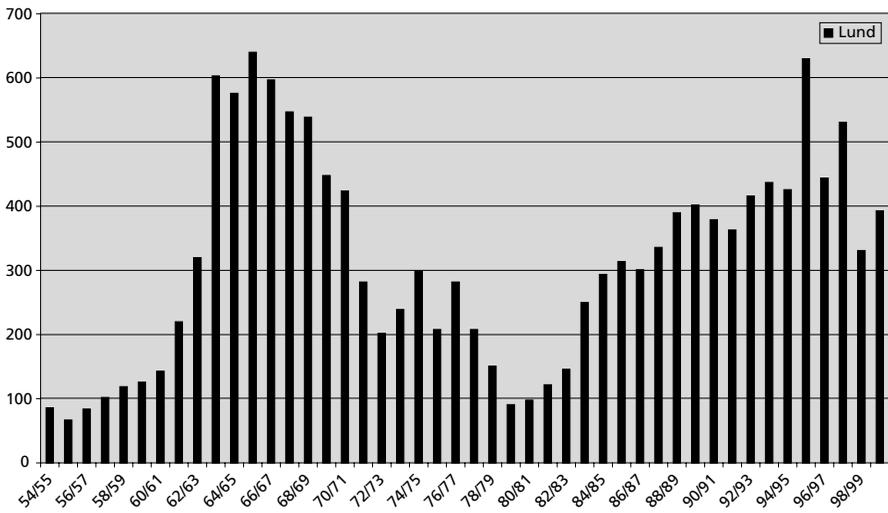
Finally, there are also institutions outside universities and university colleges where political science is represented. In these cases it is mostly a question of research only, not teaching. As to publicly supported institutions of this kind the most important ones are *The Institute of International Affairs* (UI) and *The Defense Research Establishment* (FoA), both located in Stockholm. As to research institutes, solely dependent on private money—a form of think tanks—the most important one is the *Centre for Business and Policy Studies* (SNS), likewise located in Stockholm.

Another dimension of the expansion of Swedish political science in the latter part of the 20th century is the *number of students* enrolled in the study of politics. From 1963/64 onwards there is information available as to the number of students registered at all institutions of higher education where political science has been taught; up to the year 1984/85 this information is flawed by some inconsistencies but thereafter it can be regarded as accurate. At one single political science department, the Lund political science department, however there exist data from as early as 1954/55 up to the present time. This means a time span of forty-five years. These data, presented in Table 1, cover students who are registered for their first term of undergraduate teaching.

Two interesting observations emerge from this table. The first is the rapid growth of enrollment of first-year political science students—a quadruple increase from the mid-1950s to the late 1990s. The second is the irregularity in the enrollment pattern. An initial peak was reached in 1966/67 when the Department in Lund registered no less than 650 first-year students—Stockholm exceeding 800 at the same time. The total number of students studying political science that academic year was as high as 4500. As a result, political science was the second largest discipline in the Swedish university system. This figure should be compared with the situation fifteen years later, when the bottom was reached. In Lund only a hundred first-year students registered in political science that time.

Figure 1

Number of first term students enrolled at the Lund Political Science department 1954/55–1998/99

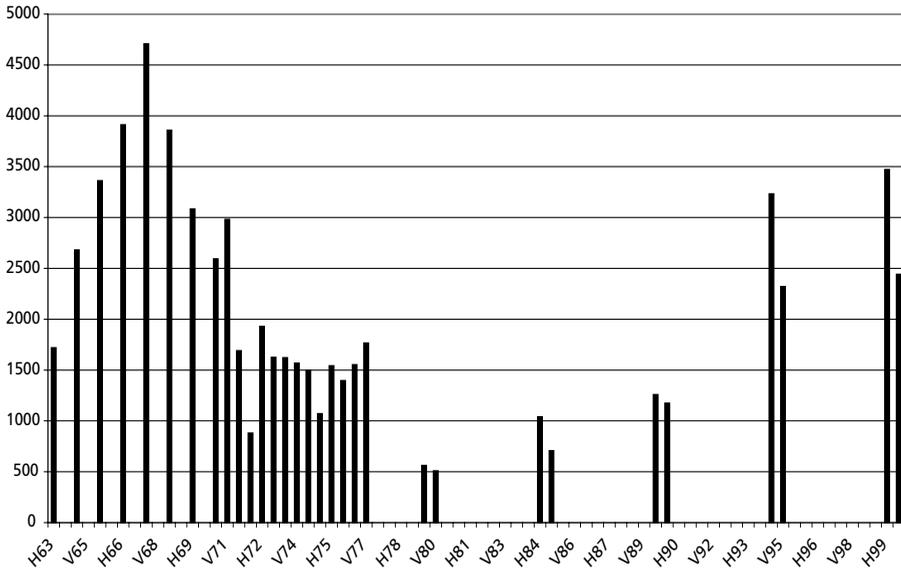


The growth over time of students enrolled in political science is more or less parallel with the growth generally in academic studies during these decades, in Sweden as well as in most other similar countries. The jerkiness on the other hand in this growth pattern is due to a series of specific circumstances. The entry into undergraduate studies was not only unrestricted through the 1960s, which in principle affected all fields in the humanities and social sciences, but on top of this the very field of political science came to enjoy particular popularity due to university courses given via the public broadcasting system. However, in the 1970s there were not only general restrictions on studies in humanities and social sciences but a new system of organizing undergraduate studies was likewise introduced, which particularly came to affect studies in political science negatively. The decline in number of students registered was dramatic.

From the middle of the 1980s the enrollment of new students in the field of political science was roughly parallel with tendencies in the social sciences generally. This development, as well as the development from the year 1963/64 when we first have statistics available concerning all political science students in the country, is shown in Figure 2. It covers undergraduates on all levels up to those who have studied the subject four terms.

*Figure 2*

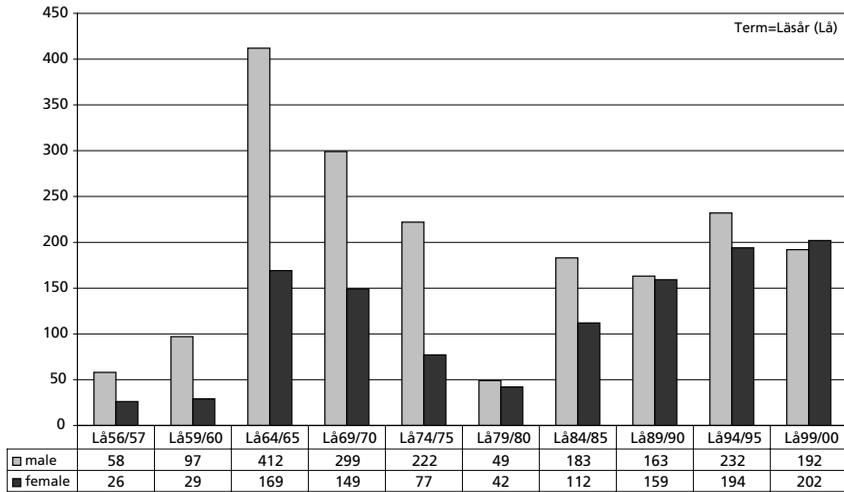
Total number of undergraduate students in political science (from 1 to 80 points) 1963–1999



In the first post-war decades the political science student body was dominated by male students. The development as to the relation between the sexes is shown in Figure 3; it covers however only first term students enrolled at the Lund Political Science department. A rough balance as to these relations was obtained in Lund in the latter part of 1980s. At the end of the 1990s a dramatic shift in this balance seems to have occurred in the political science field as a whole in the country. Now it was the turn of the female students clearly to outnumber the male students. They had remained somewhat underrepresented at the advanced course level but seem also in the 1990s to have obtained more or less equality with the men. For a long time the number of women applying for doctoral studies in political science remained lower than men, but at the end of the century almost half of those admitted to doctoral studies were female.

Figure 3

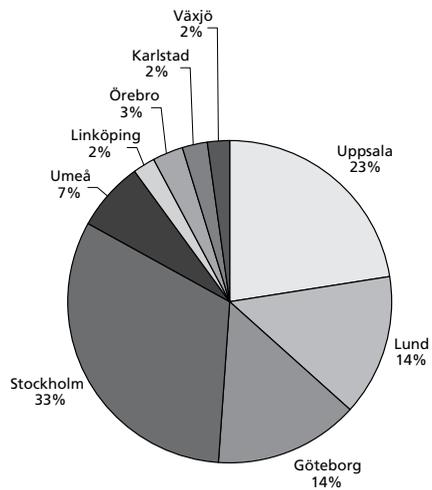
Total number of first term students enrolled at the Lund Political Science department 1956/57–1999/2000. Female and male students.



Through the latter part of the 20th century the four oldest political science departments—those in Göteborg, Lund, Stockholm and Uppsala—remained the largest ones in terms of students enrolled, although the teaching of political science gradually spread to many new institutions across the country. In Figure 4 this dominance of the four oldest departments is illustrated. In the fall of 1967, when a peak in student enrollment occurred, 84% of all the students were registered at these four departments, the largest being those in Stockholm and Uppsala.

Figure 4

Total number of political science undergraduate students registered at nine institutions.



The expansion of political science in the latter part of the 20th century is of course also reflected in the *number of faculty* involved in teaching and research. The data available as to this growth are less precise than those concerning student enrollment. The political science faculty, as well as faculty generally in Swedish academia, has consisted of several different categories. The most important ones have been those classified as “professors” and “university lecturers” respectively. The former have mainly been involved in research and supervision of graduate students, the latter in undergraduate teaching.

Only one professor, one chair holder, existed in principle at each political science department in the 1950s. Two such professors, who came to play a central role for the development of the discipline, were both appointed in the early 1950s and remained in office until the early 1980s. One was Nils Stjernquist in Lund, the other Jörgen Westerståhl in Göteborg; the former was replaced by Lars-Göran Stenelo, the latter by Bo Särilvik that same year. In Uppsala Carl Arvid Hessler had been the holder of the Skytte chair from the late 1940s and was in 1972 succeeded by Leif Lewin. In Stockholm during the first post-war decades there occurred many changes and leaves of absence on the Lars Hierta chair; in 1976 Olof Ruin was permanently appointed to this position and remained until his retirement in 1993. In Umeå finally, where the political science department was founded in 1965, the first holder of the only professorship existing at the time being was Pär-Erik Back; he was in 1987 succeeded by Gunnel Gustafsson.

In the 1960s a few new research positions, which later came to be transformed into regular professorships, were established. During the decades thereafter new chairs were gradually created and often given a specialized profile focused on a particular field of the discipline. In the 1990s, professorships were also established at some of the university colleges, primarily at those which later were given the status of university. Finally, according to a nationally taken decision in the late 1990s, a number of university lecturers in political science, as well as in all other fields, were given the title of “professor” on the basis of expert reviews of their research although their teaching load was to remain the same as for university lecturers generally. Altogether, taking into account these different types of professors, close to thirty political scientists, employed in academia, bore the title of “professor” at the turn of the century. For example, at one of the large departments, the Stockholm department, they numbered seven.

The development of the number of university lecturers is more difficult to grasp. The category as such was established in the early 1960s parallel with the rapid expansion in student enrollment generally in the country. The employment conditions varied. Some of those appointed had tenure, others not. At

the turn of the century the number of faculty who were classified as university lecturers and involved in teaching at the different institutions across the country at least exceeded one hundred. Again, at the Stockholm department for example they were around fifteen.

The political science staff as a whole was for a long time dominated by men as was the case of the student body. The increase of women on this level of academia was however far slower than in the student body. At the end of the 20th century roughly 20% of the political science faculty in the country were women; the percentage was higher among those who are classified as assistants. The entry of women into the top level of the political science hierarchy—the level of professors—was particularly slow but at the end of the century this percentage is somewhat higher than ten.

A final dimension of the quantitative expansion of Swedish political science in the latter period of the 20th century is the number of publications produced. Political science research, as well as research in most academic fields, can be divided into two parts: Ph.D. dissertations and publications by those who already have a Ph.D.

It is far easier to give quantitative data concerning dissertations than about other research products. In a study by Hanna Larheden shows that between 1976 and 1996, a total of 212 doctoral dissertations were successfully defended in the political science departments at Göteborg, Lund, Stockholm, Umeå and Uppsala—the major universities in the country. An additional (but less reliable because it does not contain dissertations) source for assessing the production of doctoral dissertations over time is the publication series of each department. The oldest of these series is the one in Uppsala which started already in 1933. Under its auspices 22 issues had been published before the outbreak of the Second World War; at the end of the 20th century the number of issues had reached 135. A similar series in Lund, “Lund Political Studies”, which had started in 1960, encompassed 109 volumes four decades later. Roughly, this kind of growth pattern was repeated at the other universities.

## *The direction and content of research*

During the former part of the 20th century a characteristic trait of Swedish political science research was a simultaneous closeness to three separate currents, each oriented towards another academic discipline.

One current was related to constitutional law. Attention was devoted to the study of written law: its background, substance and application. The focal point

of interest was the Swedish 1809 Instrument of Government, the second oldest written national constitution in the world. Special attention was given to the question of the origin and influences shaping this constitutional document. One school of thought stressed the influence of foreign doctrines, another the importance of the national tradition.

A second current was influenced by the discipline of history. Political events of various kinds in a fairly recent past were analyzed. Particular interest was devoted to the study of the development of different political institutions and processes. An analysis restricted only to written law was viewed as not providing an adequate picture of the functioning of different institutions and procedures. At the centre of this attention was the evolution of parliamentarism, primarily in Sweden but also in a number of other countries. The express purpose was to elucidate the successive shifts in power in the relationships between the head of state, parliament, and the government.

A third current finally gravitated towards philosophy and the history of ideas. Classical political thought as well as modern ideologies were regarded as a major line of inquiry. Works were published on various bodies of ideas, their background, historical development as well as the correctness of their appraisals of reality.

Although the simultaneous existence of these three currents can be said to have characterized Swedish political science during the former part of the 20th century it would be wrong to say that the discipline was divided into three independent parts. Individual political scientists might have leaned more towards one of the three than the two others—still a noticeable feature was the ability of most of these researchers to fuse perspectives and ways of thinking found in law, history, and philosophy into a single study of the institutions and processes of central importance in political systems.

During the latter part of the 20th century the development of Swedish political science research has been characterized by an enlargement and a differentiation both in the choice of objects of research and of approaches, methods and techniques used. This development resembles in many respects political science research generally in the world; the contacts across national boundaries have gradually increased in this field as in other social sciences. Still the Swedish development up to the 1990s presents some distinctive features of its own.

One such feature was continuous interest in the analysis of ideas whereas the earlier attention given the study of constitutional law and the development of institutions tended to decline. In this *analysis of ideas*, as well as in Swedish political science research generally, the distinction between normative and empirical statements was upheld with remarkable tenacity. The fundamen-

tal difference between propositions containing an evaluation and those containing a statement of reality was emphasized again and again. The truth of the latter can be verified but not the former, according to a philosophical tradition that has been very strong in Swedish intellectual life.

The analysis of arguments became a central type of inquiry in this field. A remarkable number of studies of political debates were thus published. The purposes and focal points of these studies varied. One aim could simply be to interpret and present the nuances in the content of a debate; another could be to attempt to dissect the logical structures of debates and to examine the interrelationships between arguments; a third aim could be to try to explain the behavior of actors, participating in a debate, through an analysis of arguments presented.

Another feature in the development of Swedish political science was a fairly late integration into the discipline of a *political behavior* type of research, based on quantitative data and influenced by sociology-oriented theories. This occurred in the middle of the 1950s. The fairly late beginning appears somewhat surprising given the fact that Herbert Tingsten, already in 1937, had published a book, "Political behavior", in which he had analysed correlations between election behavior and different traits in the population. One reason for this delay is probably that political science in Sweden had a long tradition of its own. In neighbouring Denmark and Norway, where political science as an independent academic discipline was established much later, only after the Second World War, the openness towards political behavior approaches was greater.

In Sweden the Göteborg political science department was the institution where political behavior-oriented research in a more elaborate way was first established. Jörgen Westerståhl made this type of research very much a profile of the department. For example, from 1956 onwards survey-based election research has been undertaken of all national Swedish elections; a pilot study had been done in 1954 in conjunction with the local elections that year. The Göteborg series of election studies now represents one of the longest series of voter surveys in the world.

A third feature in the development of Swedish political science research was the special attention given *interest organizations* in studies focused on political actors. Comparatively early—in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s—a fairly large number of monographs were thus written about individual interest organisations as well as about the interplay between them and the government. This attention was a reflection of the importance of these organizations in Swedish society as a whole. Most conceivable interests were organized; the rate of organi-

zation among potential members was very high; interest organizations played an exceedingly important role in the political system. Gradually a public debate also emerged about the growing tendency to incorporate them into the public administration. As a result, the issue of corporatism entered the Swedish political science earlier than in most other countries.

In contrast to this early attention given the position of interest organizations an interest in the study of political parties was slow to develop in Swedish political science. In the late 1960s however a research program, chaired by Olof Ruin and comprising all the main departments, was started with the focus on the structure and functioning of the Swedish party system. This program as well as other works in the field at that time was heavily influenced by Anthony Downs reasoning in his book "An Economic Theory of Democracy". Later on other economically oriented theories, the whole "rational choice" tradition, came to be important in studies about political parties.

A fourth and very significant feature in the development of Swedish political science was a sudden and intense attention given *politics on a local level*. This level had up to the 1960s been neglected while national politics particularly, but also international politics, had been in the foreground of the research interest. The reason for this sudden interest was that Swedish local government politics was in the midst of a tremendous transition. As a result of a steady migration, three fourths of the population were already living in built-up areas; parallel with this, local government had rapidly expanded and had become more diversified; local government units had successively been merged into larger units. In the early 1950s the number of local government units (the communes) had been reduced from 2500 to 1000; twenty years later their number had declined to roughly 300.

In the middle of the 1960s a huge local politics research project was launched. The project included all the five departments existing at that time and was led by a board consisting of representatives from these departments under the chairmanship of Jörgen Westerståhl. The actual research in this project was largely done in the form of dissertations, the number eventually coming close to forty. The project was strongly influenced by David Easton's system theory. The major line of inquiry was the relationship between different types of communes and two sets of variables: democratic and efficiency values. The former encompassed popular participation in and influence on local government; the latter centered on the conditions determining the provisions of social services. One of the results of this project was formulated as a "service paradox": the large cities, which had the best provision of services, also tended to contain the largest proportion of persons dissatisfied with services while in the small rural communes,

where the standard of service was lowest, fairly widespread satisfaction with services prevailed.

An interest in the study of *public administration* was also slow to develop in Swedish political science. Although a very good and all encompassing work in the field had been published already in 1952 by Gunnar Heckscher it lasted until the 1970s and 1980s before this interest became widespread. It occurred against the background of a rapid growth of the public sector and of an intensified public debate about the governability of this sector. Several public administration oriented projects were launched; several chairs in political science with a public administration profile were established; the public administration parts in the undergraduate curricula were strengthened.

In political science generally a study of public administration often tends to be connected with a study also of *public policies*. Such a connection was also visible in Sweden although it has to be emphasized that the country harboured a fairly long tradition in producing policy oriented studies of an academic nature, more though in the field of economics than in political science proper. This particular tradition was due to the multitude of commissions of inquiry which for a long time had played an important role in Swedish politics and which tended to order policy studies from the universities as a background for their own policy proposals. In the 1970s however political science research in the country more than before came to center on the analysis of contemporary policies. A research program, called "Politics as rational action" (PARA-project), is illustrative of this tendency. Under the chairmanship of Leif Lewin it comprised in principle all the active researchers at the Uppsala department and the objective was to elucidate and explain a series of different policy decisions in Sweden on the basis of rational theory.

A final feature to be pointed out in the development of the Swedish political science research before the 1990s is the tendency to have been more *micro-oriented* than *macro-oriented*. Studies which adopted broad perspectives and tried to analyze and describe whole political systems tended to be fairly rare before a decision was taken by the Swedish government in the 1980s just to launch an extensive and clearly macro-oriented research project. The task of this project, which was led by professor Olof Petersson from the Uppsala department and came to be called "*Maktutredningen*" (The Commission on Power), was to make a thorough investigation into the distribution of power in Swedish society and the general situation of Swedish democracy. The launching of this project was very much influenced by a similar investigation undertaken earlier in Norway. Under the auspices of the Swedish project about twenty monographs were published; a final report, "*Demokrati och makt i Sverige*"

(*Democracy and Power in Sweden*) was published in 1990. The influence of this project became extensive, both for the future development of the political science profession as such and for the public debate about the state of health of Swedish democracy.

The special features enumerated here, that have characterized the development of Swedish political science research during the latter part of the 20th century, do not imply that this development should have been essentially different from those in other Western countries. Gradually also in Sweden most of the possible dimensions and subfields of the political science discipline have been covered: theoretically as well as empirically oriented research, ideas as well as institutions, the output of political processes as well as all the different segments that these processes can be divided into, politics on a local, national and international level, efforts at comparative studies as well as at in-depth studies of one particular political system, which in the Swedish case naturally enough often has tended to be the Swedish system.

The successive integration of new approaches and new issues into Swedish political science has been generally non-controversial. While one after the other of the various approaches that have dominated the discipline has left center-stage, their exit has been quiet. For example, the focus on political behavior gained ground at the expense of the history-law-philosophy tradition in the 1950s and 1960s without a major contest. The wave of Marxist-inspired analyses in the 1970s swept across the social sciences, but left little mark on political science. More recently, public choice theories have gained support among Swedish political scientists but not to an extent that have made them a target of serious polemics.

The comparative calm that characterizes the development of Swedish political science research is presumably due to many factors. One is the fairly consensual atmosphere generally prevailing in Swedish academia although of course there have been scholarly fields torn by internal conflicts. Another factor might have been the hierarchical structure with only a few persons holding chairs, which for a fairly long time characterized the political science discipline. These chairholders were also able to maintain good personal relations with each other on the whole. Cooperation was established for many decades between the political science departments both in the instruction of graduate students and in carrying out joint research projects. The third factor might be the fairly long tradition of political science research in Swedish academia. Well established disciplines might find it easier than newly established ones to incorporate new approaches and methods. Possibly it might even be assumed—this would apply to political studies generally and not only to those in Sweden—that the discipline itself with its emphasis on rules and institutions tends to attract people less

prone to getting involved in conflicts than people in many other academic fields and also to socialize them in the same direction.

## *The relations with the surrounding society*

The relations between the political science field and the surrounding Swedish society have been characterized both by distance and closeness during the latter part of the 20th century.

The distance has been manifested principally in the very shaping of the research undertaken. Several generations of Swedish political scientists have been imbued with an ambition to uphold a clear distinction between the analysis of political phenomena and an outright evaluation of them. In this outlook they were strongly influenced by an Uppsala philosopher, Axel Hägerström, who in several works, published during the former part of the 20th century, strongly and explicitly emphasized the difference between facts and values and also the possibility of making a distinction between them. This intellectual tradition was maintained throughout most of the last century, although it has been increasingly challenged in the last two decades. At the end however tendencies have emerged to be less keen on keeping up the distinction between facts and values, both in awareness of the difficulties involved and under the influence of post-modernistic thinking.

The closeness existing at the same time between the political science field and the surrounding Swedish society has manifested itself in two ways: in the content of research and in the activity of individual researchers.

The content of research has been influenced both indirectly and directly by the outside world. An indirect form of influence is simply that subject matters chosen for investigation have had as their cause/origin issues debated in society and there perceived as problems. A more direct form has been secured partly through the establishment of academic positions with a specified research profile, partly through money available for ordering academic research which a focus on specific problems.

Money for financing research in Sweden has not only been in the hands of universities, research councils, foundations etc. but also—this is a characteristic trait of Swedish research policy—in the hands of public authorities with responsibility for specified public policy areas. It is expected that the money that these authorities have at their disposal should be used for initiating academic research of value for the very public sector that the authority in question is responsible for. This type of research has been called “sectoral research” (*sektorsforskning*) and has also to some extent financed political science research; in the 1980s

for example the “sectoral research” as a whole encompassed roughly 20% of all the research money available in the country. Finally, commissioning academic research, including from the political scientists, has also been made by public commissions of inquiry that historically have played an important role in Swedish politics. It must be noted, however, that their ability to commission research by academics has been somewhat curtailed in recent years due to budget constraints.

The other way in which a closeness between the political science field and the surrounding society has manifested itself is through activities of individual researchers. One form of such an activity has been engagement in party politics. This kind of activity, as far as central positions are concerned, was however more common in the middle of the 20th century than at the end. For example three chairholders in the discipline—Georg Andrén in Göteborg, Gunnar Hechscher and Elis Håstad, both in Stockholm—all served as representatives for the conservative party in the Parliament (*riksdagen*); in the 1940s Georg Andrén had been member of the Cabinet, in the 1960s Hechscher was for a few years also leader of the party. Furthermore, later on during this century a number of university lecturers in political science also had seats in Parliament for some time. At the very end of the century there remains only one parliamentarian of this kind, namely the social democrat Björn von Sydow who was appointed member of Cabinet in 1996. Another form of activity of political scientists, implying a closeness between the field and central power in society, has been assignments in the system of commissions of inquiry. These assignments in turn have been of various types: most often to serve as experts in the ongoing commission work but occasionally also to chair the work or at least to be a member of the commission.

Generally it can be said that historically the distance in Sweden has never been very long between ordinary political science work in the universities and tasks of different kinds in the surrounding society. The faculty has commuted, more in the past than today, between the two worlds. Traffic in the reverse direction has however never occurred, i.e. people, who to begin with have solely been active in the world outside of the universities, have not been given positions in the academic political science community on the basis of their practical experiences of administration and politics.

Political science research as well as the external activity of individual political scientists tend to influence the development of society in one way or another. It is however difficult, from the political science community as well as from the social sciences generally, to give concrete examples of such a direct influence. Mostly it is of an indirect character. Good illustrations of such influence

by Swedish political science research are for example both the earlier mentioned local politics project as well as the study of the power distribution in the Swedish society. Finally, it can probably be said that Swedish political scientists in their research, as well as in their activities as experts or as contributors in the public debate, have often shown a tendency not to give clear recommendations for action to be followed by politicians and administrators. The tendency has rather been to assess the pros and cons of a given policy or action. In this respect the culture has been different from many other social science fields, for example in economics.

## *The relations with the outside world*

Although political science has a long history in Sweden, it has functioned in a comparatively small country and a small language area. It is no surprise, therefore, that it has been influenced by its relations with political scientists elsewhere. These relations and interactions can be divided into three distinctive periods.

The first period roughly covers the years 1900–1940. During these decades Swedish political science, as sciences generally in Sweden, was in close interplay with research in the German university world. As far as political science was concerned Germany was also, besides the US, one of the few countries outside of Sweden where there existed such an academic field. In Germany the emphasis was particularly laid on constitutional law and philosophy. Georg Andrén in Göteborg, even published a book on German political science research tendencies in the late 1920s. Furthermore, during these years it was not uncommon for Swedish political scientists to live abroad and conduct research on political institutions and practices in other countries than just in Sweden. Eli Håstad for example wrote a voluminous dissertation—unfortunately not in German but in Swedish—on the Swiss political system with its special combination of all party governments and intensive use of referenda.

A second period covers the years 1940–1960. It was characterized by a greater Swedish ethnocentricity in terms both of relations with the outside world and in the selection of research topics. One explanation for this situation is of course the Second World War that obstructed cross-national academic contacts. But another explanation might lie in the fairly strong native tradition that Swedish political science could rely upon. There was no urge to reach out to the political science communities in other countries after the World War; the most dynamic such community was of course the US. The situation in this respect was different in neighbouring Denmark and Norway, where a political science discipline

was in the process of being fully established and obtaining an independence of its own. Partly because of the pioneering atmosphere prevailing in these countries at the time, the Danes and Norwegians seemed more eager than the Swedes to get into close contact with the dynamic American political science research.

A third period finally covers the remaining thirty years up to the 1990s, that is 1960–1990. During these decades Swedish political science opened itself up fully to tendencies and approaches in the international political science community. In this respect there was no longer any difference vis-à-vis the discipline in the neighbouring countries. American political science, in Sweden as in many other European countries, became particularly influential. Theoretical frameworks, worked out by American scholars, were decisive in forming many research designs; Swedish political scientists spent time at American universities in increasing numbers; American political science scholars in their turn often appeared in the Swedish academic environment; even projects, consisting of both American and Swedish political scientists and based on American and Swedish data, were started etc.

The internationalization of Swedish political science was strengthened and speeded up also by the establishment of the European Consortium of Political Research in the beginning of the 1970s. Early on all the political science departments in Sweden decided to join this consortium; many Swedish political scientists became active in this organization, its scholarly as well as its administrative activities. Soon it became normal for doctoral students to present papers at the yearly workshop sessions organized by ECPR.

All these contacts with the international political science community did not only mean that Swedish political science in its choice of approaches, methods, techniques etc. came to be influenced by tendencies world wide. The very content of Swedish political science research was also affected. Several examples can be given. The field of international politics, which in itself had a fairly long tradition in the country, grew in volume. Studies about politics on national and local levels, although the bulk of them still dealt with aspects of the Swedish political system, came more than before to focus on comparisons with similar aspects in other systems. However, in these endeavours, less attention has been given to conditions in the neighbouring Nordic countries. Studies solely concentrated on non-Swedish political systems also became more frequent, although the choice of the areas investigated tended to be of a rather sporadic nature; in the 1960s and 1970s, for example, Africa tended to receive special attention due both to the fact that Swedish public opinion was committed to the black liberation struggle and that Africa was a major recipient of Swedish development aid.

A final and very concrete aspect of internationalization is the language used in writing political science texts. In the latter part of the 20th century English, rather than Swedish, was employed to an increasing degree by political scientists. The discipline did in this respect however not go so far as many other social sciences, particularly economics and psychology, where English came to be the dominating tool of communication. One reason for Swedish political science still using also Swedish is that the discipline as a whole continued to feel that it had two different addressees: not only the international research community, of which it very much became a part during the latter part of the 20th century, but also its own society which supports the discipline and hopefully also gains from studies produced.

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# Political Science in the context of the Swedish university system

*Bo Öhngren, The Swedish Research Council*

## *Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief overview of the institutional organisation of Swedish political science as a background for the evaluative chapters in the volume. A primary aim is to give foreign readers an idea of the organizational conditions for the research that is discussed in the subsequent chapters. Thus, some of the material may seem redundant to Swedish readers. However, a second aim is to provide a general idea of the level of resources that are available primarily for basic research in political science in Sweden. To this end we have collected information from all the main University departments (see Table 3.1. p. 49). This information makes no claim to “be precise”, but rather provides an idea of the general order of magnitude for various relevant factors. However, before proceeding to departmental organisation, foreign readers may profit from a brief descriptions of the academic positions that are available in Sweden.

## *Swedish academic positions*

The structure of academic positions in Sweden is impossible to understand without a notion of its historical origin and development. Originally the system was modelled after the system in Germany, with one professor for each subject and department. The pressure from the rapidly expanding body of students in the sixties prompted reforms both in teaching routines and the structure of positions.

## *Professor*

The King has traditionally and formally appointed holders of professorial chairs, with the appointment guaranteed for life to ensure intellectual independence.

The professor would be assisted by one docent and one or two amanuenser (non-tenured positions, not requiring a Ph.D.) employed on a part time basis. The students attended occasional lectures by the professor or the docent, perhaps a weekly or biweekly seminar, and then met the professor for oral exams. Thus, the professors had plenty of time to pursue their intellectual interests although there were little resources available for more costly research.

With this system, instituting a new chair could only be done by the government. However, the universities could decide to use part of their budget for “extra” professorships, or more often extra “associate professorships”. These positions were not as secure as the chairs, because in times of economic crises the University could simply decide that the money had to be used for alternative activities. Nor did they have the status and privileges of the chairs. However, with an administrative decision that all “associate professorships” should be changed to “professorships”, and with several other smaller decisions the “extra” professorships and the chairs have been moved much closer to each other. Indeed, during 1991 the universities have gained full control over all professorships. As a result of this development, the number of professors has been increased, and the system has moved from the traditional one-professor-per-department to a system with several professors in each department. Still, however, the number of professors is relatively small, which means that each must take a quite heavy load of administrative duties at the departmental, faculty, University and national level. Although, in principle, a professor should be able to use half of his or her time for research, this is seldom possible.

As of January 1999 a new system was introduced, allowing for several of the lecturers to be appointed professor. Furthermore, changes in the teaching load will be carried out.

## *Universitetslektor (lecturer)*

With an increasing number of students in the early sixties, the system was faced with a crisis, because it simply lacked the manpower for teaching. Typically, the professors were less willing to take on a heavy teaching load than to administer the department, and they had the power to have it their way. The docents (see below) were busy qualifying for professorships, and had a very low teaching load (75 hours lecturing/year). To meet this problem, a new type of position, the University lectureship, was instituted. It was meant for teaching, and only teaching. Although formally requiring a Ph.D., this position did not involve time for research. Because there were few formally qualified candidates inter-

ested in lectureships in the sixties, the acting lecturers were seldom Ph.D.s. If they did any research, it was related to their doctoral dissertations. As the number of students continued to rise during the sixties, more and more “extra University lectureships” were created by the universities, almost always occupied by persons lacking a Ph.D., but carrying a quite heavy teaching load. Thus, the bulk of the undergraduate teaching was done by a relatively large group of lecturers with little formal scientific credentials. This situation has continued, with most of the undergraduate teaching performed by teachers who typically have not been active researchers, partly because of lack of training, and partly (and perhaps mainly) because their teaching load has been too severe to allow scientific work.

### *Docent (assistant professor)*

Docent positions were essentially a kind of a scholarship to allow time for qualifying as a professor. The term docent is ambiguous, because it used to refer both to a position and to a title denoting a level of qualification. Positions as docent could be held only for six years. Because Ph.D.s in Sweden tend to be passed at a relatively advanced age (seldom under 30–35 years), the non-tenured status of the docent-position meant that unsuccessful applicants for professorships often ended up without University jobs in their forties, a problem that used to be referred to as the “docent-misery”. Because of this, the docent positions have been reconstructed so that they have to be based on a lectureship. Thus, if a docent position is announced, it must be based on a lectureship, and then it entails six years of research (75 hours lecturing or, more typically, supervision of graduate students), and then back to full time teaching as lecturer. Often, it may be open for application only internally, among persons already holding lectureships. In the most recent development, the money for docent positions is made available to departments for distribution among lecturers in whatever form is suitable, after evaluation of applications. This may be an important step in the direction of including time for research for all lectureships.

### *Forskarassistent (post doctoral research fellow)*

In the late sixties the Swedish Ph.D. system was changed to get more in line with the system in England and the US. The basic idea was to shorten

the time for finishing the degree, by requiring a less extensive thesis. The thesis was no longer graded, and therefore you were not expected to qualify as docent merely on the basis of it. Rather this was expected to take several more years of research. To give the opportunity for this process, the position of *postgraduate research fellow* (*forskarassistent*) was instituted. It required a Ph.D. and could be held for six years. Researchers already qualified as docents could not hold this position. A few years ago the rules were changed so that the position was only open for applicants who were within five years after their completed Ph.D. (regardless of whether they had been able to acquire the docent qualification) and can now only be held for four years. The research fellow is expected to do full time research and has a very light teaching load.

## *Adjunkt (teacher)*

This is another teaching position that was created to meet the teaching demands of the late sixties. As originally conceived, it was meant to be a time-limited assistant teaching position not requiring a Ph.D. or any other research qualification. The teaching load is heavy, even surpassing that for lecturers, but it was supposed to be restricted to less demanding teaching such as group discussions, laboratory supervision, etc. Needless to say, there is no formal opportunity for research provided for the holders of this type of position. However, as the competition for positions has become tougher, Ph.D.s may end up in this type of teaching position, and under some conditions they may also be able to get some time for research. As of January 1999, however, adjuncts fulfilling the requirements for a lectureship will be appointed a lecturer.

## *Research positions at the Research Councils*

Professorships, docent positions, postdoctoral and postgraduate research fellowships not only are instituted by the universities, but also by the various research councils. Except for a lighter teaching load, these positions are similar to their counterparts at the universities, and their holders may under certain conditions be transferred to universities after a number of years. There is also some possibility of getting salaries from research grants, to perform specified research projects.

## *Positions at Swedish political science departments*

### *Professorships*

As shown in Table 3, the development of a multiple professorship system has been carried farthest in Göteborg, Stockholm and Uppsala. Some of them are of the traditional, governmentally instituted type, and some have been instituted at the University level. Some are also paid by research funding agencies.

**Table 3.1 Positions, graduate students and economic resources at Swedish Political Science Departments 2000**

	Göteborg	Karlstad	Lund	Stockholm	Umeå	Uppsala	Växjö	Örebro
<b>Staff as of Nov 2000</b>								
Professors								
Total (Women)	8(0)	0.2(0)	3(0)	6(3)	3 <sup>1</sup> (2)	8(0)	1(0)	3 <sup>2</sup> (0)
Docenter (f)	5(1)	1(0)	8(0)	12(2)	3(0)	5(1)	1(0)	5(2)
Lektorer (f)	10(3)	3(0)	14(3)	16(2)	10(5)	13(1)	5(1)	9(4)
Forskarassistenter (f)	2(1)	1(0)	2(2)	2(2)	3(1)	2(1)	0	0
Disp. Forskare (f), excl. those listed as Lektor or Forsk. Assistent	7(2)	0	5(1)	1(1)	0	12(4)	0	0
<b>Doctorial Students</b>								
Current Doctorial								
Candidates 1.3.01	51	6	42	66	16	32	4	21
<b>Budget</b>								
Grants for undergraduate education	8.5	3.1	13.4	15.2	6.4	11.1	4.2	3.0
Grants for research and graduate education	6.9	1.8	9.8	9.9	8.4	12.4	1.9	5.3
External Grants	18.0	1.2	11.0	7.6	6.0	12.2	0.4	13.1
Total Budget (msek)	33.4	6.1	34.2	32.7	20.8	35.7	6.5	21.4
<b>External Grants as % of Total Budget</b>								
	<b>54</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>61</b>

<sup>1</sup> Two full-time and two half-time Professors; both of the full-time professors are women.

<sup>2</sup> One full-time, one half-time and one 80% Professor. The Rektor of the university is a political scientist, but is not included in this count.

Since the evaluators visited the departments still more professorial positions in political science have been established, not only at the above mentioned universities.

### *Lecturers and teachers*

Holders of full time lectureships and teaching positions have little opportunity for research. Some of the lecturers, however, have time for research either because of grants from the University or from external research funding agencies. This accounts for some of the variation in numbers between different departments, because they denote number of persons rather than number of full time positions. Thus, some top level research in political science is carried out by lecturers.

### *Postdoctoral fellows and independent researchers*

The number of postdoctoral research fellows (forskarassistenten) is stable across universities, whereas Ph.D. level researchers that are able to support themselves on grants show much variation. In terms of time these positions are the most favourable ones for research. For postdoctoral fellows the most important problem is that the duration of their appointment (four years) is too restricted to develop a research program and compete for its funding. For the independent researchers the problem is that they have to be opportunistic in their research, in the sense that they must make sure to submit fundable proposals, which means that they must be responsive to the demand and wishes particularly of the applied funding agencies.

## *Graduate training*

### *Graduate studies in political science*

To qualify for graduate studies, the general rule is, that one must have at least three semesters of courses in the subject, and one of them must include a (small) thesis. Secondly, one must have three semesters of courses in other subjects, which together with the political science courses qualifies for a BA. Because Swedish students start at the universities comparatively late (nineteen to twenty years at the earliest), this means that the youngest graduate students are in their mid-twenties. The standard time to pass the Ph.D. is supposed to be four years, but for several reasons very few students still keep to the standard. However, with the new system of funding Ph.D. candidates, more and more students will meet the four-year requirement.

In political science, many students started graduate studies in the eighties when typically all applicants were accepted, which meant that the number of graduate students became unrealistically high, and many of them remained on the records even though they did not pursue their studies. The numbers given in Table 3.1 represents “active graduate students”, that is to say, students that pursue their studies on least a half-time basis. Many more may, in fact, be registered, and some of the variations between departments most likely reflect the fact that those supplying the information have defined “active students” differently.

The four-year period has typically been divided between 1.5 years for course work and 2.5 years for the dissertation work. The courses vary between universities. Some courses are taught through lectures and seminars, and some merely require the student to cope with assigned reading lists at oral exams. The total reading assignment of the whole course varies between departments but it should be somewhere around 5000–6000 pages. The dissertations typically are presented as a monograph, but could also be presented as summaries of a more or less integrated series of published articles, although this is less common in political science.

### *Financing graduate studies*

As shown in Table 3.1, there are in general less than 10 stipends available at each of the universities. Traditionally, they were stipends in the genuine meaning of the word, but there is an effort to change them into a more adequate salary, including the social security that is not part of a stipend. In both cases the purpose is to allow full time graduate work, although at least the stipends can be used at a part time basis. Up to 20% teaching is allowed for the holders of positions and stipends.

Another important source of funding for graduate students is provided by research assistantships paid by research grants held by the senior faculty. Formally, research assistants are hired to work according to the plan of the research project, but there is often a possibility to do parallel graduate work, for example, by using some of the research for a dissertation.

### *The Academic Career*

In general, the Ph.D. training reform was not successful in achieving the goal of allowing the degree to be passed at an earlier age than in the old system. Thus, most of the fresh Ph.D.s still typically are in their mid-thirties. Some of them are able to get post-doctoral research fellowships (*forskarassistent*) and then have four more years to qualify in research. Others may be hired on a grant of their own or of someone else, e.g., the professor who served as their supervisor.

To continue the career into a tenured position one has to get either a lectureship (with or without research) or a professorship. To qualify as lecturer, it is necessary to have teaching experience, and often the teaching experience is given more weight than research qualifications in the appointment of lecturers. Thus, most post-doctoral research fellows have to volunteer to teach although this is not part of the requirements for their position. Still, they may not be able to boost their teaching credentials to a level that is competitive for lectureships. Needless to say, because the professorships are few, the competition for them is fierce, with a great number of highly qualified applicants for attractive positions. Thus, the four years given to the post-doctoral research fellow is far from sufficient to reach a competitive level for professorships.

## *Funding of research and training*

The funding from the universities (see Table 3.1) is primarily given for training. The part of it that is devoted to research concerns salaries for professors and teachers who have research as part of their task. However, in practice it is difficult to separate research and graduate teaching in the form of dissertation supervision.

To be able to do research in political science, the support from the University is grossly insufficient, so external funding is a necessity. As shown in Table 3.1, 30 MSEK is given to research in political science each year. About 20% of this sum comes from the HSFR. This proportion almost exclusively concerns basic research. Other important funding sources for political science include the Bank of Sweden Tercentennial Foundation, and various funds located within ministries. These latter funds have been instituted to support relevant research to aid decisions in the area of the particular ministry. Therefore the research they support must have a clearly applied profile.

# Evaluation



# Departments and groups

In this chapter we evaluate the ‘old’ universities where political science is organized into a separate department. We then move on to assess the ‘new’ universities, where political science is a cluster or group within a larger social science department. At the end of the chapter we provide a summary overview of political science at other institutions. The purpose of this chapter is to offer a profile of each department and group, discuss its strengths and weaknesses, and identify what, in our view, constitute the major challenges facing each unit.

## *Göteborg University*

The Department of Political Science at Göteborg, while initially in the shadow of the departments at Lund and Uppsala, has been one of the most dynamic in Sweden during the last fifty years. Our evaluation confirms the continued prominence of this department within Swedish political science. Although the first professorship (the August Röhss chair) was established in 1901, the most significant event from the point of view of the department’s current profile was the appointment of Jörgen Westerståhl to this chair in 1952. Westerståhl—together with his student and successor Bo Särilvik—is credited with introducing behaviorist studies to Sweden, and making Göteborg the center of electoral research and public opinion surveys. In addition, the large-scale research entailed in their studies appears to have begun a pattern of independently-funded research centers—indeed the department’s expansion has been consistently based on its research initiatives. In 1984, a second professorial chair for political science and public administration was awarded to Lars Strömberg, who is now director of the Center for Research on the Public Sector or CEFOS (Centrum för forskning om offentlig sektor). A third chair was created in the area of electoral studies, to which Sören Holmberg was named. Holmberg has been associated with the department since 1966, and heads the Swedish Election Study Program as well as the Center for Society, Opinion and the Media (Samhälle, Opinion och Massmedier, SOM). In 1994, Lennart J. Lundqvist received a chair in political science with an emphasis on environmental policy and processes, which was financed by *Statens naturvårdsverk*. Rutger Lindahl was made Jean Monnet Professor of European Political Science in 1996, and two years later, the University was selected as a Jean Monnet Center of Excellence. In 1995, Bo Rothstein was appointed to the August Röhss Chair. In addi-

tion to the professorial chairs, the department has promoted four staff members to professor in recent years: Ulf Bjereld, Peter Esaiasson, Mikael Gilljam and Jon Pierre.

Recruitment to the department has been highly successful, and, perhaps because the department is 'newer' than, say, Lund or Uppsala more persons seem to have been recruited from without than at other top tier universities—including from Umeå, Uppsala, Stockholm, Lund and even abroad. As of November 2000, the department employed 8 professors, as well as 10 *lektorer* (of whom 5 were *docenter*), two *forskarassistenter* and 7 *forskare*. One *docent*, three of the *lektors*, one *forskarassistent* and 2 of the *forskare* were women. Between 1993 and 1999, the department produced 27 doctorates, or an average of 3.9 per year; of these degrees, one-third were granted to women. As of 1 March 2001, the department enrolled 51 doctoral candidates, 28 of which were women.

Given the department's history of expansion through research projects and its emphasis on research centers, it is perhaps not surprising that in 2000 75% of the department's 33.4 MSEK budget was devoted to research. Moreover, research funds raised through external grants (18 MSEK) are nearly three times that provided by the state (6.9 MSEK). In terms of the budget of the department, external grants comprised 54%.

Departmental research is supported by a number of centers that are housed both within and outside of the department. The SOM Center is jointly operated by the Department of Political Science and the Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, as well as *Förvaltningshögskolan*. The multidisciplinary Center for European Studies (*Centrum för Europaforskning, CERGU*) has been housed in the political science department since 1995. In international politics, the department launched and runs the national programs, "Sweden Under the Cold War" (*Sverige under kalla kriget, SUKK*) and "Swedish Military and Security" (*Svensk militär underrättelse- och säkerhetstjänst, SMUTS*), in which it cooperates with the Department of History at Stockholm University and the Department of Contemporary History at Södertörn.

The research profile of Göteborg is still quite marked by its earlier emphasis on political behavior. It can be thought of as the 'Michigan' of Sweden, including the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). This is the site of the premier collection of electoral data and public opinion surveys outside of the United States. Since the mid-1950s, the Swedish Election Study Program, in cooperation with the SCB (*Statistiska centralbyrån*), has carried out voter surveys in conjunction with all parliamentary elections (national and European), as well as referenda. Surveys of members of parliament were carried out in 1969, 1985, 1988, 1994, 1996 and 1998. The SOM Center has conducted yearly

public opinion surveys since 1986, including surveys of Göteborg students since 1993. Current work on electoral studies at Göteborg is based on much more than good data, however. The research of the three professors working mainly in this area—Sören Holmberg, Peter Esaiasson and Mikael Gilljam—is concerned with broader questions of public opinion, electoral behavior and the nature of Swedish democracy. Central to this work is the empirical relationship between voters and their representatives, and the implications of this relationship for the theory of democracy. Holmberg has investigated the decline of party identification and the nature of representative democracy. Gilljam has worked on the problem of non-attitudes, as well as (together with Henrik Oscarsson) mapping the Nordic ‘political space’. Peter Esaiasson is involved in a comparative project that aims to improve on typologies of political systems by systematically comparing the features of Nordic parliamentary systems. All of these researchers are simultaneously involved in reports and more in-depth analyses of trends, changes and patterns in Swedish political behavior and public opinion, including for example, attitudes towards the European Union. Other scholars have approached public opinion from more specialized angles. Ulf Bjereld has focused on foreign policy, including gender aspects thereof. Maria Oskarsson raises classic questions of political sociology, investigating the social bases of politics—previously class, and now, together with Lena Wängnerud, gender. The strengths in this area go very deep, with a number of junior scholars, as well as persons that have many years of association with the department, such as Lennart Nilsson, and Folke Johansson, working in the areas of public opinion, parliamentary behavior, and even local political behavior.

The second main strength of the department is public policy and public administration, with a focus on institutional approaches. As in the area of electoral studies, departmental strength is bundled, with three professors sharing strong policy interests—Lennart Lundqvist, Jon Pierre, and Bo Rothstein—as well as other scholars, like Jonas Hinnfors. Bo Rothstein’s work has focused on the limits and possibilities of social democratic reform, emphasizing in particular the organizational problems of policy implementation, and the rise and fall of corporatist institutions. His most recent work on social trust and just institutions incorporates a more normative element, thus bridging normative and empirical state theory. The possibilities and limits of government intervention constitute the theoretical leitmotiv of Rothstein’s work, which incorporates concepts and approaches from diverse fields, including organization theory, military history, comparative politics and the politics of public policy, and hence transgresses traditional academic boundaries. Lennart Lundqvist’s research has an environmental focus, but is also concerned with problems of institutional design

and implementation, most recently in the area of common pool resources. Jon Pierre's recent work on governance (together with Guy Peters of the University of Pittsburgh) reviews the theory and practice of contemporary forms of state intervention. He brings to the department an interest in comparative public administration, urban and regional policy, as well as local politics and administration. Indeed, local government as well as local elites is a traditional area of strength for the department, which is still represented in the work of long-standing department members, such as Lars Strömberg.

Comparative politics in the more traditional sense of comparative political systems is represented as well, although the focus is definitely more on Europe than on other areas of the world, and the comparativists often straddle the area of International Relations. Rutger Lindahl's work focuses on foreign policy and Sweden's role in the European Union. Marie Demker's prolific writings range from French politics and political ideology, religion and politics, party strategies and public opinion in the area of Swedish foreign policy (together with Ulf Bjereld), to theories of knowledge (together with Bjereld and Jonas Hinnfors). Thus, Lindahl and Demker can also be considered to belong to the international politics group, which includes not only Bjereld, but Sune Persson and Ann-Marie Ekengren, as well. Nevertheless, despite some strong scholars in this area, the department is really more known for electoral politics and public policy than either comparative politics or international politics. Similarly, despite a number of persons with an interest in political theory, the department, like many Swedish political science departments, does not really emphasize classical political philosophy.

The doctoral program provides a first-rate, well-rounded graduate education and extensive advising. Based on the talks we had with graduate students at each of our site visits, it is our impression that Göteborg has hit the Archimedian point between rigor and nurture. Students are expected to meet high professional standards, but are given a great deal of support and help. The first year introductory seminars address the informal rules and norms of political science, and pave the way for students to prepare a dissertation proposal within one year, in the form of a research grant application. The department draws on its enviable net of international contacts to try to push the students out into foreign departments for at least one semester during their studies, and plans to require its students to prepare a paper that is of a quality acceptable for submission to an international refereed journal. Through student surveys and discussions, Göteborg seems to be the only department that systematically evaluates the climate of the department for women. Göteborg has also shown exemplary initiative in cooperating with Uppsala to teach joint courses in both methods and political theory.

All in all, Göteborg is a department that is infused with energy, and an exciting place to be involved in research. Many of its faculty members are highly productive and internationally very visible. Although two professors are the most cited members of the department, all of the professors and many of the junior staff have large numbers of articles in international refereed journals, and chapters in international edited books, as well as singly authored books published by internationally well-regarded academic presses. The department has transcended its traditional focus on electoral studies, integrating other sub-fields of political science, and stands out as a department with a large number of cooperative projects, spanning various subdisciplines and even extending outside of the department. With this branching out, the department has achieved a synthesis between its widely-acknowledged methodological expertise and creative approaches to cutting-edge problems in political science. As a research milieu, it is striking that cross-fertilization is going on, with Rothstein, for example, developing an interest in survey research, and Lundqvist moving in the direction of new institutionalist theory. Thus, we observe a high degree of intellectual synergy. The research is not only of excellent academic quality but of social relevance as well. The department is well-managed, with Boström's image of himself as an airport traffic manager constituting a liberating managerial philosophy. In addition, the department's efforts at quality control and self-assessment are impressive both on paper and as they seem to be put into practice.

The committee was very impressed with the research and research milieu at Göteborg, and came up with only a few cautionary remarks. The interactive research that we now observe is relatively new, and, in part, a serendipitous effect of the particular personalities now on the staff. As some persons inevitably move on, the department may be vulnerable. The department must be prepared to recruit new professors, as the need arises, and to think strategically regarding the type of person that best suits future research directions. Furthermore, although its reputation as being exclusively oriented to electoral studies is highly exaggerated, the department is still quite heavily focused on survey research; we recommend continued expansion and integration of new areas, without, however, abandoning the core competence in political behavior. Finally, some of the extremely active persons in this department might be well advised to slow down a bit, as their productivity has been more than amply demonstrated, and to invest more heavily in a long-term, truly outstanding research contribution. We also wonder if the department will really be able to keep up all of its quality control activities over the long-term. But all in all, Göteborg is now a very exciting department, and the trend is definitely upwards.

## *Lund University*

Political science has a long history at Lund University. The first chair—in history and political science—was established in 1877. After nearly fifty years of ‘co-cultivation’ with another discipline—first history, later statistics—political science got its ‘own’ chair in 1926. This move may be interpreted as the ultimate recognition of political science as a distinct discipline within the university. A period of substantial growth began in the 1950s, under Nils Stjernquist’s leadership. A second chair was established in 1964, with Olof Ruin as its first incumbent for a short period, followed by Hans F. Petersson. A third was added in 1987, and has been held by Lennart Lundquist ever since. As of the fall 2000 the department has 3 full professors, 14 *lektorer* of whom 8 have *docent* status, 2 *forskarassistenter*, and 5 *forskare* with a Ph.D. or equivalent degree. 20% of this academic staff were women: 3 *lektorer*, both of the *forskarassistenter*, and one of the researchers. In addition the department had 42 active doctoral students, 15 of whom were women. Last year the department raised about 11 million SEK from external sources, more than matching its *fakultetsanslag* for research and graduate training.

Lund University today has a *general* political science department, covering all major fields of the discipline and explicitly emphasizing breadth and pluralism as important virtues and goals. It describes its present research portfolio in terms of ten partly overlapping areas. Several interesting observations can be made on the basis of this overview. Most striking is the fact that studies of constitutional arrangements and the main political institutions (in particular, *Riksdagen*)—a field championed by Fredrik Lagerroth (professor 1929–50) and his successor Nils Stjernquist (professor 1951–83)—no longer stands out as the core of political science research in Lund. In recent years, research on democratic governance, politics in Europe, and international politics have appeared as the main areas of growth, indicated particularly by the large number of doctoral students active in these fields. At present two of the full professors (Lars-Göran Stenelo, appointed in 1983, and Christer Jönsson, appointed 1989) have international politics as their main field of research. The third, Lennart Lundquist, is a specialist on public administration and bureaucratic politics. It would, however, be premature to interpret these figures as indicating that the interest in constitutional design is now fading completely. What we see is in part a shift of attention towards a new set of constitutional and institutional issues, related to the political transformation of Europe and emerging complex networks for multilevel governance more generally. For example, several of the basic questions addressed in the large-scale project titled “Social Development and Consensus

Democracy”—which focused essentially on Swedish institutions—now serve as foci for research on European institutions and politics. This is a reorientation that has been actively encouraged by the present leadership.

Looking beyond the figures themselves, several distinctive features of the Lund research community appear. Most important is the concerted effort to encourage pluralism in terms of topics and approaches combined with integration across different subject areas. This is a difficult course to navigate; pluralism and tolerance may well pervert into fragmentation and mutual indifference, and for its part integration is most easily achieved by superimposing one particular approach or framework across the board. Lund seems to have been remarkably successful in avoiding both of these pitfalls. We find several indications of constructive integration across subfields. As indicated above, interest in ‘classical’ problems of democratic governance and constitutional design seems to have merged well with an interest in issues at the forefront of today’s political agenda, such as globalization, Europeanization, and gender relations. It even inspires some of the research on Third World politics—a field that has seen a new burst of activity in the last few years, thanks to a fortunate combination of internal initiatives (by Elgström and others) and external funding (Sida/SAREC). As indicated by titles such as “The Bargaining Democracy”, research on negotiation and bargaining, which initially gained prominence in the field of international politics with Stenelo and Jönsson, has served as an important source of inspiration also for studies of domestic political processes and institutions, including Parliament. The study of bureaucratic politics—traditionally framed largely in terms of ‘positive’ (organization) theory and empirical research—has successfully incorporated elements of normative political theory, notably in Lundquist’s work on bureaucratic ethics. Today the notion of multilevel governance serves as a conceptual tool for coupling research on local and national politics to processes of globalization and Europeanization. Project titles such as “Regionalization and Multi-level Governance” (Jerneck & Sjölin) convey this perspective. More generally, we were struck by the fact that people we met who could well be considered area-studies specialists or work in a field often seen as having its own transdisciplinary identity (e.g. gender studies) identified themselves primarily as political scientists. Identification with one’s own discipline does not, however, preclude interdisciplinary collaboration. Several faculty members are actively involved in research with colleagues from other disciplines, in particular history (e.g. within the large-scale project “The Stable Peace”) and to some extent economics. And the University’s new multidisciplinary Centre for European Studies, established in 1997, is located at the department, and led by one of its *docenter*, Magnus Jerneck.

Within this broad setting of pluralism and integration, the research interests of senior professors clearly leave an imprint on the overall profile of department. Under Stenelo and Jönsson the study of international politics has thrived to the point where Lund has acquired a leading position in Sweden and a good international standing as well. Similarly, Lundquist's research on bureaucratic politics has put Lund on the map of public administration studies. What we see in all these cases is, however, the fruits of intellectual leadership and positive inspiration rather than of coercive diplomacy and competitive empire-building. The Lund political science department has had the good fortune of having a senior troika that is working well together and to a large extent shares a common vision. To the extent that we can talk about a distinct profile of the department, it is very much a product of their *joint* influence, supplemented with and moulded by contributions from other faculty members. And this profile is expressed not merely in the relative priority given to various subfields, but as much in the foci chosen and approaches adopted across research areas. For example, it seems fair to say that more energy is invested in studies designed to help us understand *how* political institutions and processes work than in research measuring and explaining *effects* of public policies. This applies to the study of international politics as well as to research on Swedish politics. Also, more research seems to be motivated by a normative concern with appropriate and legitimate procedures or by ideas of distributive fairness than with policy effectiveness or efficiency. Moreover, we find a considerable amount of interest in what might somewhat vaguely be labeled *ideational* aspects of politics—ranging from studies of enemy images and communication in international negotiations to studies focusing on the social construction of various types of identity—from nationality and gender to specific bureaucratic and political roles. With regard to methodological approaches we find much research relying on in-depth qualitative process-tracing or interpretative methods such as discourse analysis and in-depth interviews, and relatively few projects using statistical techniques or formal models (e.g. game theory or computer simulation). By and large intensive methods are used more often than extensive, and the ability to make sense out of real-life complexity and to tap and combine different sources of data is given programmatic priority over other scientific virtues such as analytic precision and rigor.

The doctoral program reflects this set of priorities. By design it emphasizes generalist competence over highly specialized expertise, and learning-by-doing over more formal training. It has distinct features of what might be called an apprenticeship model. The department strives to provide common arenas for presentation and critical review of research, and to integrate doctoral stu-

dents into the department team. Moreover, senior faculty actively encourage their students to participate in international conferences and spend time at foreign universities. The department has had a considerable amount of success in achieving these goals. About 40 percent of its doctoral students spend some time at another European university, while 40 percent visit another foreign university (mainly in the US). Nearly 50 per cent go abroad for data gathering purposes, indicating a broad interest in the outside world. Competition for admission to the doctoral program is fairly strong; the department annually receives 50–70 applications and accepts only 4–6. Some of the dissertations we have looked at are definitely high quality studies. Overall, we find the Lund environment highly supportive and nurturing. We are somewhat less impressed by the more technical training. To be clear: we see nothing wrong in the emphasis put on intensive, qualitative methods and interpretative approaches. Such research can produce very useful insight but is extremely difficult to do well. The department therefore deserves credit for preparing its doctoral students well for this kind of work. Yet, looking at the development of the discipline over the past couple of decades, we are forced to conclude that a person who lacks an adequate basis in statistical and formal techniques will have a hard time reading and understanding a substantial proportion of current state-of-the-art research literature. For this reason alone we believe that a basic “literacy” in these techniques is important also for people who do not plan to apply them in their own research. We are not entirely confident that the Lund program fully meets this latter requirement. The program does include a comprehensive course on research methods in political science. This course provides a basic introduction to quantitative techniques, but not to formal modeling. This is an area where collaboration with other departments, or participation in international summer school programs, may be the most cost-effective means of strengthening the program.

In an overall evaluation, we would on the positive side note that Lund has some senior faculty members who are recognized as prominent scholars by the international research communities in their fields, and also some very promising young people. The department has been quite successful in developing its research agenda in a way that enables it to take advantage of existing strengths in addressing new, cutting-edge questions. It has been fairly successful also in obtaining research funding from various external sources (32% of total budget in 2000). Several faculty members are actively participating in international research networks. What we find most striking about the Lund department is its team qualities. The environment is inclusive, faculty by and large work well together, and Lund provides a supportive setting for doctoral students to

develop and mature. These are by no means trivial achievements, and credit goes to the faculty at large and to the department leadership in particular.

On the negative side, we would first of all point out that Lund is relatively 'thin at the top'. One clear indication is that two of its senior professors (Jönsson and Lundquist) together account for almost two thirds of all citations registered in the SSCI. Moreover, the average score of the Lund department is significantly below those of the other 'old' universities. The good news is that we find this difference hard to explain merely or even mainly in terms of academic quality criteria. Admittedly, most of the work that we have looked at belongs to the category of well-crafted science—solid, but not cutting-edge. But we also found some excellent studies, by junior researchers as well as by senior professors. And also research that is not truly path-breaking often contributes significantly to the development of new knowledge. This all suggest that much of the variance can be attributed to other factors. Most important seems to be the fact that Lund has a lower proportion of staff in the full professor category. This comparative 'drawback' has been exacerbated by the university's decision to take good advantage of Stenelo's leadership skills, leaving only two of the three professors in a position to engage actively in research. When we control for distribution of faculty across categories, the gap narrows substantially. Another factor that seems to be at play is publication *patterns*. With some exceptions, Lund faculty publishes a relatively low proportion of their work in (well-known) international journals, and they seem to do so in part by their own choice. We do recognize that there is a difficult trade-off to be made between communicating results to domestic audiences—particularly the attentive public at large—and reaching out to the international research community, and we are not arguing that the latter should be privileged over the former. The point we are making is simply that the predominant publication pattern of the Lund faculty is not particularly effective for the latter purpose. As a consequence, their work gets less attention by the wider research community than it deserves judged by academic quality standards. Lundquist's important research on public administration and bureaucratic politics may serve as one good illustration. It would also be fair to add that many faculty members who do not figure prominently in international citation scores have contributed significantly to the overall achievements of the department.

Second, even though Lund has a good blend of faculty with expertise in different fields, the future of one of its present core areas—public administration—is not at all secure. There is, of course, nothing wrong in departmental profiles changing as senior faculty leave and others take over their positions; such change occurs all the time. It seems to us, however, that top rate expertise

in public administration is very important to the Lund department's overall ambitions as well as to research in other fields, including the growing fields of European politics and power and democracy. With Lundquist approaching retirement age, a concerted effort will be required to ensure that Lund remains, in bold print, on the public administration map.

Third, we note that at post-doctoral levels Lund has over the years served as a net exporter of talent. This speaks well at least for its doctoral program, but may have negative implications for its overall future strength. The department would be well advised to think hard about effective means for keeping the best of its own produce and at the same time recruiting from the outside community. We would strongly recommend a more active recruitment policy, and it would be no shame if the record of 'inbreeding' were to be modified in the process! Such a policy becomes all the more important since Lund must expect to face tougher competition in coming years as a consequence of a general internationalization of 'markets' for education and research. The political drive of region-building across Öresund provides interesting opportunities for closer cooperation, but also a certain risk of more competition from neighboring Copenhagen and Malmö.

Finally, one important key to excellence is to find the right mix between collegial care and support on the one hand and strict performance demands and an achievement-oriented culture on the other. The optimal environment has a high score on both, and a good balance. Lund is no doubt doing well on care and support, but we are less certain about the performance demand side. We have no robust evidence, but cannot help being left with a gnawing suspicion—based on soft indicators such as publication patterns, somewhat relaxed attitudes towards technical training, and at best a moderate interest in external recruitment—that Lund may run the somewhat paradoxical risk of being a bit too 'cozy'.

## *Stockholm University*

The beginning of political science at Stockholm is usually attributed to the creation of the Lars Hierta Chair in 1936. Before that, the study of politics had been pursued within Law, more specifically Constitutional and Administrative Law. For twenty-five years, the Hierta Chair was the only permanent position in the Department of Political Science. After higher education in Stockholm was upgraded in 1960 to full university status, and the need for teaching staff increased, new positions were added. Although enrollment slowed down in the

1970s, it rose again in the mid-1980s. Since then, it has grown at a slow but steady rate reaching about 1,000 students in basic, intermediate and advanced level courses.

Being a department in the national capital, it has over the years had no difficulty in attracting some of the very best political scientists in Sweden. Characteristic of all those prominent scholars who occupied the Hierta Chair in the past—Elis Håstad, Herbert Tingsten, Gunnar Heckscher, Hans Meijer and Olof Ruin—however, is that they were pulled into political or public life. Håstad and Heckscher became full-time politicians, Tingsten a publicist, while Meijer became Vice Chancellor at Linköping University, and Ruin not only became Dean but also spent considerable time in government office or in public review commissions. The only occupant of the Chair who did not embark upon a public career outside the university is Björn Wittrock (1993–99), but even he was more interested in issues that transcended the boundaries of political science. Also others who have joined the Department at Stockholm have engaged in other official pursuits. For example, Daniel Tarschys has been on leave as a parliamentarian and Secretary General of the Council of Europe for much of his time in the Department; Björn von Sydow has for the last few years served as Government Minister. Compared to other departments around Sweden, the one in Stockholm has enjoyed less stability in the faculty ranks. In these circumstances, leading the department effectively has been a special challenge.

At the time of our visit in October 2000, the Hierta Chair was vacant, but there were six professors, one professor emeritus, and one *universitetslektor* recommended for promotion to professor. In addition, there were 12 faculty with *docent* status, 16 *universitetslektorer*, two *forskarassistenter*, and one research fellow, making it the largest department in the country. It should also be mentioned that during 2000 one senior faculty, Jens Bartelson, was appointed Professor of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen in Denmark. The number of doctoral students totaled 66, of whom 42 were reported as being fully financed; 45% of all graduate students were women. Between 1993 and 1999, 21 students finished their doctoral degree in Political Science, an average of 3 per year. Women constituted one quarter of those who graduated. Like in other departments at major Swedish universities, the trend has indicated a growth in numbers.

Stockholm now has three women in the rank of professor. Two of these are university-financed chairs, the third a *docent* recently promoted to professor (*befordransprofessur*). At the less senior level, however, the situation is different: only two of the twelve *docent* positions are occupied by women; of the two *forskarassistent* positions listed above, one is a woman.

Not all professorships are financed through regular departmental budgetary means. For example, Rune Premfors occupies a position that is financed by the Stockholm Center for Organizational Research (SCORE). Diane Sainsbury was recently promoted to professor according to a new system of rewarding productive scholars. The University pays part of her salary outside the regular department budget. Funds released by professors or others on leave have typically been used to support the doctoral program. Although the department in the past has been reasonably successful in raising external funds, it gets relatively less than other departments in the 'old' universities. For example, its 7.6 MSEK in 2000 constituted only 23 per cent of its total budget, considerably less than the expected one third. Funds have come from independent research councils and funds, sectorial councils as well as government agencies. An example of external funding is the 1.25 MSEK per year secured for the Politics of Development Program from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) through SAREC, its research department. With internal and external means, the department admits half a dozen or so new doctoral students every year. The majority tends to come from the region around Stockholm.

The doctoral program is not organized along sub-disciplinary boundaries but rather around six separate themes that reflect the research interests of the faculty. These six research areas are:

- Internationalization and European Politics
- International Relations
- Political Institutions
- Political Theory and Political Philosophy
- Politics of Development
- Politics and Gender

Doctoral students work in one of these research areas and although they take common courses in theory and methods, their training takes place largely within the confines of each such area. The department, like others in Sweden, has a general seminar where draft chapters of doctoral dissertations and individual papers are presented and discussed by both faculty and doctoral students. It also has another forum—*sam-seminarium*—that serves as a means to expose students to different perspectives. Doctoral students, in interviews with us, indicated that they liked the “open and searching” climate of the department at Stockholm. This may reflect the fact that so many doctoral students at Stockholm prefer a constructivist and more non-conventional approach to their research. We believe that what the department in Stockholm does is both

interesting and innovative. This raises the issue whether it is at the cutting edge of what the discipline should be all about or it is at the margin because less emphasis is being paid to what other departments in Sweden, and elsewhere in the world, tend to regard as 'mainstream'. We do not wish to set ourselves up as the ultimate judges of this matter, but it raises a broader issue for Swedish political science: how much should research and doctoral education be standardized? How much should the latter include systematic exposure to more than one of the disciplinary fields?

As indicated by the list above, research in the department is quite diverse. Kjell Goldmann, as one of the senior professors, has over the years contributed substantially to putting Stockholm on the International Relations map. His academic writing, which is almost exclusively in English, is well recognized and appreciated by the international research community, as evident, for example, in a good record in the Social Science Citation Index. In recent years he has turned his interest toward the tension between nationalism and internationalism in global politics, using the European integration as the principal case study. Compared to some of the other research areas, however, the "Internationalization and European Politics" program is relatively small. Goldmann's shift in interest has at least for the time being weakened the International Relations field at Stockholm.

At present, "Politics and Gender" is the high-profile research area of the department. With several senior researchers in this area — Drude Dahlerup, Maud Eduards, and Diane Sainsbury, Stockholm must count as the strongest political science department in this area in the whole of Scandinavia, and would also do well when compared to other departments in Europe and North America. Dahlerup's work draws on Marshall's theory of citizenship and how citizen rights are extended from political and civil to social, and economic domains. Hers is an actor, sometimes activist, approach to the study of how gender and gender discourses affect democracy in the Nordic countries. Eduards, who has played an important role in developing the Politics and Gender Program, participates in a research program that also involves two scholars from Umeå University. Their empirical realm is politics at the municipal and county level in Sweden. Sainsbury approaches these issues differently in that she recognizes the role that institutions and structures play in determining choices that women make. Her effort to reconceptualize crucial dimensions of the welfare state from a gender perspective, evident for example in several chapters in her recent book, "Gender and Welfare State Regimes" (Oxford University Press 1999), constitutes an important contribution to the literature on the changes that have been taking place in the welfare state in recent years. Her effort to be comparative

beyond the Nordic model adds to the significance of her work to scholars elsewhere.

Political theory and philosophy has always been quite strong in Stockholm. In spite of the loss of both Björn Wittrock and Jens Bartelson, the tradition lives on. Bo Lindensjö has done a valuable job in keeping the program going in spite of these losses. It currently benefits from the contribution of a new generation of theorists working on such issues as justice and rights and obligations in the public sphere.

The study of Swedish politics is lumped under the general “Political Institutions” heading. It includes many different subjects such as constitutional politics, public administration, political parties, elections, local government, and policy. It is impossible here to do justice to the full range of these research activities. Although the work at Stockholm trails that of Göteborg in the field of electoral studies, Tommy Möller’s work on Swedish elections and political parties, some of it co-authored or co-edited with Sören Holmberg at Göteborg, has been recognized both by academic peers and the public. Möller has also been a frequent commentator on Swedish politics on national television. The study of political institutions at Stockholm has also included a focus on Swedish public administration in its political context, an area of research where Gunnar Wallin has played an important role over the years. Some of the work in this area has been carried out as part of *Statens Offentliga Utredningar* (Official Government Reviews). This includes contributions, for example, by Rune Premfors on the Swedish Model as Democracy. Other faculty like Michelle Micheletti, has contributed to a “Democratic Audit” carried out by a private think-tank, *Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle* (SNS). Although this research area is really hard to define in terms of common threads, it demonstrates a balance between the academic pretensions of research and the extent to which it is policy-relevant.

Politics of Development is the title given to the program that focuses on Third World countries. It is enthusiastically directed by Björn Beckman. Stockholm has done more than any other department in Sweden to institutionalize Third World studies as a regular program. In recent years, this has become possible with generous grants from Sida/SAREC. As a result, it attracts a good number of new doctoral students every year. Doctoral students tend to focus their research on Africa and Asia at par with the area interests of the faculty in this program. Like research in most other places, the program is currently heavily oriented toward issues of democratization. There is no cross-sectional analysis, using statistical methods, and more of qualitative research on such as issues as human rights, social movements, and political parties.

In addition to its doctoral program and the undergraduate teaching, the Department at Stockholm also runs five separate master's programs, one in political science at large, another in European politics, a third in international relations (with the Department of Economic History), a fourth in public policy and management (with the Department of Business Administration), and a fifth in political economy (with the Department of Economics). Compared to other departments, these add up to a relatively heavy teaching burden for faculty in the Department.

In trying to make an overall assessment of the Department at Stockholm, our conclusions are mixed. We would like to comment on four issues in particular. The first concerns the problem that the Department faces in making good use of its human resources. There is a lot of individual talent in the Department, both at the senior and junior levels. In terms of Social Science Citation Index figures, Stockholm, as a department, comes second only to Göteborg. Key faculty members, however, have had difficulties in working together. Some of them have been and still are more engaged in public than academic life. As a result, the Department remains fragmented and at times conflictual. This is a problem that reduces the ability of the department to occupy a position more in line with its professional and academic capacity. We believe that departments tend to do best in terms of self-evaluation and development if they strike a constructive balance between conformity and diversity at the academic level, authority and autonomy at the administrative level. Our overall impression is that academically, the department at Stockholm has organized itself with too much emphasis on diversity, bordering on fragmentation. We recognize that this may have been a good move to provide better opportunities for faculty to pursue individual or subgroup interests, but it hardly provides fertile ground for broader cooperation. Administratively, it has proved difficult to exercise authority in ways that bring faculty and students together to enhance the stature of the department at large. We see these as challenges that the department must deal with on its own or with the help of other institutional mechanisms at the university.

The second point concerns the intellectual orientation of the Department. While it seems comparatively strong in such as areas as Gender and Politics and Politics of Development, it has lost much of its strength in areas where it used to be prominent, notably the study of international relations and Swedish political institutions. There is, of course nothing wrong *per se* in changing the research agenda as faculty members come and go. Yet, one may argue that these are fields where one would expect a department that is located in the national capital to have significant comparative advantages. Although individuals like Möller, Premfors and Micheletti have made important individual contributions, schol-

ars at other universities have been able to overshadow the research done at Stockholm. Also the study of international relations finds itself in a weaker position now, although it is our understanding that this is in part the result of decisions taken by the Government to invest in programs and build up capacity elsewhere (*Utrikespolitiska Institutet* (UI), *Försvarshögskolan* and Södertörn). These developments do, of course, have important implications for the Stockholm department, but we nonetheless believe that there are good reasons to consider what could be done to restore some of the prominence lost in both International Relations (at least IR *theory*) and the study of Swedish political institutions.

The third issue concerns the training of graduate students. In terms of methodology, the Department leans heavily toward a constructivist and interpretative approach, giving it a profile that is different from other departments in Sweden. While such a methodological niche may be good in recruiting students who do not want to use positivist and quantitative approaches, it is not sufficiently broad to prepare students well for the study of politics at large. Even where individual faculty offers other approaches, there is a tendency for students to get only a partial view because of the division of the department into six quite exclusive research areas. We are not convinced that doctoral students at Stockholm really get as complete training in the discipline as they should do. This is in our view a reason for the department to consider what kind of minimal combination of both substantive and methods courses that is appropriate for its doctoral students.

The fourth issue relates to the budgetary implications of the current segmented status of the department. It tends to create problems of equity among its programs. For example, the Politics of Development program has been quite successful in getting funds from external sources. This has freed up resources for use by other programs. Should the former, however, find that its current sectorial funding (Sida/SAREC) for some reason would dry up, the future of the whole program seems to be at stake, because it would not be easy to accommodate its needs within the departmental budget. Politics of Development, the only one of its kind in Sweden, therefore, lives quite a precarious existence and may not be able to enhance its own position except at the cost of some other program.

## *Umeå University*

Umeå University was established in 1965 as the first full-fledged institution of higher learning in Norrland, the vast region of northern Sweden that makes up

two-thirds of the country's geographic territory, but only one-quarter of its total population. It was the product of a deliberate government policy to encourage development in northern Sweden, which has for a long time been afflicted by considerable out-migration. Political science was one of the early disciplines to get established with Pär-Erik Back, hired from Lund, serving as the first professor of the new department. Although he was concerned with ensuring the department's relevance to the local region around Umeå, Back was also deliberately working to prevent it from becoming just a provincial university in the north. In his effort to this effect, he was assisted by two large-scale research projects that were started on a countrywide basis by Swedish political scientists. The single largest focused on local-level politics (*kommunalforskningsprojektet*), the second on the Swedish political parties. Both these projects helped the new department in Umeå to become an integral part of mainstream Swedish political science research. They also brought funds for research by both faculty and doctoral students. Political science at Umeå gradually diversified into other fields, developing competence in comparative politics, international relations, implementation research, and more recently environmental policy and politics. Although Umeå never has quite reached the level of the departments at the older universities, it has over the years produced or attracted a number of prominent political scientists. The problem is that Umeå, more than other departments, has had difficulty in retaining its most senior faculty.

This problem of adequate staffing keeps plaguing the department to this day. In 1997, a professor in Comparative Politics and International Relations with special focus on Eastern Europe, Jan Åke Dellenbrant, unexpectedly passed away. In 1999 two of its senior faculty, Jan-Erik and Gullan Gidlund departed for Örebro University, the former as Rector, the latter as *docent* and lecturer. At the time of our evaluation, the department had two full-time professors, although one of them served as Vice-Rector of the University. In addition, it had two part-time professors, one who shared a position at another university, the other with an ambassadorial position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Even though they both make a contribution, especially in terms of supervising dissertations, their impact on the department's intellectual agenda is necessarily limited by the fact that their time in Umeå is little. Of remaining faculty, three occupy the position of *docent*, another ten are *universitetslektorer*, and three serve as *forskarassistenter*. This compares with a total of sixteen doctoral students supported by the department from internal or external sources. As is the practice in Sweden, these doctoral students carry a fair share, approximately 20 per cent, of the teaching burden at undergraduate level. Compared to departments in the older universities, the ratio of doctoral students to faculty is higher at Umeå,

reflecting the staffing problem in the department. The practice at Umeå of bringing in a guest professor for a semester or year only marginally improves this situation. An encouraging feature of the faculty profile at Umeå is that over half of those listed above are women. This is especially true among the younger scholars.

Although the leadership of the department is doing its best to make good use of its scarce resources, it is not easy to accomplish what the departments at the older universities are capable of accomplishing because of having more faculty resources at their disposal. The number of applicants has declined from as many as 35 a few years ago to only 18 in 2000. Even though a higher percentage than before was admitted that year, the number of doctoral students has remained too small to fill up specialized graduate seminars. For instance in 1997 and 1998, only one doctoral student was admitted a year; in 1999 it was four, and in 2000 a total of six. A departmental survey shows that over a five-year period (1996–2000), a total of 152 applications for graduate studies had been received, but only 16 had been admitted. In spite of good efforts by existing faculty, less money has been raised from external sources than in previous years, thus reducing the number of doctoral students that can be admitted. The average funding from external sources between 1992 and 1999 was approximately 6.3 MSEK. In 1999, it had fallen below that average. This also means that its external funding that year was below the expected norm that one third of the departmental budget should be externally funded. In a national perspective Umeå has done well, given its relatively small size, but upholding this norm is likely to become increasingly a challenge to the department. We believe that existing faculty are aware of these problems and ready to take on this challenge. Yet, the story of Umeå is one of broader significance for political science in Sweden, because it raises the issue of departmental size. ‘Big’ is not necessarily beautiful, but it definitely gives an advantage when it comes to providing doctoral education. The question that we cannot escape raising here is whether Umeå is at risk of falling below what is a ‘critical mass’ of faculty for sustaining both quantity and quality in doctoral education. This is certainly an issue that the department ought to raise with the administration of Umeå University.

The strength of the department is concentrated in a few and scattered areas. After the tragic death of Professor Dellenbrant, international politics occupies only a marginal position in the department, although it must be added that Cynthia Kite maintains an interest in the field and that Krister Wahlbäck continues to publish and supervise doctoral students. These efforts, however, are still too insignificant to put Umeå in a prominent place on the Swedish international relations map.

One of its strengths instead lies in comparative politics, where Svante Ersson and Torbjörn Bergman have published extensively in respected international journals or are featured by serious academic publishing houses. For example, Ersson, usually together with Jan-Erik Lane, once associated with the Department, has published books on European politics and also textbooks in comparative politics and comparative political economy. These volumes have been well received by political scientists in Europe and have helped giving prominence to the scholarship at Umeå. Ersson's own work has been focused especially on political parties and he has published several academic and more popular articles on that subject in several languages. Bergman's work complements that of Ersson by focusing on constitutional designs for facilitating the establishment of workable governments. More recently, he has taken his research into the field of European integration and its consequences for delegation and accountability. He is one of a relatively small number of Swedish political scientists who work on this subject from a truly comparative perspective. Bergman's research is well recognized and read. It is no coincidence, therefore, that he collaborates with Kaare Strøm at the University of California at San Diego. Together with Ersson, Bergman helps giving Umeå a name in international political science circles. Others at Umeå work comparatively but their contributions to the field are yet to reach the same level of international prominence. The other strength at Umeå lies in the policy implementation field. Two areas stand out. Two senior faculty—Olof Johansson and Anders Lidström—have been working on comparative educational policy issues. Both are engaged in an international network focused on these issues and both are well published. Lidström, for example, has produced an edited book in English and has had an article published in *Scandinavian Political Studies*. The work of Olof Johansson focuses especially on educational management. He has studied how high school principles may enhance their effectiveness through a more democratic form of leadership. Johansson works both theoretically and practically. He has published in international academic journals where these issues are discussed theoretically, but he has also a great number of policy-oriented pieces in Swedish that are addressed to educational administrators. Although Lidström and Johansson work with a relatively specialized set of policy issues, they have carved out a niche for themselves that give their department recognition in Sweden and internationally among fellow academics as well as educational administrators.

The other area is environmental policy and its implementation. The work of Katarina Eckerberg is most prominent here. Her publications include articles in international environmental politics journals and individual chapters in edited volumes. More recently, several of these have focused on the Swedish experience

of implementing Agenda 21, the set of global recommendations for a sustainable development option. Some of these publications are co-authored with colleagues in her field, such as Abdul Khakee, a part-time professor in political science at Umeå concentrating on urban and regional planning. Eckerberg has also been very active in various applied policy contexts as well as in the public debate about sustainable development issues. Her trade mark is cross-disciplinary work. She recognizes that environmental issues cannot be understood from a single disciplinary perspective. As a result, she has a broad outreach to scholars also in other disciplines. We fully recognize the importance of cross-disciplinary research, especially on environmental issues, but we also ask ourselves whether Eckerberg shouldn't—and couldn't—bring in a more consistent political science perspective on these issues by highlighting e.g. the role of power or institutions. These are not wholly absent in her writings, but more could be done to enhance the place of political science in environmental studies.

To the list of strengths at Umeå should also be added the research on gender and politics. Gunnel Gustafsson's work over the years has focused on key aspects of Swedish politics. Most notably within the context of the broader "Democracy in Transition" project she has turned her interest in the direction of the different roles that women play in sustaining democracy. In pursuing this, Gustafsson has worked closely with colleagues in other departments, notably at Stockholm.

In spite of its relative geographic isolation in the north of Sweden, Umeå has good international contacts. In addition to individual collaborative efforts with scholars in the U.S. and Canada, the department participates in a university-wide effort to cooperate with institutions in the northeastern corner of Europe. Thus, it has exchange relations with universities in the Baltic countries and with universities in northwestern Russia and Finland. These involve student and faculty exchanges as well as research collaboration. Research reports from such collaboration have focused on parliamentary elections in northwestern Russia and enforcement of environmental regulations for the Baltic Sea.

Our assessment is that political science at Umeå has been doing well in spite of problems of retaining faculty and generating external funding. Its faculty manages to keep a good balance between theoretically sophisticated and more practically oriented work. They publish internationally as well as produce reports that are appreciated in policy-oriented circles. The quality of much of the work that comes out of political science at Umeå stands up fairly well in international comparison. A few faculty are quite frequently recorded in the SSCI.

Despite these achievements, and despite the fact that the Department has been very competently led over the years by Gunnel Gustafsson, we are con-

cerned about the future of political science at Umeå. While some of the flight of faculty from the department may be the result of individual career ambitions, there are some institutional threats on the horizon that cannot be ignored. Notable among these is the rapid growth of new universities and university colleges that sap public resources away from existing ones. This threat applies to all the other existing universities as well, but it may be especially felt at a place like Umeå that has neither the accumulated capital of tradition nor the fresh opportunities offered by institutions in a build-up phase. Three former scholars at Umeå are now at Örebro, an indication as much as any that it has got new competitors in the form of political science departments in the rapidly expanding number of universities and university colleges around the country. Regardless of the reasons for the depletion of faculty resources and the extent to which other universities and colleges constitute competitors to Umeå, we are concerned with the issue of critical mass. We urge the University as well as the department to take this issue seriously, and work together to develop the department into a more full-fledged and stronger unit.

A related concern is the doctoral program. If Stockholm may have a fragmented program by design, Umeå has it by default, meaning that it has difficulty in sustaining it for lack of a critical number of faculty and students. It raises the issue of what is best for a department that does not yet have all the resources it would like to have. Should it focus on combining, as it does now, upper level undergraduate courses with graduate seminars or should it develop more specialized graduate training in collaboration with the departments at the older universities? We are not in a position to take a stand on that issue. It may well be that both approaches are necessary. We do, however, strongly encourage the department to evaluate its experience with both and adjust each as lessons are learnt and opportunities for expanding the department arise.

Finally, we wish to mention that in our view the department at Umeå is one of the best managed that we visited. It does not have a systematic quality control system equivalent to Göteborg's in place, but it is aware of both strengths and weaknesses in its activities. It operates in a self-evaluative fashion and seems capable of learning from what it has done right or wrong. This gives us confidence that the department will be able to make the right choices in the future as it deals with challenges such as those listed above or other ones emerging as the higher educational scene in Sweden keeps changing. Its managerial strength may also come handy as it continues to nurture international contacts and develops closer relations with other departments to complement faculty resources, e.g. in training of doctoral students, that are, at least for now, not available at Umeå.

## Uppsala University

The Department of political science in Uppsala is an old and venerable institution situated within a first-rate national university. Endowed with the oldest political science chair in Sweden, the department has a tradition of empirical research on Swedish Politics that stretches back to the late nineteenth century. When Leif Lewin succeeded C. A. Hessler as Skytte Chair in 1972, he aimed to professionalize departmental research, and indeed, Swedish political science, through his program, "Politics as Rational Action" (*Politik som rationellt handlande*), which was in place from 1975 to 1985. The growth of the department has been steady, with a second chair added in 1967, (which has been occupied by Axel Hadenius since 1991), and a third in 1996, (held by Jörgen Hermansson since 1998). Three additional professors have externally-funded chairs: Evert Vedung (1995) in *bostadsforskning* at the Institute of Housing Research (*Institutet för bostadsforskning*), Bengt Sundelius in *krishantering och internationell samverkan* (1999), sharing his time with *Försvarshögskolan* in Stockholm, and Sverker Gustavsson as Jean Monnet Professor since 1999. Walter Carlsnaes was promoted to professor in 1999; Lars Rudebeck in 2000. In addition, Olof Petersson at *Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhället*, (SNS) in Stockholm retains his association with the department. The department is also neighbor to the Department of Peace and Conflict Research (*Institutionen för freds- och konfliktforskning*), which can be mentioned as a potential resource for the department, but this latter department fell outside of the scope of our review.

The department is now one of the largest in Sweden, with 8 professors, and a budget of 35.7 MSEK for the year 2000. In the autumn of 2000, the department also counted 13 *lektorer*, 1 *forskarassistent* and 12 *forskare* on its staff. At that time, there was one woman amongst the 5 *docenter*, no female professors or *forskarassistenter*, but 1 female *lektor* and 4 female researchers (*forskare*). Since then, the department has hired one female *forskarassistent*. The department has been highly successful in obtaining external funding, with research grants totaling 12.2 MSEK, or 34% of the total budget for 2000. Not only have members of the department been effective in funding their research, they have a reputation for being good grants managers, and Uppsala has achieved an excellent level of both quality and quantity of research that is marked by uniformly high standards. The graduate program receives more applications than any other in Sweden (362 between 1995 and 1999) and can accept only 8% of the applicants. Between 1993 and 1999, 25 doctoral dissertations were defended (or an average of 3.6 per year); 4 of these by women. The department currently enrolls

32 graduate students; 11 of those are women. Nearly all students are fully financed, and because the department's policy of adjusting graduate recruitment to its resources predates the government mandate to do so, the department has not been forced to reduce drastically the numbers of students admitted in order to comply.

Political Science at Uppsala University is marked by a clear intellectual vision, particularly in the area of Swedish politics. In previous decades, the focus of research in this area was on applying the analytic toolkit of game theory in order to understand Swedish politics of the last 100 years. More recently, the focus has been broadened, to a consideration of the conditions and consequences of democracy. This has better integrated work on political development, international politics and the European Union into the core research agenda of the department. In addition, a more diverse set of theoretical and methodological approaches—such as historical institutionalism, comparative-historical sociology, and quantitative methods—are used in the department's current projects. In the area of Swedish politics, the focus of projects such as “The Parliament and Organized Interests” remains one of revealing the logic of parliamentary politics. Of central importance have been the workings and consequences of majority rule, the power implications of political institutions and party strategies, and the impact of political ideology on decision-making. The aim of this research has been both historical-descriptive and analytic, seeking to provide information about Swedish politics, as well as general conclusions about the nature of parliamentary democracy. A number of projects are now investigating the decline of the Swedish model, and both the rise and decline of Swedish corporatism. These concerns were also central to the research of Nils Elvander, a professor emeritus in the department.

Axel Hadenius takes up the democracy theme from a comparative historical perspective, challenging the Barrington Moore position with an institutional argument about the rise of the modern state and its impact on democracy. Other projects focus on the institutional conditions for democratic citizenship, both theoretically, and empirically, for example in analyzing citizen attitudes in Russia. Sverker Gustavsson's work on the European Union is also concerned with changing relationships between states and citizens, iconoclastically rebutting standard arguments about the democratic deficit.

Uppsala has other strengths that articulate reasonably well with this core focus on democratic politics. Most connected are perhaps the scholars working on political theory, with Hermansson active in both theory and Swedish politics, and Mats Lundström, as well, writing on Swedish equality policy from a philosophic point of view, as well as classical theory. Similarly, Evert Vedung's

research on policy analysis and policy evaluation makes a contribution to the public administration and policy area, but his interests overlap with the researchers studying the politics of policy-making, as well. Less well integrated are the international politics scholars, with Walter Carlsnaes and Bengt Sundelius both known for their work on foreign policy, although here, too, connections can be made. Carlsnaes has focused recently on the impact of the European Union on Sweden's neutrality policy, as well as on the implications of the EU for foreign policy in Europe. Sundelius has worked on comparative foreign policy, and on crisis management in general and in Swedish foreign policy in particular. Lars Rudebeck and Hans Blomkvist's work on development does have a democracy focus, and recent projects on social capital tie in well with the Hadenius projects examining the conditions for democracy. With Sverker Gustavsson—who not only has written on the philosophy of science, but served as permanent secretary for higher education and research—and Li Bennich-Björckman, who has studied the conditions for scientific innovation in university departments—we can identify a small core in science and education policy. Similarly, Barry Holmström and Karl-Göran Algotsson add a focus on judicial politics. Holmström's comparative study of judicial review in England, France and Germany investigates the constitutional politics behind very different institutional divisions of power, as well as the causes of the more recent trend towards increasing judicial activism in all three nations. Algotsson, too, is concerned with judicial review and constitutional questions, and has investigated the impact of the EU on the Swedish constitution, as well as environmental policy. Anders Westholm is the first Swedish political scientist to have published an article in the *American Political Science Review*, in which he defends the Downs model against the proximity theory of voting, thus entering a core, international theoretical debate.

As a research environment, Uppsala stands out as having high coherence and high professional standards. Faculty members have good publication records, but as in several other universities, citations are highly concentrated to a few senior scholars. Particularly notable are the number of absolutely top-notch doctoral dissertations, and the fact that younger scholars in the department are publishing at high rates in international refereed journals. At the same time, the research in the department is socially and politically relevant, and many faculty and researchers have contributed to SOU reports, departmental studies and to the Democratic Audit. Nevertheless, given the excellent work that is being produced, the department does not seem to be as involved in international networks or projects, or even to be disseminating its work internationally as much as it could. Indeed, the department seems to be somewhat self-contained, and

perhaps a bit too inclined to rest on its laurels. There has been no real need to apply for research funding outside of Sweden, and the department has not needed to cultivate its international contacts in order to establish itself. The department does not seem to push its students to study abroad or to publish in English, nor does it seem eager to invite many foreign scholars to Uppsala. And the intellectual coherence achieved through a successful research program has had its costs. In particular, it seems to have contributed to the marginalization of some department members in the past, and to a continued marginalization of some newer topics and issues in political science, such as gender.

These concerns extend to our evaluation of the doctoral program. Uppsala provides graduate students with a rigorous professional training. Both qualitative and quantitative methods instruction is outstanding, and the cooperation with Göteborg in the methods area is exemplary. Participation in a department-wide research seminar integrates the doctoral candidates and disseminates scientific norms and standards, as well as knowledge of broad areas of the discipline. Students are under heavy pressure to produce work of superior quality in a short period of time, and also to begin to think about future projects and future funding possibilities even while writing their dissertations. As evaluators, we are ambivalent about the tough academic atmosphere at Uppsala. On the one hand, this 'trial by fire' does indeed prepare students for the rough academic life that lies ahead. On the other, the Uppsala students appear a bit 'down-trodden' in comparison to doctoral candidates at other institutions. Another possible disadvantage of the rigorous atmosphere is that unconventional topics—which might in the end have a very big impact precisely because they are new and original—may be rejected before their initiators have a chance to develop a fully convincing defense of their ideas.

All in all, Uppsala remains an excellent department of political science with both breadth and focus in its research. The strategic questions for the future will be how to re-invent the research program of the institution in face both of retirements and increasing diversity in the department. We welcome the increasing pluralism in research interests, but it will be a challenge to retain an intellectual core—undoubtedly a strength of the Uppsala department—as research interests broaden, and as the number of full professors increases. We expect the department to think strategically about faculty recruitment, but given the department's excellent geographic and institutional location, we cannot anticipate it ever having difficulties in recruiting top faculty. The department should consider measures to identify and encourage outstanding undergraduate women that might be interested in pursuing graduate studies. Although the rational choice research program has been a success in many respects, the department

should make a serious effort to broaden further the range of approaches in active use, particularly interpretive ones. One small step could be to organize a speaker series to bring in more scholars engaged in this type of research. There are already contacts across this divide—for example with members of the Lund political science department investigating identities and democratic transitions—but these seem to be quite project specific. We also encourage the department to raise its international profile. Cooperation with the Department of Peace and Conflict Research could help to further strengthen the department's profile in both international and comparative politics. The comparative framework for studies of Swedish politics could also be strengthened. The department could take more advantage of the Johan Skytte Prize to raise its international visibility, and it could participate more actively than it does in international networks. The younger generation, in particular, should be encouraged to take the time to develop fully the theoretical generalizations emerging from their research, and as a general recommendation for the Swedish university system, we have suggested grants targeted for this purpose.

## *Linköping University*

Linköping celebrated its 25th anniversary as university last year. It has a distinct profile of inter- and transdisciplinary research and training. Consistent with this philosophy, the group of political scientists has been integrated into broader interdisciplinary institutes/departments—first the *Tema* institute, more specifically, the section on water and environment, from 1999 the School of Management and Environment. This kind of setting does offer some interesting opportunities, but it also implies a real risk of being marginalized. It is our impression that the political science group—in part because of its small size and lack of senior professors—has suffered somewhat as a junior partner under the Tema umbrella. A couple of the more senior people (notably Elgström and Loftsson) have left, for Lund and Södertörn respectively. The group itself now seems optimistic that the School of Management and Economics will provide a more congenial setting for developing its research and teaching activities.

The group today has five fulltime positions at the *lektor* level, plus one hired on a temporary and part-time basis. One of them, Geoffrey Gooch, has recently been appointed to a Jean Monnet chair in European political integration. The group offers courses in political science from A to D level, and contributes to several integrated programs, including the pol. mag. and the teacher training programs. A goal for the future is to develop a doctoral program, with empha-

sis on IR. The most important research areas in recent years have been international politics and environmental management, but we also find studies on other topics such as gender relations and municipal strategies for coping with unemployment. As Linköping was not asked to submit publications for review, the committee can evaluate research output only on the basis of publication lists, bibliometrical indicators, and publications read by one or more of its members for some other purpose. By bibliometrical indicators, Linköping would be at the same level as Växjö. This is not all that much of a surprise considering the fact that most faculty members are still at early stages of their careers. Our reading of a small set of publications leaves a mixed impression – most would not qualify for reputed international journals, but we also found some highly interesting work that deserves more attention. Some faculty members are actively involved in international networks and projects. This all suggests that we can expect to hear more from the Linköping group in the years to come. Its future development seems, though, to depend heavily on its ability to bring in reinforcement at the senior level and its success in developing synergistic relationships with other disciplines or thematic groups within the university. We see these two as mutually supporting elements of a strategy for growth. Reinforcement at the senior level can help increase the group's standing internally as well as externally, and success in developing productive cooperation with other groups may pay off in terms of budget allocations as well as future recruitment.

## *Karlstad University*

With its present status, Karlstad University has existed only since 1 January, 1999, but its roots date back to the mid-nineteenth century when a school of teaching was established in the city. In 1907 Karlstad also got a school of nursing, and this school later developed into a more comprehensive college of health sciences (*Hälsöhögskola*). Even today more than one third of Karlstad's 10,000 students can be found in the teacher training program, making this program the largest on campus. The first step towards university status was taken with the establishment of a university branch (*universitetsfilial*) in 1967. Another important step was the integration of existing higher education programs under the organizational framework of a college (*Högskolan i Karlstad*, established 1977). This integration process was completed in 1998, when also *Hälsöhögskolan* joined. It was this integrated *högskola* that was granted university status from 1999.

Political science was formally recognized as a distinct discipline as late as 1995, when Mats Dahlkvist was appointed the first professor of political science at Karlstad college. As of December last year, the group includes five full time faculty with Ph.D. degrees—one associate professor (*docent*), three assistant professors (*lektorer*) and one post-doctoral research fellow—one adjunct professor (Dahlkvist, who works 80% of his time for Örebro University), and six registered doctoral students. Plans call for adding one full professor, two *docents*, one *lektor*, and three *doktorandtjänster* by 2004. The overall research budget was last year at the level of 6.1 MSEK, mostly from internal sources. External funding is currently at the modest level of 1.2 MSEK (20%).

This small group is engaged in research covering a wide range of subjects, from basic political theory to municipal finances. Ongoing projects include studies of the concept of politics (Dahlkvist), the use of particular arrangements for public discussion and dialogue to promote local development (Räftegård), municipal strategies for coping with changing economic circumstances (Norell), secession and democracy (Denk), and the impact of national identity upon small-state international behavior (Löden). One can hardly speak of a common core, but strategy documents emphasize research on local and regional institutions and political processes as well as citizen attitudes towards and participation in politics. There is some cooperation with people from other departments and sections, inter alia, within the context of the group for regional research and the DILK program (*Demokratiens idé, lärande och kultur*). A few projects are undertaken jointly with colleagues at other universities or research institutes, the most ambitious being a study of changing economic-political doctrines and deregulation, led by Professor Ulf Ohlsson, Department of Economic History, Göteborg University, in cooperation with Dahlkvist. This research team is, though, based in Göteborg, and with Dahlkvist working mainly in Örebro the direct benefits for Karlstad seem to be modest.

With university status came the right to award doctoral degrees. As of January 2001, doctoral degrees are awarded in seventeen disciplines or subject areas, including political science. Postgraduate training is organized through two research schools, one for science and technology, the other for the humanities and social sciences. The political science program includes two required courses—one in the philosophy of science, the other in communication of science—and is otherwise structured along conventional lines. It goes without saying, though, that with current staff capacity the local menu of specialized courses in political science will have to be very limited.

Transforming itself from an institution devoted essentially to teaching to a university with research as an important part of its mission is by no means an

easy task. It would therefore be grossly unfair at this point in time to expect Karlstad to be able to compete with the 'old' universities in terms of research performance. Bibliometrical indicators and our own reading of selected publications confirm that we are talking about different leagues. Under these circumstances, we think we can serve the basic purpose of this evaluation better by focusing on future strategies for narrowing the gap than by elaborating on the past record.

It seems to us that the future of political science research at Karlstad University depends heavily on how the institution resolves two fundamental strategic dilemmas. One revolves around the relative priority given to upgrading the competence of its present staff (internal *meritering*) versus recruitment of new senior faculty. The *Handlingsplan* (Activity Plan) of October 2000 calls for two new associate professors by 2002—one recruited externally, the other by means of internal promotion—and one full professor, preferably from 2002 but perhaps as late as 2004. This so-called *docentstrategi* strikes us as more risk-averse than ambitious. Its major advantages seem to be that it recognizes the fact that the pool of applicants to a full professor position in the fields central to Karlstad is likely to be very limited, and that it provides positive incentives for present faculty and doctoral students. The problem is that it is unlikely to produce substantial results in the short run. We do see some potential for strengthening the department through internal *meritering*, but we firmly believe that external recruitment at the senior level will be necessary for Karlstad to compete in the national university league. For the *docentstrategi* to succeed it seems essential that it be supplemented with a focused effort to develop or strengthen strategic partnerships with active research teams outside the university as well as with (people from) other departments or sections in Karlstad. In particular, we advise the Karlstad group to search very actively for opportunities to participate in national or international research projects involving prominent senior scholars. Such projects can provide good opportunities for Karlstad faculty and doctoral students to work in a stimulating and demanding intellectual environment, and also for inviting senior partners to spend some time as visiting scholars at Karlstad University. We are pleased to see that the latter is clearly recognized by the group itself.

The other dilemma is that of focused concentration versus breadth and diversity. Teaching requirements most often speak in favor of the latter, while the optimal research environment is one where members share a focus on a common core of research questions and can bring complementary skills and resources to bear on these questions. At present, Karlstad seems to be closer to the pole of diversity than to that of concentration, and the pitfall to be avoided is that of trying to do too much with too little. The group is currently too small

to serve as a general political science department with active research in all major subfields, and is likely to remain so for the next several years. Nor does it have the capacity to offer a good doctoral program in political science all by itself. Our advice would be to concentrate on comparative advantages rather than trying to cover the field at large. There are indeed areas in which Karlstad can be up in front. For example, Karlstad runs a well reputed MPA program for municipal leaders, and additional mileage may well be gained by more systematically organizing a set of research activities around this program. Similarly, political socialization and democratic culture seem to be topics of interest to the teacher education program as well as the political science group, providing interesting possibilities for joint projects. Consistent with these recommendations, the plan of October 2000 identifies two main foci: political institutions (*ordningar*) and processes at the regional and local level, and citizen participation in and attitudes towards politics.

Having an active group of young researchers—and we would recommend going for post-doctoral fellows in addition to doctoral students—is clearly important to the future development of political science research at Karlstad University. For the young researchers themselves, Karlstad's small size and transitional stage of development offer the excitement of being active partners in the build-up of a new venture. It is important to realize, however, that a full scale doctoral program in political science can be offered only by a fairly large and strong department, and that exposure to a richer research community is essential to the professional development of young researchers. For the 'new' universities—in particular Karlstad and Växjö—it is particularly important to take full advantage of courses and seminars offered by other universities, abroad as well as at home. It is our impression that this need is fully recognized by the Karlstad group.

In sum, political science at Karlstad University finds itself at a very important juncture. With adequate long-term investments, a strong commitment to quality, and a clear focus on comparative advantages it has the *potential* of becoming a significant political science department or section also in terms of research. These are *all* necessary conditions, however. The group itself has made important progress towards fulfilling the latter. At the time of writing, the other two remain open questions.

## *Växjö University*

Växjö University is one of three new universities created in the late 1990s. It was originally established as a college affiliated with the University of Lund. While

the new University has retained strong links with Lund, it has become increasingly independent, as evident in the recruitment of both faculty and students. In 2000 it had approximately 8,000 students, the majority from the southern provinces of Blekinge, Skåne and Småland and a smaller share from other parts of Sweden.

The discipline of political science—in Växjö called '*politologi*' to underline an emphasis on political change and policy analysis—has so far been part of a larger Department of Social Sciences, incorporating psychology and sociology as well. The political science cluster is made up of one professor (just appointed when we visited), one *docent*, five *universitetslektorer* (three of whom with Ph.D.), and four doctoral students with an undergraduate student population of 600. Among the faculty, one is a woman. The Department hopes to hire another *universitetslektor* with competence as docent. The four doctoral students (none of them women) have been recruited from different parts of the country. Because the political science program in Växjö is just starting to offer a Ph.D. degree of its own, these students retain a link to other more established programs elsewhere in Sweden like those in Lund and Uppsala. To boost its capacity to teach undergraduate students as well as holding graduate seminars, political scientists from other universities, e.g. Lennart Lundquist from Lund and Walter Carlsson from Uppsala have been called in on an ad hoc basis.

The political science faculty in Växjö carry a heavy burden teaching undergraduate students. They complain that they have had little time for their own research. With the appointment of its first professor in early 2000, the political science cluster expects to develop a graduate training program as well and in the longer run establish itself as an independent department. At the time of this evaluation, this process was only at an incipient stage. Our assessment is that it is likely to take time and be associated with some quite big challenges. The teaching burden is bound to remain heavy. It is not clear that time can be carved out for the complementary research activities that are warranted by faculty responsible for graduate education. Although funding is now being sought from external sources such as the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond), external funding of research in Växjö has so far been very modest indeed. Even if time and external funds may be found, it could be difficult for existing faculty to 'retool' in order to become productive researchers. There is also a question of how a political science core can be developed that is strong enough to serve as an adequate basis for such a doctoral program.

The faculty at Växjö are fully aware of these issues and have developed a strategy to cope with the inevitable shortcomings in the short to medium term. They draw on political science professors from other universities; they allow

their graduate students to take courses at other Swedish universities; and, they use their international contacts to enable graduate students to take courses in universities outside Sweden. For example, in 2000–2001, one of the four graduate students in political science was spending the full academic year at the University of California at Berkeley.

Political Science at Växjö states that its research is focused on five different themes: (1) welfare state policy; (2) the interface between politics and administration, especially as it bears on ethical issues; (3) migration, especially immigrants in Sweden; (4) European integration; and (5) international relations. Given the small size of the political science cluster, there is no real concentration or critical mass with regard to any one of these themes with the exception of the interface between politics and administration. The other themes have just one or two active researchers. Books and articles that have been produced by faculty after their doctoral dissertations have typically been attempts to contribute not only to the academic but also the public debate on a given subject. They are empirically rich in content but it cannot be argued that they really break new theoretical or conceptual ground. Theory is applied in a heuristic sense, largely to organize, not necessarily analyze, the material. Many of these publications seem to be produced for the Swedish public at large rather than academic peers. As potential textbooks, they apply more to the undergraduate than graduate level. Ethics, as it applies to public officials, is a crosscutting theme in some of the research at Växjö. It reflects the connection to Lund and seems inspired by the work of Lennart Lundquist. With the exception of a few individual chapters in edited volumes in the English language, faculty in Växjö have published only in Swedish. Judging from the Social Science Citation Index, only Tom Bryder, the newly appointed professor, is visible to the international research community.

Bryder brings to the political science cluster a broad disciplinary training that spans the whole range from political philosophy and political psychology, on the one end, to the more empirical study of political parties in the European Parliament, on the other. At present, his research productivity overshadows that of all other faculty. He has published in many different fields of political science and also in several languages. He brings new strength to Political Science in Växjö, but it is too early to see how his multiple and diverse interests will bear on the development of a research-based doctoral program there.

His interests are quite different from those of his political science colleagues and formulating a program that helps mobilize their full research potential will not be easy. It may be that given resource constraints, developing a cross-disciplinary program may be the way to go. With Professor Bryder's interest in political psychology, the distance is not far to either psychology or sociology

colleagues in the same department, a connection that is already explored in the field of methods training. Another possible strategy would be to allow for greater pluralism, the danger there being that the few faculty will be singularly preoccupied with their own more specific research interests.

Our overall assessment of political science in Växjö is that as a new university its faculty are faced with two very fundamental challenges: (1) how they can transform their cluster from a teaching unit to a research department, and (2) how they can formulate a research program that helps boost the department's graduate ambitions. Both require creative and inspiring leadership as well as consideration of how to make best use of scarce intellectual and material resources. On the part of some faculty, it also requires a readiness to mobilize the necessary intellectual energy to embark upon more research-oriented activities.

With regard to the second challenge, the Department seems to have three options: (1) develop a cross-disciplinary research program, building on resources in other social science disciplines, (2) develop an applied research project—maybe with other political science departments—that can attract funds from sectoral funding sources, or (3) develop one or more research projects that bring together just political science faculty at Växjö. While one may not exclude the other, it is our view that there are too many assorted interests inside the political science cluster to constitute the potential for a common research project. Faculty, therefore, may find other options easier to implement. Working with faculty from other disciplines at Växjö will strengthen the university and provide new insights into graduate education, but it is a labor-intensive and somewhat difficult strategy. The easy way out is to let every faculty do his or her own research—or engage in limited collaboration among each other—but, as suggested above, such a strategy does not seem promising in terms of solidifying political science at Växjö. It may simply mean that every one will let his or her own research—and teaching-agenda decide what happens to the entity as a whole. In any case, it is necessary, if Växjö wants to grow and earn recognition, that its faculty publish in peer-reviewed journals, and also in English. A measure of quality is being able to write an article in English on a very local issue in Småland that catches the interest of peers elsewhere, not only in Sweden but also in other countries.

## *Örebro University*

Örebro first received university status in 1999, but like the other new universities, the institution as a whole, as well as research in political science have a

longer history. In 1967, Örebro became a 'university college' linked to Uppsala university. Several local strengths and off-campus programs paved the way for the choice of Örebro as a new university college, and continue to affect the profile and character of the university today: education of teachers, a regional hospital, the high reputation of Örebro's regional planning measures, and programs in sports instruction and social work. The new university college benefited from a Municipal Research Project started in 1976 and from its contacts with Uppsala, which culminated in a special 'professor's program' of 1993 that sent Uppsala professors to carry out research in Örebro. Consequently, the university college had built up a significant research base by the time it officially became a university.

As a new university, Örebro aims to maintain an interdisciplinary focus, and to make its research activities responsive to the needs of its societal environment, at the same time that it wishes to expand and upgrade (in the sense of stressing more 'basic' science) its research activities and doctoral programs as quickly as possible. These aims—and indeed this tension—is found within the political science program as well. Research in the department is organized around research centers—three of which pre-date the founding of the department—and that are interdisciplinary and tend to be applied in their orientation. The Forum for Women's Studies (*Kvinnovetenskapligt Forum*) was founded in 1988, and includes scholars from the disciplines of history, sociology and political science. The research of the Forum includes studies of women's political history, Swedish equality policy, women's political representation and the political demands of women, feminist theory, gender identities and discourses, and gender as a power relationship. The Centre for Housing and Urban Research (*Centrum för Stadsmiljöforskning*) dates from 1989, and includes researchers from the disciplines of architecture, history, cultural geography, economics, political science, sociology and biology. Current projects focus on political exclusion in cities, the city as environment for immigrants, communal strategies for information technology, as well as 'city regime' theory. Novemus (Center for research and training on public sector) received its start in 1992 with funding from the Department of the Interior, the Federation of County Councils and the Association of Units of Local Government. This institute specializes in local democracy, local government reform, new public management, and the role of local politicians. The newest institute is the Forum Ost, which specializes on research on Eastern Europe, with a focus on the conditions for democracy, citizen attitudes and new political cleavages, and institutions of socialization, such as political parties.

The strategic problem for the department is how to maintain the research strengths of the pre-existing centers—which carry out precisely the type of

interdisciplinary, socially-relevant research the university wishes to stress—but at the same time to integrate the political scientists into the newer, disciplinary-based department. This will be particularly important if the research profile of the department in basic political science, as opposed to various applied domains, is to be strengthened, and if the doctoral program is to be rapidly expanded, as planned. In the fall of 2000, the department counted on its staff one full-time professor, one half-time professor, and one 80% visiting professor, as well as 9 *lektorer*, which included 5 *docenter*. Four of the *lektorer* and two of the *docenter* were women. The department now enrolls 21 doctoral candidates, including 8 women. As one might expect from a department with its roots in independent research centers, the department has been highly successful in raising external funding, and its budget is in fact dominated by external funding. In the year 2000, the total budget was 21.4 MSEK, of which 13.1 MSEK or 61% was externally funded, including 10.6 MSEK from research councils (*forskningsråd*). The work of department members is cited at a respectable level. It is of note that the Örebro *docenter* are cited at higher rates than those in other departments.

The department's research strengths include both standard academic subfields and the interdisciplinary and applied strengths of its centers. In terms of academic subfields, the strengths of the department lie in comparative politics—with a regional focus on Northern and Eastern Europe—political theory (including gender), and regional and local government, with a focus on democracy, planning and public administration. Sten Berglund is internationally known in the comparative politics area, and works on political development, parties and party systems, political attitudes and democratization. Mats Dahlkvist and Anna Jónasdóttir comprise a strong unit in political theory, with Dahlkvist focusing on critical and historical analysis of political concepts; Jónasdóttir on gender. Ingemar Elander and Stig Montin have given Örebro a reputation in local democracy and public administration. The addition of Abdul Kakhee further strengthens the planning focus of the department, and brings in expertise on ethnic minorities and immigrants. Gullan Gidlund has worked on political parties, political elites—and most recently on European politics. Erik Amnå not only founded the Novemus institute, but has brought public and professional attention to the department through his participation in Royal Commissions, in particular in his role as principal secretary for the Commission on Democracy.

Given the mix of academic and applied specialities in the department, the aim to develop a local democracy profile appears sensible and to have a high scientific potential. Even though Lund, Göteborg and Uppsala also all stress

democracy as a research focus, Örebro has developed its own approach and niche, using the greater potential for interdisciplinary research often more prevalent in newer universities to stress issues neglected at other institutes, like the impact of new public management or information technologies on local democracy, the interaction of technical and social factors in resource management, the emergence of new democracies in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states. The recruitment strategy of the department follows from this profile; the plan is to look for a senior 'democracy theorist,' and to find a means to make the Dahlkvist appointment permanent, such that the department could count on 4 professors. We support the effort to add a professor, and in so doing not to try to reproduce what is already offered at the older universities, but to stress its own profile. What is needed is a high profile senior person with international professional recognition. By providing a common theoretical framework, this person should help to integrate various departmental activities that are concerned in some way with democracy. This would help make the transition from the research centers to an integrated, discipline-based department.

The problem of integration is apparent, as well, in the doctoral program. Most of the students appear to be more tied to their 'center' than to the department as a whole. The core courses appear not to be quite institutionalized, and recruitment seems to be more local—and again, more through the centers—than based on national competition. Although most other doctoral programs recruit primarily locally, we are concerned that this may hurt the quality of the graduate program in a new university, as the undergraduate program may not be fully developed. Now that new faculty members have been added, the department needs to review its graduate course offerings, and to ensure that graduate students are getting adequate exposure to the full discipline. An advantage of the centers is that students seem to be getting excellent hands on experience in methods, including things like interviewing and evaluating survey data. The department has the internal staff to provide a good methodology course that could be easily linked up to national methods courses. Political theory and democratic theory are also not a problem. Swedish politics is not necessarily a weak area in the department, but it is very skewed in the direction of local politics and really more oriented to public policy and administration than Swedish politics as it is defined in the larger departments. International relations is for all practical purposes not present.

All in all, the department is well on its way to becoming a leading Swedish department of political science. It has reached a critical mass in both quantitative and qualitative terms, such that one can say the department is viable as a genuine *university* department, and capable of running its own graduate pro-

gram. In order to strengthen the scientific reputation of the department and to improve the graduate program, we recommend the following steps. The graduate program should be reviewed from a disciplinary perspective, to ensure that students receive a broad, comprehensive basic education in political science. Where there are gaps, these must be filled, in part through partnerships, in part through faculty members stretching into them. Perhaps the old partnership with Uppsala and the new, informal, links to Södertörn can be used to shore up the Swedish politics and international relations areas. As faculty members re-orient themselves from the centers to teaching in a doctoral program, an added benefit may be that they become more aware of the links between their specialized research and larger disciplinary concerns. However this is achieved, we urge that the faculty members in the applied areas make an effort to publish more of their research results in mainstream political science journals, following the example of the Montin/Elander piece in *Scandinavian Political Studies* (1995). More publications in international refereed journals and international academic presses would be even better. Efforts should be made to recruit doctoral students nationally. Efforts should be made to find research interests and topics that cut across the boundaries within the department, so as to foster department-wide discussion. This is particularly important for the graduate students. As we review the topics of doctoral dissertations, it is impossible not to know which students work with Berglund, which are into gender, and which work at either Novemus or the Centre for Housing and Urban Research. Unless they are given some kind of common core, it is hard to imagine that they will feel a sense of community located in the department as opposed to their more narrow research group. All of this puts particular pressure on efforts to recruit another senior scholar who, like Berglund, can link together the various research interests in the department.

## *Political science outside established universities<sup>2</sup>*

Political science is present at a range of other institutions in Sweden. Some are university colleges (*högskolor*), others are publicly funded research institutes or privately owned think-tanks. We have not been asked to evaluate each of these institutions, but have received information about their activities as far as politi-

<sup>2</sup> We are grateful to Ludvig Beckman of Uppsala University for compiling much of the data for this section.

cal science goes. We shall make a brief summary of what these other institutions are doing, one of which will also be the subject of a more detailed attention because of their relative prominence compared to the others.

Tertiary education now takes place in some forty institutions other than the nine universities that we have covered separately above. Six of these offer courses in political science: Luleå University of Technology, the University Colleges of Halmstad, Trollhättan/Uddevalla, Mid-Sweden, Dalarna, and Södertörn. None of these have a separate department of political science, but have grouped the subject in a social-science-at-large type of department. They typically have close working relations with some nearby university, from which they also borrow faculty resources. For example, political scientists at Halmstad work closely with colleagues in Lund, those at Dalarna with their counterparts in Uppsala, and those at Mid-Sweden with professors in Finland and other Baltic country universities. Luleå, in addition to sending doctoral students to Umeå, has a close working relationship with Keele University in the U.K. As far as numbers go, Södertörn has more political scientists than any other institution in this category. That is one reason why it is the subject of separate discussion below.

The four publicly funded research institutes include the National Institute for Working Life (*Arbetslivsinstitutet* – ALI), which, among other things, studies the interaction between labor market, welfare state and family, the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (*Utrikespolitiska institutet* – UI), which specializes in research on security, human rights, international trade, and international cooperation, the Defence Research Establishment (*Försvarets forskningsanstalt*–FOA), where research focuses on security policy, and the National Defense College—NDC (*Försvarshögskolan*), which concentrates on issues such as decision-making in crisis situations, Swedish and European defense doctrines in a comparative perspective, and Russian foreign and security policies. All these institutes have their own researchers, but they also draw on a part-time or temporary basis on the contributions by political scientists at Swedish universities.

Privately owned institutions of higher learning are the exception rather than the rule in Sweden. Of all the university colleges that were established around the country in the last ten or so years, only one, the University College of Jönköping, opted to get established with a private endowment. One well-known policy implementation researcher, Benny Hjern, once at Umeå, is located there as political scientist. Two private think tanks have been established recently. One is the City University of Stockholm (CU), which, in addition to conducting research, is building up a broader academic agenda. It gets its financial support from the business sector, more specifically from a fund called *Näringslivets Fond*. It has two political scientists of its own, but draws on researchers located

at other universities. The second think tank is the Center for Business and Policy Studies (*Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle – SNS*). They hired one of Sweden's top political scientists, Olof Petterson, from Uppsala as Director of Research in 1997. He has since conducted annual 'democratic audits' to which political scientists in various university departments have also contributed.

The positions for political scientists at these various institutions are still relatively few, as Table 4.1 indicates. Although the total number may grow due to demand for teachers, it is significant that with the exception of Södertörn, none has more than five political scientists with a doctoral degree, the majority having just one or two. Some of them can draw on support from Ph.D. candidates who do part-time teaching, typically offering one specialized course.

Table 4.1 Number of political scientists with Ph.D. outside universities.

Institution	Number
Halmstad	4
Dalarna	2
Luleå	3
Trollhättan/Uddevalla	2
Södertörn	18
Mid-Sweden	1
ALI	3
UI	5
FoA	2
NDC	1
CU	2
SNS	1

We were interested in establishing what kind of cooperation these institutions have in the field of political science with other institutions, whether in Sweden or outside. We made a distinction between cooperative arrangements with other university colleges as compared with other universities in Sweden. The National Institute for Working Life and the Defense Research Establishment reported no such arrangements and are therefore not included in the next table:

Table 4.2 Cooperative research arrangements with other political scientists.

	National University College	National University	International Research Institute
Halmstad		X	
Dalarna			X
Luleå			X
Södertörn	X	X	X
Mid-Sweden			X
UI	X	X	X
NDC		X	X
CU		X	X
SNS		X	X

Even more so than the departments at the established universities, political science at these other places tends to be rather narrowly focused on a few fields of the discipline. This is not surprising given the small number of faculty employed. In order to do justice to the relative diversity of “Swedish politics” as research topic, we have distinguished here between ‘national’ and ‘local’. In other respects, we are following the conventional division of fields in the discipline:

Table 4.3 Research concentration in political science outside universities.

	Swedish Politics Local	Swedish Politics National	Comparative Politics	International Relations	Public Policy & Admini- stration	Political Theory
Halmstad	X			X	X	
Dalarna		X		X		
Luleå	X					X
Trollhättan	X	X				
Södertörn		X	X	X		
M-Sweden		X				
ALI		X				
UI				X		
NDC		X		X		
CU		X				X
SNS		X				

When it comes to funding of research at these institutions, they do not differ in any marked respect from the established universities. They get their funds from within and from external sources, notably the various research councils. Södertörn relies on a public trust fund—the Baltic Sea Foundation—of its own, but by and large researchers have to compete with political scientists from elsewhere in the country for funds available from various programs administered by the various research councils. The private think tanks receive their funding for research exclusively from external sources. Compared to the older departments of political science, the new ones in the various university colleges have found it hard to compete for external resources. There is little time for research and capacity is still at a much lower level.

### *University College of Södertörn*

This university college was first established in the mid-1990s as Sweden's 'academic window to the east'. The non-socialist government, which had initiated the project, wanted to mark its commitment to supporting economic liberalization and political democratization in the Baltic region. It was thus meant to help build Swedish competence in region-specific areas through research and collaboration with institutions in neighboring countries around the Baltic Sea. The social-democratic government that subsequently took over, broadened its mandate to specifically serve the southern suburbs of Stockholm, because of the strong presence there of immigrants and low enrollments in tertiary education. Södertörn, therefore, has a regional character at two different levels: as one serving a region in the international sense, and as one serving a local region in the national sense.

Södertörn has grown very rapidly much thanks to the Baltic Sea Foundation, which has provided resources for hiring new faculty and embark on research, not just on issues relevant to the Baltic Sea. In 2000 it had about 7,000 students, 30% of whom indicate that they are children of immigrants. The new university college, therefore, has been quite successful in realizing one of its objectives. It has applied to become a full-fledged university by 2003, a year when it also hopes to have its first real campus in place. Although it is a potential rival to University of Stockholm, relations between the two institutions have so far been without any serious friction.

There are many indications, however, that Södertörn is likely to become a rival to many other institutions of higher learning around the country. As it receives a lot of resources to cater for its dual regional mandate, it is set on a fast growth trajectory. With eighteen political scientists with a Ph.D. already hired at Södertörn, there is a greater concentration there than in universities like

Karlstad and Växjö. In numbers of faculty, it competes with Umeå and Örebro, the difference being that Södertörn does not have the seniors that the other two departments have. The criteria for hiring are quite strict and every one hired must accept to be active in both research and teaching. Many come because they are excited about starting something fresh. Södertörn currently does not have any doctoral students of its own but eight serve in the department while being officially enrolled for their degree at Stockholm University and other universities in Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Political Science at Södertörn is part of a broad-based social science department, but the intention is to establish a separate department. That could happen when Södertörn becomes a full university. Political scientists at Södertörn have a comparative and international outlook in much of what they do. Research involves the Baltic region, but it goes beyond. For example, a couple of the younger faculty work on politics in Asia, although the study of European politics is especially prominent. Faculty operate in a multi-disciplinary context, but they recognize that they are first and foremost political scientists. This is evident in the fact that all the fields of the discipline are represented among the political scientists at Södertörn. Although many study political institutions, they approach the subject matter from different intellectual perspectives. These differences are less apparent than at Stockholm, but they do exist and may become more evident as political science grows and becomes a department of its own. At present, many of the differences may disappear in the broader social science context in which the discipline operates. For example, one issue that is still outstanding refers to how political science should be organized for teaching and research purposes. It is currently organized around themes that do not coincide with the sub-disciplinary boundaries that are generally recognized. How such an organizational arrangement will work if political science becomes a full-fledged department with responsibility for training its own doctoral students is an issue for the political scientists there to definitely consider.

This and other such basic issues will make themselves felt more strongly in the near future and resolving them in a constructive way requires good leadership from the young faculty that have assembled at Södertörn. With the optimism that prevails at this institution, the probability of success is quite good. In such a scenario it is our judgment that Södertörn will emerge as a major player on the national political science scene in Sweden in the next ten years. It has already laid a strong foundation to build on.

# Disciplinary fields

As indicated in the previous chapter, political science departments and groups in Sweden are not organized in accordance with the major division into disciplinary fields. They have their own idiosyncratic organization, typically reflecting the research interests of the individual senior faculty. In order to provide a sense of how well Swedish political scientists are trained, however, we find it imperative to make such an assessment against the background of the generally accepted division of the discipline into sub-fields. This division includes here Swedish Politics, Policy and Administration, Comparative Politics, International Relations, and Political Theory. Given the current prominence of two specific research areas—“European Politics” and “Gender and Politics”—we have also included a separate evaluation of them. As in Chapter 4, we try to provide a sense of the strength and weakness of each field as well as highlighting some of the more important contributors and their work.

## *Swedish Politics*

The field of “Swedish Politics” can be defined as the study of domestic politics. As in most other industrialized nations, the line between domestic and international politics, on the one hand, and, domestic and comparative politics, on the other, is increasingly being called into question both in political reality and in academic political science. Nevertheless, it makes sense for Swedish political scientists to provide the international political science community with information about their own country, not to mention their civic duty to inform their own political representatives and citizens about current developments. Furthermore, studying that which is close at hand may be important for local constituencies both within and outside of the university—such as providing courses of study for teachers or advising local government administrators. Finally, and most importantly, because data sources are excellent and a critical mass of scholars is in place, potential for general theory building is high. Not surprisingly, then, the study of Swedish politics thus remains one of the most prominent fields of Swedish political research both in terms of quantity and quality of research. For the purpose of providing an overview, this area may be divided into three main groupings: voter and electoral studies; political parties and political decision-making; politics and administration of local government.

Virtually all Swedish political science departments have some research—and certainly course offerings—on Swedish Politics, but, at the moment, Göteborg and Uppsala are the two outstanding departments in this field. As is clear from the departmental descriptions, each of these departments has a slightly different focus. The Göteborg department specializes particularly in survey research, which serves as the raw data not only for studies of trends in Swedish electoral politics, but also for understanding voter behavior more generally. Moreover, the electoral studies group has extended its research to political elites (members of parliament, in particular), and other important institutions and issues in electoral politics, such as the media and electoral campaigns, with the ambition of studying processes and institutions of democratic representation. Sören Holmberg, Peter Esaiasson, and Mikael Gilljam, for example, have all made theoretical contributions to the study of electoral behavior and the functioning of parliamentary democracies, which they have published in international journals and books by academic presses. This has been important for bringing international attention to Swedish electoral studies, and giving Sweden an international reputation in behavioralist research. Other senior members of the department, including Bo Rothstein, Jon Pierre and Lennart Lundqvist are involved in studies of Swedish politics through research on institutions and public policy, but as the theoretical interest here has been more on the conditions for successful public policies than on Swedish politics *per se*, these studies will be considered in the section on Policy and Administration, as well as, to some extent, under Comparative Politics.

The Uppsala Department is more exclusively focused on political decision-making within Swedish Politics, in particular from an historical perspective. The department has produced a wealth of studies on the micro-politics of parliamentary decision-making. These are backed by rich, archival research. More recently, these researchers have turned to quantitative methods to assess changes over time in parliamentary decision-making, and in the relationship between parliamentary representatives and interest groups, (as well as amongst interest groups). Some of the predominant themes of the work of the late 1990s has been the comparison of majoritarian versus consociational politics, as in Leif Lewin's most recent work, and the projects of Jörgen Hermansson, Torsten Svensson and Per-Ola Öberg on the causes and consequences of the decline of the "Swedish model". Several dissertations have focused on party strategies, and both studies of parties and interest groups have added interview data as a source beyond the older emphasis on parliamentary documents, as, for example, in Jan Teorell's work. Furthermore, the general interest in the conditions for and effectiveness of democratic politics is providing a bridge in the department

between Swedish and Comparative Politics (see discussion of Axel Hadenius' work below).

Work on local politics and administration is spread more widely throughout Sweden, presumably a legacy of the 1960s and 1970s programs on local government—a tradition which is now being continued through the program on “Democracy in Transition” led by Gunnel Gustafsson at Umeå—as well as a consequence of the desire of universities, especially the newer ones, to develop good relationships with their local and regional environment. Whereas previous programs focused on the impact of Swedish reforms to consolidate local government and administration, however, now the impact of the international environment and the rise of women's participation have been added as new issues, even though the older issues of Sweden's locally-administered welfare state, and relations between citizens and local representatives have been maintained. This concern with the nature of democracy is shared by two more applied research efforts, the Democratic Audit, led by Olof Petersson at SNS (*Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle*), as well as of course the Commission on Democracy (*Demokratiutredningen*), for which Erik Amnå of Örebro served as principal secretary. Local politics has a tradition at Örebro that predates its naming as university, through the “Housing and Urban Research” and “Novemus” institutes, run by Ingemar Elander and Jan Olsson, respectively, and in which Stig Montin is also active.

The approach taken at Lund has more of a regional and international focus, and indeed a stronger theoretical emphasis, as in the Lars-Göran Stenelo projects on “local power” and the “bargaining democracy,” to which Magnus Jerneck, Anders Sannerstedt and Mats Sjölin have contributed with a number of studies. Here, the theoretical interest is on multi-level negotiations, for example, as foreign policy is shaped by both international bargaining and parliamentary ratification. This combination of Swedish with international politics is beginning to be developed in the “European Studies” area, as well, which is treated in a separate section.

Stockholm University has maintained a more traditional focus on political parties and political elites. Tommy Möller is currently the most visible person in this area, with publications on the confidence of the public in politicians, as well as the personal vote and party finance together with Gullan Gidlund. The group around Gunnar Wallin continues to work on surveys of politicians and other members of the political elite. In comparison to other departments, there is a bit more on social movements, as in Michelle Micheletti's work on citizen's participation, and on new political issues such as immigration, ethnicity and gender. The retirement of Olof Ruin has left a gap in the department in the area of constitutional issues and in the interpretation of Swedish politics, however.

Table 5.1 Main foci in the study of Swedish Politics.

	Göteborg	Karlstad	Lund	Stockholm	Umeå	Uppsala	Växjö	Örebro
Electoral Politics, Public Opinion, Political Behavior	X			X		X		
Parliamentary Politics, Party Strategies	X		X		X	X		
Constitutional Issues, Political Institutions	X		X		X	X		
Political Parties, Political Elites, and Party Ideologies	X			X	X	X		X
Local Government (Communal, County Council, Regional)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Interest Groups, Corporatism	X			X		X		

Looking at the field as a whole, it is striking that there is such a widespread focus on “democracy”. This broad rubric encompasses a wide range of work from normative discussions of different types of democracy to studies of citizen’s attitudes and behaviors to analyses of the logic of parliamentary decision-making or of gender politics. Moreover, many departments have found their own original slant or ‘profile’ under this generic label. This common focus—one underpinned by a number of practical ‘applications,’ such as in government studies, continuing education of public servants, and the like—is a potential strength, not only of the field, but of Swedish political science in general. The existence of a number of researchers, engaged in large-scale projects, could provide an opportunity for greater accumulation of knowledge on the contemporary practice of democracy. In addition, the combination of normative theory with both quantitative and qualitative research is unusual from an international perspective. The United States has the behavioral methods but lacks the normative theory; Continental Europe has the normative theory, but lacks the behavioralist arsenal.

Some areas, however, appear to have become less popular than they once were, although the situation is just now beginning to change. Constitutional

issues, so central to much of the previous generation of scholars, seem at present to be a bit understudied in Sweden, although interest is growing, particularly in the area of the properties of political institutions. Further, much of the work, even from the rational choice or electoral studies researchers, does not appear to be technically advanced by international standards. Scholars like Anders Westholm and Bo Bjurulf are rare in the Swedish landscape, and appear to be relatively isolated. In addition, newer issues—such as those of collective identities and civil society, multiculturalism, immigrants and immigration, right-wing extremism—appear to be taken up more rapidly at the departments that are now more peripheral to the study of Swedish Politics.

A second general set of issues concerns the international dissemination of research results in this area. Even though Swedish political science now has increasing numbers of institutionalist scholars, it remains known for its behaviorist emphasis, because the behaviorist scholars publish actively in international journals, and—and this is a condition for international publications—they address issues of *general* theoretical interest. This is not to say that some scholars with other approaches to Swedish Politics have not been successful in placing their work with highly reputed international journals and academic presses, but, given the very high quality of the work, too little of it is making an international impact. In our eyes, there are two particular hindrances that the field itself is generating. First, although research on Swedish politics is to a large extent theoretically-informed, and responds to the latest in international publications, the conclusions reached are often not re-integrated into this international literature. That is, many excellent studies stop short of drawing general theoretical conclusions about corporatist theory or party strategies, for example, even though the introductions to these studies are chock full of references to international theoretical debates.

Further, all too few studies of Swedish Politics are integrated into a comparative framework, indeed not even to the more narrow literature on comparative politics of Western Europe. Why should it be left to Sven Steinmo or Fritz W. Scharpf, for example, to bring international attention to Swedish political institutions when Swedish researchers have made many of the same theoretical points? One reason, we would argue, is that the comparative framework of scholars such as Steinmo or Scharpf generates greater international interest. Similarly, with the masses of data available, there might well have been an opportunity for a Swedish political scientist to call attention to Swedish local government in the way that Robert Putnam has for the Italian regions. It may be that the high international interest in Swedish Politics and the “Swedish model” has proved to be a ‘false friend’ in that Swedish scholars—like US schol-

ars—have been under less pressure to integrate the study of Swedish politics within a comparative framework. Indeed, as will be argued in the next section, the very strength of Swedish Politics as an area may have weakened the field of Comparative Politics. Moreover, Swedish scholars wishing to reach the Swedish political elite must publish in Swedish, such that reaching an international audience would require duplication of publications. Nevertheless, we assess the *potential* for international dissemination and international scientific impact as being high, and therefore urge both increased submission of articles to international journals, and the continued development of a more comparative focus.

## *Policy and Administration*

The study of policy and administration is typically combined into a single field in political science. Defining its boundaries is not easy, but there is agreement that it entails the study of how policy is made and implemented, what results it has, and how the public service created to administer the policy process functions. The latter dimension is usually referred to as public administration. There is one boundary issue that is of special relevance: the extent to which learning policy and administration is primarily a matter of acquiring the requisite technical skills or a matter of understanding its place in the political process. Even though political scientists themselves may lean in different directions on this issue, the majority accepts the need to transcend the positivist position that it is only a question of techniques. In fact, if they have anything in common on this matter, it is that policy and administration can only be meaningfully studied in their political context. Those that may concentrate more on the technical side of policy and administration can usually be found at professional schools of administration (in Sweden called *förvaltningshögskolor*).

Policy and administration is a rich field in Swedish political science. It has a long and fine pedigree which in part can be attributed to the fact that the Swedish system of government has at least until recently depended on review commissions to examine public issues, in which academics, especially economists and political scientists, have played an important role. There is a strong tradition, therefore, in Swedish political science that their studies are of practical or applied value. Because Swedish political scientists dig much deeper into philosophical issues before embarking on research than, for example, their American counterparts do, they typically problematize the normative questions in their empirical context. In accordance with a long Swedish philosophical tradition going back to Axel Hägerström in Uppsala, they are aware of the need to sepa-

rate facts from values. Rather than dismissing the latter by reducing theory to a formal status (and thus beyond question) as in much mainstream American political science, Swedes accept the need to discuss the epistemological implications of their approach. It is no surprise, therefore, that some of the more interesting policy research in the world comes out of Swedish political science. Although much of it is not as well known as it should be, because it is written in Swedish for domestic use in teaching or practical policy settings, Swedish political scientists in this field are increasingly publishing also in the English language. Many of them have excellent contacts outside of Sweden and are increasingly earning recognition through invitations to international meetings and prominent programs such as the Workshop on Political Theory and Policy Analysis at Indiana University. The most difficult distinction to make has been between the study of policy and politics. For example, much of what is regarded as the study of Swedish politics transcends the boundary between policy and politics. In this section, we include work that look at policy or administration as an independent rather than a dependent variable. For example, we include studies that look at the effects of policy and administration, not how they come about.

In terms of doing justice to the diverse nature of the research done in this field, it may be helpful to organize the discussion around three themes, because they all depend on separate theoretical lineages. The most distinct of these themes is public administration, which has always been very close to organization theory. Policy centers on theories of choice, in other words, how decision-makers reason and choose between competing alternatives. Implementation, which is the youngest as a separate sub-field, focuses on what happens to policy in the political process. There are two tendencies in this literature, one that is satisfied with merely understanding why certain outcomes occur, another that is more ambitious in terms of embarking on what amounts to evaluation research. All these themes and tendencies exist in Swedish political science. Some faculty, as will be evident below, work in more than one of these three sub-fields. Another characteristic, which may be more pronounced in Sweden than, for example the United States, is that research in this field often involves multi-disciplinary teams. Political scientists work with representatives of many other disciplines, not just in the social sciences.

Public administration is present in one form or the other at all Swedish universities, although it may not amount to a critical mass or strength in every place. As a teaching subject at undergraduate level it can be taken everywhere, but the same is not true for graduate studies. The field has been, and continues to be, particularly strong at Lund, Göteborg and Stockholm.

Public administration at Lund has, ever since his return from Copenhagen University in 1988, centered on the work of Lennart Lundquist. With his ability to creatively analyze the role of Swedish civil servants in public life, he effectively addresses issues of concern not only to public administration per se, but also to how it fits into Swedish parliamentary democracy. Two books, both in Swedish, *Byråkratisk etik* (Bureaucratic Ethics 1988) and *Demokratins väktare* (*Democracy's Guardians* 1998) are examples of publications that have had an impact on both academic colleagues and bureaucratic practitioners. They are some of the most insightful things that have been written on public administration as far as parliamentary systems go. Lundquist's writing is constantly adequately grounded in theory, yet easily accessible to both students and practitioners. His influence stretches beyond the walls of his own department. Lundquist is one of a relatively small number of Swedish political scientists whose substantive interests, theories, and methods, have influenced research throughout Scandinavia.

Public administration at Göteborg has for a long time been associated with the work of Lars Strömberg, although throughout much of the 1990s and to date, he has been on leave from his department to direct the separate Center for Public Sector Research. The tradition of public administration research at Göteborg can be traced back to the large-scale local government research project that started in the 1960s. Much research in this sub-field has focused on public administration issues at local government level. Others who have been active and prominent in public administration research at Göteborg include Jon Pierre. His interests are comparative and transcend Swedish public administration. It is also more focused on theoretical and conceptual issues. Some of his most important publications are co-authored with Guy Peters at the University of Pittsburgh, a prominent student of comparative public administration. Representative of their joint production is a recent book on *Governance, Politics and the State* (2000), in which they discuss the new political challenges to administration that come from a recognition that many policy issues transcend the boundaries of political or administrative jurisdictions. Thus, both New Public Management and Governance feature in their writings.

Public administration has also been important at Stockholm with Rune Premfors as one of the leading figures in recent years. He is currently sharing his position in the Department with that of Director of Stockholm Center for Organizational Research (SCORE). Much of his research has focused on organizational issues in the public service and how reforms may affect democratic practice. Others who have contributed to research on public administration at

Stockholm include Gunnar Wallin, Claes Linde, and Peter Ehn. Both individually and together, these scholars have produced publications that have earned them recognition by peers both in Sweden and elsewhere.

Compared to the other older universities, public administration at Uppsala is rather insignificant. Hans Blomkvist has analyzed the 'soft' state in India with respect to how housing policy has been administered and in that context he has discussed the nature of public administration. It is hard to argue, therefore, that public administration has a real presence in that department. Another place where public administration features quite prominently, however, is Umeå, where the work of Olof Johansson and Anders Lidström on comparative administration is both theoretically and practically interesting. Their interests spill over into policy analysis especially in their study of education. The sub-field also has a distinct presence at Örebro where Stig Montin has been a very productive scholar for many years. Public administration research in one form or another exists also at Karlstad and Växjö, but it is sporadic.

Research on policy by political scientists has not only been a practical pursuit. It has also made contributions to theory. A large project in the 1970s brought policy scientists at Stockholm together with well-established scholars from the United States like Sam Eldersveld, Robert Putnam and Tom Anton. Such projects do not exist today, but policy research is still strong in Sweden not the least in the areas of environment and housing, where controversies have also been strong in Swedish political life. Currently, the theoretically strongest contributions come from Lennart Lundqvist<sup>3</sup> at Göteborg. Although his work spans all three themes discussed here, his interest in environmental policy has been evolving in recent years. His use of game-theoretic role playing to uncover why local farmers, who all know each other well, still act to threaten a common good, is interesting and challenges established assumptions about collective action derived from the work of Mancur Olson.

Research on various aspects of the environment is prominent also at other universities. Katarina Eckerberg's work at Umeå on Swedish forest policy and, more recently, on environmental policy, as it applies to Agenda 21, has attracted attention among colleagues both in Sweden and elsewhere. The same can be said about the work of Ingemar Elander and Abdul Khakee<sup>4</sup> at Örebro. They investigate urban environmental issues and have published extensively in both Swed-

<sup>3</sup> Please note the difference in spelling of the last name from that of Lennart Lundquist at Lund.

<sup>4</sup> Khakee shares his time between the departments in Örebro and Umeå.

ish and English about the challenges to regional or urban planning. Linköping is yet another university where environmental policy features quite prominently. In the context of the theme-oriented research and teaching organization at that university, different kinds of policy issues have been tackled. The most consistent contribution comes from Geoffrey Gooch with his work on environmental policy in Sweden and the Baltic region. A smaller, but much less significant concentration on environmental policy exists also at Lund. This review would be incomplete without reference to the policy work that is done in the department at Stockholm. Kristina Boréus and Ulf Mörkenstam have made significant contributions to the understanding of policy with their constructivist approach to the study of language, immigration and minorities. It deserves mentioning as significant besides what has emerged as mainstream approaches to policy analysis in Swedish political science.

Many of those who have published on policy also have an interest in implementation research. One of the most prominent contributions in this sub-field comes from Evert Vedung at Uppsala. Focusing on housing policy issues as a result of a joint appointment he has at the Housing Research Institute in neighboring Gävle, he has been the most prolific and influential Swedish political scientist in this sub-field since Jan-Erik Lane and Benny Hjern left Umeå and ceased publishing on implementation issues. Vedung has been especially interested in evaluation issues and has contributed to the literature not only on implementation at large but also on evaluation as a tool in policy-making. His work is theoretically strong and known also outside Sweden because much of what he writes is available in the English language.

Others who rank as significant contributors in the sub-field of implementation research include Khakee. His work, especially with Elander at Örebro, relates mainly to urban and regional planning contexts, but part of it is focused on the evaluation component of the policy process. Lennart Lundquist at Lund must be included here as he has published on the problems of steering the policy process in desirable directions.

As this overview has indicated, research on policy and administration constitutes a significant component of several political science departments in Sweden. Emphasis and quality varies, but the majority can demonstrate strength in at least two of the sub-fields. Where political science is still being established, e.g. Karlstad and Växjö, policy and administration is a field that could be developed into a local strength. For example, both places have good outreach with administrators and managers in their respective hinterlands—in the case of Karlstad, including southwestern Norway. Even though these efforts may not

Table 5.2 Main foci in research on policy and administration in political science departments.

University	Public Admin.	Policy	Implementation
Göteborg	X	X	--
Karlstad	--	--	--
Linköping	--	X	X
Lund	X	--	X
Örebro	X	X	X
Södertörn	X	--	--
Stockholm	X	X	--
Umeå	X	X	X
Uppsala	--	--	X
Växjö	--	--	--

result in a full-fledged doctoral program, such research can be used to build up stronger professional programs.

Given the high quality of much work being done in this field, we would like to encourage those involved to publish more often in international journals where they can obtain even stronger professional recognition. It is understandable that scholars in this field write first and foremost for a Swedish public, but being able to write something interesting about a 'local' Swedish issue in English for an international political science readership is a mark of academic excellence. Far too few Swedes in this field have taken up this challenge. Scholars like Lenart Lundqvist at Göteborg, Evert Vedung at Uppsala, and Anders Lidström and Katarina Eckerberg at Umeå, who regularly publish in English, need to be followed by others.

One critical comment we have is the tendency for some policy research to lack grounding in political science theory, i.e. theoretical frameworks that are based on key concepts such as 'choice' and 'power'. It is not always easy in multi-disciplinary projects to harmonize all dimensions that are important, but wherever a political scientist participates, we believe that the disciplinary perspective should be sufficiently emphasized so that it is not marginalized by theoretical concerns advanced by representatives of other disciplines.

## *Comparative Politics*

Comparative Politics is probably the least developed field within Swedish political science. Compared to Swedish Politics, International Relations, and Policy and Administration, it lags behind in terms of volume as well as strength. This may be changing over the years to come as substantive issues such as European integration and democratization are attracting a growing interest among Swedish political scientists. It may be the field where political science could grow most significantly in the short to medium run. This review examines the reasons for the field's relative weakness to the present, the nature of current comparative studies, and the presence of area and thematic specialization.

The field of Comparative Politics has in the last fifty years typically been defined by its emphasis on systematic comparisons of political systems, institutions, or behavior. No single paradigm has taken root in the field, but in a global perspective it has variably been dominated by structuralist theories such as structural functionalism or neo-Marxism, notably dependency theory, institutionalist theories focused on state or regime, or behaviorist theories centered on choice. Comparative Politics has generally also been associated with the use of the comparative method. The latter calls for statistical analysis using a small N (number) of units. As such it falls somewhere between the case study approach and the conventional methods of statistical analyses using a large N. The boundaries of the field, however, are not very precisely defined and researchers are using a great variety of approaches from pure case study to cross-national statistical analysis using large and complicated data sets.

Comparative Politics was the most prominent field in political science in the 1960s when the discipline began to grow. There were still too few young Swedish scholars around to pick up the exciting new ideas that were influencing the discipline in the United States, where it had made a breakthrough with systems analysis and structural functionalism in the early 1960s. Although these ideas were discussed among Swedish political scientists, they never resulted in the establishment of a separate field of comparative politics. Lars Rudebeck at Uppsala in 1967 and Göran Hydén at Lund in 1968 were the only political scientists whose dissertations can be described as falling within the field. Their interest was foremost politics in the Third World, notably Africa. Neither Europe, nor America attracted interest in the 1960 and 1970s.

Comparative Politics never got recognized as a field in those days. The field became distinctly marginalized in the 1970s and 1980s, when it got associated not only with the study of politics in the Third World, but also with neo-Marxist theories that focused on broad structural explanations. Mainstream Swedish

political scientists were more empiricist and consumed by an understandable interest in developing greater knowledge about how the Swedish political system operates. Rudebeck, having turned to neo-Marxist theory, and Björn Beckman at Stockholm became the most prominent political scientists interested in Third World politics, but because of their adherence to neo-Marxist explanations, their position remained marginal. Although they helped many students complete their doctorates with a specialization in “politics of development and underdevelopment”, none of these young scholars really made it into Swedish political science departments. Comparative Politics remained stillborn as recently as the late 1980s. Only a sprinkling of younger scholars such as Hans Blomkvist at Uppsala had begun to emerge as students of comparative politics using an approach other than neo-Marxism. In a historical perspective, it looks as if the evolution of a modern political science focused on Swedish politics preempted the growth of comparative politics.

The 1990s saw Swedish political science finally turning its interest to the rest of the world. Many factors contributed to this new development. With the fall of the Soviet Union, democracy became a universal concern. At the same time, Swedish democracy itself looked stale and inadequate. Hence, there was an interest in looking at it afresh with the experience of other democracies in mind. The “Swedish model” of welfare statism came under closer scrutiny as the country faced new challenges as a result of the decision to join the European Union. The gender issue also helped opening up fresh interest in comparisons. Beyond these circumstantial factors, it is important to acknowledge the importance of what happened within the ranks of Swedish political science itself. It began to grow rapidly in numbers; its members traveled more frequently to international meetings and spent academic leaves elsewhere, especially in the U.S. Although rational choice theory has never been widely embraced by Swedish political scientists, the emergence of a global interest in comparative institutions seems to have suited their interest particularly well. The result has been that scholars such as Axel Hadenius at Uppsala, who originally studied only Swedish politics, have shifted to comparative politics. Bo Rothstein at Göteborg has taken the lead in promoting the study of comparative political institutions, focusing on how they influence the quality of democracy or the outcome of policy. Although Comparative Politics as a field remains weak, there are a growing number of scholars making important individual contributions.

So, what kind of studies of comparative politics is currently carried out by Swedish political scientists? The common denominator, not surprisingly, is democracy, but there are at least four different dimensions of democracy that can be identified as separate concerns: (1) the prerequisites of democracy in

countries attempting to establish a democratic system; (2) the institutional rules of democracy; (3) the welfare state and democracy; and (4) gender and democracy.

Axel Hadenius' book on "Democracy and Development" (1992), where he tests which set of social and economic variables is positively correlated with democracy constitutes a landmark in Swedish comparative politics. Not only is it the first attempt in Sweden to do cross-national data analysis on a large scale relating to a political science subject. It is also a book that has earned him recognition in comparativist circles around the world. Although it has subsequently been overtaken by further and more specified analyses, it is still widely cited in the literature. Svante Ersson at Umeå has come closest in Swedish political science to replicate this type of analysis in his work together with Jan-Erik Lane, currently at Geneva, Switzerland. Beckman and Rudebeck have been interested in the relationship between development and democracy, but without doing cross-sectional types of analysis, mainly in Africa. A number of younger scholars, including doctoral students, at Lund are developing a stronger comparative politics focus in that department. Catarina Kinnvall and Bo Pettersson, with compatible research interests in Central and South Asia, are leading the way. Finally, scholars at Örebro, notably Sten Berglund, and Södertörn share a project on the prerequisites of democracy in Eastern Europe.

Institutional rules of democracy includes work on party systems, systems of representation and related constitutional or legal matters. Some of it has focused on the Nordic countries. Examples can be found at Göteborg, where Peter Esaiasson has examined the Nordic legislatures in a comparative perspective, arguing that their way of operating fits neither the Westminster nor the U.S. Congress model. His colleague, Mikael Gilljam, has edited a volume bringing together the experience of the popular referendum on joining the European Union in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Another contributor to this type of research in Sweden is Torbjörn Bergman at Umeå, who has studied the relationship between constitutional design and government formation. Although his work is centered on the Swedish experience, it is consistently analyzed in the light of comparative cases. Staffan Darnolf at Södertörn, together with Y. Choe, is involved in studying the administration of elections in the Baltic States and how it bears on the legitimacy of the political regime. Axel Hadenius, finally, has more recently developed a research interest in comparative political institutions, especially as they relate to building or nurturing democracy.

The bulk of Swedish political science research on the welfare state is framed in terms of more specific national concerns. Only a few have decided to look at it from the outside in, setting the Swedish model in a comparative perspec-

tive. Following in the footsteps of the Danish political scientist, Gösta Esping-Anderson, at least a couple of contributions on the comparative study of the welfare state should be highlighted here. The first is the work of Bo Rothstein at Göteborg, especially his book on *Just Institutions Matter* (1998), which examines the moral and political logic of the universal welfare state model in a comparative perspective. Rothstein is relatively typical of a generation of Swedish political scientists, who has elevated the quality of their work by setting its deep insights into a particular Swedish phenomenon in a broader comparative perspective. The other person who deserves special mentioning here is Diane Sainsbury at Stockholm. She has used a gender perspective to reassess Esping-Andersen's argument and in so doing has made an original contribution to the general discourse on the welfare state and its future. Her work is especially interesting because it is highly gender sensitive while at the same time addressing mainstream political science issues.

Gender and democracy is the fourth dimension of comparative political studies in Sweden. As we point out in a separate section on 'gender and politics', scholars in this field can be divided into two categories: those that are foremost interested in making a contribution to feminist theory and those that more empirically go about studying the role that gender has in politics. The latter centers on issues such as female representation in legislative bodies but often goes beyond the realm of formal institutions. Work led by Gunnel Gustafsson at Umeå on the role of women in democracy as it keeps changing is a case in point. Research by Drude Dahlerup at Stockholm and Anna Jónasdóttir at Örebro has received international attention for its contributions to feminist theory. Much of this research relies on constructivist or interpretative approaches such as discourse analysis. While we have no problem with the methods used in such work, we are concerned that the focus on feminist theory tends to alienate these researchers from their colleagues in the discipline. Gender is a sufficiently important factor in public life that it needs to be studied in ways that allow for criticism not merely by a small group of theorists of the same persuasion but also by others who approach gender from different perspectives.

We shall try to summarize the discussion above by pointing to where research on any of the four dimensions is present in a significant way (meaning contributing to the overall profile of the department).

Swedish comparative politics has never had the need to develop the same kind of area orientation as has characterized political science in the U.S. where it was an integral part of developing knowledge about other parts of the world. Area specialization has developed more pragmatically in response to funding opportunities in Sweden. It is, however, a dominant orientation in the field

Table 5.3 Main foci in research in comparative politics at Swedish universities.

University	Prerequisites of democracy	Institutional rules and democracy	Welfare state and democracy	Gender and democracy
Göteborg	--	X	X	X
Karlstad	--	--	--	--
Linköping	--	--	--	--
Lund	X	--	--	--
Örebro	X	--	--	X
Södertörn	X	X	--	--
Stockholm	X	X	X	X
Umeå	X	X	--	X
Uppsala	X	X	--	--
Växjö	--	--	--	--

in Sweden. Thus, for example, most political science research on democratization in Eastern Europe and the Third World has been funded by the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC) that was incorporated into the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) in 1995. The Baltic Sea Foundation, based at Södertörn has helped sponsor research on comparative political issues in the Baltic region. Research on other parts of Europe has been funded through mechanisms associated with the European Union and the Swedish Government's wish to learn more about being part of that project.

Comparative politics research in Sweden tends to be focused on the proximate or the distant countries. Thus, much comparative work is being conducted using the Nordic countries as the frame. Others use a somewhat different definition of the proximate by focusing on the countries around the Baltic Sea. The rest of the comparativists work almost exclusively on Third World countries. Their interest includes Africa, Latin America and Asia. Much of this research may be centered on a single country case study, but it is usually analyzed and presented in the context of the broader comparative politics literature on the subject.

That the American political system gets virtually no attention among Swedish political scientists is not so surprising given its unique character, although one could also argue that it is precisely by setting one's own system in the light of another, quite different case that new insights are gained. It is only at Umeå that an attempt is made in engaging in a comparison with North America and

it is really confined to Canada, not the U.S. What is surprising, however, is that European countries outside the Nordic family attract so little interest among Swedish comparativists. Research on Europe is concentrated to fields other than comparative politics. As the separate section on such research indicates, it is approached in terms of how European integration affects Swedish democracy at large, specific institutions in the Swedish system, or particular policy outcomes. A few study the European Union from an international relations perspective, yet others look at the internal institutional mechanisms of the Union. Comparisons with other European countries in such key areas as party system, electoral system, legislative behavior have been overshadowed by these other concerns. It is a research area shared only by a few scholars like Svante Ersson and Torbjörn Bergmann at Umeå, Sten Berglund at Örebro, some of the researchers at Södertörn and, to a lesser extent, Marie Demker at Göteborg.

We conclude with respect to research in Comparative Politics in Sweden that it still has not crystallized into a research field of its own. It keeps growing, but it lacks the organizational or thematic structure that one finds in the U.S. or even in other European countries. Much of its evolution to date has been eclectically driven by the research interests of individual scholars. Little thought has gone into what kind of training doctoral students ought to get if they specialize in comparative political studies. The fragmented nature of the field in Swedish political science should be a concern for the future, especially in the light of the growing interest in comparative work. Especially unfortunate has been the tendency to isolate Third World politics as a concentration of its own separate

Table 5.4 Area concentrations in comparative politics research by department.

University	Nordic/ Baltic Region	Europe	Third World	North America
Göteborg	X	X	X	--
Karlstad	--	--	--	--
Linköping	X	--	--	--
Lund	--	--	X	--
Örebro	X	X	--	--
Södertörn	X	X	X	--
Stockholm	X	--	X	--
Umeå	X	X	--	X
Uppsala	--	X	X	--
Växjö	--	--	--	--

from other comparative studies. This has not only marginalized the study of developing countries within the discipline, but it has also preempted theoretical developments within comparative politics that elsewhere has been stimulated by the full integration of the study of Third World politics with that of other regions of the world. The development of Comparative Politics in Sweden should also include more systematic studies of politics in other European countries, even North America. While it is understandable that the European integration process itself has attracted widespread interest among Swedish political scientists, it is disappointing to see that virtually no one pays attention to the study of comparative political institutions or behavior in European states. Greater familiarity with both the theoretical and empirical side of politics elsewhere should be an integral part of what Swedish political science is concerned with as the discipline itself becomes increasingly engaged internationally.

Finally, we believe that Comparative Politics should be the subject of a special review by representatives of the Swedish political science community at large. Such a review should focus on the gaps and weaknesses listed above, what can be done to strengthen the field among Swedish political scientists, what kind of training doctoral students should receive in Comparative Politics, and what can be done to get comparative political studies by Swedish political scientists better recognized by colleagues elsewhere in the world. Such an effort would be an important means of making the discipline more outward-oriented.

## *International Relations*

Traditionally, the core of the field of international politics—or “international relations”, a more common label in the US—has been described as the study of state foreign policy (including the domestic institutions and processes through which foreign policy is made and implemented) and the study of international political systems, institutions (organizations, regimes) and intergovernmental political processes (from coercive diplomacy to cooperative problem-solving). Students of foreign policy have often benefited from research in other fields of political science, such as the mapping of political beliefs and attitudes and the study of domestic politics in general. Similarly, although arguing that the international system has its own distinct characteristics, students of international institutions have to varying degrees adopted analytic tools and been guided by propositions developed in the study of domestic institutions. Moreover, the substantive domain boundaries to what is usually considered neighboring fields—such as peace and conflict research and development studies—have always been

somewhat fuzzy, and occasional turf battles have been fought between competing research communities. Today one of the fastest growing areas of political science research can be found at the interface between international and domestic politics. As indicated by current buzzwords such as globalization, internationalization and Europeanization, we are witnessing an upsurge of interest in processes of system transformation, institutional arrangements for multilevel governance, and evolving transnational networks such as advocacy coalitions. Nowhere is this more evident than in the field of European politics. We have therefore decided to focus this section mainly on the study of international politics in the more traditional sense, and add a brief separate section on the booming field of European politics.

In Sweden, research in international relations can be found at all regular political science departments. It is a prominent and thriving field in Lund, an important field in Stockholm and Göteborg (and in relative terms also in Linköping), and is present in good shape in Uppsala. It has for some time been on the agenda also in Umeå, but the tragic death of Jan Åke Dellenbrant a few years ago left the field in a much weaker position there. At the 'new' universities, we find one faculty member in Karlstad with expertise as well as current research in IR, a fair amount of interest among doctoral students and other junior members of the Växjö group, while it is virtually absent in Örebro. Interestingly, the most remarkable growth in recent years has occurred at Södertörn University College. Although most of its faculty are still at a junior level and several projects might as well be categorized as area studies, Södertörn has built up a sizeable group with expertise in IR, and it seems to have the resources required to become a serious competitor to the established departments in this field in the near future.

Had we been doing this evaluation in the 1980s, we would probably have pointed to Stockholm as the leading department for IR research in Sweden. The lion's share of the credit would have gone to Kjell Goldmann. For almost three decades he has been a leading figure in Scandinavian IR research, covering much of the field—from macro-level analysis of the international system to studies of the domestic sources of foreign policy—and combining theory-building with empirical research and a genuine interest in ethical issues and dilemmas. It is all state of the art research, with some truly cutting-edge contributions. And he was not alone; Stockholm has over the years had its fair share of promising young people. Moreover, to varying degrees there have been opportunities to include in teaching and research people from nearby institutions, in particular UI, to some extent also Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and others. Much of this is true also today. Goldmann is still there (although

much closer to retirement age)—now focusing primarily on the study of internationalization and the political transformation of Europe. And he is not alone; the present staff includes two other senior faculty—Jan Hallenberg and Bertil Nygren—and a couple of good people at earlier stages of their careers—Alexa Robertson and Ulrika Mörth. Yet, due to a complex set of problems, caused in part by government priorities (see chapter 4), the department has not succeeded in taking full advantage of the opportunities it has had to build up a really strong IR team. Of the senior faculty, only Goldmann is recognized by the international research community, although both Hallenberg and Nygren have published books and articles in English about superpower relations and other core topics. This is not an atypical pattern (see below), and it would be unfair to hold it against Stockholm in particular. The point we are making is simply that Stockholm had a *potential* in this field that no other Swedish political science department could match. In other words, Stockholm *could*, we believe, have accomplished more than it has.

In this respect it is interesting to compare and contrast Stockholm with Lund. If Stockholm has missed out on some opportunities, Lund has taken good advantage of its. Under the leadership of Lars-Göran Stenelo and Christer Jönsson, Lund has established itself as the leading department for IR research in Sweden. In addition to Jönsson and Stenelo, the present staff includes three other senior faculty with a record of research on international relations (Elgström, Jerneck and Petersson), and about eight people at the junior level with at least some research activity in the field. In addition, a fairly large group of doctoral students (about 15), and activities in other disciplines (notably history), help make Lund a rich environment for IR research, also by European standards. The study of communication, negotiation and other ‘soft’ instruments of diplomacy has been a particularly prominent subfield, but the Lund group has expertise in a wide range of other areas as well, from basic international politics theory (Hall), via the study of international institutions (Jönsson, Jerneck, Tallberg) and Russian foreign policy (Petersson), to less conventional subjects such as gender and security policy (Young-Kronsell and Swedberg). In terms of international recognition, Christer Jönsson clearly stands out. His research is generally state of the art work, and much of it has been published in international journals or books and is being cited also by some of the most prominent scholars in the field. None of his colleagues have made much of an impression on the international research community (yet), but our own reading shows that interesting research is being done also by other faculty and by Ph.D. candidates. Most of what we have looked at is, admittedly, better described as solid or well-crafted than as truly innovative or path-breaking, but in that respect Lund is

in good company. Overall, in the IR field Lund is doing well by Scandinavian standards—and not merely in terms of volume.

Göteborg also has a sizeable group of faculty engaged in IR research, including two professors (Ulf Bjereld and Rutger Lindahl), two senior researchers (Marie Demker and Sune Persson), and one post doc researcher (Ann-Marie Ekengren). The main area has been Swedish foreign and security policy, where several Göteborg faculty and doctoral students have participated actively, and partly in leading roles, in two large-scale national research programs—Sweden during the Cold War (SUKK), and The Swedish military intelligence and security service (known under the somewhat incriminatory acronym SMUTS). We also find a considerable amount of interest in studies of the domestic sources of foreign policy—to some extent capitalizing on Göteborg’s strength in the study of elections, political parties and public opinion—and in foreign policy-making processes. One project has explored links between international politics and immigration policies and welfare policies more generally (Demker). Some studies also shed light on the role of identity and gender in foreign policy and international politics (with Bjereld as one of the few male political scientists to pursue gender as a research topic). One faculty member (Persson) is a specialist on Middle East politics. Compared to Stockholm and Lund, we may on the negative side note that the Göteborg group lacks “flagship scholars” of the format of Goldmann and Jönsson. Overall, its IR publications have attracted scant attention by the international research community. As a consequence, Göteborg would not figure in capital letters on the map of European IR research environments. Equally striking, however, is the fact that the group includes a couple of quite productive people (Bjereld and Demker), whose work—at least their more ambitious studies—we would definitely give good marks. We may also note that at least one of its members (Lindahl) has spent time serving his country through participation in public committee work, and contributes to the more policy-oriented literature on Sweden’s role in the EU and other aspects of European integration.

The Uppsala Department of Political Science has not given high priority to the field of international relations, but it is nevertheless in the fortunate situation of having two (or, more correctly, one and a half) full professors—Walter Carlsnaes and Bengt Sundelius, the latter working also at *Försvarshögskolan*—who have made significant contributions to the international research literature. Carlsnaes is best known for his theoretical work on agent-structure relationships and the role of ideology in foreign policy, but in recent years he has also—like so many others—engaged himself in the study of European politics. Sundelius’ most well-known studies are in the areas of comparative

foreign policy and foreign policy decision-making, in recent years with a particular emphasis on crisis management. Both are actively participating in international research networks, as senior partners in good standing, and both have served as journal editors—Carlsnaes for the *European Journal of International Relations*, Sundelius for *Cooperation and Conflict*. For the Department of Political Science itself, there is not much else to report in terms of IR research—although a few other studies of European politics, one project on the significance of state borders, and work on environmental policies devote some attention to international aspects. The University does, however, also have a Department of Peace and Conflict Research, with one professor, five senior scholars, and several more junior faculty. The department focuses particularly on the study of the origins and dynamics of conflicts and on conflict resolution and security. Peter Wallensteen, who holds the Dag Hammarskjöld Chair in Peace and Conflict Research, counts among the most prominent members of the Scandinavian peace research community. Even though none of the others—with one partial exception—have published studies that have made much of an impression upon the research community at large, adding it all up Uppsala University does have a fairly large portfolio of research in the field of international relations. In the early days of the peace research ‘movement’ relations to the mainstream IR community and to political science departments were somewhat strained in many places. Much of that is now history, and the general prospects for productive cooperation have improved significantly over the past ten to fifteen years.

In Umeå, Dellenbrant combined his interest in international politics with research on Eastern Europe and Russia (USSR). This combination of IR and area studies would still fit Umeå’s more general interest in that region very well. At present, however, the department does not have a critical mass of IR research. Of the fulltime faculty, only Cynthia Kite maintains an active interest in the field. In addition, Krister Wahlbäck—in the role of Adjunct Professor (20%)—contributes through supervising students and some publishing. Without devaluing their contributions, we have to conclude that the study of international relations is in a very vulnerable position in Umeå at present. It will probably take a concerted effort by the department to keep it alive as a field of active research.

In Linköping, research in international politics has focused mainly though not exclusively on the issue-area of environmental policy and resource management. Most of it has not caught much attention by the international research community, but in this case we are a bit more optimistic about the future prospects.

Table 5.5 Main foci of IR research at Swedish universities.

	Foreign Policy		International Politics		
	Policy-making	Policy	Regional	Global	General
Göteborg	X	X	X		
Karlstad		X			
Linköping		X	X		
Lund	X	X	X	X	X
Stockholm	X	X	X	X	X
Umeå	X	X	X		
Uppsala	X	X	X		X
Växjö		X	X		
Örebro					(marginal)

Research in international relations is conducted also outside the university system. We have already pointed out that Södertörn over a short period of time has built up a relatively large group from which we are likely to hear more in the years to come. Much of its current research focuses on the Baltic region, but a good part of its portfolio are projects of more general interest, for example the study of transnational networks. Another institution with more of a proven record is the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (*Utrikespolitiska Institutet*).<sup>5</sup> Although not a pure research center, UI has a small staff of permanent researchers (4)—three at the senior level—and since 1993 also a group of mostly junior researchers enrolled on a temporary basis in a specially designed program. Its current agenda covers a fairly wide range of subject areas—Russian National Security Strategies (Jonson), Non-Military Security and Risk Analysis (Sjöstedt), International Negotiations (Sjöstedt), Human Rights (Dunér), and Western European Security (Herolf). Some of its ongoing programs have received a fair amount of peer attention—including the work of Gunnar Sjöstedt on international negotiations (most of it in the context of a larger international program known under the acronym PIN and currently hosted by IIASA) and Lena Jonson's studies of Russian foreign and security policy.

Overall, research in international relations at Swedish universities covers a fairly wide range of topics. As one would expect, much focuses on Swedish foreign policy or the role of Sweden in international politics, but Swedish IR research cannot be considered parochial. We find some work that is explicitly policy-ori-

<sup>5</sup> An ad hoc committee, chaired by Professor Christer Jönsson, was appointed this Spring by *Riksbankens Jubileumsfond* to evaluate UI and suggest a strategy for the future.

ented, but at least as much that is clearly geared towards the development of theory. It is by and large fairly well integrated into political science at large. In terms of relevance to Swedish government and society, the most striking gap is the dearth of work in the field known as international political economy—an issue-area of great interest to a small industrialized country with an open economy, particularly at a time in which rather fundamental changes are occurring. With a few exceptions, political scientists seem to have left that field to the economists—one reason probably being that international economics is a rather strong field in Sweden. We would not advocate direct competition with the economists; they certainly do economics much better than political scientists! There are, however, also a wide range of genuine political science questions in this field, and others that call for contributions from political science research. This is a challenge that the Swedish IR community would be well advised to take seriously.

Swedish research in international relations is also characterized by considerable pluralism in terms of theoretical approaches. Moreover, we find a state of relatively peaceful coexistence of ‘schools’ that in other national research communities often engage each other in endless and often unproductive skirmishes (for example, ‘constructivism’ versus ‘rationalism’). By comparison with current state of the art research as reflected in the major international journals, we find very little formal rational choice modeling and (advanced) statistical analysis. By and large, the Swedish IR community seems more likely to adopt new impulses if they come from the humanities or other ‘culture-oriented’ disciplines such as anthropology than if they emanate from ‘hard’ sciences and/or appear in mathematical form.

Finally, in terms of quality we get a mixed picture. What is recognized by the international research community is essentially the work of a few senior scholars. We have found highly interesting contributions also by some others, even people at the very beginning of their careers. However, most of what we have seen is the kind of work that shows familiarity with the research literature, ability to use a particular kind of methodological tools, and adds marginally to our state of knowledge, but that is at the same time a bit short on the kind of penetrating insight, innovative twists, and analytic precision or methodological sophistication that characterize research that moves frontiers.

## *Political Theory*

Political theory can be defined in a number of different ways, all of which tend to entail a normative approach to the study of politics. First, there is the study

of political philosophy, which examines the ideas of a series of classical thinkers both in terms of their historical and political context, but also for clues to grappling with eternal questions of power, justice and politics. Second, political theory has been defined as the historical and critical analysis of political ideas and concepts, often focusing in particular on political ideologies. Third, one could speak of “applied” political theory, which takes ideas from normative political theory, but aims to put these ideas to practical use in areas like public policy and institutional design. Fourth, it has become common to speak of positive political theory, referring to efforts to develop a scientific theory of politics based on parsimonious assumptions about rational, strategic action, which is related to the normative theory of economics.

The dividing line between political theory and political science—like all boundaries—is somewhat blurry. But as a rule of thumb, we can say that contemporary, international, conventional use of the term normative theory in the first three senses implies a basic minimum of training in political philosophy. We say contemporary, because political theory, like all other subfields of political science, has become increasingly specialized. Today, that specialization entails a philosophic bent. The fourth use of the term, positive political theory, on the other hand, is used internationally to mean scholars with a proficiency in formal modeling, most often anchored in a rational choice framework. Thus, for better or for worse, international usage of the term “political theory” requires an interdisciplinary specialization.

That said, continental European political science tends to emphasize classical political philosophy less than the Anglo-American countries. But even by continental standards, Swedish political science, like its Nordic counterparts, is less oriented to political philosophy than German or French political science. Nor is positive political theory very prominent in Sweden, although it should be mentioned that the Uppsala program on “Politics as Rational Action” was indeed a successful effort to incorporate elements of positive theory into the study of Swedish politics. Instead the focus has been very much on the second and third categories, that is, on the history of ideologies and political concepts—the domain of Herbert Tingsten—and on normative analysis of democratic politics and institutions.

The departments that most emphasize political theory at the moment are Uppsala, Örebro, and Stockholm, though it is found as well in Göteborg, Lund, Karlstad, Umeå and Växjö. At Uppsala, Mats Lundström’s dissertation on Hayek stands out as one of the very few recent monographs that belongs to the area of “classical” political philosophy, and it is perhaps not coincidental that Lundström spent a year at the University of Essex, working with Robert

Goodin. More recently, Lundström has turned to “applied” political theory, analysing various areas of Swedish policy (gender equality, schools) in light of normative theories, as have a few recent dissertations. In Uppsala, Jörgen Hermansson currently focuses on democratic theory, but he has previously published on the history of ideas as well as on the utility of rational choice theory. Hermansson’s work spans the divide between political philosophy and empirical research on politics and public policy, most recently in a collaborative project proposal on the practice of democracy together with Mikael Gilljam and Peter Esaiasson of Göteborg. Örebro stands out as well, with Mats Dahlkvist and Anna Jónasdóttir representing the theory field. Dahlkvist’s current work critically analyses political concepts—“civil society”, “communal self-administration”, “socialism”—using both the history of ideas and ‘analytic’ criticism (that is, testing the use of concepts against the standard of consistency, logic and persuasiveness). Jónasdóttir—relying more on social and feminist theory than political philosophy *per se*—has produced an original critique of attempts to conceptualize “gender” and gender relations.

At Stockholm and Lund, the use of the term “theory” is sometimes less conventionally and more locally defined. At Stockholm, “political theory” often refers to hermeneutic criticism of positivism, and to ‘ideational’ or ‘constructivist’ approaches, although there are several persons that work on political theory as more traditionally understood. Nevertheless, although a political philosophy component remains, a hole has been left in the theory area by the departures of Björn Wittrock (whose work was not reviewed), and Jens Bartelson. Bartelson’s work, though often considered as part of the international politics area, analyses the historical trajectory and philosophical underpinnings of various conceptions of the state as they are embodied in particular interpretations of words, such as “sovereignty”, “coup d’état”, “internationalism”. He was the only Swedish political scientist who submitted an article from an *international* theory journal, *Political Theory*, for our consideration. (Two other theory articles from *swedish* journals were submitted from Stockholm—Maud Eduard’s contribution to *Tidskrift för politisk filosofi* and Bo Lindensjö’s piece in *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*). In reviewing political theory at Stockholm, one should also mention Kristina Boréus, who has a philosophy background, and whose discourse analysis has been published in a professional linguistics journal, *Journal of Pragmatics*, as well as recent Ph.D.s, such as Ulf Mörkenstam and Jouni Reinikainen, who combine both ideas of traditional political theorists (Charles Taylor, John Rawls) with empirical, constructivist analyses. In Lund, many researchers speak of theory “construction”, following the example of Lennart Lundquist. As far as we understand, this means using normative concepts and analysis to come up

with positive prescriptions for politics, policy and administration. There is great interest in the department—extending through several research projects and dissertations—in democratic theory. At the same time, as in Stockholm, there is an interest in “constructivist” approaches—as in Patrick Hall’s Foucauldian analysis of nationalism, or Martin Hall’s review of international relations theory—as well as in discourse analysis and feminist theory. There is no single person at Lund, who identifies himself or herself mainly as a political theorist, however.

In Göteborg, the theory wing is represented by Gunnar Falkemark and Frederika Lagergren, both using philosophic concepts and a history of ideas approach to public policy, and to some extent by Bo Rothstein who is very interested in democratic theory, state theory and theories of justice. Umeå is one the few departments other than Uppsala with a focus on positive political theory, which is represented by the research of Torbjörn Bergman. At the newest universities, Karlstad and Växjö, we find some persons with an interest in theory—Curt Räftegård and Tom Bryder—but neither department has a critical mass in theory or seems to be moving in that direction.

All in all, we notice that there is relatively little research on political philosophy per se in Sweden, although interest in normative theory, as well as its implications for politics and policy-making is widespread. There are few traditional theorists, and the earlier Swedish interest in political ideologies seems to have declined in recent years. Nevertheless, many Swedish scholars wish to use ideas from various branches of political philosophy and normative political theory.

Table 5.6 Main foci of political theory research at Swedish universities.

	Göteborg	Karlstad	Lund	Stockholm	Umeå	Uppsala	Växjö	Örebro
Political Philosophy				X		X		X
History of Ideas, Political Concepts, (Discourse)			X	X		X		X
Democratic Theory			X			X		
Theories of Justice	X			X		X		
Political Theory and Gender				X		X		X
Political Theory and Public Policy	X					X		
Positive Political Theory					X	X		

And there are several original and outstanding contributions, especially if one uses a very broad definition of political theory. Therefore, we would recommend that steps be taken to supplement existing professional expertise in the theory field. Visiting professors of international stature in the theory field or even younger scholars with an international reputation could help to bring international debates in the theory area better into Swedish departments, and would be of particular help to graduate students. Although barriers between the disciplines are high in Sweden, it might pay off to look for cooperative relations with selected members of philosophy and economics departments that could give some lectures and co-advise students, or perhaps even participate in joint research projects. It is notable that dissertations with a political philosophy emphasis seem to have been written by doctoral students that have had the chance to spend some time abroad. Departments might encourage students with theory interests to spend a longer time in a foreign department in order to profit from an advisory relationship with a senior theorist. Finally, departments that want to emphasize theory might seek funding for a professorial chair earmarked for political theory, and to search internationally. Here, one would want to seek someone with the political philosophy background necessary to give colleagues and students the feedback they need to publish in an international theory journal, but with the flexibility and interest to discuss applications of normative political theory to current problems of politics and public policy.

## *European Politics*

Over the last decade, particularly the last five years, we have seen a remarkable growth in research and teaching about European politics at Swedish universities. This growth has been driven in part by intellectual curiosity about the substantial transformation that is taking place in the aftermath of the Cold War—with the transition to democracy and market economies in the East, ‘old’ states collapsing and ‘new’ ones emerging, and the EU developing into an all-European political superstructure—and in part by external demand and material incentives in the form of funding for research and training. The field itself can best be described as a diverse mix of subjects sharing little except a geographical focus (and even the latter would be true only in a liberal interpretation). It ranges from macro-level research on the European region or system to micro-level studies of local politics, and it engages students of collective identities or party politics as much as people with an interest in constitutional design or international politics. A similar development has taken place also within

neighboring disciplines, and some universities have established new interdisciplinary units or programs, under labels such as “European studies” or “European research”. Moreover, important elements of a national infrastructure are in place, including a well functioning network for political science research on European matters (and similar networks for economics and law) and a Swedish Association for European Research (SAFER).

Looking at the various portfolios of research projects, we find no clear division of labor and considerable overlap. However, we can also see that the current agendas in European politics build to a large extent upon established expertise in particular fields. For example, while Stockholm’s present portfolio has grown primarily out of its research base in international politics (with a link to media research), Örebro’s is framed essentially in terms of Berglund’s interest in political cleavages and political parties, and Lund—although covering a wider range of topics—clearly capitalizes on its expertise in the study of negotiations, informal networks and formal organizations. Much of current research focuses on various aspects of the emerging system of multilevel governance, and much seems inspired by a normative concern with the future of democracy. In terms of geographical foci, we find a strong interest in developments in Eastern and Central Europe. Göteborg, more precisely its Centre for European Research (see below), has a large interdisciplinary program on the eastward expansion of the EU and the transition to democracy and market economies in the Baltic states, and a subunit for the study of Russia and Eastern Europe. Södertörn specializes in research on the Baltic region. In Örebro, Berglund and his group focus on Eastern Europe, Umeå has a strong interest in northern Russia and the Baltic countries (but also research on European politics more generally), and both Lund and Uppsala have a fair amount of expertise and work on Russia and Eastern Europe.

To coordinate and focus research and teaching, Göteborg University established a Centre for European Research in 1995, and Lund University followed with a Centre for European Studies in 1997. Although in both cases inter- or multidisciplinary in scope, faculty members of the political science departments have been important as entrepreneurs and leaders – in particular, Rutger Lindahl in Göteborg and Magnus Jerneck in Lund. Both universities achieved status as Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence in 1998. Today Jean Monnet Chairs exist also at Linköping (Geoffrey Gooch) and Uppsala (Sverker Gustavsson).

The rapid growth of the field demonstrates that Swedish political science departments—and Swedish universities more generally—have been able to respond rather effectively to many of the intellectual challenges and external

demands generated by the very important political changes occurring in Europe. This is by no means a trivial accomplishment. The stock of expertise will increase further as the large number of doctoral students presently engaged in dissertation research on various aspects of European politics earn their degrees. That, too, is good news. To be sure, the substantial growth achieved over a short period of time has a bill attached, not merely in financial terms. Conventional quality standards have come under some pressure in research as well as teaching. The excitement of living in the midst of what appears to be a fundamental transformation creates an intellectual atmosphere in which 'traditional' approaches and 'conventional' tools tend to be too easily discarded in search of 'novelty'. And in the rush to join the bandwagon, there is always a risk that some will be tempted to leave what is highly fertile ground for a lot that turns out to be overcrowded and in the end yields a poor harvest. We do see a few symptoms of such diseases, but it is our impression that the Swedish political science community by and large has managed reasonably well to avoid these pitfalls. Much of the research output that we have seen is firmly anchored in general political science frameworks and theories. By and large, the field is characterized more by continuity and ability to capitalize on established strengths than by impoverishing fads or a superficial strive for 'instant relevance'.

## *Gender and Politics*

"Gender and Politics" may be defined both as a *feminist approach* to studying politics, and as the study of *women* or *gender* in politics. Scholars differ, of course, as to what should be regarded as a 'feminist' approach, but the basic idea here is that in order to consider both issues of particular interest to women, or those especially important not only for women's (and, in the eyes of some scholars, also for men's) emancipation, one must reconceptualize one's definition of politics and the way one studies political phenomena. According to this view, violence against women in the family, to name the standard example, must be re-defined from a private and personal problem to one that is public and political, if the balance of power between men and women is to be redressed, and the problem of battering resolved. The "*women in politics*" approach, on the other hand, relies on more conventional definitions, theories and methods, and seeks simply to expand the range of research to include better the activities and problems of women in politics. The study of "*gender and politics*" occupies an intermediate position, with the term gender referring to the socially constructed aspects of sexual identity, as distinguished from the biological categories, male

and female. By grappling with an ideational concept, those taking a gender approach to politics are often led to push against the frontiers of political science research by relying on theories and methods from other disciplines—literature, history, sociology and anthropology. For example, in order to be better able to study the way in which identity formation evokes gendered power—which may be relevant for explaining e.g. the emergence (or, perhaps more importantly the non-emergence) of social movements based on issues of interest to women—methodologies such as discourse analysis or interpretation of symbolic codes may be helpful.

Because our mandate is to review political science, we restrict our consideration here to studies of gender *and* politics, and to scholars that submitted their work as members of political science departments. Consequently, the significant research on gender taking place within centers for Gender Studies or Women's Studies is outside the scope of this evaluation—unless of course, members of those centers are simultaneously active within departments of political science. As political scientists we have reviewed studies of gender and *politics* and feminist *political* theory as a subfield of the discipline of political science, but we do realize that the field can be assessed from a different perspective, and that a different perspective might lead to other conclusions. In order to be as inclusive as possible, we have broadened this section to cover all works that could be considered as studies of gender and politics amongst the submitted publications (maximum three per active researcher) and all dissertations defended within the review period (1993 to 1999). As this information is already outdated, we made an effort to include information about more recently published dissertations or ongoing dissertation research, as well, although it should be noted that this information is unsystematic and incomplete. By paying such close attention to research at the dissertation level, we thus treat the area of gender and politics differently than other areas reviewed in this study. The reason for this is that gender and politics is a relatively new area, which is expanding most rapidly at the dissertation level, and also one that is at least in part conceived of as challenging 'mainstream' political science.

At Stockholm University, Maud Eduards has been active for the last twenty-five years in establishing the gender profile in the department's research program. The Stockholm Department has three professors working in this area, and thus stands out as the most concentrated center of gender and politics research in Scandinavia, and as highly prominent also in broader international comparison. Drude Dahlerup's work considers the normative aims of feminism, as well as the impact of the women's movement on concrete policy outcomes in Denmark. Maud Eduards has published on feminist theory, and on

women's political representation, as well as the politics of specific policy sectors, such as prevention of violence against women. Diane Sainsbury's work on gender and the welfare state (which has been published by both Oxford and Cambridge University Presses) provides a conceptual critique of the bias created when, for example, "decommodification" is used as a standard for comparing welfare states, and an empirical reassessment of the impact of social programs belonging to different welfare state "regimes". Politics and Gender is a separate area of graduate study and enjoys its own graduate seminar. On the list of dissertations produced between 1993 and 1999 however, we found no dissertations on gender topics; in 2000, two dissertations were defended. At the time of this writing, the department listed seven dissertation projects on gender on its home page.

In Örebro, the gender and politics area pre-dates the political science department, with the Forum for Women's Studies (*Kvinnovetenskapligt Forum*) founded in 1988, and including scholars from the disciplines of history, sociology and political science. As mentioned in the section on the Örebro Department, the relationship between the research centers and the fledgling department is now under re-negotiation, so that it is not yet clear how the gender and politics area will end up placing itself in relationship to the department versus the Forum. In any case, Örebro now has a significant profile in gender and politics, with Anna Jónasdóttir's contributions to feminist political theory and more applied studies of women's power and public policies for women, as well as Gun Hedlund's research on the political demands of women and the impact they are having on local politics in Sweden. As a newer department, Örebro did not produce dissertations between 1993 and 1999; the department lists two current dissertations in the gender area.

At Göteborg University, it has been a conscious strategy to integrate research on gender and politics with other areas of political science research. Maria Oskarson and Lena Wängnerud combine a gender perspective with theories and methods from research on political behaviour, and have produced several studies (jointly and individually) of women's political participation and representation. Similarly, Ulf Bjereld has applied a gender approach to differences in men's and women's political opinions regarding the use of force, combining electoral studies, foreign policy, and explicitly setting out to operationalize and test hypotheses garnered from Anna Jónasdóttir's work on feminist political theory. In the 1993–1999 period, two Göteborg dissertations treated gender and politics topics; of the four current graduate students working on topics related to gender and politics, all are employed by more general research projects, and indeed, it has been the policy of the department not to introduce

*separate* courses or seminars on gender and politics, but instead to incorporate gender within a broader political science framework.

In Umeå, gender and politics research is represented by the joint project on women's organizations and political influence at the local level led by Maud Eduards and Gunnel Gustafsson, which is part of the disciplinary program on "Democracy in Transition" chaired by Gustafsson that involves cooperation amongst all major Swedish universities. Between 1993 and 1999, one dissertation on gender and politics was defended; one current dissertation is listed as part of the women in local politics project. In Lund, Annica Young Kronsell and Erika Svedberg's project on "masculinities and femininities" examines the impact of gender on Swedish security policy. No dissertations on gender and politics were defended between 1993 and 1999, but the department has two current doctoral students working on gender topics, which are incorporated into the areas of "political theory", and "political power and democracy". Two scholars from the Uppsala department have written on gender and politics. Mats Lundström uses theories of justice to critique Swedish equality policy for replacing a universal norm of non-discrimination against citizens with a particularistic policy of "sexual justice". Christina Bergquist analyses women's political representation and influence in the Nordic countries, as well as the relationship between gender, corporatism and the welfare state. Between 1993 and 1999, one dissertation on gender was defended at Uppsala; we have no information on current dissertation projects in the gender area. Similarly, the material we have received from Växjö and Karlstad contains no information about research in this area thus far.

As indicated by the increasing numbers of dissertations treating topics in gender and politics, this is a rapidly-growing area. On the positive side, we wish to point out that Swedish gender research is getting a fair amount of international attention, and that some of the scholars working on gender politics have contributed greatly to the rankings of their institutions in terms of international impact as measured by the Social Science Citation Index. We are also aware, however, that there are outstanding issues requiring the attention of researchers in this area as well as members of discipline at large.

First, not surprisingly, we have encountered somewhat different conceptions of the area itself. Some view it as a distinct area of research with strong links to gender research within other disciplines. Others see themselves primarily as political scientists trying to expand and enrich the discipline by addressing neglected topics from new perspectives. This question of research identity has no simple and 'right' answer, but we believe important issues are at stake here. For whatever it is worth, our view can be summarized as follows: In the initial

Table 5.7 Overview of Research Topics in Area of Gender and Politics

	Göteborg	Karlstad	Lund	Stockholm	Umeå	Uppsala	Växjö	Örebro
Feminist Theory			X	X	X			X
Women's Representation and Political Participation	X			X	X	X		X
The 'Nordic' Model	X				X	X		X
Gender inequality and equality policy	X			X		X		X
Gender and Democracy (including local politics)	X			X	X			X
Gender and comparative politics	X			X	X			
Gender and corporatism				X		X		
Women and violence	X			X				
Feminism as a Social Movement				X				X
Gender and Security Policy	X		X					
Gender and the Welfare State	X			X				X

stages, it may be helpful for a new area encountering a mixture of indifference and opposition from the established research community to develop its research agenda in a protected setting. Over the last decade or so, the gender and politics area has, however, gained significantly in strength, and today we are no longer prepared to accept the 'infant industry' argument as truly compelling. As a more mature research area, we would expect it to be able to communicate its research agenda, theories, findings and methods to the larger discipline. Moreover, we would expect scholars in other areas to take a stronger interest. At this stage, an isolationist strategy could encourage the development of a subculture, with scientific norms that are distinct from those of the larger profession. We are therefore concerned by comments made by Swedish political scientists that indicate the existence of barriers between gender and politics research and other areas of political science. Interestingly, we heard this kind of complaints from both sides. Some gender researchers told us that they face barriers in getting recognition and even attention for gender issues in mainstream political science. On the other side, some researchers complained that parts of the gender research

community would not engage in open dialogue. Against this background, we are encouraged to see promising instances of operationalization and testing of hypotheses generated from the gender area by political scientists that do not mainly identify themselves as gender researchers (as in Göteborg), and the movement of researchers from research projects focusing on gender to ones on other topics and vice versa (as in Lund). We believe that these kinds of integration will, at least in the longer run, benefit the gender and politics area itself as well as the discipline at large.

Second, in addition to being able to communicate with and relate to the larger discipline, we would expect a new area of research to develop a coherent set of definitions and common norms governing expectations for researchers within this area. In this regard, we have some questions about the gender and politics area. There does not seem to be general agreement about what the area of research is, what the norms are, or even who is really in it. For some, including many of the scholars working on women's political participation and representation, or the "Nordic" model, gender seems to be a topic that can be researched using conventional methods and theories of political science—although their expectation is, of course, that by choosing a new object of study, or looking at an old object from a different angle, they will be able to improve these theories and methods, and hence make scientific progress. For others, the area seems to be defined in terms of feminist theory, conceived of as a distinctly different paradigm or framework that has little in common with and nothing to learn from mainstream political science. Again, these are identity issues that we as 'outsiders' cannot resolve. What we would like to point out, though, is that the way this issue is resolved will have important implications not merely for the research area itself but potentially also for the 'disciplinary landscape' of Swedish social science at large.

Third, these dual issues concerning, one, the creation of community of scholars and, two, integrating this community within the framework of a larger scientific community are particularly important in an area that is very skewed towards the younger generation. Although building on the work of the pioneers, doctoral students are in a sense very much creating the field of gender and politics. As for other subfields, we believe it is important to strike a balance between focused specialization on the one hand and outreach and integration on the other. We have no magic formula enabling us to determine what constitutes an 'optimal' balance in each case, but we are concerned about the future development of scholars whose main professional socialization has been within a highly specialized gender and politics program or within a women's studies center. Are these students receiving exposure to the full range of political sci-

ence, and are their dissertation projects being subjected to critical questions from a variety of perspectives? Will these persons receive the general training in political science to enable them to branch out into other areas of the discipline if they so wish? Such questions have been raised in our minds because some projects in this area seem not to have a clearly specified research question, and indeed, some of the questions being asked (such as “can men and women ever be equal?”) would appear to be more appropriate for a speculative conclusion to a study than as a question to be addressed at the outset. In some of the studies, some propositions (for example the existence of “patriarchy”) seem to have the status of unquestioned assumptions rather than as questions calling for systematic empirical analysis. This is somewhat of a paradox, in particular for work in the deconstructivist vein that sets out to ‘problematize’ concepts, assumptions and relationships. More generally, we believe that any field of research will benefit tremendously from having a critical community that can help sort out convincing from unconvincing work. Particularly in a small country such as Sweden, with relatively few persons working in a particular field, it is important to facilitate open quality check—also of research framed as a critique of ‘conventional wisdom’.

For these reasons, we believe it to be crucial for the quality of research on gender and politics to use every available opportunity to disseminate the research questions and results to the larger political science community—both within and outside of Sweden—and to listen and respond to criticisms that are made by this outside environment. We do realize that many scholars have done this successfully for a long time, with one indicator of such success being publication of work in international academic presses, or mainstream political science journals. But our impression from the written work, and during our site visits, was that walls are still in some places quite high between research on gender politics and other topics within political science. In order to break down these walls, we make the following suggestions. First, feminist or ‘gender-oriented’ scholars might think of developing a module or modules for the common courses on theory and methods. Second, it would improve the visibility and professional integration of this area of research if more articles were submitted to refereed journals that represent the profession as a whole, such as *Scandinavian Political Studies* or *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, as well as, of course, the previously mentioned international journals and presses. Third, following the lead of the “Democracy in Transition” Program, a large-scale cooperative project on gender and politics would draw resources and attention to the area, and hopefully involve a number of scholars with different areas of expertise. These efforts should be viewed not as attempts by gender researchers to ingratiate themselves

with the larger profession, but as ways to engage in mutual education, benefiting the discipline at large as well as the research area itself. Finally, more efforts must be made at securing adequate quality control within this area. A balance must be achieved between being open-minded and fair to new ideas by seeking out dissertation supervisors and reviewers of grant proposals and article submissions from within the area of gender politics, and, at the same time, assuring that the professional standards of the broader political science community are met by assigning second supervisors and co-reviewers from outside the gender field. If there are not enough experts within Sweden, then more use should be made of foreign scholars. As we suggest for the Political Theory area, one way to import such foreign expertise might be to initiate a visiting professorship arrangement.

# Overall evaluation: strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats

## *General overview*

Overall, we find Swedish political science research in fairly good health as it enters the 21st century. The discipline has been strengthened substantially through an extended period of growth, and has built for itself a solid base at most Swedish universities. As Ruin's historical overview shows, it builds on a rich tradition, particularly in empirical research. It has had the good fortune of being led by senior scholars who have had an outlook beyond their own field of specialization, and even though we must expect increasing differentiation as the research community grows and the academic career system changes, Swedish political science still benefits from having some very good senior generalists who help protect the discipline against overly narrow specialization or strong fragmentation into competing 'schools'.

Much of the research that we have examined addresses questions that are of substantial political and practical interest. Moreover, the discipline has been able to develop and adjust its research agenda in response to some of the important changes that is taking place at the domestic as well as the international arena—for example, the increasing complexities of multilevel government, changes in collective identities and beliefs, and the profound changes in political systems, institutions and patterns of cooperation and conflict that have occurred in Europe and elsewhere over the past ten to fifteen years. Swedish political scientists have much experience in applied political research. The work in government commissions—*Maktutredningen*, *Demokratiutredningen*, *Kvinnomaktutredningen* and others—has built up a comparative advantage in theoretically informed prescriptive analysis that is in scarce supply outside of the Nordic countries. This kind of linkage between empirical research and normative political theory will no doubt prove useful also for analyzing current issues such as the trade-off between democratic participation and policy efficacy, the class, gender and ethnic biases of particular institutional arrangements, and the re-configuration of national and sub-national institutions in response

to changes in the economic, social and cultural environment. Moreover, we are struck by the extent to which Swedish political science research is inspired by basic values that constitute the normative foundation of the Swedish political system and of Swedish political culture, including ideals of (a particular kind of) democratic governance, due procedure, and the solidarity norms of the welfare state. This is not to say that it is conformist and ‘uncritical’; the point is that while it may well be critical of *actual performance*, it is most often framed in (implicit) support of the basic values themselves, seeing them as ‘threatened’ or ‘challenged’ by endogenous perversion or external developments.

Reviewing recent and ongoing research, we see multiple opportunities for innovative and agenda-setting work based on existing strengths—for example in linking micro-level to macro-level change, and in coupling research on formal institutions to the study of collective identities and political culture. Taking advantage of these opportunities will, however, require entrepreneurial leadership.

Finally, we are encouraged by the number of excellent doctoral dissertations submitted in recent years. Sweden is in the fortunate position of having some very promising young researchers who can take over academic leadership roles when the time is ripe.

There are, however, also important challenges to be faced and problems to be addressed. In our internal discussions about the strengths of Swedish political science, we used words such as “solid” or “well-crafted” much more often than superlatives such as “outstanding” or “cutting-edge”. Particularly when it comes to theory-building, Swedish political science is clearly a net importer of ideas, adopting rather than setting research agendas. Now, in this respect it is not alone; we would have had to say the same thing had we evaluated, for example, research in one of the other Nordic countries. Yet, we cannot help feeling that Sweden *could have* done better, and that there is something about the intellectual atmosphere in most of the departments that we visited—a little complacency in some cases, failure to tap intellectual synergy in others—that is not particularly conducive to fostering *excellence*. We have no simple cure for these problems, except to say that a combination of good internal leadership and externally arranged incentives seems required to foster a culture more oriented towards collective achievement.

Second, while we have much praise for the Swedish tradition of coupling empirical research to normative theory, we are also struck by the reluctance to think of political science as a discipline with a ‘technological’ component in the form of *explicit models* for the design of institutions or policies. This widespread reluctance seems in part to be based on certain value premises—over-

all, we found Swedish political scientists more concerned about values such as legitimacy and broad participation than about effectiveness and efficiency, and a belief that ‘technology’ is concerned merely with the latter—in part on a sound skepticism towards the kind of ‘instant expertise’ offered by some commercial consultants. Much as we may sympathize with both the support for democratic values and the reluctance to engage in something that smacks of intellectual prostitution, we believe that there is more to be said about the issue. What a ‘technological’ perspective would bring to the study of institutions and policies is first and foremost a more explicit focus on means-end relationships, and a drive to systematize and integrate existing knowledge into explicitly specified models of how institutions or policies ‘work’. Far from encouraging superficial consulting work, such a perspective could, properly applied, stimulate the development of a *theoretical base* for applied research. Swedish political science research does, of course, produce a considerable amount of knowledge that is relevant to practical problem-solving—and some scholars even volunteer to offer advice on many occasions—so it would not be fair to say that the research community does not take an interest in the kinds of ‘engineering’ questions that decision-makers struggle with. But given that interest—and demand from society and government—we believe the Swedish political science community would be well advised to think hard about how it might more effectively contribute to developing a theoretical base and methodological tools for practical tasks such as the design of institutions and policies.

Third, with some noticeable exceptions, Swedish political scientists do not stand out for technical skills in statistical analysis or formal modeling. We do realize that this in part reflects a deliberate choice based on considerations of relevance and usefulness. While we would be ready to accept that conclusion without further discussion in most individual cases, there is more to be said about the issue. Even a person who does not him- or herself find such methodological approaches useful in his or her own research will often need at least a basic understanding of these tools to be able to take full advantage of the international research literature in the field. Moreover, even though an individual researcher may well specialize in the application of one particular methodological approach, the discipline at *large* would benefit from being able to bring the entire repertoire of social science methods to bear on its research questions.

Fourth, while recruitment is very good in some areas—in particular, the ‘new’ areas of European studies and gender studies—there is some reason for concern about some of the more traditional fields, including comparative politics, political theory and the study of central political institutions.

Fifth, while we found most departments to be well managed, we were often left with the impression of a somewhat down-to-earth, business-as-usual orientation. There is much to be said in favor of sound operational pragmatism, but it is important to realize that it also has important limitations. One is that this approach may contribute to creating an atmosphere that does little to encourage bolder and somewhat risky new ventures. All departments would benefit from having a good balance between the adventurism of daring entrepreneurs and the seasoned wisdom of senior scholars. The other is that it seems not to prepare the departments well for dealing with the opportunities and threats generated by ongoing changes in the environment—such as increasing competition resulting from a combination of technological change, internationalization of education and research, and the conversion to the so-called “new public management” approach in most Western countries. Swedish political science departments are likely to find their task environments quite different ten years from now, but most of the people we interviewed seemed not particularly keen to spend time and energy preparing for a *different* future. In an era of ever increasing administrative demands on departmental leadership, it is tempting, and indeed makes sense to find an ‘administrative manager’ for the department. However, this does not preclude the need for intellectual leadership, and departments must find (new) mechanisms for assuring strategic goal setting, now that the link between a single professorial chair and the position of department head becomes attenuated.

Finally, we would like to make a plea for matching ambitions and resources. The main implications of this simple statement are straightforward. If the Swedish government wants to ‘promote’ to the ‘university league an institution whose academic staff has been devoted essentially to teaching’, it will have to give it the financial resources and the leeway required to succeed. For the institution itself, the message is simply to concentrate first and foremost on what it can do well, and realize that building capacity to take on new and demanding tasks – such as establishing a full-scale doctoral program – will take time. On both accounts, we see reasons for serious concern. Not only will it require an inordinate amount of resources to convert some of the teaching departments to viable research institutions; it is not necessarily the best use of scarce resources if the goal is to maximize returns (in the form of knowledge) of public investments in research.

Behind these rather sweeping generalizations, there is a pattern of variance within as well as among departments and fields. First, as one would expect, there is a substantial range of variance with regard to publication output as well as impact *within* each department. The difference is particularly striking

with regard to recognition by the international research community. For Göteborg and Lund, the two most frequently cited faculty members – Rothstein and Holmberg in the case of Göteborg, and Jönsson and Lundquist in the case of Lund—together account for nearly two thirds of all citations registered. The skew is less striking for Stockholm and Örebro, but the overall impression is nevertheless that what the wider research community finds interesting in Swedish political science is mainly the work of a small number of ‘flagship scholars’. With a few exceptions, the distribution of attention reflects the formal hierarchy, with full professors far ahead of *docenter, lektorer and forskare*, also when we control for career length.

Second, by and large the ‘old’ universities have significantly higher scores than the ‘new’. The only ‘new’ university that can compete in the national league is Örebro; Växjö and Karlstad are yet far behind, hardly visible at all to the international political science community. This should not come as a surprise, nor necessarily be interpreted as a harsh verdict of faculty. The mission of the former “*högskolor*” was essentially one of education. Most faculty members were offered meager opportunities for research, and it would be unfair to expect them to excel in research under those conditions. What a systematic comparison of publications and impact does suggest, however, is that it will take much more than a formal upgrading of status to transform a former *högskola* into an active research institution, and also that such a transformation will have to take considerable time and/or require a major investment and a strong drive to recruit new faculty at the senior level.

Third, the Swedish ‘flagship scholars’ compete quite well with their Nordic colleagues. There is, however, one interesting difference. Compared to their large Scandinavian counterparts such as Aarhus and Oslo, most Swedish departments—all except Stockholm and Örebro—have a lower proportion of faculty with publication and citation scores in the *intermediate* range. For Göteborg, Uppsala and Örebro we found four faculty members with a citation score of 50 or higher, and in the cases of Lund and Umeå only two. In Aarhus we found seven (as in Stockholm), and in Oslo eleven. At both Aarhus and Oslo, the two most cited scholars (leaving adjunct professors out) together account for less than one third of the total number; at Göteborg and Lund they account for nearly two thirds. This probably reflects the differences in university staff hierarchies more than anything else. Particularly in Norway, research opportunities are more evenly distributed across faculty categories than in Sweden, and on average somewhat better, at least in terms of time formally allocated to research.

Finally, in conclusion, Swedish political science does reasonably well by international standards. If we use a sports metaphor, we could say that it should

have an easy ride through the first rounds of the European Championship, but would face tough competition in the quarter finals. With a portion of luck it might make it to the semifinals, but it would be unlikely to bring home medals. Had there been a Nobel prize for political science, it would, at least for the time being, have been very hard to find a strong Swedish (or, for that matter, Nordic) candidate.<sup>6</sup>

## *Fields of research*

Our review of the main fields of research has shown that Comparative Politics and Political Theory find themselves in a relatively weak position in Sweden. For *Comparative Politics*, properly understood, it may well be argued that it has yet to crystallize into a field of its own. There are, to be sure, individual scholars doing interesting and sometimes ambitious comparative studies, but they tend to be isolated (at least domestically) and the field lacks an organizational and thematic structure. Equally disturbing is the tendency to isolate Third World politics as a field of its own, separate from comparative politics at large. The state of Comparative Politics in Sweden is such that it deserves a more careful review by the political science community itself. Such a review could focus on what needs to be done in order to fill existing gaps, how different bits and pieces can be brought together into a stronger field presence, what kind of training doctoral students should be exposed to in Comparative Politics, and measures that can make Swedish political science more visible internationally in the Comparative Politics field.

The field of *Political Theory* suffers from slightly different problems. While there is great interest in normative political theory, the bulk of scholarly activity in this field is more *applied* than addressed to classical political theory *per se*. Although very good work is being produced we see a need for increased contact with professional expertise in this field. If many scholars are inspired by the ideas of John Rawls or Jürgen Habermas, for example, it might be helpful to make sure that they can interact with a prominent Rawls or Habermas expert, within the country or outside. Such experts may indeed be found in the neighboring discipline of philosophy, but cross-disciplinary interaction does not appear to be widespread. In contrast to the field of Comparative Politics,

<sup>6</sup> For Nordic candidates, one would have to go back to the 1960s (Rokkan) or search among expatriates.

where we are suggesting that the field be built up in the traditional manner, for Political Theory we think that what is needed are a few senior scholars, as well as better contacts with internationally-known political theorists. These persons could act as constructive critics, responding to efforts to use normative political theory in empirical studies and for policy prescription, so that education and research in this field adheres to international standards.

By contrast, the *Swedish Politics* field is in good shape, except for the fact that it remains too focused on national publics. Greater efforts should be made to publish internationally and to engage more actively in exchange and cooperation with foreign scholars. This means, in our view, strengthening the comparative and theoretical generalizations that emerge from studies of Swedish Politics. Furthermore, the fields of Swedish and comparative politics—in conjunction with some public policy scholars—stand before a tremendous window of opportunity, namely the second generation of institutionalist analysis. We believe that the next twenty years of international scholarship on political institutions will take a comparative, empirical turn, as scholars tire of the current endless discussions about the fundamental characteristics of an institutionalist approach—that is, specifying the axiomatic propositions, arguing about the limits of application of such an approach or comparing and contrasting different ‘types’ of institutionalism. Moreover, institutionalist research suffers from some significant shortcomings. The economic model of rationality at the heart of the rational choice version of institutionalism is a universal model that takes no account of history or cultural differences, and indeed, its practitioners have been very slow to consider international differences in institutional arrangements. Other institutionalist approaches have not really built up a body of general theory or integrated empirical results. Consequently, we would expect to see much more empirical testing of various institutionalist models and propositions in the next decade. Here, Swedish political science is in a good position, but could take some steps to strengthen its position further. Constitutional analysis and the study of formal political institutions have been somewhat neglected by the current generation of Swedish political scientists, although there are some indications that pendulum may swing back. We see a need for more systematic analysis of the working of political institutions, following the beginnings of a number of Swedish researchers, for example at Göteborg, Uppsala and Umeå. As part of this effort, institutional studies must become more comparative in nature. Targeted funding may be necessary here, because of the high investment costs to comparative studies (language and methods training), and because of the increasing difficulty in publishing monographs in comparative politics.

Also the study of *Policy and Administration* has always been an integral part of Swedish political science. It builds on a long tradition of public reviews in the Swedish government system, which has relied on the analytical skills of experts serving representatives of political parties and interest groups on these review commissions. It has also relied on a very special Swedish philosophical legacy, associated with Axel Hägerström, according to which a major challenge has been to sort out the difference between facts and values. Thanks to this long and special tradition as well as the interest that Sweden as a model welfare state attracted in the 1970s, the study of Policy and Administration brought Swedish political scientists into the international limelight at an early point. We would like to encourage the new universities—particularly Karlstad and Växjö—to think hard about how they can develop professional strength in this field. More generally, we would encourage the Swedish Policy and Administration research community at large to invest in developing its theoretical base, especially since there is a tendency in multi-disciplinary projects for political science theory to be abandoned or applied only implicitly and in a rudimentary form.

The study of *International Relations* is undergoing a period of substantial change. One of the fastest growing areas of political science research can be found at the interface between international and domestic politics. Nowhere is this more evident than in the study of European politics. Swedish IR scholars have responded constructively to many of the challenges generated by these developments, and in many cases strengthened ties to other fields of the discipline in the process. Partly as a consequence, investment in some of the more traditional IR subfields is declining, and one subfield that should be of considerable interest to Swedish society and government—the study of international political economy—is left almost entirely to the economists. While recognizing that Sweden has strong economic expertise in this field, we do believe that political science has important complementary insights to offer. It would, however, take a concerted effort involving at least one of the larger departments and a research funding agency to build up a critical mass of IPE (International Political Economy) research. What we have said about the need to bring the entire repertoire of social science methods to bear on the study of politics applies as much to IR. The field has lost ground in Stockholm and Umeå, but a new cluster has been built up at Södertörn, and fairly good recruitment makes us reasonably optimistic about the future.

The ‘newer’ areas of *European Politics* and *Gender and Politics* face some problems caused by their rapid growth. These problems relate partly to quality control, partly to detachment from the more established fields of political science.

Particularly in the Gender and Politics area, where at least some of the pioneers had to struggle for recognition by mainstream seniors, there has been a tendency for some scholars to isolate themselves and to look for professional inspiration in inter-disciplinary networks. Without suggesting in any way that such contacts be reduced, we believe that the Gender and Politics area can improve its substantive contribution to political science and its standing in the discipline by communicating and cooperating more actively with colleagues in other fields. We see several indications that this kind of ‘rapprochement’ is now taking place, at least in some departments.

## *Comparative evaluation of departments*

The Committee has not been explicitly asked to rank political science departments in terms of overall research performance. Such a task is fraught with its own pitfalls, and may well be one that wise men and women would cautiously avoid. We have nevertheless decided to take this extra step, for three main reasons. First, we suspect that in the absence of an explicit comparison, many readers would themselves try to *infer* some ranking from our description and evaluation of each individual department. Recognizing that we probably have not been able to synchronize the language in these sections perfectly, we fear that some might read substantive messages into unintended differences in style. The best way to avoid this problem is to make our own ranking explicit. Second, we believe that moderate competition can help improve performance, and see explicit rankings produced at regular intervals as a tool for promoting sound competition. Third, we hope that a transparent comparative evaluation, combined with the more specific assessment and recommendations that we have made in each case, can help the various departments themselves and their universities determine where they stand, and provide useful inputs into their own discussions about ambitions and strategies.

As indicated in Chapter 1, we have applied the following criteria in our assessment of each department:

- *Quality* of research as indicated in existing publications, ongoing projects and recognition by the international research community;
- *Relevance* of research to public discourse and to policy and problem-solving;
- Strength of graduate education program;
- Quality of departmental leadership and management systems;
- ‘Team qualities’, such as collegiality and internal cooperation.

We have given more weight to the former three than to the latter two.

Our ranking is confined to the eight departments for which we had a full selection of publications and additional material gathered through site visits. Others such as Linköping, where there is no department *per se*, and Södertörn, which is not yet a full university, have not been included. The range of institutions could in the future be extended to include these and other university colleges where political science is present as a formalized unit. Moreover, we have concentrated primarily on the 'old' universities, recognizing that those that have just recently been upgraded cannot be expected to compete in the 'university league' at this stage.

In our judgment, these eight departments fall quite neatly into four pairs. Using a sports metaphor, we have therefore organized our ranking in terms of four separate matches. As the discussion below will show, the outcome of at least one of these matches depends on the exact specification and weighting of the five criteria. Moreover, all four matches are in our judgment quite close. We have, therefore, more confidence in our seeding than in our ability to identify the winner in each match.

The championship game for the best political science department in Sweden is between Göteborg and Uppsala. Both have established scholars of international as well as national repute and some very good people at junior levels. They are both involved in serving the public interest, in Göteborg through electoral studies, policy research and participation in public review commissions, in Uppsala through in-depth studies of Swedish politics and extensive involvement in public review commissions. They both have strong graduate education programs with emphasis on solid analytical and methodological training. It is hard to distinguish the two, but at this particular point in time we are ready to give Göteborg the edge over Uppsala, for three main reasons: First, as indicated by our bibliometrical indicators, the Göteborg faculty is publishing more actively in international peer-reviewed journals and has a somewhat higher (but also a more uneven) impact score. Second, the Göteborg department has been relatively successful in rejuvenating itself. As a consequence, it now has a very good blend of people with different kinds of skills and strengths. Moreover, it has been able to couple some of the innovative work undertaken by 'newcomers' to ongoing research in established fields, creating a productive combination of continuity and change. Third, we found the quality enhancement and control procedures in Göteborg more impressive than those in Uppsala, which seems a bit more inclined to rest on its laurels. For example, the Göteborg system of self-evaluation may serve as a model for other departments to follow. Having said this, we would like to add that we

judge the game as close. Göteborg leads only by a narrow margin, and its lead depends upon a particularly fortunate combination of faculty. Uppsala remains a very strong contestant for the top spot, and is arguably the more robust of the two.

The match about the bronze medal is between Lund and Stockholm. On the basis of scores for individual faculty members, Stockholm seems the likely winner. It has more people at the most senior level, and leads comfortably on both of our bibliometrical indicators. Moreover, several of its faculty members have a record of public service that Lund cannot match. This is no doubt an indication that their expertise is in strong demand also outside academia. A closer examination of the records will, however, balance the picture. The few scholars that Lund has at the most senior level are of a similar format. Moreover, Lund is similar to Stockholm in that it has less to show for itself in the intermediate category but a good group of promising young researchers. Our own reading of the publications submitted indicates that the difference in bibliometrical scores cannot be explained merely in terms of research quality—differences in publication patterns and involvement in current ‘hot’ debates seem at least as important. Second, the strong record of some Stockholm faculty in public service is a mixed blessing to the *department*, and does not necessarily indicate more policy-relevant *research*. Third, when it comes to team qualities, we have Lund at the top and Stockholm far behind. Fourth, their graduate education programs have different strengths and limitations. In terms of exposure to systematic methods training, neither is as thorough as the programs of Uppsala or Göteborg. In Stockholm, it tends to be offered more narrowly in terms of what the thematic cluster encourages, while Lund relies more on an apprenticeship model supplemented with guidance in the context of departmental seminars where dissertation drafts are ventilated. Adding all this up, we have to conclude that the outcome of this match depends heavily on the exact specification and weighting of our evaluation criteria. We have, in other words, no clear winner.

The match about the fifth position goes between Umeå and Örebro. These are two departments with different histories. Political science at Umeå has been around since the mid-1960s and over the years it has produced a number of prominent scholars. The problem at Umeå has been keeping them in the department. For reasons that are not entirely clear to us—and probably varies from one case to another—there has been a definite out-migration to other places. Some of those who have stayed on have also ended up with heavy administrative duties, leaving the department with less time. These losses notwithstanding, Umeå has continued to produce and hire scholars of national

and in some cases international repute. Their public service orientation is also strong with several senior scholars playing an important role in problem-oriented research and leadership training. Its in-house graduate education is rather limited but the department tries to coordinate and draw advantage from working with Uppsala and Göteborg. The department has benefited from good leadership. Örebro is by far the strongest in political science among the three recently established universities. It has had a political science core for quite some time and it has continued to grow. It has attracted several prominent scholars, and their work does get a fair amount of attention from the wider research community. Örebro has a nice balance between a more academic and a more applied research orientation (there is, though, also some strain in that relationship). Their work on gender and urban and regional planning issues is both nationally and internationally recognized. The department's graduate education is still at a very incipient stage. The department has been remarkably successful in obtaining new resources. Örebro must rank as the fastest growing political science department in the country. Had we done this evaluation ten or even five years ago, Umeå would have been the clear winner. Umeå's seniority and breath still garners advantages, but today Örebro is about to get the upper hand.

The last match—for the seventh position—is left for Karlstad and Växjö. In terms of professional strength, resources, and capacity to provide graduate education, these two departments definitely lag behind the others. Växjö recently hired its first professor. Although it is too early to say what this will mean for the department's growth, we cannot help notice that the occupant of the senior position has little in common with those already in the department. It will take some effort, therefore, to develop strategies and means for productive collaboration. Its own graduate students—less than a handful—are essentially being trained in other political science departments. Karlstad has intentionally developed what is called a “*docent strategy*”, recruiting primarily senior faculty below the professorial level as part of its institutional growth strategy for the next three years. This choice may well be realistic considering the limited supply of likely candidates, but the strategy will at best produce significant results in the longer run. Like Växjö it has few faculty and graduate students. A number of faculty have other jobs or are involved on a part-time basis outside the department. Research output in both Karlstad and Växjö is modest and has not made much impression upon the wider research community. If pressed, we would at this point in time be inclined to give Växjö a slight advantage over Karlstad.

## *Some specific issues for Swedish political science at large*

### *The Academic Career System*

The Swedish academic career system, which was built on the continental European model with a single professorial chair in each department, has gradually been undermined and has now reached a point where further tinkering may do more harm than good. The system prevailed intact into the 1970s when the rapid growth of the tertiary education sector created strains in this hierarchical model of academic governance. First of all, increasing student numbers compelled the hiring of more faculty. Second, with expanded doctoral programs, the number of senior faculty to guide and examine students was not enough. Reforms of the career system, however, have been slow and incremental. Time, it seems, has come for a more systematic review of the system.

One contentious issue is the growing number of professorial appointments in Swedish universities. Departments of Political Science are no exceptions. As a result of government policy to promote more faculty to professorial status, and give priority to the appointment of women, the large departments in the discipline now have up to eight faculty with the title of professor. Not surprisingly, however, this new policy has created its own tensions. For fear of inflating the value of professorial status, incumbents and defendants of the old system have been reluctant to consider the recent appointments to be of the same level of quality as those appointed in the past. Informally, therefore, there is a belief that there are two levels of professors: the old ones, making up the first team, the recent appointees making up the second team. This kind of distinction is likely to disappear in the long run as the application for professorial status is an open process and there are quite a large number of potential candidates who no doubt will come forward in the next couple of years. The trend is inevitably toward leveling the ranks by making professorship more reachable. We believe that this change has important advantages. First, it provides more opportunities for younger faculty to have their qualifications formally recognized. Second, it weakens incentives to engage in tactical manoeuvring; merit becomes more important than being at the right place at the right time. Third, it by and large weakens rivalry and strengthens incentives for cooperation, thereby improving working relationships. Fourth, it creates opportunities for reducing the load on the few that hold positions as professorial chairs, as there are more people to share the administrative workload and participate in the more demanding types of reviews. As departments grow and political science is taken up by new institu-

tions, many departments in Political Science as well as in other disciplines are faced with a collective-action problem, i.e. of getting individuals to take responsibility for the leadership of their unit. That said, we would like to add that the emerging system has important problems of its own which will require careful consideration. For example, in a system based on individual promotion the title of professor becomes a certificate of academic merit rather than a position with well specified obligations and rights. In the absence of measures that can compensate for this de-coupling, weakened academic leadership would be a real risk. Second, a system of individual promotion tends to reduce mobility, which is already very low in Sweden (see below). Third, there is a real risk that the attractiveness of academic top positions will decline as they become less exclusive and perhaps less well paid relative to alternative jobs outside academia. These are all university-wide issues, and we believe that a comprehensive public review of the system is needed in the near future. We also believe that Sweden has political scientists who can contribute significantly to designing a new career system better adapted to the challenges of the future.

In such a context it would be necessary to define the system in relation to other career systems. For example, Swedish academics usually give themselves titles that are borrowed from the U.S. university system, although they do not really fit the Swedish structure very well. Nor does the English system with Professor, Reader, Senior Lecturer, etc. The bottom line in any such review should be to retain promotion on the basis of merit but extend the opportunities for upward mobility. In this respect, the U.S. system has a lot to offer. It is fairer in the sense that the teaching burden is equally shared by all faculty, regardless of seniority. In fact, younger faculty are often given a lighter teaching load in order to enhance their chances of tenure and promotion. Second, administrative responsibilities rotate in the U.S. system. They are not tied to specific senior positions. As suggested above, this is a feature that is already *de facto* happening in the large departments in Sweden, but in order to work, it may need the blessing of a thorough review. Furthermore, we believe that leadership should no longer be viewed in singular terms. Departments are so big, especially in the old universities, that leadership should be shared and differentiated. For example, leadership at the level of field programs, e.g. Swedish Politics or International Relations, or large-scale research projects should be recognized and rewarded. In short, there are many different ways in which professionalism can be rewarded at levels below the very top.

Perhaps the strongest inhibitive factor for a reform of the academic career system along the lines of the U.S. model is the limited geographical mobility among Swedish academics. This is partly a reflection of a more general Swed-

ish predisposition to stay in one place once one reaches working life age, partly the result of the way the Swedish academic system operates. Academic departments in Sweden are used to hiring and promoting their own doctoral students. Few ever think seriously of moving somewhere else and only do so if the door is effectively closed in the home department. Political Science at Lund is a case in point. While it has ‘exported’ a good number of its best ‘products’ to other universities, e.g. Pär-Erik Back to Umeå, Olof Ruin to Stockholm, and Bo Rothstein and Jon Pierre to Göteborg, it has never hired any one from outside its own ranks. The situation is only marginally better in other political science departments.

In the present system, departmental chairs have weak incentives and limited leeway when it comes to hiring from outside. With increasing internationalization and competition for (good) students and research grants, a more active policy of recruitment of faculty will be required. Although the existence of multiple barriers—different languages being one—makes it unlikely that Europe will develop into an integrated “market” for researchers similar to the one that exists in North America, it is most likely that competition for “the best and the brightest” will increase. Swedish universities would be well advised to prepare for such a development. One important step would be to give departments the opportunity to hire the best from outside their own ranks. The tendency to allow for market-based salaries to enter into hiring decisions is opening the door in this direction. On the domestic level it should be followed up and institutionalized with a view to enhancing mobility between departments.

This should not take place at the expense of solid peer review, something that Swedish academics have always taken seriously. The existing Swedish system of *sakkunnighetsutlåtande* does have some important advantages compared to less systematic and thorough evaluation procedures found in several other countries. Yet, with the increasingly important role of peer review of *specific* publications and project proposals, and with the growing demand that stems from the creation of many new departments or units of political science in the recently established universities and university colleges, we see some scope for simplifications. More importantly, we think the most important virtues of the old system can be protected also in a setting of more active recruitment.

The lack of mobility is evident already among incoming doctoral students. We had occasion to interview a cross-section in each department we visited. It was striking that few had ever given serious thought to applying somewhere else than in the departments where they studied as undergraduates. Non-academic considerations were most important in determining their choice. This is true not only for political science students. Since there is evidence that doctoral stu-

dents apply to more than one department, but typically get admitted in their home department, they may approve of greater mobility through a quota system that reserves a certain number of graduate assistantships for external recruitment. At present, what often happens is that if another department is ready to recruit a student, his or her home department immediately offers a position. While such 'bargaining' is itself not bad, it does reinforce 'in-breeding'. We believe that political science departments through their national association or any other appropriate mechanism could agree on a formula that ensures that each takes at least, say one or two new recruits every year from other places than from its own ranks.

We wish to point out that while mobility in the domestic arena is very limited, Swedish political scientists are quite mobile internationally, at least as far as participating in international networks and conferences are concerned. Departments as well as individual faculty have extensive collaborative arrangements with colleagues in other universities not only in Europe but also in North America and the Third World. Compared to the majority of their U.S. counterparts, Swedish political scientists are more internationally oriented. This is partly a function of working in a small country with limited academic outlets, partly the result of generous funding. Swedish academics in general have relatively easy access to public funding of their research. Departments ensure that their younger faculty and doctoral students get international exposure at an early stage. Most of them have presented papers at international conferences already in their second year of study. Before obtaining their doctoral degree, they typically have several published pieces in addition to a good number of conference presentations. The result is that most of them are quite competitive in an international context, although not always recognized as such because of coming from a small country where English is not the mother-tongue.

Finally, it is important to mention here that graduate students in the Swedish system play a significant role in teaching undergraduate courses. Some serve as teaching assistants in large courses, typically as discussion section leaders, while others teach their own courses. They get involved in teaching at an earlier point than what typically happens in the British or American systems. This gives them a valuable pedagogical experience that they generally appreciate, in spite of sometimes carrying a relatively heavy load. What is more, they seem to be able to cope with this load without delaying the completion of their doctoral dissertation. Against this background, it is no surprise that Swedish doctoral students, in international comparison, are quite well paid and rewarded for their contributions.

## Funding

The general expectation is that Swedish departments should be able to raise about one third of their total income from external sources, while regular grants for undergraduate education and for research and graduate training make up the other two thirds. As can be seen from table 6.1, most of the ‘old’ universities come at least close to meeting that target, while one (Göteborg) raised more than half of its income last year from external sources. Among the ‘new’ universities, Örebro stands out as the big fund-raiser, reflecting in part its tradition with (interdisciplinary) research centers engaged to varying degrees in more applied research (see chapter 4).

External funding comes from a wide range of sources. The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (*Riksbankens Jubileumsfond*) and the Swedish Research Council (*Vetenskapsrådet*) are the two most important funding agencies for basic research in the discipline at large. In 2000, the former supplied grants adding up to 7.6 MSEK, of which 2.1 MSEK were for new projects (4), out of its *jubileumsdonation*. In addition, some 6.8 MSEK were allocated for political science research out of *kulturvetenskapliga donationen*.<sup>7</sup> The Swedish Research Council contributed 2.7 MSEK last year, slightly more than its average figure for the last five-year period (2.0 MSEK). In addition, there are several public agencies funding research in specific sectors, such as SAREC (the research branch of Sida)

Table 6.1.  
Financing of political science research at Swedish universities, 2000 (MSEK)

Department	Total Budget	Grants for undergraduate education	Grants for research and graduate education	External Grants	External Grants as % of Total Budget
Göteborg	33.4	8.5	6.9	18.0	54
Karlstad	6.1	3.1	1.8	1.2	20
Lund	34.2	13.4	9.8	11.0	32
Stockholm	32.7	15.2	9.9	7.6	23
Umeå	20.8	6.4	8.4	6.0	29
Uppsala	35.7	11.1	12.4	12.2	34
Växjö	6.5	4.2	1.9	0.4	6
Örebro	21.4	3.0	5.3	13.1	61

<sup>7</sup> Estimated figure. This “donation” does not normally support unidisciplinary research.

and MISTRA. The former has provided very important support for research on the politics of (under)development, while the latter has supported some political science research in the field of environmental politics and management (in recent years at the level of 1–2 senior people and 2–3 doctoral students). Support for applied research in specific areas comes also from ministries and government agencies, counties and municipalities and to some extent other organizations. As far as we have been able to determine, support from foreign funding sources and international organizations is still by and large at a modest level, although it should be pointed out that Swedish political scientists participate in a number of international projects where their partners are supported by foreign research councils or other funding agencies.

Overall, the Swedish funding system is characterized by considerable pluralism. We see such pluralism as a good thing in that it is likely to foster or preserve a certain diversity with regard to approaches and thematic foci. This is particularly important at a time when there is a pronounced drift in most Western countries towards more emphasis on “strategic management” of research, based on some notion of relevance to society. We do recognize that a such an approach has merit in particular circumstances. One is where there is a focus on one or more clearly specified research questions that can be effectively addressed only through coordinated efforts by several institutions. Another is where one wants to build up or strengthen a particular field of research – especially if this build-up involves heavy investment in research infrastructure. Beyond these and a few other circumstances, however, this kind of strategic programming is likely to have significant costs. For example, it tends to distort incentives, by putting a premium on ‘politics’ and ‘lobbying’ rather than on quality of research. Moreover, it tends to favor conventional over truly innovative ideas; the latter are likely to be developed by individual scholars or research teams long before they get formally recognized by a committee and elevated to the level of ‘strategy’. The drive towards strategic management of research should therefore be tempered with a reminder that for the vitality of the discipline at large it is very important that ample opportunities be provided for curiosity-driven research, funded on the basis of academic merits only.

We would also like to call the attention to two more specific problems. One pertains to international publishing. We believe that the record can be improved by fairly simple means, such as providing support for people who have recently defended good doctoral dissertations to write one or two articles summarizing main findings or arguments, and by providing faculty modest support for professional language editing of manuscripts. The other pertains to recruitment. Some departments have a relatively large proportion of its faculty approaching

retirement at about the same time. This calls for advance efforts by the universities themselves, possibly with the help of the Swedish Research Council, to facilitate a smooth transition. Effective measures could include, for example, stipends to senior faculty who want to leave their positions a few years before reaching retirement age (but perhaps continue some research and teaching), and a small pool of temporary positions that could be used to bring in post docs before more permanent solutions are available.

### *Representation of Women in Swedish Political Science*

We wish to support efforts to improve the representation of women in Swedish political science by commenting on the progress made by the discipline as a whole, and by individual departments in this regard. That said, however, the numbers involved are too low for us to make definite recommendations regarding individual departments. Indeed the data is in constant flux, making it difficult to reach solid generalizations at all. Therefore, we will focus here on the kind of data that should be collected if individual departments and the profession as a whole are to act upon it.

In general, by international standards, Swedish departments seem to be making good progress in recruiting women. The study by Oskarson and Niklasson (2000) shows that women are well-represented at the undergraduate level, comprising more than 50% of students in the A through D-level courses in the spring semester of 2000, (see Table 6.2, below). However, at the graduate

Table 6.2 Graduate programs

Department	Applicants 95/96–99/00	% Women	Admitted 95/96–99/00	% Women	Ratio of admitted to applicants
Göteborg	235	37%	25	60%	11 %
Karlstad	--	--	--	--	--
Lund	326	27%	23	48%	7 %
Stockholm	308	31%	29	52%	9 %
Umeå	152	26%	23	39%	15 %
Uppsala	362	33%	30	27%	8 %
Växjö	--	--	--	--	--
Örebro	--	--	--	--	--
Nation	1383	31%	130	44%	9%

Sources: Oskarson, M. and Niklasson, B. (2000), "Statsvetenskap och Kön: En Tabellsammanställning," Paper presented at *Statsvetenskapliga Förbundets Årsmöte 8–10 oktober*, Örebro, and personal communication of the authors.

level, women comprised only 31% of applicants for graduate study in political science, from 1995/1996–1999/2000. Nevertheless, women were disproportionately accepted for graduate study, comprising 44% of those accepted, with acceptance quotients at different universities ranging from 27–60%.

In terms of university staff above the Ph.D. level, 28% of Ph.D.s between 1993 and 1999 (at universities founded before the 1990s) were granted to women. According to the study by Oskarson and Niklasson, women comprise 13% of Professors (3 out of 24 positions); 18% of *Lektorer* (12 out of 66 positions), and 38% of *Forskarassistenter* (3 of 8 positions). These figures suggest that women are being hired at disproportionately high rates as *Forskarassistenter*, because they comprise approximately 28% of the pool, but 37.5% of the hires. (To be completely accurate, we would need to know the percentage of female applicants; here we simply assume that women apply for these positions in proportion to their proportion of those qualified to apply.) On the other hand, women are underrepresented (in terms of their proportion of new doctorates) amongst the *Lektorer* and Professors. In order to make any comment on the low representation of women amongst the *Lektorer* and Professors, we would need data on yearly application rates and yearly hiring rates. That is, what percentage of applicants for these positions are women; and what percent of those hired are women. Given the disproportionately high acceptance of women for graduate study, and disproportionately high appointment of women to the *forskarassistent* positions, we would be surprised to find that women *today* are being hired at disproportionately low rates for those positions. To account for the low representation of women in the *past*, two hypotheses must be tested: 1) women accounted for a lower percentage of the pool; 2) women were hired at disproportionately low rates. We have no data that would allow us to determine the explanatory power of each of these hypotheses. However, we are certain that women comprised lower percentages of the applicant pool in the past than they do now, and have no evidence of overt discrimination, and would therefore assume that women's low representation on university department staffs can be explained, at least mainly, by structural barriers rather than discrimination. In other words, that for a number of sociological reasons, women studied at lower rates and completed their doctorates at lower rates, thus comprising a lower proportion of the applicant pool than men.

In addition, Oskarson and Niklasson point out that women are being kept at their home institution at higher rates than men. It is not clear why this is the case, but it could be that under pressure to hire women, departments jump at the chance to keep women they perceive as being talented. It could also, on

the other hand, reflect a lower mobility amongst women, and hence, a possible structural barrier to their advancement.

Our own data, which has been culled from the home pages of the departments, and the materials they submitted to us, is more recent but less systematic than that of Oskarson and Niklasson. Nevertheless, the main trends are supported. Women now comprise 43% of doctoral candidates, and, to repeat, 28% of doctorates obtained between 1993 and 1999, (see Table 6.3, below). As far as we can estimate (based on figures submitted to *Vetenskapsrådet* by each department), in November 2000, women comprised 16% of professors, 13–15% of *docenter*, 22–24% of *lektorer*, 50–58% of *forskarassistenter* and 32% of *forskare*. (The ranges of percentages are caused by the fact that with such low numbers, even one personnel hire can cause a large shift in the data.) Nevertheless, despite data uncertainties, these figures seem to indicate that the number of women moving onto the first rungs of the academic ladder is increasing steadily over time.

From the figures in Table 6.2, it appears that women are applying to graduate school at lower rates than their proportion in the undergraduate population, but that they are being accepted at disproportionately high rates by many departments, such that their representation amongst doctoral students is now up to nearly 50%. Since we know nothing about the quality of the female applicants in comparison to that of the male applicants, we cannot say whether or to what extent this means that women are being systematically favored over men.

Table 6.3 Doctoral Students

Department	Current Doctoral Candidates 1.3.01	Women	Defended Ph.D.s 1993–1999	Women
Göteborg	51	28 (55%)	27	9 (33%)
Karlstad	6	3 (50%)	--	--
Lund	42	15 (36%)	30	10 (33%)
Stockholm	66	30 (45%)	22	5 (23%)
Umeå	16	7 (44%)	13	5 (38%)
Uppsala	32	11 (34%)	25	4 (16%)
Växjö	4	0	--	--
Örebro	21	8 (38%)	--	--
Nation	238	102 (43%)	117	33 (28%)

Sources: Departmental home pages (columns 2 and 3); List of Defended Dissertations (columns 4 and 5)

We can also not comment about the differences amongst graduate departments in this regard. Uppsala accepts female graduate students at about the rate at which they apply or at lower rates; Göteborg accepts female graduate students at more than one and one-half times their rate in the applicant pool. Since we do not know if the acceptance rates refer only to accepted students, or whether the rates refer to students that have accepted an offer of admission, we do not know whether Göteborg accepts women at much higher rates than Uppsala, or if Göteborg is much more attractive to women than Uppsala, and so many more women at Göteborg accept an offer of admission than at Uppsala. Further, we do not know if there are any significant differences in the quality of the female applicants at the two departments that might account for these differential rates of acceptance.

A second possible weak spot in the system seems to be the proportion of women that actually finish their dissertation. Women are now 43% of doctoral candidates, but received only 28% of doctoral degrees granted between 1993 and 1999. This discrepancy could very well be a lag effect (according to Oskarson and Niklasson, women comprised 31% of doctoral candidates admitted between 1995 and 1999). But it might also be the case that women tend to take longer to finish their degrees or drop out at higher rates than men. We simply have no information on this point. Furthermore, as with graduate school acceptances, departments vary quite a bit with respect to the percentage of doctorates granted to women. In terms of defended dissertations, Uppsala has a low percentage of women, with only 16% of dissertations produced between 1993 and 1999. Surprisingly, given its high percentage of female doctoral candidates, Stockholm is the second lowest in theses defenses by women, with a rate of 23%. At the other end of the spectrum is Umeå, with 38%. The low numbers of staff make it difficult to comment on interdepartmental variation, but here we can point out that all departments for which data are available seem to have high rates of women amongst the *Forskare* and *Forskarassistent* positions, which will serve to increase percentage of women in the applicant pool further down the road.

All in all, then, the data is insufficient to make concrete recommendations. It is commendable that the Swedish Political Science Association is monitoring the progress of women in the profession. Better data, and discussion of the differences between departments, adds to the pressure to hire women, which we believe is a good thing, given the structural barriers to advancement of women. Moreover, better data would provide a necessary basis for a better informed discussion about policy measures, enabling the institutions themselves and the government to design effective measures for overcoming structural barriers or compensating women for barriers that cannot easily be removed.

*Quantity and quality of graduate studies:  
a tragedy of the commons?*

The number of doctorates in political science at Swedish universities increased substantially during the 1990s (see table 6.4). The average for the 1997–99 period was almost twice that of the period 1993–95.

Good recruitment is basically good news. There are, however, also reasons for some concern with the rapid increase in numbers of doctorates, and with the increasing dispersion of graduate studies. At the moment, the quality of graduate education in Sweden is very high, and the students in the best departments can compete rather well with graduate students in leading US or European departments. In recent years, however, the number of thesis defenses in both the established programs of political science and in the newer programs at the recently established universities has increased fairly dramatically. In speaking to graduate students, not many have concrete ideas about alternatives to a traditional academic career, and, indeed, they appear interested only in continuing at one of the top universities. Consequently, we wonder if there will be problems for all of these graduates in finding employment as researchers, *lektorer*, and Professors.

Moreover, not only has expansion taken place, but there appears to be a logic of accelerating expansion built into the system. Despite government policies that oblige departments to provide full funding for doctoral students for four years, many departments count on research grants to expand the number of persons that can be funded beyond their state allotment. Indeed, we find the

Table 6.4 Doctoral defenses (disputationer) at the five large Swedish universities, 1993–99.

Year/Univ.	Göteborg	Lund	Stockholm	Umeå	Uppsala	Total
1993	2	2	3	2	4	13
1994	2	3	3	0	5	13
1995	1	3	2	1	2	9
1996	2	7	3	2	1	15
1997	8	6	1	2	5	22
1998	9	2	6	3	4	24
1999	5	5	3	3	4	20
Total	29	28	21	13	25	115
Aver./year	4.1	4.0	3.0	1.9	3.6	16.4

claim of top departments that they can handle larger numbers of students to be plausible. At the same time, newer departments appear to be following a strategy of rapid expansion of Ph.D.s as a way to establish themselves. Finally, departments with no official graduate program are seeking doctoral positions through research grants, which will surely force the hands of university administrators to allow the initiation of a graduate program. Thus, a competitive dynamic amongst departments is fueling the expansion.

The committee is concerned not just with this expansion *per se*, but with the consequences of the dispersal of graduate education for the quality of graduate training in political science in Sweden. At the moment, regional political considerations dominate the allocation of resources, which may have two unfortunate consequences. The allocation of resources may become inefficient, because of duplication, and this policy may undercut the ability of departments to build up high quality programs. Further, even the largest departments need to rely on cooperation with others to assure the quality of their graduate programs. We have already urged many individual departments to participate in the nationwide courses in theory and methods, as well as to expand their own course offerings (particularly in methodology) so as to allow their students to be able to participate more fully in the national courses, and to achieve sufficient training to be nationally and internationally competitive on the job market and in terms of the quality of their dissertations. But, the increase in the number of graduate programs will, of course, make coordination and agreement on national courses much more difficult.

To assure the quality of graduate education, we urge the development of some forum for discussion of graduate curricula, minimum requirements for graduate students, and some mechanism of disciplinary coordination and discussion of the number of doctorates that should be produced. We also urge that the efforts underway—in particular amongst the departments at Göteborg and Uppsala, as well as Umeå—to coordinate theory and methods planning continue, but that all departments participate. We find it unfortunate that some efforts at coordination are taken place amongst departments that share similar problems—such as being very new and small departments. These departments, especially, need to be involved in the national teaching networks. We recommend that some form of comparison of graduate programs continue within possible future efforts at ranking departments. This could bring strengths and weaknesses of various departments more into the public eye. This would be especially important for students deciding to apply to graduate school. At present, their choices appear to be based more on geography or coincidence than the quality of graduate education. These cooperative efforts might consti-

tute an arena for a policy of slowing the expansion of graduate studies to a sustainable pace. We also urge that scholars applying for research grants consider the inclusion of more post-doctoral fellow positions. These positions would provide an intermediate position for new Ph.D.s, so that the looming future demand for a relatively large number of senior political scientists (as retirements accelerate) can be met, without an interim period of unemployment for younger scholars. Furthermore, post-doctoral positions could solve the problems of the very newest institutions: rather than bringing in inexperienced doctoral students, who might not get a sufficiently broad graduate training and would provide less competent teaching, newer departments could bring in more advanced scholars, who might be mainly involved in research, but could provide some teaching of advanced students, and who could improve the research profiles of these fledgling departments. This would bring in highly active researchers without requiring the formation of a graduate program.

### *Organizational issues*

The Swedish political science community has been growing significantly since the 1960s. It is increasingly diverse in terms of both geographic location and academic orientation. Members of the community look at this development with pride. They see in it a move towards greater pluralism within the discipline. At the same time, they warn of the danger of fragmentation and wish to retain sufficient coherence in the training of doctoral students that every member can participate in a common political science discourse. This threat to the coherence of the political science community could increase in the future, in part because of the kind of changes we have described in the previous sections.

The most important formal mechanism is the Swedish Political Science Association (*Statsvetenskapliga Förbundet*). It was originally started in the late 1960s by the then young generation of up-and-coming political scientists who felt that the older cadre of political science Chairs had too much influence on the development of the discipline. Its creation also coincided with the growing interest Swedish political scientists had in participating in the affairs of the International Political Science Association (IPSA). *Förbundet* was made up of 319 individual members in 2000 who all pay a modest annual membership fee. In spite of the growth of the discipline, the Association has experienced difficulty in retaining or increasing its membership. Interest especially among senior political scientists seems to have dwindled. While they made up the majority of participants in past annual meetings, most participants in recent years have been younger scholars and doctoral students. The Annual Meeting in Örebro in October 2000 was attended by approximately 100 members.

The Board of the Association is very much aware of these problems. It has succeeded in obtaining a modest grant from an external source to boost the Association's financial resources and ensure a regular publication of its journal, *Politologen*. The latter, however, is not a major forum for professional political science contributions. The discipline's 'flagship' publication remains *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, published by the Department at Lund. The Association has also tried to vary its annual meeting program in ways that appeal not just to the doctoral students in search of comments on their research proposals but attract participants because of the strength of its general panels and those participating in it. When we attended the 2000 meeting in Örebro, the theme for such a general panel was "where is the discipline heading"? More such thematic panels or presentations may be a way of luring the seniors back.

The Association has never been a very powerful instrument to steer the discipline in a certain direction. For fear of splitting the community, the Association's leadership has refrained from taking a position of what direction or directions Swedish political science should take. Nor does it provide the kind of career services that is offered by the American Political Science Association (APSA). Again, we do not propose that APSA is a model for what the Swedish political scientists should do, but we believe that it could strengthen its role by picking up some of the recommendations made in this evaluation. It may lobby for changes in the Swedish academic system; it may adopt a monitoring role to ensure the quality of graduate education; it may work on better systems of self-evaluation; and, it may see how far it is possible to encourage greater geographical mobility. It is quite possible that it could also take the lead in sponsoring a regular, say every three to five years, ranking of political science departments in the country along lines attempted in this report. In short, there are many things that the Association could do to serve the discipline more effectively.

Now, some of the professional issues, such as coordination of graduate training, questions related to the specialization and division of labor, are better handled by meetings of representatives from each department. We therefore recommend that such meetings be institutionalized. For some matters participation from the Swedish Research Council should be encouraged. Even if this proposal is implemented, we believe that an Association made up of individual members can play an important role as an open forum for discussing less operational issues that concern the political science community at large.

Swedish political scientists have played a reasonably prominent role in international political science circles. *Statsvetenskapliga Förbundet* is a member of the Nordic Political Science Association (NOPSA) and it works closely together

with its counterpart associations in the other Nordic countries, especially in the context of IPSA. A small number attend each IPSA meeting and others attend the annual APSA meeting. Its members are quite active in the meetings organized by the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR). For example at its joint workshops in Copenhagen in April 2000, the Swedes made up the single largest contingent (not only because of geographic vicinity). Swedish political scientists, like their Nordic colleagues, have rallied behind ECPR and opposed the creation of a European Political Science Association (EPSA) as the principal mechanism for organizing and promoting the profession in Europe.

Following conversations with a cross-section of the Swedish political science community we believe that the Association not only has the potential but also the responsibility to play a larger role in the development of the discipline both domestically and internationally. Because the Association has had such a meager agenda and program, it has been difficult to raise funds. A more assertive role in developing the discipline by stimulating awards to younger researchers in the context of field competitions, by inviting prominent international scholars to address its annual meetings, by organizing thematic workshops on where the discipline is heading, and so forth, would give the Association both greater legitimacy and strength among the members of the political science community.

# Summary of recommendations

For easy reference, we have summarized—in bullet point format—our main recommendations pertaining to specific departments, fields of research, and to Swedish political science at large. The ‘diagnosis’ and arguments behind these bullet points can be found in earlier chapters.

## *Institutions*

### *Göteborg:*

- Continue assuming national responsibility for Electoral Studies—a field in which the department performs a service to Swedish society and to the international as well as the domestic research community.
- Continue work to cross-fertilize, by encouraging links between research in established core fields and new areas and approaches.
- Be aware that the synergy currently being harvested depends upon a particular personnel configuration that might be fragile and cannot be taken for granted.
- Get priorities right; concentrate on the more ambitious projects that can make a real difference and resist the temptation to spin off occasional publications at a high rate.

### *Karlstad:*

- Concentrate on comparative advantages rather than breadth and diversity. The decision to focus on two subfields—political institutions and processes at the local and regional level, and citizen involvement in and attitudes towards politics—is an important step in the right direction.
- Build on local and proximate public interests that can anchor political science research (and education programs) further in a regional constituency. The MPA program provides a basis that can be further developed.
- Search actively for opportunities to participate in larger national or international projects involving prominent senior scholars, and try to provide opportunities for partners to spend some time at Karlstad University.
- Develop further cross-disciplinary cooperation within the framework of e.g. the group for regional research and broader research programs.

- To be able to compete in the national university league, the strategy of internal meritocracy will have to be supplemented with efforts to recruit new faculty at the senior level.
- Continue and strengthen collaboration with other departments—in Sweden or abroad—to ensure that doctoral students get a sufficiently broad, state-of-the-art training.

### *Lund:*

- Pursue a more active recruitment strategy, including measures to encourage researchers from other institutions to apply.
- Take appropriate steps to ensure that Lund can remain a center for research in public administration; first-rate expertise in this area is important to Lund's work in other areas, such as European politics and power and democracy, as well.
- Go for a more ambitious publication strategy! In particular, encourage more publication in international peer-reviewed journals.
- Make sure that the 'technical' training in the graduate program is sufficient to give doctoral candidates adequate literacy in statistical and formal analysis (but do build on present strengths in intensive, qualitative methods).
- Continue the policy of building new ventures on existing strengths in areas such as the study of negotiations, informal networks and formal organizations.
- Prepare for tougher competition, *inter alia*, through developing strategic partnerships with other institutions in Sweden or abroad.

### *Stockholm:*

- Work hard—perhaps with the assistance of a senior university authority or external expertise—to develop a set of measures that can help overcome fragmentation, improve collaboration and working relations within the department, and provide a more secure basis for departmental leadership.
- Try, in consultation with the Faculty of Social Sciences or the University, to come up with a package of measures that can provide stronger incentives for faculty members to work more *within* the framework of the department rather than outside.
- Take good advantage of diversity, for example by encouraging projects that *combine* different approaches (for example, constructivist and 'positivist') or cut across different fields (e.g. gender research and comparative politics).
- Strengthen the integrative elements of the graduate education program to ensure that candidates get a reasonably broad view of the discipline, including a basic understanding of other approaches than one's own.

- Combine the current process of organic development of the department's research agenda with some strategic decisions about core elements of a future profile, e.g. does the department assume (national) responsibility for particular fields of research, and if so which fields? In that process, consider carefully the comparative advantages of a department located in the nation's capital.

*Umeå:*

- Protect the relative strength of the department by stemming the outflow of faculty and recruit new faculty to fill significant gaps.
- Consider developing a large-scale research project—preferably with external participation—on a key issue to bring in new resources and catalyze an intellectual reinvigoration that transcends current individual research interests.
- Continue building on international contacts both with proximate institutions in northern Europe and more distant ones, e.g. in North America.
- Continue to strengthen graduate training, as has been done for methodology, by closer coordination and cooperation with other departments in Sweden and/or by taking full advantage of courses offered abroad.

*Uppsala:*

- Increase international visibility of department through increased participation in international networks, and more publications in international peer-reviewed journals.
- Take even more active advantage of the Johan Skytte Prize to promote the international recognition of the department; the prize is a unique asset, *inter alia*, when it comes to recruiting visiting scholars.
- Continue work to strengthen the fields of Comparative Politics and International Politics, *inter alia*, through cooperation with other departments and research groups on campus.
- Continue building on existing strengths in areas such as parliamentary politics and democracy, and continue linking empirical research on Swedish politics to general theory.
- Actively stimulate departmental awareness of and interest in alternative currents and new issues in Swedish and international political science.

*Växjö:*

- Develop a research strategy that provides a basis for the evolution into a full-scale Department, taking into consideration what is its comparative strength and opportunity for growth and recognition.

- Build on local and proximate public interests that can anchor political science further in its regional environment.
- Collaborate with other departments to ensure continuous growth in the methodological training of doctoral students.
- Encourage individual faculty to publish in peer-reviewed journals as a way of enhancing their recognition and visibility.
- Take advantage of cross-disciplinary intellectual links to psychology and sociology that already exist at an administrative level.
- Adopt an academic leadership approach and try to come up with a funding scheme that allows faculty who have been largely limited by heavy teaching loads to get opportunities for professional development as researchers.

### *Örebro:*

- Take advantage of the newly advertised professorship to recruit a person with a strong standing in the discipline and the ability to identify an integrating core amongst the various research directions of the faculty.
- Work systematically to overcome the split between more academic, disciplinary-oriented research/researchers and more interdisciplinary/applied research/researchers, for example by developing projects that cut across the divide, departmental research colloquia and a continuous dialogue to foster a common understanding of missions and roles.
- Continue to improve faculty record on publication in international refereed journals and academic presses.
- Strengthen the integrative elements of the doctoral program and build it primarily on core fields of research at Örebro. Recognize limitations, and send students out where additional training is needed.
- Be more active nationwide in recruiting doctoral students.

## *Fields of research*

### *Swedish Politics:*

- Emphasize and spell out explicitly the theoretical generalizations or implications that emerge from studies of Swedish politics and government.
- Continue recent trends of better integration of the field of Swedish Politics both with Comparative and International Politics.
- Make a greater effort to disseminate research results in international journals and presses.

- Encourage the scholars that have begun studying constitutional issues—a subfield that had a prominent position in Swedish political science a few decades ago—to continue, and develop links to ‘newer’ issues such as complex systems of multilevel governance.

*Policy and Administration:*

- Continue the cross-disciplinary orientation that characterizes much of the emerging policy research, but ensure that a core political science perspective is included.
- At a time when the political dimension of policy and administration is increasingly viewed as important, make sure that graduate education in this field is not reduced to merely a matter of management techniques.

*Comparative Politics:*

- Initiate a general review of the future of the Comparative Politics in Sweden aimed at broadening its presence at all major universities, organizing it thematically, and securing an integrated treatment of all regions.
- Promote greater Swedish participation in international meetings of Comparativists.
- Request special funding from the Swedish Research Council to obtain the services and advice of international scholars in helping to foment and develop Comparative Politics.

*International Relations:*

- Take additional steps to overcome historical divides among constructed communities, for example, between international politics and peace research, and take advantage of opportunities for inter-disciplinary cooperation with scholars in e.g. history, law and economics.
- Work actively with other fields of political science—including Comparative Politics and Policy and Administration—to address ‘new’ issues, such as emerging systems of multilevel governance and the interplay between changes occurring at the micro level (for example, change in identities and beliefs) and macro-level change (in the international political and economic systems).
- Consider, in consultation with the Swedish Research Council and possibly other major funding agencies, to launch a concerted effort to build capacity in the field of international political economy.
- Take steps to bring the entire repertoire of social science methods to bear upon the study of IR.

***Political Theory:***

- Invite prominent foreign scholars in political theory to spend some time at Swedish universities that have a critical mass of political theory research—for example by introducing a visiting professorship arrangement.
- Seek cooperative relations with departments of philosophy and economics.
- Fund at least one chair in Political Theory.
- Provide opportunities for graduate students interested in theory to study abroad for longer periods.

***European Politics:***

- Continue and strengthen the network for political science research on European matters; it serves important functions particularly for the large number of doctoral students in this field.
- Be active also in developing strategic partnerships with major foreign research centers or groups, including large-scale joint projects or programs.
- Work hard to link empirical research to general political science theory; area-studies are often impoverished by ‘over-specialization’—expressed in an excessive concern with empirical detail, or in inefficient efforts to invent its own analytic tools where tested and more advanced frameworks already exist and could be employed directly, or at least adapted to a new area.

***Gender and Politics:***

- Develop Module(s) on feminist theory, gender and politics, and the interpretive method for discipline-wide theory and methods courses.
- Publish studies on gender more frequently in general political science refereed journals, such as *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *The British Journal of Political Science*, or *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*.
- Initiate Program on Gender and Politics (e.g., Gender and Democratic Transitions; Gender and Multicultural Politics; Gender and Human Rights) that includes both “gender” scholars and political scientists with competence in the substantive issue at hand.
- Draft lists of international referees with competence in both gender politics and broader areas of political science.
- Invite prominent foreign scholars in gender and politics to spend some time at Swedish universities that have a critical mass of gender research—for example by introducing a visiting professorship arrangement.

## *The Swedish political science community at large*

### *The career system:*

- Political scientists should consider making a concerted effort to argue for a review of the academic career system in Sweden, which after much tinkering is neither here nor there in terms of satisfying seniors and juniors in their professional aspirations.
- The objective of such a review should be to find a formula that allows for a greater upward mobility for younger scholars and greater mobility between political science departments in the country.
- There is a need to examine critically the pros and cons of retaining the existing system of peer-reviewed assessments of candidates for promotion (*sakkunnighetsutlåtande*) with a view to making peer-based assessments stronger in the future.
- Political science departments should work together to enhance a minimum degree of mobility among graduate students, if necessary by setting a quota for how many may be hired from one's own department.

### *Organizational issues:*

- Establish regular meetings between leaders of political science departments—perhaps with representatives of major funding agencies—to discuss matters related to division of labor and joint ventures.
- The Swedish Political Science Association should re-examine its role with a view to taking a more active role on behalf of the discipline to make it stronger and more visible both among its members and the Swedish public at large.
- We would encourage the Association to take an active role in stimulating a more explicit and challenging discussion within the political science research community of its conception of its own 'mission' and its (implied) value premises.
- The Association should consider ways of strengthening its finances by seeking grants for specific projects and raise funds from other sources, e.g. for specific awards that could be named after an individual or institution.

### *Funding:*

- The vitality of the discipline at large depends critically on sufficient leeway for curiosity-driven research funded on the basis of academic merit only.

The *Swedish Research Council* and the Swedish funding system at large would be well advised to work together to make sure that there is such 'breathing space'.

- Some departments have a fairly large proportion of faculty retiring at about the same time. Universities should develop advance measures that can help ensure a smooth transition, e.g. stipends that can permit some senior faculty to leave their positions a few years earlier but continue research and teaching, or a pool of temporary positions that can help bring in new faculty before more permanent positions become vacant.

### *Graduate Education:*

- Strengthen cooperation among Swedish universities with a view to providing state of the art training, particularly in research methodology, and capitalize on comparative advantages in particular fields. Such cooperation is particularly important for the 'new' universities with small political science groups, but also established and larger departments could benefit.
- Establish a national system for quality control of graduate programs in political science.

### *Recommendation to funding agencies and departments:*

- Establish a post-doctoral category in grants that combine minimal teaching duties with freedom to pursue research, including drafting grant proposals, for example, upon receipt of doctorate.
- Provide grants for revision of good doctoral dissertations for publication as monographs by international academic presses, or for publication of parts of dissertations as articles in international refereed journals.

### *Representation of women in Political Science:*

- Continue to monitor representation of women through regular surveys.
- Discuss discrepancies that become obvious through such surveys, and take appropriate measures, such as encouraging talented female undergraduates to apply for graduate training and finding ways to help women to finish their dissertations.
- Academic hiring should be based first and foremost on the *quality* (as distinguished from *quantity*) of research and other academic merits, plus positive encouragement of women to embark upon a career in research and apply for attractive positions.



# Appendix 1 & 2



# Appendix 1

## Bibliometrical indicators

Bibliometrical indicators can be used for two main purposes: to measure *output* (more precisely, the number of particular kinds of publications), and to measure recognition or *impact* (more precisely, the extent to which publications are cited by the wider research community). In our discipline we have no reliable and standardized source for measuring output; the ISI database includes only articles published in selected journals—not books—and puts a strange premium on comprehensive book reviews, counting each book reviewed as a separate publication.<sup>8</sup> As a consequence it tells us more about publication *patterns* than about overall output and productivity. The Social Science Citation Index gives us a somewhat better grasp on impact. When it comes to citations, all publications referred to in journal articles—even unpublished papers—are included.

In general, bibliometrical indicators have certain well-known inherent biases that call for a cautious interpretation. For example, they generally tend to favor

- publications written in English over publications written in some less common language (partly because the former are accessible to a larger audience);
- articles published in American or British journals and books published by American or British publishers (partly for the same reason);
- scholars who have been active over the entire time period covered by the database (currently 1987–2000) over ‘newcomers’ and people who have retired;
- disciplines or fields cultivated by large research communities—implying that bibliometrical indicators should not be used for purposes of comparison across different disciplines;
- for co-authored works: the author mentioned first—a procedure that usually favors authors with family names that come early in the alphabetic order!

For these and other reasons, citation scores can not be considered reliable indicators of research *quality*. Being cited does not even necessarily imply positive appraisal. As e.g. Kenneth Waltz can testify, a scholar will sometimes earn numerous citations by being cast as the favorite *prügelknabe* of a competing tradition or school (in his case, IR constructivists). Finally, citation statistics

<sup>8</sup> The choices made are sometimes hard to understand. For example, the Norwegian journal *Internasjonal Politikk* is included while *Statsvetenskaplig Tidsskrift* is not.

do not invite linear interpretations; attention tends to increase exponentially as new citations call attention to a particular publication or author.

Some of these problems are, however, less disturbing when we confine ourselves to comparing *departments* or large groups within the same discipline and the same country (or within a similar cultural context). Used for this purpose, and interpreted with appropriate caution, we believe that an analysis of bibliometrical data can provide some useful clues about publication patterns and particularly about the amount of attention paid to various publications by the wider research community. Although citations scores cannot be interpreted as reliable indicators of quality, we may safely assume that a publication or author that nobody cares to mention has not made much of an impression upon the research community. A certain minimum of citations may therefore be considered a *necessary* condition for influence.

In this particular case, we are in the fortunate position that most of the main conclusions that emerge from an analysis of bibliometrical indicators correspond fairly well to those that we would draw from a more qualitative assessment of research performance. There are, though, a couple of important discrepancies that we have pointed out in the text.

Below is a summary table reporting average scores, as of December 2000, for professors and docents at Swedish political science departments.

Table A1.1 Journal articles<sup>9</sup> and SSCI citation scores, 1987–2000.

	Articles			Citations		
	Average	Professors	Docenter	Average	Professors	Docenter
Göteborg	4.2	6.1	1.2	59.1	92.6	4.4
Lund	0.5	1.0	0.4	20.2	52.0	8.3
Stockholm	1.5	2.0	1.4	52.8	94.5	21.5
Umeå*	2.0	1.7	2.3	15.8 [37.4]	19.7	10.0 [64.0]
Uppsala	1.4	1.4	1.5	43.8	60.5	10.5
Örebro	3.9	5.0	3.2	41.0	52.3	34.2
Karlstad	-	-	-	-	-	-
Linköping	(3.0)	(3.0)	-	(19.0)	(19.0)	-
Växjö	2.0	(4)	(0)	9.0	(18.0)	(0.0)

\* One of the Umeå faculty, Svante Ersson, suffers particularly from the SSCI procedure of coding co-authored articles only by the first author. Figures in brackets include Ersson's estimated share of citations attributed to his co-author (Jan Erik Lane).

For figures in parentheses, N=1.

The departmental average figures include professors and *docenter* only.

<sup>9</sup> Book reviews not included.

# Appendix 2

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