Human Rights in the Concept of Democracy

A Case Study of the Swedish Parliament Administration’s Educational Programs and Brochures

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Abstract

In this master’s thesis, I aim to conduct an interdisciplinary study, analyzing *to what extent* human rights are included in the concept of democracy. The topic is studied both in theory but primarily in practice, based on a single case study of the Swedish Parliament Administration’s (SPA) educational programs and brochures. SPA is chosen as the case of the study to help enlighten *which* and *how* human rights are included in the concept of democracy, in a Swedish context. Sweden serves as a highly interesting context, being a well-established democracy whilst also traditionally taking a “dualist” approach to human rights.

The study is carried out in two steps: first, I present and analyze how three modern democracy theories approach human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy to provide a theoretical framework for the case study, focusing on *legal* democracy theory (primarily leaning on Robert Nozick’s ideas), Jürgen Habermas’ take on *deliberative* democracy theory and David Beetham’s democracy theory; Second, I conduct two analyses – a textual content analysis using the technique of ideal types (based on the three democracy theories) and an analysis of SPA’s educational practices – based on a qualitative research approach leaning on the following three research methods: textual analysis, observation and interview.

Based on the analyses, I find that SPA highly includes civil, judicial and political rights in its conception of democracy. Yet, these rights are primarily included by reference to the Swedish constitution, rather than to international human rights. Furthermore, I conclude that SPA includes economic, social and cultural rights in its conception of democracy, however primarily at the conceptual level, rather than in the context of the Swedish democracy.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ICESCR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Political Rights</td>
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<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDHR</td>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
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<td>CRC</td>
<td>Convention of the Rights of the Child</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>HRC</td>
<td>UN Human Rights Committee</td>
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<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights</td>
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<td>ECtHR</td>
<td>European Convention of Human Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESCR</td>
<td>Economic and social rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>CJPR</td>
<td>Civil, judicial and political rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPA</td>
<td>Swedish Parliament Administration</td>
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<td>NSD</td>
<td>Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents

1 INTRODUCTION................................................................................................................. 1
  1.1 Context and Research Question .................................................................................. 1
  1.2 Research Gap ............................................................................................................... 4
  1.3 Former Research and Literature .................................................................................. 5
  1.4 Definitions and Scope: The Concept of Democracy and Human Rights ......................... 6
  1.5 Readers’ Guide .............................................................................................................. 9

2 THEORY: HUMAN RIGHTS IN DEMOCRACY THEORY ............................................. 10
  2.1 Legal Democracy Theory ............................................................................................. 10
    2.1.1 CJPR in Legal Democracy Theory ........................................................................ 11
    2.1.2 ESCR in Legal Democracy Theory ....................................................................... 12
  2.2 Habermas’ Deliberative Democracy Theory .................................................................. 12
    2.2.1 CJPR in Habermas’ Deliberative Democracy Theory ........................................... 14
    2.2.2 ESCR in Habermas’ Deliberative Democracy Theory ........................................... 15
  2.3 Beetham’s Democracy Theory ...................................................................................... 16
    2.3.1 CJPR in Beetham’s Democracy Theory .................................................................. 17
    2.3.2 ESCR in Beetham’s Democracy Theory .................................................................. 17

3 METHODOLOGY: A MULTIMETHOD STUDY.............................................................. 19
  3.1 On Textual Content Analysis ....................................................................................... 19
    3.1.1 Textual Content Analysis based on Ideal Types .................................................... 20
    3.1.2 Sources of Textual Material .................................................................................. 22
  3.2 On Observation ........................................................................................................... 24
    3.2.1 The Scope of Observation ..................................................................................... 25
    3.2.2 Observation in Practice ......................................................................................... 26
  3.3 On Semi-Structured Interview .................................................................................... 26
  3.4 Quality of Research .................................................................................................... 28
    3.4.1 Reliability and Validity ......................................................................................... 28
    3.4.2 Quality of Sources ............................................................................................... 30

4 THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH MATERIAL....................................................................... 31
  4.1 SPA’s Educational Programs and Brochures ................................................................ 31
  4.2 Content and Practice of The Empirical Research Material .......................................... 33

5 HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY: TWO ANALYSES.................. 34
  5.1 Textual Content Analysis ............................................................................................ 35
5.1.1 Analysis of SPA’s Inclusion of CJPR .......................................................... 36
5.1.2 Analysis of SPA’s Inclusion of ESCR ......................................................... 42
5.1.3 Analytical Reservations .............................................................................. 48
5.2 Analysis of SPA’s Educational Practice .......................................................... 49

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS .................................................................................. 51
6.1 Findings of the Analysis .................................................................................. 52
6.2 Further Research ............................................................................................ 54

LIST OF REFERENCES .......................................................................................... 56

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW INFORMATION AND CONSENT SHEET .................. 60
APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE ........................................................................ 62
APPENDIX III: NSD – INTERVIEW APPROVAL .................................................. 65
APPENDIX IV: TABLE OF THE CONTENT: EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND BROCHURES ........................................................................................................ 67
APPENDIX V: TABLE OF CJPR IN THE TEXTUAL MATERIAL ......................... 69
APPENDIX VI: TABLE OF ESCR IN THE TEXTUAL MATERIAL ....................... 76
1 Introduction

“Democracy is one of the universal core values and principles of the United Nations. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (...) are essential elements of democracy”¹

This is how the United Nations (UN) – here referred to by the High Commissionaire for Human Rights – describes the relation between democracy and human rights. Additionally, in 1993, the UN member states affirmed that “Democracy (...) and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing”². Thus, the concepts of democracy and human rights are understood by the UN and its member states³ to be highly related, to the extent that they are interdependent. However, considering that the concept of democracy is also defined as a dynamic system varying across states and cultures⁴, there does arguably not exist one undisputed definition of neither the concept of democracy nor its relationship to human rights. There are also obvious differences among democracy theories concerning how the concept of democracy is understood, and how human rights are included in the concept, as I emphasize further in the thesis.

In this study, I aim to research to what extent human rights are included in the concept of democracy, taking both a theoretical and empirical approach. The thesis is carried out in two steps: First, I theoretically discuss how three selected democracy theories consider human rights to be included in their conception of democracy. Subsequently, in the main part, I provide a case study analysis regarding to what extent human rights are included in the concept of democracy in practice.

1.1 Context and Research Question

This thesis is conducted as an interdisciplinary study, combining political science, philosophy and law. The aim of the thesis is to research to what extent human rights – as principles – are

¹ United Nations Office of the High Commissioner, "The Core International Human Rights Instruments and Their Monitoring Bodies".
³ The UN had 184 member states in 1993 and 193 in 2019; United Nations, "Growth in United Nations Membership, 1945-Present".
⁴ UN Secretary General, "Guidance Note of the Secretary-General on Democracy," (2009), 1.
included in the concept of democracy. To concretize the object of study to a researchable scope, the thesis is limited to a case study of the Swedish Parliament Administration’s (SPA) comprehensive educational programs and brochures concerning the concept of democracy and the role of the parliament, provided by SPA’s Department for Visits, Education and Events⁵. The primary target groups of SPA’s educational programs and brochures are lower secondary school students (aged 13-16) and upper secondary school students (aged 15-19)⁶, which therefore serve as the target groups of my study.

I have deliberatively chosen a case study from within the Swedish context. The reason for this is that Sweden clearly favors the system of democracy⁷, while also taking a “dualist” approach to human rights – consequently serving as an interesting context for my study concerning human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy. The “dualist” approach refers to how Sweden, and other Nordic Countries, was in the forefront in developing the international human rights system from the beginning⁸, while the incorporation of international human rights into Swedish domestic law was stated as recently as during the 1990s⁹. Thus, the Scandinavian countries has shown a greater will to use human rights as an export in their foreign policy, rather than implementing them domestically¹⁰. Today, Sweden has ratified – and is a state party to – seven out of the nine international UN human rights conventions¹¹, in addition to the European Convention of Human Rights (ECtHR)¹². Yet, the only human rights treaty Sweden has incorporated into domestic law is the ECtHR¹³, apart from the planned incorporation of the Convention of the Rights of the Child in 2020¹⁴. However, the Swedish constitution – consisting of four legal documents – provides a strong protection of certain civil, judicial and political rights (CJPR), such as freedom of expression, freedom of the press, voting rights and the rule

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⁵ Sveriges Riksdag, "Organisation: Enheten För Besök, Utbildning Och Evenemang".
⁶ Former Head of the Department for Visits, interview by Lysne, 2019.
⁸ Christoffersen, "The End of Virtue?," 257-61.
⁹ Ibid.
¹⁰ Ibid., 264-69.; Lomell, "Rettssosiologi," 199-205.
¹⁴ Regeringskansliet, "Barnkonventionens Väg Mot Svensk Lag".
of law. Additionally, a leading narrative concerning the Nordic welfare states, is that they almost perfectly mirror the content of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by including the economic, social and cultural aspect. Nevertheless, as argued by Vik et al.: “(...) human rights are virtually absent from standard accounts of the history of the Nordic model.”

There are several reasons why I chose SPA to study human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy in a Swedish context. Initially, a case study of SPA serves as an intrinsically interesting case. The importance of parliaments promotion of democracy, and its link to human rights, are emphasized in the report “Human Rights” co-published by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Furthermore, according to Robert Dahl: “If the institutions for civic education is weak, only one satisfactory solution remains. They must be strengthened. We who believe in democratic goals are obliged to search for ways by which citizens can acquire the competence they need.” Thus, Dahl stresses the national importance of educational institutions, such as SPA, to help sustain a democratic system. Moreover, SPA’s educative role comes with the power to contribute to defining the concept of democracy to the Swedish public – in this context, to upper secondary school students. Being the parliament administration, SPA’s power to define concepts such as democracy undoubtedly gains a special legitimacy – as parliaments are considered to be core democratic institutions in western democracies. Consequently, SPA is an interesting case in the Swedish context, as it could reveal to what extent human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy are communicated to thousands of Swedish students (specific numbers are presented in Chapter 4.1). Subsequently, SPA claims that they should be “politically neutral” throughout its work, which accentuates SPA as an interesting case in a Swedish context. Even though it is disputable whether it is possible to hold a “politically neutral” position, SPA

17 Ibid., 194-95.
19 Dahl, On Democracy, 80.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., 17-24.
22 Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."
23 Ibid.; Sveriges Riksdag, "Tillsammans För Riksdagens Bästa" 3.
actively aims to communicate an approach to the concept of democracy which is non-controversial in a Swedish political context. As a “non-controversial approach” is essentially relative, a study of SPA’s approach serves as a natural starting-point when studying the concept of democracy in a Swedish context. A last, however subordinate reason why SPA is chosen as my case is because it would serve as an illustration of how a parliament administration provides educational services to the public, and i.e. how it approaches human rights to be included in the concept of democracy. Accordingly, the research question is:

*To what extent does the concept of democracy include human rights in? A case study of the Swedish Parliament Administration's educational programs and brochures*

The research question is supported by three sub-questions, to help answer the main research question in the best way possible and to make it researchable:

1. *How* are human rights included in the concept of democracy at the theoretical level?
2. *Which* human rights are included in SPA’s conception of democracy?
3. *How* are these human rights included in SPA’s conception of democracy?

The first sub-question – analyzed in *Chapter 2* – is primarily included to ensure a satisfactory framework to discuss and analyze the last two sub-questions. The last two sub-questions are discussed in two separate analyses based on a multi-method study: First, I provide a textual content analysis based on SPA’s educational programs and brochures, using the technique of ideal types (*Chapter 5.1*); Subsequently, I provide an analysis of the educational practice, to complement the textual analysis (*Chapter 5.2*).

### 1.2 Research Gap

I argue that there is a research gap concerning whether human rights are approached to be included in the concept of democracy, both in theory and in practice. This statement is based on a literature research regarding the role of human rights in the concept of democracy in Oria (the electronical library of the University of Oslo), Duo Vitenarkiv (UiO) and Google Scholar using several word combinations including “human rights” and “democracy”. Even though certain democracy theories take a stand concerning human rights, questions concerning *which* and *how* human rights are included in their conception of democracy are seldom the core focus of their theory. Moreover, I do not find peer-reviewed research, focusing on parliament educational programs, neither in Sweden nor in other countries, with the exemption of Aileen
Walker’s article “The People’s Parliament?”, focusing on educational programs at the British parliament24. Thus, I find it to be a research gap primarily concerning theoretical and empirical studies of human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy, and the research on parliament educational programs in general.

1.3 Former Research and Literature
In my study of human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy – hereunder primarily SPA’s approach – I lean on former research and literature, particularly concerning the following four topics: human rights in Sweden, the Swedish society and democracy, the international human rights system and democracy theory. Literature concerning the first three categories are relevant to obtain background information in order to provide a satisfactory context for the reader. Research concerning human rights in Scandinavia was mainly conducted through articles from the Nordic Journal of Human Rights, primarily from the special issue 36(3) on the history of human rights in the Nordic countries25, in addition to Lomell and Smith’s chapter Rettssosiologi26. Research concerning the swedish society and democracy was conducted through Mary Hilson’s book The Nordic Model: Scandinavia since 194527, the book The Constitution of Sweden: The Fundamental Laws and the Riksdag Act28 by the Swedish Parliament, national curriculum for secondary school students in Sweden29, in addition to the Swedish Parliament and Government’s web pages30. Research concerning international human rights was conducted leaning on Olivier De Schutter’s book International Human Rights Law31, Ida Elisabeth Koch’s book Human Rights as Indivisible Rights32, in addition to legal documents and guidelines by the UN33.

24 Walker, ”A People's Parliament?.”
26 Lomell, ”Rettssosiologi.”
27 Hilson, The Nordic Model.
29 Skolverket, ”Samhällskunskap,” in Centralt innehåll: I årskurs 7-9 (skolverket.se); ”Läroplan, Examensmål Och Gymnasiegemensamma Ämnen För Gymnasieskola 2011,” in Gymnasiegemensamma ämnen: samhällskunskap (skolverket.se2011).
30 See own chapter in “List of References”
31 Schutter, International Human Rights Law.
32 Koch, Human Rights as Indivisible Rights.
33 See own chapter in “List of References”
The main literature research process concerned democracy theories, and was carried out in three steps. First, I studied the history and development of democracy, mainly based on Robert Dahl’s “On Democracy”34. Subsequently, I studied a range of contemporary democracy theories, primarily based on David Held’s “Models of Democracy”35, April Carter and Geoffrey Stokes’ “Democracy Theory Today”36 and Frank Cunningham’s “Theories of Democracy”37. Finally, I studied the three democracy theories I lean on in my thesis – legal democracy theory, deliberative democracy theory and Beetham’s democracy theory – focusing on the different varieties and sub-theories, before limiting all three down to focus solely on one or a few theorist(s). This research was mainly based on primary literature – such as Robert Nozick’s “Anarchy, State and Utopia”38, Jürgen Habermas’ ”Between Facts and Norms”39 and David Beetham’s “Democracy and Human Rights”40 – supplemented by secondary literature.

1.4 Definitions and Scope: The Concept of Democracy and Human Rights
The origin of human rights is disputed. Micheline R. Ishay argues that it could be traced back to Hammurabi’s progressive code of justice and punishment in Babylon during the 1700s BC, Confucius’ promotion of mass education or the Greek and Roman endorsement of individual reason and natural rights - the last two tracing back to 500 BC41. Likewise, the first era of democracy is arguably set to Greece and Rome, starting around 500 BC, as direct democracies, where citizens were included in common decision-making processes42. Even though I recognize that the concepts originate from ideas that developed millennia ago, I define both democracy and human rights in a modern context in this thesis. Starting with democracy, I generally define it as a system of governance in a national context. However, I do not provide an extensive definition of democracy, as the aim of study is to analyze SPA’s conception of democracy.

In this thesis, I define human rights as universal principles. Hence, I lean on the legal human rights provided in the current international human rights regime, as they arguably constitute the

34 Dahl, On Democracy.
35 Held, Models of Democracy.
36 Carter, Democracy Theory Today
37 Cunningham, Theories of Democracy.
38 Nozick, Anarchy, State and Utopia.
39 Habermas, Between Facts and Norms.
40 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights.
41 Ishay, The History of Human Rights, 6-7.
42 Dahl, On Democracy, 11-17.
closest attempt of an agreed set of universal human rights\textsuperscript{43}. To make the study more researchable, I limit the scope of human rights to those often referred to as The Bill of Rights or “classical rights”\textsuperscript{44} – thus, those included in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), mirrored in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)\textsuperscript{45}. However, I acknowledge that the rights included in the other seven international human rights treatises\textsuperscript{46} and the universal principle of non-discrimination\textsuperscript{47} play important roles in a democracy.

The specification of which human rights are included within the scope of the thesis are based on my own identification of rights included in ICCPR, ICESCR and UDHR. These rights serve as the range of rights that I specifically look to identify in the empirical research material, and further discussed in the analysis (Chapter 5). The economic, cultural and social rights (ESCR) included in the scope of my thesis consist of all the specific rights in ICESCR, mirrored in the UDHR:

- Right to work\textsuperscript{48}
- Right social security\textsuperscript{49}
- Right to adequate standard of living including the right to food, clothing and housing\textsuperscript{50}
- Right to health\textsuperscript{51}
- Right to education\textsuperscript{52}
- Right to the enjoyment of creativity, culture and science\textsuperscript{53}

The CJPR included in the scope of my thesis consist of all the specific rights in ICCPR, mirrored in UDHR:

\textsuperscript{43} Schutter, \textit{International Human Rights Law}, 13-146.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 14-23.
\textsuperscript{45} Icescr; Iccpr; Udhr.
\textsuperscript{46} Schutter, \textit{International Human Rights Law}, 14-23.
\textsuperscript{47} Iccpr, art.4.1.; Icescr, art. 2.2.
\textsuperscript{48} Icescr, art.6-8.; Udhr, art.23-24.
\textsuperscript{49} Icescr, art.9; ibid.; Udhr, art.22.
\textsuperscript{50} Icescr, art.11.; Udhr, art.25.
\textsuperscript{51} Icescr, art.12; ibid.; Udhr, art.25.
\textsuperscript{52} Icescr, art.13; ibid.; Udhr, art.26.
\textsuperscript{53} Icescr, art.15.; Udhr, art.27.
• Civil rights: right to life\textsuperscript{54}, right from torture and slavery\textsuperscript{55}, freedom of movement\textsuperscript{56}, right to privacy\textsuperscript{57}, freedom of thought and religion\textsuperscript{58}, freedom from propaganda\textsuperscript{59} and right to own property\textsuperscript{60}.

• Judicial rights: right to liberty and security of person and from arbitrary arrest\textsuperscript{61}, right to not be held guilty for retroactive laws\textsuperscript{62} and equality before the laws and judicial processes\textsuperscript{63}.

• Political rights: right to take part in public affairs\textsuperscript{64}, right to universal suffrage\textsuperscript{65}, right to access to public service\textsuperscript{66}. I also define Freedom of expression\textsuperscript{67}, assembly\textsuperscript{68} and association\textsuperscript{69} as political rights, similar to the UN Human Rights Committee, as these rights serve to support the access and participation in public affairs\textsuperscript{70}.

The term \textit{individual freedoms} is used extensively by the democracy theorists I introduce in \textit{Chapter 2} when discussing human rights, which I therefore define for the purpose of my analysis\textsuperscript{71}. I base my definition of \textit{individual freedoms} on the approach taken by the democracy theorist, hence: as freedom from state intervention\textsuperscript{72}. Consequently, I understand the term \textit{individual freedoms} to incorporate all civil rights, in addition to the political and judicial rights which also require the state to abstain from intervening, hereunder: freedom of expression,

\textsuperscript{54} Iccpr, art.6.; Udhr, art.3.
\textsuperscript{55} Iccpr, art.7-8.; Udhr, art.4-5.
\textsuperscript{56} Iccpr, art.12-13.; Udhr, art.13.
\textsuperscript{57} Iccpr, art.17.; Udhr, art.12.
\textsuperscript{58} Iccpr, art.18.; Udhr, art.18.
\textsuperscript{59} Iccpr, art.20.
\textsuperscript{60} Udhr, art.17.
\textsuperscript{61} Iccpr, 9-10.; Udhr, art.3,9.
\textsuperscript{62} Iccpr, art.15.; Udhr, art.11.
\textsuperscript{63} Iccpr, art.14,16.; Udhr, art.6-8,10-11.
\textsuperscript{64} Iccpr, art.25(a).; Udhr, art.21(a).
\textsuperscript{65} Iccpr, art.25(b).; Udhr, art.21(c).
\textsuperscript{66} Iccpr, art.25(c).; Udhr, art.21(b).
\textsuperscript{67} Iccpr, art.19.; Udhr, art.19.
\textsuperscript{68} Iccpr, art.21.; Udhr, art.20.
\textsuperscript{69} Iccpr, art.22.; Udhr, art.20.
\textsuperscript{71} Beetham, \textit{Democracy and Human Rights}, 1-13, 89-95.; Held, \textit{Models of Democracy}, 201-08.; Nozick, \textit{Anarchy, State and Utopia}.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.
assembly, association, freedom from arbitrary arrest and the freedom from being held guilty for retroactive laws.

To help discuss how human rights are included in the concept of democracy in practice in my analyses, I lean on Asbjørn Eide’s threefold typology respect, protect, fulfill, concerning states responsibilities to ensure human rights. Respect refers to the state’s responsibility to abstain from intervening with human rights. Protect refers to the state’s responsibility to ensure that third parties do not violate other’s human rights. Fulfill refers to the state’s responsibility to take active measures to ensure human rights. Whereas civil and political rights sometimes can be ensured through the responsibility to respect, ESCR generally have another character. In general terms; civil and political rights are negative rights which the state primarily has to respect and sometimes protect, whereas ESCR often are considered positive rights which the state also actively has to fulfill. This distinction is further discussed in the textual analysis (Chapter 5.2).

1.5 Readers’ Guide

The thesis is separated into six chapters. Following the introduction, the theoretical background of the thesis is discussed and presented in Chapter 2, focusing on three democracy theories: legal democracy theory, Jürgen Habermas’ deliberative democracy theory and David Beetham’s democracy theory. In Chapter 3, I present the methodology – i.e. the three methods used in the research. In Chapter 4, I present the empirical research material. In Chapter 5, I analyze which and how human rights are included in SPA’s conception of democracy, using the technique of ideal types, which in this are deduced from the three democracy theories presented in the theory chapter. In the last chapter I present my concluding remarks. In short, I conclude that SPA highly includes CJPR – yet, primarily by referring to the Swedish constitution, rather than international human rights treatises – in its conception of democracy. Furthermore, I conclude that SPA also includes ESCR, however primarily at the conceptual level, rather than in the context of the Swedish democracy. My concluding remarks primarily lean on the findings

74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
of my textual analysis, as the analysis concerning the educational practice does not provide any significant results.

2 Theory: Human Rights in Democracy Theory

During the past century, countless theories concerning the concept of democracy have emerged, such as republicanism, liberalism and pluralism\(^{79}\), which I acknowledge as relevant and important in the modern academic democracy discourse. However, to analyze how human rights are included in the concept of democracy I have limited my scope down to focus on three democracy theories, with different accounts of how human rights are included. Thus, in the following chapter I present and discuss how human rights are included in legal democracy theory (Chapter 2.1), Habermas’ deliberative democracy theory (Chapter 2.2) and Beetham’s democracy theory (Chapter 2.3).

2.1 Legal Democracy Theory

David Held introduces legal democracy as one of nine models in his book *Models of democracy*, presenting Robert Nozick and Friedrich Hayek as the leading theorists of the model\(^{80}\). During the 1980’s, their normative theories concerning democracy and the role of the state influenced the liberalist movement and western leaders such as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan\(^{81}\). Henceforth, I primarily base my definition of legal democracy theory on the ideas of Nozick, supported by Hayek’s ideas and Held’s interpretation of the theory.

In his book *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, Nozick describes different developing steps of society, ending in his vision of Utopia\(^{82}\). First, he describes the state of anarchy as the ultra-minimal state, where people have equal rights, and no state authority could intervene or violate them\(^{83}\). However, in an anarchy, people would lack legal protection\(^{84}\). Thus, Nozick reflects on whether it could be possible to develop a minimal state, without violating anyone’s rights\(^{85}\). In the last

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\(^{80}\) Ibid., 201-07.

\(^{81}\) Ibid., 201.

\(^{82}\) Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*.

\(^{83}\) Ibid., 26-53.

\(^{84}\) Ibid., 10-26.

\(^{85}\) Ibid., 276-92.
part named “Utopia”, Nozick defines the minimal state as the utopian society. This society secure all citizens the liberty to pursue their individual utopias – their own way to a good life – without other visions of utopia imposed on them. According to Nozick, the only legitimate responsibility of a state is to respect liberal principles with the “functions of protecting against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contracts (...)”. Consequently, according to legal democracy theory: a democratic state, wherein democratic decisions are made, never has the legitimacy to violate individual freedoms.

2.1.1 CJPR in Legal Democracy Theory
Nozick’s exact take on the relationship between individual freedoms and democratic rule is not clear. However, Nozick’s Anarchy, State and Utopia starts with the following words: “Individuals have rights (...) so strong and far-reaching are these rights that they raise the question of what (...) the states and officials can do.” Hence, according to Nozick, a state – in this context a democracy, understood as people’s rule – should only have the legitimacy to decide as long as it does not intervene with people’s liberties, similar to the view of most other legal theorists. Individual freedoms are approached as core freedoms and rights, allowing the citizen to lead one’s own life according to one’s own wants. Consequently, these rights should be respected by the state, by not intervening with those rights. Thus, in legal democracy theory democracy is legitimated primarily as a potential mean to ensure individual freedoms, which is considered as the main end. The role of democracy as an instrument is underlined by Hayek, stating that he would prefer a liberal dictatorship before an illiberal democracy.

In legal democracy theory, the judicial rights not defined as individual freedoms serve as a framework to ensure a small-state democracy, where the state is not allowed to intervene with the rights of the citizens. Thus, I argue that in legal democracy theory, judicial rights are understood to be crucial in order to structure a democratic state and ensure civil rights within

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86 Ibid., 297-334.
87 Ibid., 312.
88 Ibid., ix.
89 Ibid.
90 Held, Models of Democracy, 201-07.
91 Nozick, Anarchy, State and Utopia, 312.
92 Held, Models of Democracy, 205.
93 Farrant, “Preventing the “Abuses” of Democracy,” 514.
94 Held, Models of Democracy, 201-07.
it. Moreover, Hayek stresses the favorability of representative democracies, as long as it does not fall short in one of two ways: First, it could lead to an “oppressive majority rule”; Second, it could lead to a wanted expansion of the state, limiting the civil rights and freedoms. Thus, legal democracy theory recognizes the modern version of representative democracy and separation of powers as a favorable structure of democracy to a certain extent, as long as the power of the state is limited. Representative democracy could be linked to the right to universal suffrage, however this is not a given link. Thus, as no other political rights are specifically mentioned other than those defined as individual freedoms, I do not find legal democracy theory to generally include political rights. Consequently, according to legal democracy theory, the state authority in a democracy should rule according to judicial rights, and is only legitimate as long as it ensures individual freedoms – hereunder civil, and certain judicial and political rights – as the main end.

2.1.2 ESCR in Legal Democracy Theory
According to legal democracy theory, ESCR should not be a part of a democracy. This is evident in Nozick’s theory, considering his ideal of a minimal state, which arguably would be difficult to obtain if ensuring ESCR. To underline this view, Nozick stresses that: “we (...) have found all of the other major moral arguments for a more extensive or powerful state inadequate.” Thus, ESCR are not included in legal democracy theory’s conception of democracy.

2.2 Habermas’ Deliberative Democracy Theory
Deliberative democracy is a prominent modern democracy theory – with many sub-theories – which approaches the process of democracy rather than democratic institutions to be the core of democracy. I started out studying both John Rawls’ and Jürgen Habermas’ theories, as

95 Ibid., 203.
96 Ibid.
97 Udhr, art. 21.
98 Held, Models of Democracy, 201-07.
99 Ibid., 206-07.
100 Ibid., 203-06.
101 Nozick, Anarchy, State and Utopia, ix.
102 Ibid., 276.
103 Young, Inclusion and Democracy, 18, 22-23.; Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, 296.
104 Reading: Rawls, Political Liberalism ; The Law of People.
they are two of the main theorists developing the deliberative democracy theory. Even though John Rawls’ approach is interesting and relevant, I chose to focus exclusively on Habermas for two reasons: first, Rawls’ theory of deliberative democracy clearly is a fragment of a more wide-ranging theory of political liberalism and justice, whereas Habermas’ theory arguably focuses more specifically on the deliberative aspect in his democracy theory. Second, it is difficult to operationalize – hereunder develop clear and uniform ideal types – based on two theories, especially when conflicting features of the theories are uncovered.

Habermas is considered one of the leading contemporary intellectuals and theorists in the world today. One of Habermas’ greatest aims in his writings is to reveal and fight the structures of society which limits the citizen’s freedom to decide over one’s own life. In his book *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Habermas defines the modern society to consist of both the systems of society and the lifeworld. The systems of society essentially refers to common democratic, social and/or bureaucratic systems, whereas the lifeworld refers to the sphere where the citizens are free to define their identities, deliberate and socialize. Habermas considers the lifeworld to be a crucial part of society as it essentially ensures the freedom of citizens. Thus, he stresses that the systems of society should not intervene with the lifeworld through judicialisation and political regulation of the private sphere.

The main aim of Habermas’ deliberative democracy theory (which he refers to as “discourse theory”) is to ensure a self-organizing community of free and equal citizens. Habermas finds the ongoing conflicts between incompatible political and religious doctrines to be one of the main challenges of modern democracies. To solve these challenges, Habermas believes that political decisions should be carried out through a process of deliberation not only within

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105 *Political Liberalism*
106 Habermas, ”Remarks on Legitimation through Human Rights.”; *Between Facts and Norms*.
107 Dalberg-Larsen, ”Jürgen Habermas Og Den Moderne Stats Krise ” 297-301.
108 Ibid., 300-01.
110 Dalberg-Larsen, ”Jürgen Habermas Og Den Moderne Stats Krise ” 302-04.
112 Dalberg-Larsen, ”Jürgen Habermas Og Den Moderne Stats Krise ” 304-09.; Habermas, ”Fra Teorien Om Den Kommunikative Handeln, 1981,” 324-25.
113 *Between Facts and Norms*, 7.
political institutions, but also with the public, which make up the members of the political system\textsuperscript{115}. Furthermore, Habermas stresses that the deliberative democracy is dependent on institutionalization of procedures and good conditions for communication\textsuperscript{116}.

2.2.1 CJPR in Habermas’ Deliberative Democracy Theory
Habermas approaches democracy to be co-related with human rights\textsuperscript{117}. In his article “Remarks on Legitimation through Human Rights”, Habermas discusses two traditional democracy theories – republicanism and liberalism – arguing that the former favors democracy over human rights, and the latter vice versa\textsuperscript{118}. To counter both theories, Habermas argues that “rights, which make the exercise of popular sovereignty possible, cannot be imposed on this practice [popular sovereignty, that is democratic will-formation] like external constraints”\textsuperscript{119}.

Habermas acknowledges that the co-dependence between human rights and democracy only directly concerns judicial and political rights\textsuperscript{120}. First, Habermas includes the following processual rights in his definition of political rights: freedom of assembly, association and expression, in addition to access to public affairs\textsuperscript{121}. Moreover, Habermas considers the right to information – protected under freedom of expression\textsuperscript{122} - to be crucial in order to attend public deliberation processes\textsuperscript{123}. He especially stresses the need for information in the context of modern welfare states, arguing that the citizens should not only have access to the states processes, but also access to information about organizations which interacts with and lobby the state power\textsuperscript{124}. Subsequently, Habermas argues that judicial rights – in addition to be of intrinsic value - are crucial to ensure an institutionalized deliberative democracy\textsuperscript{125}. He stresses that a democracy can only function when its citizens are legal subjects with a certain personal

\textsuperscript{115} Between Facts and Norms, 298-315.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 298-99.
\textsuperscript{118} “Remarks on Legitimation through Human Rights,” 159-60.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 160.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 160-61.
\textsuperscript{122} Iccpr, 19.2.
\textsuperscript{123} Habermas, “The Public Sphere,” 141-42.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Habermas, "Remarks on Legitimation through Human Rights," 160-61.
This is based on Habermas’ view on the rule of law and democracy as intertwined: without the rule of law a democratic society cannot exist, and vice versa. However, Habermas does not perceive civil rights, with their focus on individual autonomy, to be directly connected with the concept of democracy. Nevertheless, he argues that civil rights are important instruments to ensure political and judicial rights. To sum up, civil rights are indirectly related, whereas political and judicial rights are directly related to Habermas’ conception of democracy.

2.2.2 ESCR in Habermas’ Deliberative Democracy Theory

Habermas defines four steps towards a democratic state, where rights and freedoms of citizens to control one’s own life develops. In the fourth and last step, Habermas finds a negative development in the emerging welfare states. The welfare state aims to socially secure the citizens by providing services such as financial support for unemployed, free health care and free education. Such systems would according to Habermas, both pacify the citizens and convert them into clients of the state. Thus, Habermas argues that in a welfare state, the life of the citizens would no longer be based on the lifeworld where the citizen has the freedom to define its own life, but rather be colonialized by the state systems through a judicialisation of what should be the private sphere. Given that many of the economic, social and cultural services provided by the welfare state are similar to what is required to ensure ESCR, Habermas would arguably not consider a system based on ESCR to be a functioning democracy. Hence, Habermas is skeptical towards including ESCR in the concept of democracy, especially like it is included in modern welfare states, such as Sweden.

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126 Ibid.
127 Dalberg-Larsen, "Jürgen Habermas Og Den Moderne Stats Krise " 309.
129 Ibid., 160-61.
130 Ibid.
131 Dalberg-Larsen, "Jürgen Habermas Og Den Moderne Stats Krise " 304-09.
132 Ibid.
133 Ibid., 306-09.
134 Ibid., 304-09.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid.
Habermas are not completely consistent when it comes to ESCR inclusion in his conception of democracy. Habermas stresses the importance of education and science as crucial in his deliberative democracy. According to Habermas, these features – which are both ESCR – are important as decisions should be taken on the grounds of deliberation, which requires knowledge. Thus, even though Habermas is critical towards the modern welfare states for imposing systemic colonialization over the lifeworld, it seems like this critique regards how the rights are transformed into an overarching system rather than their existence as human rights in themselves. Nevertheless, Habermas seemingly does not find the right to education nor enjoyment of science itself to be of great importance to democracy, unless it increases civic knowledge and thus the opportunity to participate in the democracy. Therefore, the question is to what extent he views education and science to be core ingredients to increase civic knowledge. Habermas would probably not claim that civic knowledge is easy to obtain without basic education nor access to science. Thus, I argue that the right to education and enjoyment of science are considered to be main features of democracy in Habermas’ theory, even though they arguably are recognized as instruments rather than universal human rights. Consequently, Habermas includes the following ESCR in his conception of democracy: right to education and enjoyment of science, however, implemented without intervening with the lifeworld of the citizens.

2.3 Beetham’s Democracy Theory
David Beetham argues that “there is a basic core to the meaning of democracy.” Beetham’s democracy theory is based on citizens as the starting-point, defining the equal right of citizens to a voice in public affairs to be the core principle of democracy. This is underlined by Beetham’s other two principles of democracy: “popular control of the citizens” and “political equality.” By “popular control” I understand Beetham to refer to how citizens should have the power to control the state, and by “political equality” that all citizens should have equal opportunity to influence political decisions. The equality principle incorporates the idea that

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137 Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, 298-315.
138 Icescr, art. 13, 15(2).
139 Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, 315-25.
140 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 2.
141 Ibid., 90-92.
142 Ibid., 4-5.
143 Ibid.
all citizens should have equal political rights, especially referring to the political inclusion of historically marginalized groups such as women\textsuperscript{144}.

2.3.1 CJPR in Beetham’s Democracy Theory
To ensure a democratic system, Beetham argues that a democracy requires two pillars: On the one hand, democratic institutions; on the other, CJPR\textsuperscript{145}. Thus, one of the main features of Beetham’s democracy theory is how he considers CJPR to be interconnected with democracy\textsuperscript{146}. Beetham also separates CJPR into two groups: liberty rights and democratic rights – the first primarily concerning \textit{individual freedoms} and the second concerning access to decision-making in the collective life\textsuperscript{147}. Moreover, Beetham argues that these two sets of rights constitute the balance of democracy\textsuperscript{148}. Thus, the fine line between \textit{individual freedoms} and \textit{the will of the people} is the main balance of democracy\textsuperscript{149}. As he himself concludes: “Civil and political rights are intrinsic to the concept of democracy in order to ensure freedom for people to voice their opinion and through that take popular control over the government”\textsuperscript{150}. When concretizing which CJPR are interconnected with his conception of democracy, he refers directly to ICCPR as the main source\textsuperscript{151}. Thus, Beetham includes all CJPR in his conception of democracy, as are included in the scope of my study.

2.3.2 ESCR in Beetham’s Democracy Theory
Contrary to the other two theories, Beetham argues that ESCR generally play a crucial role in the concept of democracy\textsuperscript{152}. In the introduction to his book ‘Democracy and Human Rights’ Beetham stresses that “\textit{a democratic society (...) should provide socio-economic conditions for political equality to be realized in practice}”\textsuperscript{153}. Furthermore, Beetham argues that ESCR are crucial for civil and political rights to be realized, and therefore indirectly intertwined with

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., 5-6.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., 92.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., 5, 87-149.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 93-94.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 93.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., 90.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 92.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., 90-108.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 5.
democracy. Yet, he does not refer to ICESCR when defining which ESCR are included, as he does with ICCPR concerning CJPR. Nevertheless, based on how he refers to ESCR as general values, I interpret his democracy theory to generally include all the ESCR within the scope of the thesis. Beetham’s approach concerning the interdependency between CJPR and ESCR, is also held by other theorists, such as Amartya Sen. His approach is also similar to UN’s approach, emphasized in international human rights documents such as UN General Assembly resolutions and in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.

In his book, Beetham provides his readers with examples of how ESCR are interlinked with civil and political rights. One example is the right to health care: If citizens do not receive health care (and they cannot afford it themselves) they might effectively be excluded from political participation, for example because of illness. Another example is the right to education, to provide the citizens with knowledge, which gives them the opportunity to participate and take informed political decisions in a democracy. A third example concerns the right to work. Beetham argues that when people are unemployed, they often lose self-respect, which could influence the idea of themselves as democratic citizens. Additionally, one could lose access to other economic, cultural and social goods such as health care, education, housing and nutrition, given that these are not provided by the state. Beetham concludes that if ESCR are not protected, a democracy is likely to be damaged in three ways: social exclusion could lead to political exclusion, public life for all could diminish and the legitimacy of public institutions might erode and lead to destabilization of democratic

154 Ibid., 97-98.
155 Ibid., 95-103.
156 Sen, Development as Freedom 38-40.
157 Koch, Human Rights as Indivisible Rights, 1.; UN General Assembly, “Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.”
158 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 95-103.
159 Icescr, art.12.
161 Icescr, art. 13.
162 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 96-98.
163 Icescr, art. 6.
164 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 96-98.
165 Icescr, art.11-13.
166 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 97-99.
institutions. Consequently, Beetham generally includes ESCR - however indirect - in his conception of democracy.

3 Methodology: A Multimethod Study

The thesis is conducted as a single case study, based on a qualitative multimethod research approach to analyze to what extent SPA includes human rights in its conception of democracy. I lean on triangulation, using more than one method, with the aim to cross-check the results of the primary method. The reason why I conduct a multimethod study is due to the advantages concerning the quality and validity of the research when it is based on a diversity of sources and the possibility to collect evidence from different sources that follows from a case-study design. The primary method is a textual content analysis of SPA’s educational programs and brochures, presented in Chapter 3.1. The second method is observations of SPA’s educational programs, presented in in Chapter 3.2, which are essential to perform both the primary and secondary analysis – the first being a textual analysis and the second an analysis of SPA’s educational practices. Additionally, to get the necessary background information concerning SPA’s educational programs, the third method is a semi-structured interview, presented in Chapter 3.3. Finally, in Chapter 3.4, I discuss how to ensure the research to have a quality up to scientific standards.

3.1 On Textual Content Analysis

Textual analysis implies the use of text as data to shed light on a research question. There are several sub-categories of textual analysis. Here I focus on qualitative content analysis based on the approach of ideal types. The reason why I chose textual analysis as my methodology is threefold. First, textual analysis is a transparent method, as long as the textual material is open for secondary research and validation, which is the case of most of the textual

167 Ibid., 97-103; Beetham, “Linking Democracy and Human Rights.”
168 Lean on Gerring, Case Study Research.
169 Bryman, Social Research Methods, 386.
170 Gerring, Case Study Research, 172.
171 Kohlbacher, “The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research,” 8.
172 Bratberg, Tekstanalyse for Samfunnsvitere, 11-30.
173 Ibid., 22-28.
175 Bratberg, Tekstanalyse for Samfunnsvitere, 82-86.
176 Bryman, Social Research Methods, 302-03.
material used in my study. Subsequently, textual analysis is favorable by being fairly unobtrusive, as it usually does not have to take participants into account as is the case with interviews, observations and experiments\textsuperscript{177}. This is evident for approximately half of my textual material, as these are pre-written brochures. Third, textual analysis is favorable when there is extensive and available textual material on the topic\textsuperscript{178}, which is the case of my study, which I return to in Chapter 3.1.2.

3.1.1 Textual Content Analysis based on Ideal Types
In my textual analysis, I use the technique of \textit{ideal types}\textsuperscript{179}. In my study, I define and use ideal types as defined by Øivind Bratberg\textsuperscript{180} and Bergström \& Boréus\textsuperscript{181}. Ideal types are simplifications which convey phenomena in their pure form\textsuperscript{182}. The purpose of using them as an analytical tool is to provide a framework for analyzing texts, directing focus towards the presence of certain ideas that are expected to be significant\textsuperscript{183}. Ideal types thus enable a deductive approach; the analysis directs attention towards (and aims to measure) the presence and influence of certain ideas that are predefined\textsuperscript{184}. Since these ideas are seen as pertaining to one or several ideal types, the textual analysis should reveal to what extent the ideational content of the text matches the ideal type(s)\textsuperscript{185}. When using ideal types as an analytical tool there are several methodological principles that need to be followed. First, even though the defined ideal types have similarities in their characteristics, one has to highlight the distinctive features of each in order to ensure that the ideal types are mutually exclusive\textsuperscript{186}. Second, the same operationalization and definitions have to be provided throughout the textual analysis\textsuperscript{187}.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{177} Ibid., 303.
\bibitem{178} Ibid., 302-03.
\bibitem{179} Bratberg, \textit{Tekstanalyse for Samfunnsvitere}, 82-83.
\bibitem{180} Ibid., 82-85.
\bibitem{181} Bergström, Textens Mening Och Makt, 149-81.
\bibitem{182} Ibid., 149-51.; Bratberg, \textit{Tekstanalyse for Samfunnsvitere}, 82.
\bibitem{183} \textit{Tekstanalyse for Samfunnsvitere}, 82-90.
\bibitem{184} Ibid.
\bibitem{185} Ibid.
\bibitem{186} Ibid., 82-85.
\bibitem{187} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
The ideal types for the textual analysis are defined to mirror Boréus and Bergström’s second category “Ideal types in the study of ideas provided by actors”\(^{188}\), as I study SPA’s (actor) approach to human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy (idea). I designed the ideal types of my thesis (Table 1) to represent the three democracy theories’ inclusion of human rights in their conceptions of democracy presented in Chapter 2. Thus, the ideal types – consisting of condensed and operationalized versions of the three theories – serve as an analyzable theoretical backdrop for the textual analysis of SPA’s approach to human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy.

**Table I: Ideal Types**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 Human Rights in Legal democracy</th>
<th>Main aim: secure individual freedoms(^{189})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Civil rights and certain judicial and political rights are the main end of democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.1 Freedom from cruel, arbitrary treatment by the state are included as a main end of democracy(^{190})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.2 Freedom to lead one’s life according to one’s own want is included as a main end of democracy(^{191}), including both civil rights and political rights, such as freedom of religion, expression, assembly and association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Judicial rights are necessary features to structure a democracy based on civil rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.1 Equality before the law and fair judicial processes are necessary to ensure a society of civil rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.2 Absence of arbitrary punishment by the state is crucial to ensure a society of civil rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.3 The state power should rule according to the rule of law, with the aim to avoid a current and future powerful state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Economic, cultural and social rights are actively excluded from the concept of democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Human Rights in Deliberative Democracy</th>
<th>Main aim: ensure a self-organizing community of free and equal citizens(^{192})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Political rights and judicial rights are crucial features of democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 Freedom of assembly, association and expression and access to public affairs are crucial to ensure a deliberative democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2 Judicial rights are crucial features of democracy, as a democracy cannot function without citizens as legal subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Civil rights are indirectly included in the concept of democracy, to ensure citizens access to political rights.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 Civil rights are indirectly important to ensure a deliberative democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 The two economic, cultural and social rights; right to education and enjoyment of science are main features of the political decision-making process in a democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{188}\) Bergström, *Textens Mening Och Makt*, 155.

\(^{189}\) Including those rights defined as *individual freedoms* in Chapter 1.4

\(^{190}\) Including the right to life, from slavery, torture and propaganda

\(^{191}\) Including freedom of movement, thought, religion, right to property and privacy

\(^{192}\) Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 7.
2.3.1 Access to basic education is an important feature for deliberative democracy
2.3.2 Decision making processes should be based on science\textsuperscript{193} and knowledge, which all
citizens should have access to.

### 3. Human Rights in Beetham’s Democracy Theory

Main aim: ensure equal rights of citizens to a voice in public affairs through “political
equality” and “popular control of the citizens”

3.1 Civil, judicial and political rights are interconnected with democracy

3.1.1 Balance between individual freedoms and the will of the people is the core balance of
democracy, ensured by civil and political liberties and freedoms

3.1.2 Civil, judicial and political liberties should be included to ensure the opportunity for
citizens to participate in the democracy

3.2 Economic, social and cultural rights are interdependent with civil and political rights;
thus, they should be provided to ensure that democracies are not damaged

3.2.1 Economic, social and cultural rights should be provided to avoid political exclusion, as
they are interconnected with civil and political rights

3.2.2 Economic, social and cultural rights should be provided to ensure that public life does
not diminish

3.2.3 Economic, social and cultural rights should be provided to ensure that the legitimacy of
public institutions does not erode and lead to destabilization of democratic institutions

The textual analysis (Chapter 5.2) is carried out by comparing the content of the textual material
of my study with the ideal types. Thus, I use the ideal types as analytical tools, to identify and
analyze which and how human rights are included in SPA’s conception of democracy. I chose
this procedure for two reasons: First, to provide a well-structured analysis. Second, to provide
a theory-based analysis, by linking it to the existing theoretical discussion concerning the
inclusion of human rights in the concept of democracy. I am aware of the analytical challenges
concerning this approach: First, that certain human rights might fall outside the pre-defined
scope of ideal types\textsuperscript{194}, which I simply have to be aware of when carrying out my analysis.
Subsequently, I risk comparing ideas of fundamentally different actors: SPA is a dynamic
national institution which is in constant change, whereas the ideal types are theoretically
constructed normative ideals. Consequently, as ideal types should serve as an analytical
framework\textsuperscript{195}, I actively define SPA as the actor to be analyzed and the ideal types as the
analytical backdrop throughout the textual analysis.

### 3.1.2 Sources of Textual Material

I base my textual analysis upon the following two categories of empirical textual material:

\textsuperscript{193} Including the right to the enjoyment of science

\textsuperscript{194} Bratberg, Tekstanalyse for Samfunnsvitere, 92-93.

\textsuperscript{195} Ibid., 82-90.
1. Educational brochures
2. Oral monologues in SPA’s educational programs

The first category consists of educational brochures produced by SPA for schools to use in educational settings\textsuperscript{196}. The second category consists of oral monologues by SPA employees to students throughout educational programs. Considering that Bratberg stresses that texts, used in a textual analysis, not necessarily needs to be defined only as written material\textsuperscript{197}, I argue that monologues by SPA employees in educational settings could be converted into textual material in the context of my study. The textual material based on oral monologues in educational settings is collected through observations of the educational programs, which I elaborate on in Chapter 3.2. The list of the seven sources constituting the textual material used to conduct the textual analysis are presented in Table II:

\textit{Table II: List of textual material included in the textual analysis}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row no.</th>
<th>Name of textual source</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Target group</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>“Riksdagen i samhället”\textsuperscript{198}</td>
<td>Brochure</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>24 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>“Demokratens handbok”\textsuperscript{199}</td>
<td>Brochure</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>28 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>“Demokratin står aldrig stilla”\textsuperscript{200}</td>
<td>Brochure</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>32 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>“Demokratin i samhället”\textsuperscript{201}</td>
<td>Brochure</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>24 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Educational workshop “Demokrativerkstaden” (Two observations)</td>
<td>Oral presentation</td>
<td>Lower secondary school</td>
<td>1h45m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Guided tour of the parliament (Two observation)</td>
<td>Oral presentation</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>1h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{196} Sveriges Riksdag, "Studiematerial".
\textsuperscript{197} Bratberg, \textit{Tekstanalyse for Samfunnsvitere}, 12-13.
\textsuperscript{198} Translation to English by the author: “Riksdagen in the Society”
\textsuperscript{199} Translation to English by the author: “A guide for the democratic citizens”
\textsuperscript{200} Translation to English by the author: “The democracy never stands still”
\textsuperscript{201} Translation to English by the author: “The democracy in the society”
As presented in Table II, I observe each of the three educational programs twice\(^2\). Considering that there are some variations of what is presented in each of the respective educational programs\(^3\), I cannot be sure that all the variations of information presented to school students by SPA is included in my textual material. However, I argue that the content of the seven textual sources constitute an acceptable scope of textual material to carry out the textual analysis: first, all the educational programs include key topics concerning democracy and/or the parliament\(^4\); second, it turns out that the content of the written brochures – which provide the exact same content to all students reading them – is more relevant than the textual material collected from the educational programs for the textual analysis, as they to a greater extent include the topics democracy and human rights (Appendix IV). Thus, I do not consider the small variations and potentially missing information from the educational programs to be a significant challenge for the accuracy of my analysis.

### 3.2 On Observation

I use observation as a method to research how the concept of democracy is approached in SPA’s educational programs. The observation serves as a method to support both the textual analysis and the analysis of the educational practice: First, it is used to collect textual material based on SPA employees’ educational communication to secondary school students. Second, it is used to observe the educational practice, i.e. the interactive activities and workshops.

The two-fold aim of observing the educational programs are due to how students arguably learn through presented information, but also through educational practice. Law and Beiste argue that democracy should not only be taught by oral or written one-way communication (as my textual analysis is based on), but rather be learned by the students through citizenship-in-practice, i.e. educational practices\(^5\). An example of an educational practice could be the following fictitious interactive activity, where students deliberate with each other to end up with a solution. Such

| 7. | Education course for upper secondary school (Two observations) | Oral presentation | Upper secondary school | 1.5h |

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\(^2\) Lysne, "Field Notes from Observation of the Spas Educational Programs," (2019).

\(^3\) Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."

\(^4\) Lysne, "Field Notes."

\(^5\) Osler, "Education for Democratic Citizenship."
an interactive activity could for example underline the value of deliberation in political decision-making in a given context – communicated through practice rather than through words. SPA provides learning workshops such as “Demokrativerkstaden” where students take on the role as MP’s in practice in addition to interactive activities provided in the educational course\textsuperscript{206}. Hence, as my textual analysis focuses solely on the oral and written content provided by SPA, I argue that observations – and furthermore an analysis – of the educational practices could help give a more comprehensive overview of what concept of democracy is communicated by SPA, and hence to what extent human rights are included.

3.2.1 The Scope of Observation
To assemble research material to use both for the textual analysis and the analysis concerning SPA’s educational practices, I focus my observations on two main categories of SPA’s educational programs:

1. The content of SPA employees’ oral monologues in SPA’s educational programs
2. The educational practices of SPA’s educational programs

The first category includes observation of the content of the oral communication by SPA employees to the school class participating in the educational program. These observations are included as textual material used in the textual analysis, as presented in Chapter 3.1. Notably, I do not include content based on dialogue between the students and SPA employee in the scope of my observation, as the aim is to transfer SPA employees’ oral monologues to textual material. The second category includes observations of SPA’s educational practices, hereunder interactive activities and workshop.

My observations concentrate on the three main educational programs that SPA provides for secondary school students: Guided tours, “Demokrativerkstaden” and the educational course\textsuperscript{207}. SPA also provides “Ungdomens Riksdag” – Youth Parliament – approximately biannually for a selected group of youth\textsuperscript{208}. However, as this was not carried out during the period I conducted my research it is not included in my study.

\textsuperscript{206} Lysne, “Field Notes.”
\textsuperscript{207} Sveriges Riksdag, “Lärare”; Former Head of the Department for Visits, ”Master Thesis Project.”
\textsuperscript{208} Sveriges Riksdag, ”Lärare.”
3.2.2 Observation in Practice

The settings of my observations are *semi-public*\(^{209}\), as it is primarily open to invited groups. The observations are *overt*, as I openly observe all the settings\(^{210}\). My role as an observer could be described as a *non-participating observer*\(^{211}\), where the observer is not participating, but only passively observing the setting\(^{212}\). Such observations are satisfactory when the main data is not collected through observation\(^{213}\), as is the case of my research. Furthermore, since I was not able to audio- or video-record the educational programs, I provided detailed field notes focusing on the content of the communication and the educational setting. The notes were briefly written throughout the observations and fully written at the end of the day of observation\(^{214}\).

The SPA employees I observed were informed about and approved my presence in advance. Furthermore, to ensure that the visiting school classes were not confused concerning my presence, I presented myself in advance of all observations, letting the students know that the focus of my research concerned the SPA employees and the content of SPA’s educational program. All SPA employees and visiting groups of observations are anonymous in my study, as the focus of my research is SPA as an institution, not the specific groups or SPA employees. I argue that the SPA employees’ communication could represent the common view of SPA, based on their requirement of political neutrality and an overall common content of the educational programs – the latter supported by my observations (*Appendix IV*).

3.3 On Semi-Structured Interview

To get full contextual background information concerning SPA’s educational programs, I conducted an interview with a Former Head of SPA’s Department for Visits, Education and Events\(^{215}\). The interview was *semi-structured*, to be able to focus on the main questions of my


\(^{210}\) Ibid., 437-40.

\(^{211}\) Ibid., 427-29.

\(^{212}\) Ibid., 437.

\(^{213}\) Ibid., 437-40.

\(^{214}\) Ibid.

\(^{215}\) Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."
interest and still be flexible to pose follow-up questions. I followed (most of) Brinkmann and Kvale’s seven-stage-model of interview investigation: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying and reporting.

Thematically, my study is deductive and the interview concerned the following three topics: the organization of SPA’s educational programs and communication, the role of SPA in relation to the school system and other state institutions and the content of the educational programs (Appendix II). The aim of the interview was to get specific and valid factual information concerning SPA’s educational programs. The interview design consisted of only one interview, which I find satisfactory, as it is a supplementary method and the interviewee could send me additional information per e-mail after the interview situation was over. The interview lasted for approximately 35 minutes and was practiced face-to-face. I predefined most of my questions and all topics of the interview, which are included in an interview guide (Appendix II). As the interview is not the main part of my data collection and is primarily used for contextual background information the interview was only audio recorded, not transcribed. The interviewee’s response to the interview questions was analyzed with focus on content. I argue that the nature of the questions I posed during the interview was of a character that does not need to be analyzed extensively, as most of the questions are factual with the aim of retrieving contextual background information (Appendix II).

Throughout the interview process, I leaned on Brinkmann and Kvale’s ethical guidelines concerning informed consent, consequences, confidentiality and the role of the researcher: before the interview, I made sure to get consent from the interviewee, based on information concerning the purpose of the research project (Appendix I). I also made the interviewee

216 Bryman, Social Research Methods, 440-41.; ibid., 468-69.
217 Brinkmann, Interviews, 164-66.
218 Ibid., 123-328.
219 Ibid., 33.
220 Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."
221 Brinkmann, Interviews, 176.
222 Ibid.
223 Bryman, Social Research Methods, 479-83.
224 Brinkmann, Interviews, 220-25.
225 Ibid.
aware of my aim to use the results of the interview as open information in my study\textsuperscript{226}. Third, I was highly aware of my role as a researcher in the setting of the interview. Finally, I do not have any personal relation with the interviewee nor are the topic of the interview personal or sensitive – thus, I do not consider the interviewee to be vulnerable in the setting\textsuperscript{227}. Hence, I argue that the setting was not especially vulnerable to unethical research behavior\textsuperscript{228}. The interview was also approved by NSD (Norsk senter for forskningsdata) to be in line with the legal framework concerning privacy in research (Appendix III).

### 3.4 Quality of Research

One of the core steps of conducting research is to ensure the quality of research throughout the process. According to LeCompte & Goetz\textsuperscript{229} and Yin\textsuperscript{230} validity and reliability are commonly used in qualitative research studies to ensure quality. Reliability refers to whether it is possible to repeat the results of research\textsuperscript{231}, whereas validity refers to whether what is supposed to be measured actually is measured through the research\textsuperscript{232}. Thus, to ensure the quality of my research I discuss its reliability and validity in Chapter 3.4.1. Additionally, in Chapter 3.4.2, I present and discuss five quality criteria of sources, as my study heavily relies on textual sources\textsuperscript{233}.

#### 3.4.1 Reliability and Validity

According to LeCompte and Goetz, external reliability, internal reliability, internal validity and external validity are the main criteria that could be used to ensure the quality of qualitative research\textsuperscript{234}. Yin provides a similar definition, with only the first differing from LeCompte and Goetz definition: constructed validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability\textsuperscript{235}. Hence, I chose to focus on the four provided by LeCompte and Goetz.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{226} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{227} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{228} Ibid., 91-99.
  \item \textsuperscript{229} Bryman, \textit{Social Research Methods}, 385.
  \item \textsuperscript{230} Ibid., 383-85.
  \item \textsuperscript{231} Ibid., 156-62.
  \item \textsuperscript{232} Ibid., 41.
  \item \textsuperscript{233} Kohlbacher, "The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research," 8.
  \item \textsuperscript{234} Gerring, \textit{Case Study Research}, 172-77.; LeCompte, "Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research."
  \item \textsuperscript{235} Bryman, \textit{Social Research Methods}, 383-84.; Kohlbacher, "The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research," 8.
\end{itemize}
External reliability concerns to what extent the study could be replicated\textsuperscript{236}. LeCompte and Goetz stress that it is difficult to “freeze” a social setting of a qualitative study\textsuperscript{237}. However, I argue that my research to a great extent is externally reliable. Textual analysis, which is my primary method, is a very transparent method, as long as the textual material is available to others\textsuperscript{238}, and could therefore be replicated. This is very much the case of my study as I primarily lean on downloadable brochures, in addition to field notes from the observation of SPA’s educational programs. Even though SPA’s educational programs probably would change some over time, it is to a certain extent a “fixed setting” which is regularly repeated and therefore could be re-studied by other researchers. Internal reliability concerns situations where there is more than one observer, in order for several researchers to ensure the same outcome\textsuperscript{239}. This has not been possible for me as I am writing this thesis as a single researcher. Internal validity primarily concerns the quality of cause-effect research\textsuperscript{240}. As my research does not concern causal questions, it is not a relevant criterion. External validity concerns the possibility to generalize the findings of the research, which LeCompte and Goetz sometimes find problematic in qualitative research\textsuperscript{241}. In my study, SPA takes a “politically neutral” stand\textsuperscript{242}, and thus provides a non-controversial approach to human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy in a Swedish context. Even though this does not allow me to generalize its approach, it is relevant to understand within which context and which “limitations” SPA’s approach is taken. Furthermore, SPA leans on national curriculum when developing new educational programs and content\textsuperscript{243}. This also became evident in my contextual study of the similarities between Swedish secondary school curriculum\textsuperscript{244} and the content of SPA’s educational programs.

\textsuperscript{236} Yin, Case Study Research, Design and Methods, 45-50.; Bryman, Social Research Methods, 382.
\textsuperscript{237} LeCompte, “Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research.”; Bryman, Social Research Methods, 383.
\textsuperscript{238} LeCompte, “Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research.”; Bryman, Social Research Methods, 303.
\textsuperscript{239} Gerring, Case Study Research, 208.; Bryman, Social Research Methods, 384.
\textsuperscript{241} LeCompte, “Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research.”; Bryman, Social Research Methods, 384.
\textsuperscript{242} Former Head of the Department for Visits, ”Master Thesis Project.”; Sveriges Riksdag, "Tillsammans För Riksdagens Bästa’ 3.
\textsuperscript{243} Former Head of the Department for Visits, ”Master Thesis Project.”
\textsuperscript{244} Skolverket, ”Samhällskunskap.”; ”Läroplan, Examensmål Och Gymnasiegemensamma Ämnen För Gymnasieskola 2011.”
programs and brochures. Thus, the study arguably represents the approach of the Swedish school system to a certain extent. However, I acknowledge that an individual study of the Swedish school system has to be conducted to provide a satisfactory analysis of how they approach the concept of democracy. Thus, the study cannot be generalized widely.

3.4.2 Quality of Sources
John Gerring provides a set of five criteria on how to ensure quality of sources in social science research: Relevance, proximity, authenticity, validity and diversity. My textual material consists of brochures and research notes provided while observing SPA’s educational programs (Table II).

I argue that all the textual sources are relevant to the research question, as all concern democracy education by SPA. However, I find the brochures to be the most relevant, as they focus more on democracy and human rights, which I return to in Chapter 4. Regarding proximity, the textual material and notes from the observations have the information I need to do my research. Furthermore, I argue that both the textual material and the situations I observed are authentic. The textual material consists of external, official brochures and educational programs – and thus, official communication by SPA. Moreover, the brochures cannot be approached as biased, as the they were written before I started my research. Thus, the brochures could be considered valid sources. Additionally, As the observed educational programs to a great extent are pre-defined, I assume that they are not influenced by my presence as an observer. Lastly, as I do a multi-method research I argue that I use a diverse set of sources.

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245 Lysne, "Field Notes."
246 LeCompte, "Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research."
247 Gerring, Case Study Research, 172-77.
248 Ibid., 172.
249 Ibid.
250 Ibid.
251 Ibid.


4 The Empirical Research Material

In this chapter, I briefly introduce the empirical research material of my study, that is the three educational programs and the four educational brochures (Chapter 4.1), before I give a more thorough introduction to their differences in terms of content (Chapter 4.2).

4.1 SPA’s Educational Programs and Brochures

“Demokrativerkstaden” is an interactive workshop lasting for approximately 1h 45m252, with the aim to discuss and vote over two propositions, where the students act as members of parliament (MP’s) partitioned into five fictional parties253. The venue of the workshop is situated in a building near the Parliament Building in Stockholm, consisting of one big room replicating the Parliament chamber, an area of hallways and corners where the “party screens” of all five parties are situated (The Mingling Area) and one standing committee room254. “Demokrativerkstaden” could also be carried out as a classroom workshop, where teachers download the relevant videos and guidelines from the parliament web page255. The guided tours at the parliament are open for all groups to book. However, school classes are in majority256. The guided tours last for approximately one hour, and provide the students with a walk-and-talk through several key rooms in the parliament building, such as the main chamber, the former main and secondary chambers and a committee room257. The educational course is quite similar to the guided tours; however, it lasts for approximately 1,5 hours and includes several interactive activities258. Both the guided tour and educational course are partially based on dialogue between the students and SPA employee259. The specific content and interactive activities could vary slightly, depending on the SPA employee holding the course260. However,

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252 Sveriges Riksdag, "Demokrativerkstaden För Årskurs 7–9".
253 Lysne, "Field Notes."
254 Ibid.
255 Sveriges Riksdag, "Demokrativerkstaden I Klassrummet".
256 Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."
257 Ibid.; Lysne, "Field Notes."
258 Sveriges Riksdag, "Studiebesök För Gymnasiet."
259 Lysne, "Field Notes."
all three educational programs should revolve around the following topics: the responsibilities of the parliament and/or the legislative process\textsuperscript{261}.

SPA offers the following four educational brochures to secondary school students: “Riksdagen I samhället”, “Demokratens handbok”, “Demokratin i samhället” and “Demokratin står aldrig stilla”\textsuperscript{262}. The first three brochures are permanent, whereas the last one was made for the centenary of universal suffrage in Sweden\textsuperscript{263}. The content of the brochures is described to include the history of democracy, the role of the parliament in the Swedish society, how the citizens are influenced by parliament decisions and how individuals democratically can influence political decision\textsuperscript{264}. The format of the educational brochures consists of textual information with complementary illustrations, and can both be downloaded and ordered as printed copies by teachers for use in educational settings\textsuperscript{265}.

In terms of numbers, SPA welcomed more than 12,000 students to its educational course, and almost 10,000 students to “Demokrativerkstaden” in 2018\textsuperscript{266}. Additionally, more than 30,000 visitors attended the guided tours in 2018, whereof school students made up the majority\textsuperscript{267}. Moreover, in 2018 – a parliament election year in Sweden – approximately 180 000 copies of the educational brochures were distributed to schools\textsuperscript{268}. Notably, the year after an election, the number of ordered copies constitute approximately 10\% of the ordered copies during an election year, successively rising until the next election\textsuperscript{269}.

\textsuperscript{261} Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."; Sveriges Riksdag, "Studiebesök För Gymnasiet”.
\textsuperscript{262} Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."; The titles are translated to English by the author in the footnotes 198-201
\textsuperscript{263} Sveriges Riksdag, "Studiematerial”.
\textsuperscript{264} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{265} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{266} Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project.”
\textsuperscript{267} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{268} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{269} Ibid.
4.2 Content and Practice of The Empirical Research Material

The educational programs and brochures are presented to predominantly concern the following two topics: the parliament and democracy. However, it is arguably a clear difference between the educational programs and the brochures in terms of content. The educational course and guided tours primarily focus on facts about the parliament, the relationship between the parliament and government, the responsibilities of parliament and history of suffrage (Appendix IV). They also have a moderate focus on the history of parliament, art, architecture and specific political actors. Thus, I characterize the content of the educational course and the guided tours as systemic, as their content primarily concern the system of the Swedish democracy and parliament.

The educational workshop “Demokrativerkstaden” is different from the other educational programs, as it gives the students the role as an MP, to learn through experience. Thus, the students learn about the parliament by doing the process, rather than by listening to or reading about it. Hence, I characterize “Demokrativerkstaden” as education similar to what Lawy & Biesta refer to as citizenship-in-practice. The content of “Demokrativerkstaden” is primarily processual, as the role of the students is to follow a proposition from it is proposed, through party and committee meetings all the way to the plenary voting (Appendix IV).

In addition to have a systemic and processual focus, most of the brochures add a conceptual dimension. By conceptual dimension, I refer to how there is a greater focus on the concept of democracy, rather than only on the specific system of the Swedish democracy. Thus, the content of the brochures is more generic, whereas the content of the educational programs is more specifically focusing on the Swedish system and parliament. The brochures also include human rights, both in general and in relation to the concept of democracy to a greater extent.

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270 Sveriges Riksdag, ”Demokrativerkstaden För Årskurs 7–9”, ”Studiebesök För Gymnasiet”, ”Studiematerial”, ”Visning Av Riksdagshuset”.
271 Lysne, ”Field Notes.”
272 Ibid.
273 Ibid.
274 Lawy, ”Citizenship-as-Practice.”
275 Lysne, ”Field Notes.”
than the educational programs (Appendix IV)\textsuperscript{277}. In total, as illustrated in Appendix IV, the content of the empirical research material primarily concerns systemic information about the Swedish Parliament and democracy, leaving information about the concept of democracy and human rights to be less extensive (Appendix IV). However, the brochures focus extensively on the concept of democracy, and provide the reader with information concerning \textit{which} and \textit{how} human rights are included in the concept, both explicitly and implicitly (Appendix IV)\textsuperscript{278}.

5 Human Rights in the Concept of democracy: Two Analyses

The analysis of the democracy theories in \textit{Chapter 2} showed \textit{which} and \textit{how} human rights are included in their theoretical conceptions of democracy. Based on the findings in \textit{Chapter 2} and background knowledge about the Swedish democracy presented in \textit{Chapter 1.1}, I expect a certain outcome of the analysis concerning to what extent SPA includes human rights in its conception of democracy. First, I expect SPA to generally include CJPR in its conception of democracy, as it widely focuses on the Swedish democracy, and the Swedish constitution has a strong focus on these rights\textsuperscript{279}. Yet, as the three democracy theories all include CJPR in the concept of democracy, however differently, I assume that SPA takes a rather similar approach to all three ideal types concerning CJPR. Subsequently, as Sweden traditionally has a relatively strong welfare state, including economic and social services\textsuperscript{280}, I expect SPA to include ESCR in its conception of democracy. Therefore, I expect SPA to differ from the approach of legal democracy theory, and to take a rather similar approach to either Habermas’ or Beetham’s theory, in regard of ESCR inclusion. Nevertheless, I am aware that Sweden’s traditional “dualist” approach concerning human rights\textsuperscript{281} could appear in SPA’s approach to human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy. Thus, it remains to analyze to what extent SPA includes human rights in the concept of democracy. In the following chapter I provide a theory-based analysis of the following two sub-questions:

1. \textit{Which} human rights are included in SPA’s conception of democracy?
2. \textit{How} are these human rights included in SPA’s conception of democracy?

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{277} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{278} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{280} Hilson, The Nordic Model, 87-115.
\item \textsuperscript{281} Christoffersen, “The End of Virtue?,” 257-61.
\end{itemize}
To answer the questions above, I provide two analyses: First, in Chapter 5.1, I conduct a textual analysis concerning which and how human rights are included in SPA’s approach to democracy based on the textual material, in light of the three ideal types: legal democracy, deliberative democracy and Beetham’s democracy theory. When I study which human rights are included, I focus on specific and groups rights, whereas when I study how human rights are included, I focus on how the rights are included in practice and how they are justified. Second, in Chapter 5.2, I analyze SPA’s educational practice as a supplement to the textual analysis.

5.1 Textual Content Analysis

Based on the textual material, I find that human rights are significantly included in SPA’s conception of democracy. Initially, this is evident in the following statement found in “Demokratin i samhället” 282: “All democracies build on popular rule and respect for human rights”283. In the same brochure, the first page is filled with quotes about democracy and human rights, stressing the importance of human rights in a democracy284. Another example is how human rights are linked to democracy in “Demokratin står aldrig stilla” : “(...) the ideal of the modern democracy, where every human being is regarded to be born free, with equal value and equal rights”285. Furthermore, in “Demokratens handbok” the phrase “democratic freedoms and rights”286 is frequently referred to287. Certain human rights were also mentioned in the educational programs I observed, however not as clear and frequent as in the brochures288. Based on quotes and findings such as those presented above, I argue that human rights are generally included in SPA’s conception of democracy.

Since human rights are clearly included in SPA’s conception of democracy, the textual analysis is structured as following: First, I discuss which and how CJPR are included in SPA’s conception of democracy (Chapter 5.1.1); Second, I discuss which and how ESCR are included in SPA’s conception of democracy (Chapter 5.1.2). Each discussion is carried out by comparing and uncovering similarities and differences between SPA and the three respective ideal types.
on the inclusion of human rights in the concept of democracy. in Chapter 5.1.3., I present my reflections regarding analytical reservations and challenges concerning the textual analysis.

5.1.1 Analysis of SPA’s Inclusion of CJPR

I find CJPR to be highly included in SPA’s conception of democracy, based on the textual material. First, civil rights are arguably included: In the introductory part of “Demokratin i samhället” SPA raises awareness of the “invisible” civil freedoms which are intrinsically included in democracies – using examples such as the possibility to freely join organizations, listen to music and seek information\textsuperscript{289}. Furthermore, in “Demokratin i samhället” it is stressed that the state should rule with respect for freedoms of all citizens\textsuperscript{290} referring to the Instrument of Government\textsuperscript{291}. In the examples above, SPA generally refers to \textit{individual freedoms}, defined in Chapter 1.4. As all civil rights are defined as \textit{individual freedoms}, I argue that SPA considers civil rights to be \textit{key features} of democracy. Second, judicial rights are described as one of the \textit{characteristics} of democracy, especially focusing on due process and equality before the law\textsuperscript{292}. This is also stressed in other textual sources\textsuperscript{293}, among them “Demokratens handbok”, where judicial rights are referred to as \textit{ground rules} of democracy\textsuperscript{294}. Thirdly, political rights are also described as one of the \textit{characteristics} of democracy, especially focusing on universal suffrage in addition to freedom of expression, association and assembly\textsuperscript{295}. Additionally, freedom of expression, association and assembly are referred to as \textit{ground rules} of democracy\textsuperscript{296}. The two political rights: the right to take part in public affairs and access to public services, are also referred to as important in the context of democracy, specifically referring to the importance of openness of political debate, public scrutiny of the government and the right to get help from the authorities\textsuperscript{297}. Concluding, I find SPA to generally include civil rights as \textit{key features} and judicial and political rights as \textit{ground rules} and \textit{characteristics} of the concept of democracy.

\textsuperscript{289} Department for Visits, ”Demokratin I Samhället,” 4-5.
\textsuperscript{290} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{291} One of the four laws constituting the constitution
\textsuperscript{292} Department for Visits, ”Demokratin I Samhället,” 6-7.
\textsuperscript{293} ”Demokratin Står Aldrig Stilla,” 20; 28.
\textsuperscript{294} ”Demokratens Handbok,” 6-7.
\textsuperscript{295} ”Demokratin I Samhället,” 6-7.
\textsuperscript{296} ”Demokratens Handbok,” 6-7.
\textsuperscript{297} Ibid., 22-23.; Department for Visits, ”Riksdagen I Samhället,” 18.
All three ideal types include CJPR to a certain extent in their conception of democracy (Table I). Thus, it remains to uncover whether any of the ideal types could mirror, and thus help reveal, which and how SPA approaches CJPR to be included in the concept of democracy. The following discussion primarily surrounds the general concepts of civil, judicial and political rights, however sometimes with references to specific rights to demonstrate how SPA differs and equals the ideal types.

5.1.1.1 SPA and Legal Democracy: A Different Starting-Point

As stated above, SPA finds political and judicial rights to be characteristics and ground rules and civil rights to be key features of democracy. On the other hand, Legal democracy theory includes individual freedoms to be preconditions for democracy as a system (Ideal type 1.1) and judicial rights to be necessary instruments in a democracy to ensure (ideal type 1.2). Thus, in terms of which rights are included, I find SPA to take a quite similar approach as legal democracy theory considering that both includes judicial and civil rights in their conception of democracy. However, I argue that SPA takes a quite different approach than legal democracy theory concerning political rights, as the only political rights included by legal democracy theory are those defined as individual freedoms, differing from SPA which includes all political rights as characteristics of democracy.

Furthermore, SPA generally differs from legal democracy theory in terms of how CJPR are included in the concept of democracy. The main difference concerns the standing of individual freedoms and its conflict with majority rule. According to legal democracy theory, a democratic system is only legitimate when it ensures individual freedoms - which requires the democracy to only exist as a minimal state, limiting the scope of majority rule. Thus, legal democracy theory includes individual freedoms dogmatically, as something the majority can never intervene with. SPA also considers individual freedoms – hereunder civil rights and certain judicial and political rights – to be important features and sometimes ground rules of democracy.

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299 Ibid.; Ibid.
300 All civil rights are included in the concept individual freedoms, as defined in Chapter 1.4
democracy. However, opposite to legal democracy theory, SPA finds it possible to strike a balance between individual freedoms and majority rule in a democracy. A first supporting argument concerns how SPA stresses that there are limits to freedoms. One example is how SPA refers to how the Swedish state impose limitations to the freedom of expression, as it should not be used for “hate speech”⁷, which legal democracy theory arguably critically opposes concerning its dogmatic interpretation of the value of individual freedoms⁸. Another supporting argument concerns how SPA takes another approach than legal democracy theory regarding the state’s responsibility to ensure CJPR, which I aim to illustrate: According to Nozick, the only legitimate responsibility of a democratic state is to protect the citizens against theft, force and other legal matters, such as contract breaches. Hence, legal democracy theory arguably approaches the role of the state to be minimal and limited to primarily have the responsibility to respect CJPR by not intervening, whereas SPA considers the state to sometimes have a responsibility to fulfill in order to ensure CJPR. Even though the responsibility to fulfill often is associated with ESCR, it could also be relevant in the context of CJPR. This is exemplified by SPA’s presentation of the “principle of public information”⁹, provided to ensure the political right to have access to public affairs. This principle requires openness of political decisions, information and meetings and the opportunity to scrutinize the political power by the public, national institutions and the mass media. This sort of openness and scrutiny would require the state to take active measures to fulfill - such as to actively inform the citizens, ensure routines of scrutiny and ensure openness of political meetings. Consequently, SPA fundamentally differs from legal democracy theory concerning human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy: First, SPA includes all political rights, whereas legal democracy does not; Second, SPA finds it necessary to balance individual freedoms with other considerations, whereas legal democracy theory uncompromisingly approaches individual freedoms to constitute the main aim of democracy.

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⁷ Department for Visits, "Demokratens Handbok," 19.
⁹ Nozick, Anarchy, State and Utopia, ix.
¹⁰ Ibid.; Held, Models of Democracy.
¹² Translated from Swedish “Offentlighetsprinsippen”
¹³ Department for Visits, "Riksdagen I Samhället," 18-19, 22.
¹⁴ Ibid.
5.1.1.2 SPA and Habermas: A Somewhat Similar Approach

SPA links political and judicial rights to be interconnected with democracy, similar to Habermas (Ideal type 2.1)\(^\text{314}\), referring to them as ground rules of democracy\(^\text{315}\). Nevertheless, whereas civil rights are indirectly included in Habermas’ democracy theory, through their interdependence with political rights (ideal type 2.2)\(^\text{316}\), SPA approaches civil rights to be key features of democracy\(^\text{317}\). Thus, SPA generally takes a similar approach as Habermas’ theory concerning which CJPR are included. Additionally, SPA takes a similar approach concerning how political and judicial rights are included in the concept of democracy, yet differing from Habermas’ theory in terms of how civil rights are included.

Furthermore, SPA arguably takes a similar approach as Habermas’ theory concerning how CJPR are included in the concept of democracy, regarding the states responsibility to ensure political rights, contrasting the legal democracy theory’s approach. To give an example: SPA finds that the right to take part in public affairs – henceforth political processes – sometimes has to be fulfilled and not only respected by the state, which arguably is also evident in Habermas’ theory. In the previous sub-chapter I elaborated on the example of how SPA highlights how the Swedish “principle of public information” requires the state responsibility to fulfill. Likewise, in his theory, Habermas stresses the need for an institutionalization of deliberation and communication between citizens and political decision-makers in a democracy\(^\text{318}\). This would require the state to take active measures to fulfill an institutionalization, in addition to respect the freedom of expression, assembly and association for citizens. Consequently, I argue that SPA’s view concerning that the state has to fulfill in addition to respect certain political rights in order to ensure them, is similar to Habermas’ theory.

Nevertheless, SPA differs from Habermas’ theory, concerning how Habermas’ places the democratic process as its starting-point of democracy\(^\text{319}\). SPA arguably also finds democratic

\(^{314}\) Habermas, “Remarks on Legitimation through Human Rights,” 159-62.

\(^{315}\) Department for Visits, "Demokratin I Samhället." 12.

\(^{316}\) Habermas, "Remarks on Legitimation through Human Rights," 159-62.

\(^{317}\) Department for Visits, "Demokratin I Samhället," 4-5.

\(^{318}\) Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, 298-99.

\(^{319}\) Young, Inclusion and Democracy, 18, 22-23.; Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, 296.
processes to be of great importance, underlined by SPA’s dedication of a whole brochure - “Demokratens handbok” - teaching citizens how to participate in democratic processes. SPA also has a strong focus on the legislative and budgetary process throughout its educational programs. Furthermore, SPA underlines the importance of deliberation in political processes: “Politics demand that we listen to each other’s opinions and negotiate to reach the best possible solution for all actors involved.” Even though the quote concerns politics and not the concept of democracy, politics is arguably considered to be the framework of modern democracies, and could therefore be used to illustrate how the concept of democracy is approached by SPA. However, SPA includes other elements in its definition of democracy than only the process, such as civil rights, which it finds to be key features of democracy. Thus, SPA slightly differs from the ideal type of Habermas’ deliberative democracy theory, in terms of the standing of the deliberative process and how civil rights are included in the concept of democracy.

5.1.1.3 SPA and Beetham: A More Similar Approach

SPA takes a rather similar approach as Beetham’s democracy theory, both concerning which and how CJPR are included in the concept of democracy. In Beetham’s democracy theory, all categories of CJPR are included (Ideal type 3.1), identical to SPA’s approach, as repeatedly argued above. Thus, SPA is similar to Beetham’s theory in terms of which categories of CJPR are included in the concept of democracy.

In terms of how CJPR are included, SPA has a similar argumentation as provided in Beetham’s theory. Initially, SPA considers political and judicial rights to be interconnected with democracy, referring to these rights as characteristics and ground rules of democracy – which is similar to how Beetham approach CJPR to be interconnected with the concept of democracy (Ideal type 3.1). More specifically, SPA, similar to Beetham, approaches political rights to be important in a democracy as they ensure the opportunity for citizens to participate in democratic processes (Ideal type 3.1.2). As an example, in “Demokratens handbok”, SPA

320 Department for Visits, "Demokratens Handbok."
321 Lysne, "Field Notes."
322 Translated from Swedish by the author; Department for Visits, "Riksdagen I Samhället," 3.
323 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 89-95.
324 Ibid.
325 Ibid.
specifically refers to the importance of political rights to ensure democratic processes. I also find SPA’s argumentation concerning how individual freedoms are intertwined with democracy to be very similar to Beetham’s democracy theory. Beetham’s theory underlines how the line between individual freedoms and the will of the people – the latter referring to democratic decision making by the majority – constitutes the main balance of democracy (ideal type 3.1.1). SPA also considers this balance to be essential in a democracy. As an example, in “Demokratin i samhället”, SPA stresses that many were skeptical to how a majority rule could repress the rights of minority groups as the Swedish democracy developed in the beginning of the 20th century. In the brochure, SPA continues by stating that the drafting of UDHR and the ECtHR countered the development of potential repression of the freedoms of citizens, by defining basic human rights and freedoms for all. Furthermore, both individual freedoms and the popular control of the people are described as core features of democracy by SPA. Thus, I argue that SPA also considers the relation between individual freedoms and democratic rule to be a necessary balance in the concept of democracy, similar to Beetham’s theory. Nevertheless, Beetham’s theory possibly has a slightly wider scope than SPA concerning which specific CJPR are included in the concept of democracy. Whereas, Beetham’s theory directly refers to ICCPR when defining which rights are interconnected with democracy, SPA primarily leans on the rights included in the Swedish constitutions, in addition to referring briefly to international human rights. All three categories of rights – civil, judicial and political - included in ICCPR are included in SPA’s conception of democracy (Appendix V). Nevertheless, two of the concrete civil rights included in ICCPR – freedom of movement and freedom from propaganda - are not specifically mentioned in the textual material. Thus, Beetham’s democracy theory possibly has a slightly wider scope than SPA concerning which specific civil rights are included in the concept of democracy.

326 Department for Visits, ”Demokratens Handbok,” 7.
327 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 4-5, 93.
328 Department for Visits, ”Demokratin Står Aldrig Stilla,” 25.
329 Ibid.
330 Department for Visits, ”Demokratin I Samhället,” 4-6, 13.
331 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 92.
334 Iccpr, art.12-13.
335 Ibid., art. 20.
SPA possibly also differs from Beetham’s theory concerning the state responsibility to ensure CJPR, reflecting how CJPR are included in the concepts of democracy. As discussed in the sub-chapters above, SPA finds the responsibility to fulfill to sometimes be necessary to ensure CJPR, whereas Beetham’s theory does not provide a clear approach to the scope of state responsibility. However, except the small difference concerning which CJPR are included and the uncertainty concerning how Beetham’s theory approaches the scope of state responsibility, I argue that SPA takes a rather similar approach as Beetham’s democracy theory concerning the inclusion of CJPR: First, SPA includes all categories of rights, similar to Beetham’s theory. Second, similar to Beetham’s theory, SPA finds judicial and political rights to be ground rules of democracy. Third, also similar to Beetham's theory, SPA finds the inclusion of individual freedoms and majority rule to constitute the core balance of democracy.

5.1.2 Analysis of SPA’s Inclusion of ESCR
ESCR are referred to both directly and indirectly in the textual material, however, not to the same extent as CJPR. First, the right to education is systematically referred to in relation to democracy, which I return to discuss in Chapter 5.1.2.2. Another example is the right to the enjoyment of culture: In “Demokratens handbok”, the extensive list concerning how one can influence political decisions includes the creation of art[^336]. Yet, in this context, art – which is protected under the right to the enjoyment of culture[^337] – is only provided as an instrument for political influence, not as a human right holding intrinsic value, allowing citizens to freely express themselves artistically[^338]. A third example concerns how the right to adequate housing is briefly mentioned, referring to how the Swedish government suggested to tackle the on-going migration of Swedes to America, in their report from 1907[^339]. The conclusion of the report led the Swedish government providing better housing conditions, universal suffrage and a better educational system for the citizens of Sweden[^340]. However, the reason for providing better housing conditions was not directly linked to the concept of democracy. Thus, the ESCR referred to above have no or a vague clink to the concept of democracy. It is also notable that

[^336]: Department for Visits, "Demokratens Handbok," 19.
[^338]: Icescr, art.15.
[^340]: Ibid.
neither ESCR as a category nor any specific ESCR are mentioned in the defining list of characteristics of democracy in “Demokratin i samhället”341. Nevertheless, ESCR are highly linked to the concept of democracy in the chapter “Challenges of democracy” in “Demokratin i samhället”342 exemplified by the following statements:

“Poverty reduction is an important precondition for democratic development”343

“Bread first! A significant part of the world population still lives in countries characterized by recurring, violent conflicts, diseases and severe poverty. Citizens in these countries don’t even have food for the day nor the opportunity to attend school. It is very difficult to make a democracy work under such conditions”344

The two quotes refer to the general concept of ESCR. Additionally, they refer directly to specific rights, such as the right to education and adequate standard of living, i.e. the right to food.

Besides the examples above, the content of ESCR are left by SPA to be discussed as political issues within the Swedish democracy. One example is how one of the SPA employee’s stated that political decisions made by the Swedish parliament influences the lives of all citizens “from the cradle to the grave”345, referring to social laws concerning parental leave, economic child support, the educational system and public insurance346. Even though such economic, social and cultural political decisions – hereunder especially national welfare policy347 - could convert to be approached as rights, they would arguably not convert to be approached as human rights, as they are referred to in a national political context and not as universal principles. I acknowledge that it is not clear when national policies potentially transfer to be approached as human rights. However, it would require an in-depth contextual research of Swedish welfare policies to define whether the policies referred to in the textual material could be approached

341 Department for Visits, ”Demokratin I Samhället,” 6-7.
342 Translated from Swedish ”demokratins utmaningar”; ibid., 20.
343 Translated from Swedish by the author; ibid., 22.
344 Translated from Swedish by the author; ibid., 21.
345 Translated from Swedish by the author
346 Lysne, ”Field Notes.”
as human rights. Therefore, I choose to exclude references to national policy from my definition of ESCR in my analysis.

In the following sub-chapters, it remains to analyze which and how ESCR are included in SPA’s conception of democracy in light of the three ideal types. The three ideal types take fundamentally different approaches concerning ESCR inclusion in the concept of democracy; legal democracy actively excludes ESCR (ideal type 1.3)\(^ {348}\), Habermas’ theory only includes the right to education and enjoyment of science with certain preconditions (Ideal type 2.3)\(^ {349}\), whereas Beetham’s theory generally includes ESCR in the concept of democracy (Ideal type 3.2)\(^ {350}\). Consequently, if SPA includes any ESCR in its conception of democracy, it essentially differs from the approach of legal democracy theory, as the theory finds democracies including ESCR to essentially be illegitimate\(^ {351}\). Thus, the analysis concerning ESCR inclusion in SPA’s conception of democracy are structured as following: first, I discuss if and how SPA includes the right to education and enjoyment of science referring to Habermas’ theory; second, I discuss if and how SPA generally includes ESCR referring to Beetham’s theory, concluding by discussing which ideal type(s) SPA is most similar to, regarding ESCR inclusion.

5.1.2.1 SPA and Habermas: A Similar Educational Focus

The right to education and enjoyment of science are the only ESCR included in Habermas’ deliberative democracy theory (Ideal type 2.3)\(^ {352}\). Likewise, SPA arguably includes the right to education as the main ESCR in its conception of democracy. To begin with, education is mentioned several times in the context of the development of the Swedish democracy: The establishment of the Swedish public-school system (Folkskolan) in 1842 is both presented as an important milestone in the history of democracy\(^ {353}\) and referred to as “one of the most important preconditions for the upcoming democratic breakthrough”\(^ {354}\), ensuring basic education for almost all children in Sweden\(^ {355}\). Even though these developments are not


\(^{349}\)Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 298-315.

\(^{350}\)Beetham, *Democracy and Human Rights*, 95-103.


\(^{352}\)Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 298-315.

\(^{353}\)Department for Visits, "Demokratin I Samhället," 8-9.

\(^{354}\)Translated from Swedish by the author; "Demokratin Står Aldrig Stilla," 9.

\(^{355}\)Sveriges Riksdag, "1842: Folkskolan Införs I Sverige".
necessarily directly approached as human rights, I argue that SPA approaches the right to education as a human right within the concept of democracy – and arguably further as the most significant ESCR – are based on the following argument: In the list following the statement that the rights included in “UDHR (...) are ground rules for political decision making in all democratic states”\textsuperscript{356}, the right to education is the only ESCR specifically referred to\textsuperscript{357}.

It is essential to mention that the right to education included in Habermas’ theory (\textit{Ideal type 2.3.1}), is pre-conditioned with the requirement that the educational system should not intervene with the \textit{lifeworld} of the citizens\textsuperscript{358}. In Sweden, the right to education is provided through a national educational system, with a common national curriculum drafted and decided on the national level\textsuperscript{359}. The modern Swedish educational system is not referred to in detail in the textual material, however it is referred to\textsuperscript{360}. In his theory, Habermas is critical towards a judicialisation of the school system and set national standards – such as national curriculum – as it could intervene with the \textit{lifeworld}\textsuperscript{361}. Thus, I argue that SPA agrees with Habermas’ theory on including the right to education in its conception of democracy, however, possibly differing on \textit{how} the right should be implemented in practice.

Even though SPA, similar to Habermas’ theory, includes the right to education to be a part of the concept of democracy, its approach differs from Habermas’ concerning which other ESCR are included in its conception of democracy. The right to the enjoyment of science, which is included in Habermas’ deliberative democracy (\textit{ideal type 2.3.2})\textsuperscript{362}, is not mentioned specifically and thus probably not included in SPA’s conception of democracy. Furthermore, Habermas’ theory does not include any other ESCR other than the right to education and enjoyment of science in the concept of democracy\textsuperscript{363}. This is partly based on Habermas’ skepticism towards state intervention with the \textit{lifeworld}, which he finds classical welfare states

\textsuperscript{356} Translated from Swedish by the author; Department for Visits, "Demokratin I Samhället," 14.
\textsuperscript{357} Ibid., 14-15.
\textsuperscript{358} Dalberg-Larsen, "Jürgen Habermas Od Den Moderne Stats Krise " 302-09.
\textsuperscript{359} Sveriges Riksdag, "1842: Folkskolan Införs I Sverige"; Skolverket, "Samhällskunskap."; "Läroplan, Examensmål Och Gymnasiegemensamma Ämnen För Gymnasieskola 2011."
\textsuperscript{360} Department for Visits, "Demokratin Står Aldrig Stilla," 18.; "Demokratin I Samhället," 8, 18.; "Riksdagen I Samhället," 17.
\textsuperscript{361} Dalberg-Larsen, "Jürgen Habermas Od Den Moderne Stats Krise " 308-09.
\textsuperscript{362} Habermas, \textit{Between Facts and Norms}, 298-315.
\textsuperscript{363} Dalberg-Larsen, "Jürgen Habermas Od Den Moderne Stats Krise " 306-09.
to often do, concerning all the economic, social and cultural services traditionally provided by welfare states. Thus, before I conclude on whether SPA takes a similar approach as Habermas’ theory, it remains to find out whether SPA has a wider scope than Habermas’ theory concerning which ESCR are included in the concept of democracy, I discussed in the next subchapter.

5.1.2.2 SPA and Beetham: An Almost Similar Approach

ESCR are generally included in Beetham’s democracy theory, based on the justification that CJPR could only be ensured by also ensuring ESCR (ideal type 3.2). As discussed in the subchapter above, SPA includes the right to education as the main ESCR in its conception of democracy. However, I argue that SPA also includes ESCR in general. Initially, the introductory page of “Demokratin i samhället” is filled with freestanding quotes including Amartya Sen’s quote “Hunger has never occurred in a functioning democracy.” Even though Sen does not explain whether it is the lack of democracy that leads to hunger or vice versa, he stresses a direct link between democracy and the right to food. Subsequently, as quoted in the introduction (Chapter 5.1.2), SPA emphasizes the difficulty to make a democracy work under conditions where the level of economic and social welfare and development are poor, adding that poverty reduction is a precondition for a functioning democracy.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the majority of SPA’s statements concerning how ESCR are included in the concept of democracy, are found under the headline “The Challenges of Democracy,” where challenges to democracy are discussed in a global context. This suggests that SPA considers ESCR inclusion in the concept of democracy to primarily be relevant in other countries than Sweden. Hence, SPA arguably takes a “dualist” approach to human rights when included in the concept of democracy, similar to the Scandinavian human rights “dualism”, approaching human rights as an export rather than something that is

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364 Ibid.
365 Beetham, Democracy and Human Rights, 95-103.
366 Translated from Swedish by the author
367 Department for Visits, "Demokratin I Samhället," 2.
368 Ibid., 21-22.
369 Translated from Swedish: "demokratin utmaningar"
370 Department for Visits, "Demokratin I Samhället," 20-22.
domestically relevant\textsuperscript{371}. Nevertheless, as SPA stresses that ESCR are important in a global context, it arguably approaches ESCR to be included in the concept of democracy in general. Another argument supporting this view is that SPA states that UDHR—including all ESCR of the scope of my analysis\textsuperscript{372}—are considered to be a cornerstone for political decisions in all democracies in the world\textsuperscript{373}. Thus, even though SPA does not extensively include ESCR as significant in the context of the Swedish democracy, I conclude that SPA generally includes ESCR in its conception of democracy.

Consequently, SPA takes a similar approach as Beetham’s theory concerning which rights are included, as both generally includes ESCR in the concept of democracy. However, SPA’s approach is not necessarily based on the same arguments as Beetham’s theory. According to Beetham’s theory, ESCR are included for the following three reasons: First, ESCR are necessary to ensure CJPR (Ideal type 3.2.1)\textsuperscript{374}; Second, ESCR ensure public life which is necessary in a democracy (Ideal type 3.2.2)\textsuperscript{375}; Third, ESCR ensure that the legitimacy of public institutions does not erode and lead to destabilization of democratic institutions (Ideal type 3.2.3)\textsuperscript{376}. Likewise, SPA stresses how the lack of ESCR makes it more difficult to ensure a democracy in general, as stressed both in the introduction (Chapter 5.1.2) and earlier in this sub-chapter\textsuperscript{377}. However, SPA does not provide a more detailed explanation of how ESCR are justified to be included in its conception of democracy. Hence, I cannot conclude that that SPA takes an identical approach as Beetham’s theory concerning the starting-point concerning how ESCR should be included. Concluding, as ESCR generally are included in SPA’s conception of democracy, SPA’s approach fundamentally differs from legal democracy theory and differs from Habermas’ theory concerning which ESCR are included. Thus, even though SPA does not take an identical approach as Beetham’s theory concerning how ESCR are included, SPA—similar to Beetham’s theory—generally includes ESCR in the concept of democracy. Consequently, I argue that SPA takes a similar approach as Habermas’ theory concerning the

\textsuperscript{371} Christoffersen, “The End of Virtue?,” 264-69.; Lomell, "Rettsosologi," 199-205.

\textsuperscript{372} \textit{Udhr}, art. 22-27.

\textsuperscript{373} Department for Visits, "Demokratin I Samhället," 14.

\textsuperscript{374} Beetham, \textit{Democracy and Human Rights}, 95-103.

\textsuperscript{375} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{376} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{377} Department for Visits, "Demokratin Står Aldrig Still," 21-22.
great focus on education, however taking a most similar approach as Beetham’s theory concerning the general inclusion of ESCR in the concept of democracy.

5.1.3 Analytical Reservations
I have identified a few challenges which could possibly affect the validity of the analysis. The first challenge concerns the time and length limitations of SPA’s educational programs and brochures. The time estimate of the educational programs range from 1-2 hours\(^{378}\). The length of the four brochures varies from 24 to 32 pages each. Thus, SPA has limited time and space to provide the students with all the information it wants to communicate. This could mean that there are aspects concerning SPA’s approach to human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy that are not included in the textual material. However, I assume that the topics SPA finds most important are included in the textual material. Based on my research, I find SPA to be quite clear on most elements concerning its approach to human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy (Appendix V and IV). Thus, in the textual analysis I have chosen to interpret the rights that are not mentioned in SPA’s communication to not be included in its conception of democracy.

A second challenge concerns the centenary of the universal suffrage (1918-1922)\(^{379}\). The centenary is celebrated by SPA, and led to the new brochure “Demokratin står aldrig stilla”\(^{380}\) and a small internal exhibition presented to visiting groups, such as those attending the educational course and guided tours of the parliament\(^{381}\). Hence, the centenary has led to a greater focus on the human right to universal suffrage. However, as I have not visited SPA’s educational programs prior years, I do not know how extensive SPA usually focuses on the right to universal suffrage in its democracy education. Consequently, I have chosen to downplay the focus on the right to universal suffrage in my analysis.

Lastly, as already stressed, I find SPA’s “political neutrality” to strengthen SPA as my object of study\(^{382}\). However, the political neutrality could possibly also pose a challenge, as I assume that SPA is careful not to provide information concerning borderline political topics to school

\(^{378}\) Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."; Lysne, "Field Notes."

\(^{379}\) Department for Visits, "Demokratin Står Aldrig Stilla," 2-3.

\(^{380}\) Ibid.

\(^{381}\) Lysne, "Field Notes."

\(^{382}\) Sveriges Riksdag, "Tillsammans För Riksdagens Bästa" 3.
students. This could arguably lead to self-regulation where SPA as an institution, avoids providing certain information or reflections concerning human rights and democracy. Thus, there is a possibility that SPA is too “careful”, not revealing perspectives concerning its actual approach to human rights inclusion in the concept of democracy. However, as SPA essentially should be politically neutral, I assume that its communication strikes this balance, and thus accurately mirrors SPA’s true conception of democracy.

5.2 Analysis of SPA’s Educational Practice
The second analysis concerns SPA’s educational practices. The aim of the secondary analysis is to potentially support the findings of the textual analysis, concerning which and how human rights are included in SPA’s conception of democracy, using the ideal types as an analytical backdrop.

SPA’s methods of communication to secondary school students are primarily the following four, which have been the focus of my thesis: brochures, guided tours, the educational workshop “Demokrativerkstaden” and an educational course. The brochures are not of significant interest in this context, as they provide a one-way communication focusing on the content through text and illustrations, which has been analyzed in the chapter above. The same goes for the guided tours, as they primarily consist of presentations by SPA employees, with the parliament building as a scenery. Thus, to study the education focusing on learning through activity, rather than through presented content, I analyze the educational workshop “Demokrativerkstaden” and the five interactive activities observed throughout my two observations of the educational course.

The first reflection regarding the interactive activities concerns how most of them mainly focus on the Swedish political system and decision-making processes. One interactive activity gives the students the opportunity to play out key roles in a committee room, another to play out key roles in the process of the fiscal budget, a third appointing the students to key positions

383 Inspired by the pedagogical research by Lawy and Biesta; Lawy, "Citizenship-as-Practice."
384 Sveriges Riksdag, "Lärare".; Former Head of the Department for Visits, "Master Thesis Project."
385 Lysne, "Field Notes."
386 Ibid.
387 Ibid.
to demonstrate how a government is formed. Nevertheless, the two other interactive activities – the first giving the student the opportunity to decide what they would spend 1 billion SEK on over the fiscal budget, and the second actively opening up for a debate about whether 16-year olds should be able to vote – focus greatly on deliberation and debate between the students, moderated by an SPA employee. Thus, the educational practice arguably facilitates freedom of expression in practice. Nevertheless, as the situation is not in a political, but an educational setting, I find it exaggerated to interpret the practice of these interactive activities to suggest that SPA includes freedom of expression in its conception of democracy.

Another reflection concerns how “Demokrativerkstaden” revolves around the importance of deliberation in political-decision making. The narrative of the workshop is set to the parliament, where the students get roles as MP’s, with the aim to process one or two propositions. The focus of the workshop is highly processual, focusing on the importance of getting information from scientists and the citizens when processing the proposition. This focus arguably resembles the core of Habermas’ deliberative democracy theory, by stressing the importance of making political decisions based on knowledge and scientific research (Ideal type 2.3). However, I do not find “Demokrativerkstaden” to have a focus on human rights, and could thus not claim that it has a focus linking human rights with a functioning democracy or the process of political decision-making.

A last reflection concerns the educational programs of SPA in a wider perspective. The fact that SPA, as the parliament administration, has a significant focus on democracy education – to the extent that it even provides financial support for travelling students visiting some of the educational programs – underlines how SPA considers education to be important in a democracy. Furthermore, the systemically and processual focus of the educational programs, concerning how the Swedish democracy works, would arguably make it easier for the students

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388 Ibid.
389 Ibid.
390 Ibid.
391 I only observed one of the versions with two propositions
392 Lysne, "Field Notes."
393 Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, 298-315.
394 Lysne, "Field Notes."
395 Sveriges Riksdag, "Studiebesök För Gymnasiet".
to understand the democratic system in Sweden, and thus, become democratic citizens in the future. This practice is similar to the argument in Habermas’ theory: that education is essential for the citizens to enjoy political participation, and furthermore to ensure a deliberative democracy (Ideal type 2.3)\textsuperscript{396}. Nevertheless, even though the educational practice could help the students become democratic citizens, the educational programs provided by SPA could not be directly linked to education as a human right. Consequently, SPA’s provision of educational programs and brochures to school students all over Sweden does not itself underline that SPA’s finds the right to education to be included in the concept of democracy. Hence, I do not find any significant results concerning which and how human rights SPA includes in its conception of democracy, based on the analysis of SPA’s educational practice.

6 Concluding Remarks

In this thesis, I have aimed to research to what extent human rights are included in the concept of democracy, through a multimethod and interdisciplinary approach – primarily in practice, but also in theory. I have conducted a case study of SPA’s, based on its educational programs and brochures, with the aim to add to the understanding of which and how human rights are included in the concept of democracy in a Swedish context. Thus, in this thesis I have aimed to answer the following sub-questions:

1. How are human rights included in the concept of democracy at the theoretical level?
2. Which human rights are included in SPA’s conception of democracy?
3. How are these human rights included in SPA’s conception of democracy?

The first question was discussed in an analysis concerning how human rights are included in three different democracy theories: Legal democracy theory (primarily based on Nozick’s ideas), Habermas’ deliberative democracy theory and Beetham’s democracy theory (Chapter 2). To answer the last two sub-questions, I provided two analyses, based on a qualitative research approach, leaning on three methods: textual analysis, observation of SPA’s educational programs and an interview with a Former SPA Head of the Department for Visits, Education and Events – the latter to provide contextual information about SPA’s educational services (Chapter 3). The first analysis was conducted as a textual content analysis (Chapter 5.1) of SPA’s educational programs and brochures (presented in Chapter 4), based on ideal types reflecting the three democracy theories. The textual analysis was primarily based on the

\textsuperscript{396} Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, 298-315.
brochures, as I found those to have a greater focus on democracy and human rights than the educational programs. This difference is notable; however, it was outside the scope of my research to study why the educational programs and brochures significantly differ in terms of content concerning the concept of democracy and human rights. The secondary analysis was of SPA’s educational practice – focusing on the educational workshop “Demokrativerkstaden” and the interactive activities of the educational course – with the aim to add to the findings of the textual analysis, concerning which and how human rights are included in the concept of democracy (Chapter 5.2). However, the analysis of SPA’s educational practice did not provide any significant results. Thus, the concluding remarks are primarily based on the findings of the textual analysis.

6.1 Findings of the Analysis

In short, which and how human rights are included in the concept of democracy is approached very differently by the three democracy theories of my study. Legal democracy theory understands individual freedoms\(^397\) to be a precondition for democracy, whereas other judicial rights not included in the concept individual freedoms, are necessary instruments to make a legal democracy work. Additionally, legal democracy theory does not include political rights not defined as individual freedoms in its democracy theory. Furthermore, legal democracy theory actively excludes ESCR from its conception of democracy, as ESCR supposedly would expand the state and thus threaten individual freedoms. In Habermas’ deliberative democracy theory, political and judicial rights are included as necessary components in the concept of democracy, whereas civil rights are indirectly included, as they are considered instrumental to ensure political rights. Moreover, Habermas is skeptical towards letting the state take too much responsibility for economic, social and cultural issues, to avoid it to intervene with the citizens lifeworld. However, Habermas’ theory arguably includes the right to education and the right to enjoyment of science in its conception of democracy, with the aim to ensure satisfactory political processes, including access of citizens. In Beetham’s democracy theory all CJPR included in ICCPR are understood to be interconnected with democracy. Furthermore, according to Beetham, ESCR are necessary to ensure CJPR, and thus indirectly interconnected with democracy.

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\(^{397}\) Including all civil rights, and certain political and judicial rights, as defined in Chapter 1.4
Based on the textual analysis, SPA includes all CJPR in its concept of democracy: First, judicial and political rights are defined as main characteristics and ground rules for democracy; Second, civil rights are included as key features in a democratic society, however in a balance with democratic majority rule. Thus, as all three ideal types to a certain extent includes all categories of CJPR in their conception of democracy, their scope of which rights are included are quite similar to SPA’s approach. However, SPA differs from legal democracy theory in terms of which rights are included, as SPA includes political rights in its conception of democracy, whereas legal democracy only includes those defined as individual freedoms. In terms of how CJPR are included, SPA also differs from legal democracy theory, as SPA does not put individual freedoms dogmatically as the highest aim. SPA is more similar to Habermas’ theory, as both consider the state responsibility to fulfill to sometimes be necessary to ensure CJPR in addition to include all CJPR in their conceptions of democracy. Nevertheless, SPA does not focus solely on the processual aspect in its definition of democracy, which is central to Habermas’ theory. Consequently, I argue that SPA takes a most similar approach to Beetham’s theory concerning CJPR inclusion, as it too approaches political and judicial rights to be ground rules in a democracy, and civil rights to be in a natural balance with the scope of democratic majority rule. Yet, it is noteworthy that SPA largely refers to the Swedish Constitution when referring to CJPR, whereas Beetham refers to ICCPR. This reveals how SPA looks to national rights rather than the international human rights when defining which rights are included in its conception of democracy.

Based on the textual analysis, SPA is less clear concerning which and how ESCR are included in its conception of democracy. Initially, when SPA refers to economic, social and cultural issues, it is often unclear whether they are approached as rights or national policies. Furthermore, ESCR are not discussed - neither in general, nor in relation to democracy - to the same extent as CJPR in the textual material. However, based on my analysis, SPA seemingly takes the same position as Habermas’ theory in highlighting the right to education as the one important ESCR included in the concept of democracy. Moreover, SPA, similar to Beetham’s democracy theory, includes more ESCR than merely the right to education. In a discussion concerning democracy in a global context, SPA stresses that a democratic system is hard to develop and maintain when the citizens do not enjoy a certain level of economic and social welfare. Yet, accordingly, ESCR are generally stressed as important in a global context, rather than in a Swedish context. However, it is noteworthy that I have excluded references to Swedish national policy regarding human rights related issues from the scope of my analysis, as I cannot
be sure whether they specifically relate to human rights, without conducting an in-depth research. Consequently, the assumption concerning ECSR to not be included in the context of the Swedish democracy is made within these analytical limitations. However, this leads me to argue that SPA’s approach to ECSR inclusion in the concept of democracy mirrors the Scandinavian human rights “dualism”. Yet, even though ECSR are seldom mentioned in the Swedish context, SPA’s statements concerning ECSR inclusion in the concept of democracy in a global context reveals how it finds ECSR to be important as a principle in democracy as a concept. Accordingly, SPA generally includes ECSR in its conception of democracy. Concluding, SPA therefore fundamentally differs from legal democracy theory, which actively excludes ECSR from its conception of democracy. Furthermore, I argue that SPA takes a similar approach as Habermas’ theory concerning the inclusion of the right to education as the main ECSR, and as Beetham’s theory concerning which ECSR are included in the concept of democracy. However, SPA is unclear whether it takes a similar approach as Beetham’s theory concerning how they are included.

As expected, SPA differs greatly from the legal democracy theory concerning which and how human rights – both CJPR and ECSR – are included in its conception of democracy. Furthermore, SPA’s approach is arguably similar to both Habermas’ and Beetham’s democracy theories, primarily leaning towards Beetham’s. Concluding, SPA includes all categories of rights in its conception of democracy – civil, judicial, political, economic, social and cultural – however, taking a “dualist” approach concerning the inclusion of ECSR. As stressed in the introduction, SPA aims to be “politically neutral” in its communication. Accordingly, SPA’s approach, as presented above, could arguably be understood as a non-controversial approach to the inclusion of human rights in the concept of democracy, in a Swedish context. Thus, I return to my initial claim that SPA could help enlighten which and how human rights are included in the concept of democracy in a Swedish context.

6.2 Further Research

The topic concerning to what extent human rights are included in the concept of democracy could be researched using different methods, within different disciplines, and from both an empirical and theoretical perspective. Arguably, similar studies of other Swedish institutions – such as political parties, the national school system or Sweden’s official foreign policy – would add to the research of whether human rights are included in the concept of democracy in a Sweden context. Moreover, it could be interesting to do a comparative study of human rights
inclusion in the conception of democracy in countries governed by different ideologies, to research whether ideology and state system could mirror *which* and *how* human rights are included in the concept of democracy. Concluding, even though I acknowledge that a study of parliament educational programs does not cover the general conception of democracy in a country, it is a place to start, as parliaments around the world offer rather similar educational programs and material. Considering that I did not find any former research of such programs, it is also arguably a research gap concerning both the content, practice and role of parliaments educational programs around the world.
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Lysne, Thea Joramo. "Field Notes from Observation of the Spas Educational Programs." 2019.
Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

“Master Thesis Project on the concept of democracy in education programs at the Swedish Parliament”?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å gjøre en studie på hvordan det svenske parlamentet forstår demokratibegrepet. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltagelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål
Prosjektet er en masteroppgave ved Norsk senter for menneskerettigheter. Oppgaven skal som utgangspunkt ikke brukes til noe annet formål enn som en avsluttende oppgave på studiet. Problemstillingen er å diskutere hvilken demokratiteori det svenske parlementet er mest nærliggende når det gjelder forståelsen av menneskerettigheter i demokratiet.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?
Universitetet i Oslo er ansvarlig for prosjektet
Professor Peter Scharff Smith fungerer som veileder på prosjektet

Hvordan fikk du spørsmålet om å delta?
Det vil kun gjennomføres et intervju, ettersom behovet av intervjuet er bakgrunnsinformasjon om det svenske parlamentets undervisning av skolebarn. Ettersom din bakgrunn er relevant ønsker jeg at du er mit intervjuobjekt til denne studien.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Det er frivillig å delta

Ditt personvernhvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger
Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidentielt og i samsvar med personvernevervelverket.

- Det er kun jeg (student) som har tilgang til intervjuet i sin helhet. Min veileder (Peter Scharff Smith) og medveileder (Olavind Bratberg) vil undersøke i prosessen ha tilgang til utkast av oppgaven, hvor deler av intervjuet som ikke ender opp i det endelige utkastet inkluderes.
- Tiltakene som gjøres for at ingen andre skal ha tilgang til intervjuet er at det kun oppbevares bak kodet tilgang til telefonen tilhørende meg (student).
- Du vil omtales som “former head of the Department for Visits, Education and Events at the Swedish Parliament”, uten tilknytning til periode du hadde denne posisjonen. Du vil anonymiseres utover dette ved å omtales som “the interviewee”

60
Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Dine rettigheter
Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:
- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,
- å få rettet personopplysningene om deg,
- å få slettet personopplysningene om deg,
- få utlevering en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?
Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke. På oppdrag fra Universitetet i Oslo har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?
Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:
- Universitetet i Oslo ved veileder professor Peter Scharff Smith (p.s.smith@jus.uio.no) og Student Thea Joramo Lysne (t.j.lysne@student.jus.uio.no)
- Vårt personvernombud: Maren Magnus Voll (personvernombud@uio.no)
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Prosjektansvarlig
(Forsker/veileder)

Samtykkeerklæring
Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet ”Master Thesis Project on the concept of democracy in education programs at the Swedish Parliament”, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

☐ å delta i intervju
☐ at opplysninger om meg publiseres slik at jeg av noen kan gjennomføres ettersom jeg blir identifisert med en arbeidsposisjon jeg tidligere har innehatt (perioder for arbeidsposisjonen inkluderes ikke)

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. 15.05.2019

(Student, dato)
Appendix II: Interview Guide\(^{398}\)

**Place**: The Swedish Parliament

**Interviewee**: Former Head of the Department for Visits, Education and Events at the Swedish Parliament

**Interviewer**: Thea Joramo Lysne, researcher

**Transcribed**: Taped

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tema</th>
<th>Formål med tema/spørsmålene</th>
<th>Spørsmål</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Innledningsspørsmål | 1. Oppvarming  2. Intervjuers rolle | - Berätta gjerne litt om posisjonen du har i riksdagen?  
- Berätta gjerne litt om posisjoner du har hatt i riksdagsadministrasjonen?  
- hvor lenge har du arbeidet i riksdagsadministrasjonen? |
| Riksdagsadministrasjonens posisjon | 1. Representativitet av case studie: Kontrollere nøytralitetsprinsippet ved den svenske riksdagsadministrasjonen, og kontrollere den opp mot kontakt med skolen og andre statsadministrasjoner | - Beretta gjerne litt om forholdet mellom riksdagsadministrasjonen og parlamentets riksdagsledamöter?  
- I hvilken grad kan riksdagsadministrasjonen kommunisere holdninger eller meninger som strider i mot riksdagsledamöters/eller den politiske ledelsens holdninger?  
- Vet du om andre statlige organisasjoner eller etater har samme forhold til politisk ledelse med tanke på å kommunisere holdninger meninger som er i strid med politisk ledelse som de: eksempelvis statsadministrasjonen (departementer, direktorat osv)?  
- Har riksdagen endret innholdet i sine visninger, undervisning eller innholdet i Demokrativerkstaden som en direkte følge av politisk maktskifte eller ønske fra politiske ledelse i riksdagen? (kontrollspørsmål – hvis ja, så følger undervisningsopplegg ved SPA aktivt politiske holdninger)  
- I hvor stor grad bruker riksdagen kompetansemål i den svenske skolen for å utvikle visninger og undervisning?  
- I hvor stor grad bruker riksdagen kompetansemål i den svenske skolen i relasjon til gjennomføring av visninger og undervisning (dag til dag-forhold til kompetansemål i den svenske skolen) |

\(^{398}\) The Interview Guide is presented in Norwegian (language of the interviewer) with elements of Swedish (language of the interviewee)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oppfølging</th>
<th>Oppfølging: I hvor stor grad brukte dere kompetansemål i den svenske skolen da dere utviklet Demokratisverkstaden</th>
<th>Er undervisningen på riksdagen er sett av lærere som et supplement til fag i skolen (eksempelvis samhällskunskap-kurs eller historiekurs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Organisering av utbildnings-tilbud ved Riksdagsadministrasjonen | 1. Kontekst for leseren angående omfang av tilbudet til skoleklasser (ungdomsskole og gymnas – 7.-12. Trinn)  
2. Forståelse for varighet av undervisningsøktene er viktig for analysen  
3. Forståelse for når ulike undervisningsprogram ble utviklet er viktig for analysen | Hvilke undervisningsopplegg tilbys gymnasielærer som besøker riksdagen?  
- Hvilke undervisningsopplegg tilbys høgstadieselever som besøker riksdagen?  
- Hvor mange klasser tar Svenske riksdagen imot som besøkende til sine undervisningsopplegg årlig  
- Spesifikt: Gymnasieklassen undervisning  
- Spesifikt: Gymnasieklasser visning  
- Spesifikt: Høgstadieklasser visning  
- Spesifikt: Høgstadieklasser demokratisverkstaden  
  - Hvor mange mottar (laster ned/får tilsendt/får utdel) undervisnings-brosjyrene fra den svenske riksdagen  
  - Er det før- og etterarbeid tilknyttet skolebesøk til riksdagen i skolen?  
  - Hvor lenge varer en visning?  
  - Hvor lenge varer et besøk for gymnasielærer med undervisning  
Demokratisverkstaden  
- Hvor lenge varer Demokratisverkstaden?  
- Når ble det besluttet å utvikle Demokratisverkstaden?  
- Når ble Demokratisverkstaden tatt i bruk av høgstadieelever for første gang?  
- Er det stor forskjell på hvordan Demokratisverkstaden blir gjennomført mellom handelede? | |
| Innhold i Riksdagsadministrasjonens utbildnings-tilbud | 1. Forståelse for hvor enhetlig undervisningen er, er viktig for analysen  
2. Forståelsen for hvorvidt det er fastsatte hovedbudskap i undervisningen er viktig for analysen (potensielt, kan dette handle om hvor stor plass og hvilken plass demokrati som konsept har i undervisningen som tema) | I hvor stor grad er innholdet i undervisningen fastsatt av ledelsen? / I hvor stor grad er innholdet i en visningene opp til hver enkelt handledere?  
- Er det stor forskjell mellom de ulike undervisningsene til gymnasielærer mellom veiledere (inholdsmessig)?  
- Er det stor forskjell mellom de ulike visningene til gymnasielærer og høgstadieelever mellom veiledere (inholdsmessig)?  
- Er det stor forskjell mellom de ulike redivisningene til en og samme veileder (inholdsmessig)?  
- Hva er hovedbjudskapet dere ønsker at elevene skal lære/forstå/kunne etter at de har vært på besøk i riksdagen? / Hva er riksdagens hovedmål med besøkene fra skoleklasser?  
- er det noen tema alle undervisningsopplegg må være innen for alle høgstadieelever som besøker riksdagen? |
- Er det noen tema alle undervisningsopplegg må være innom for alle gymnasieklasser som besøker riksdagen?
- I hvilken grad anser du forståelsen av hva demokrati er å være en del av undervisningen dere har for skoleklasser på högstadiet og gymnasiet?
- I hvilken grad anser du menneskerettigheter å være en del av undervisningen dere har for skoleklasser på högstadiet og gymnasiet?
Appendix III: NSD – Interview Approval

NSD sin vurdering

Prosjekttittel
Master Thesis Project on the concept of democracy in education programs at the Swedish Parliament

Referansenummer
135003

Registrert
15.02.2019 av Thea Joramo Lysne - t.j.lysne@student.jus.uio.no

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon
Universitetet i Oslo / Det juridiske fakultet / Norsk senter for menneskerettigheter

Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)
Peter Scharff Smith, p.s.smith@jus.uio.no, tlf: 22850158

Type prosjekt
Studentprosjekt, masterstudium

Kontaktinformasjon, student
Thea Joramo Lysne, t.j.lysne@student.jus.uio.no, tlf: 41851940

Prosjektperiode
01.01.2019 - 15.05.2019

Status
20.02.2019 - Vurdert

Vurdering (I)

20.02.2019 - Vurdert

Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen av personopplysninger i prosjektet vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet med vedlegg den 20.2.2019. Behandlingen kan starte.

MELD ENDRINGER
Dersom behandlingen av personopplysninger endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. På våre nettsider informerer vi om hvilke endringer som må meldes. Vent på svar før endringer gjennomføres.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET

https://meldeskjema.nd.no/vurdering/5e690cb-9022-40c5-9723-da87cfec5347

1/2
Prosjektet vil behandle alminnelige kategorier av personopplysninger frem til 15.5.2019.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG
Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 og 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake. Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen vil dermed være den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a.

PERSONVÆRNPRIINSIPPER
NSD vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen om:
- lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen
- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke behandles til nye, uforenlig formål
- datamining (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER
Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: åpenhet (art. 12), informasjon (art. 13), innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18), underretning (art. 19), dataportabilitet (art. 20). Dersom du benytter en databehandler i prosjektet må behandlingen oppfylle kravene til bruk av databehandler, jf. art. 28 og 29.
NSD vurderer at informasjonen om behandlingen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.
Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plicht til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSIONS RETNINGSLINJER
NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1 f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).
For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må dere følge interne retningslinjer og/eller rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET
NSD vil følge opp ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet.

Lykke til med prosjektet!
Tlf. Personverntjenester: 55 58 21 17 (tast 1)
The following table is carried out by the researcher to get an overview of the content of the textual material.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Facts about the parliament</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Relationship between parliament and government</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Brief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The responsibility of the parliament</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Brief/Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Brief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. On process of proposition</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Political parties</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Brief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The classifications concern how extensive the information about the given topic is in the following educational settings and brochures. The four categories of classification are: Not mentioned (1), Briefly mentioned (2), Moderate information (3), Extensive information (4). The classification is based on: 1) how much time SPA employee use on the topic relative to how much time they have with the group 2) How in debt SPA goes concerning the topic 3) A judgement based on the relative amount of time spent on the topic.

As I observed the educational course twice, there are sometimes differences between the two.

The table include all the topics of content found in the textual material.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. History of suffrage</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Extensive</th>
<th>Extensive</th>
<th>Extensive</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Extensive</th>
<th>Extensive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. History of parliament</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Brief/ Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The role of the press</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Brief/Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Brief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Architecture and art</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Personification; The Speaker, MPs or historical persons</td>
<td>Moderate/No</td>
<td>Extensive/Brief</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. On political decisions</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Moderate/Extensive</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Peoples role in a democracy</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>No/Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. On the concept of democracy in general</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. On Human Rights</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Brief/No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Brief</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix V: Table of CJPR in the Textual Material

The following table consist of textual passages linked to specific rights or groups of rights identified in the textual material – that is my research notes from observations and the four brochures. The table was originally made as a working draft. It is included as an appendix for the sake of transparency, to make it possible for the reader to follow the analytical process and reasoning of the textual analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Textual material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Civil rights (in general) | • På kvällen träffar ar du kanske någon som du älskar. Kärlek mellan två människor kan väl aldrig vara fel?  
• Du väljer förstås själv vilka kläder du vill ha på dig.  
• Du ser en helt vanlig kvinna åka förbi i en helt vanlig bil  
• Du lyssnar givetvis på den musik som du själv gillar  
• I ett stort antal länder får lärare slå sina elever om de missköter sig.  
• Den offentliga makten ska utövas med respekt för alla människors lika värde och för den enskilda människans frihet och värdighet.” (ur 1974 års regeringsform, 1 och 2 §§)  
• Den offentliga makten ska utövas med respekt för alla människors lika värde och för den enskilda människans frihet och värdighet.’’  
• När den allmänna och lika rösträtten infördes 1918–1921 var skyddet för medborgarnas rättigheter förhållandevis svagt.  
• Många ansåg att demokratin riskerade att leda till majoritetsförtryck  
| right to life | • Rätt till liv och mänsklig värdighet: Mord, dödsstraff och alla typer av tortyr, slaveri och annan kroppslig bestraffning är förbjudet. |
| right from torture and slavery | • Rätt till liv och mänsklig värdighet: Mord, dödsstraff och alla typer av tortyr, slaveri och annan kroppslig bestraffning är förbjudet. |
| freedom of movement | |
| right to privacy | • Sverige införde en ny lag som förbjuder kränkande fotografering. Regeringen tillsätter en utredning som undersöker hur skyddet av medborgarnas privatliv ska kunna förbättras.  
• Privatliv och integritet: Ingen får rota i våra privatliv eller kartlägga medborgarnas personliga åsikter och värderingar. Om staten gör ingrepp i våra liv måste det alltid ske med stöd av grundlagarna. |
| **freedom of thought and religion** | • Religionsfrihet skrivs in i Sveriges lagstiftning.  
• I era amerikanska delstater kunde de nyanlända svenskarna omgående köpa mark, rösta i valen och utöva sin religiösa tro som de ville. Det var rättigheter som de hade saknat hemma i Sverige. I rösträttsdebatten fördes USA o a fram som ett gott exempel: om svenskarna fick samma frihet som amerikanerna, skulle nog inte så många emigrera. När svenska staten utredde emigrationsfrågan 1907 blev slutsatsen att Sverige borde införa allmän rösträtt, bygga bättre bostäder (så kallade egnahem) och ett bättre skolväsen. |
| **freedom from propaganda** | |
| **right to own property** | |
| **Judicial rights** | • Demokratins kännetecken Rättssäkerhet och likhet inför lagen: svenska domstolar är självständiga i förhållande till de politiska makthavarna. Domstolarna dömer endast e er gällande lagstiftning, och alla medborgare har rätt till en objektiv, opartisk och rättvis rättegång. Även politiker och andra makthavare måste följa lagarna.  
• Grundlagarna är de viktigaste spelreglerna för alla som arbetar med politik och demokratisk påverkan. Grundlagarna beskriver vad ni har rätt att göra, men de och vanliga lagar sätter också vissa gränser för ert arbete:  
  o Informationsfrihet  
  o Åsiktsfrihet  
  o Tryck- och yttrandefrihet  
  o Rätt till insyn  
  o Rättssäkerhet  
  o Skydd mot diskriminering  
  o Mötes-, förenings- och demonstrationsfrihet  
• Dessutom måste myndigheternas arbete vara rättssäkert. Det betyder bland annat att myndigheternas och domstolarnas beslut ska följa lagarna och att ingen får diskrimineras.  
• "En rättegång ska genomföras rättvist och inom skälig tid. Förhandling vid domstol ska vara offentlig. "kap 2 regeringsformen  
• Till (demokrati-)historien hör förstås de stora besluten om folkets rösträtt, valbarhet och politiska makt. Men demokrati handlar även om valdeltagande, utbildning, pressfrihet, rättssäkra domstolar och myndigheter samt mänskliga fri- och rättigheter.  
• Under lagarna: Politiker, tjänstemän och makthavare på alla nivåer måste följa lagarna och behandla alla medborgare rättvis. Redan i Magnus Erikssons landslag 1350 stod det att även kungen var tvungen att följa lagen. Denna tanke på rättssäkerhet har genom historien stärkts fram till våra dagar. |
| **right to liberty and security of person and from arbitrary arrest** | • och alla medborgare har rätt till en objektiv, opartisk och rättvis rättegång  
• Domstolarna dömer endast e er gällande lagstiftning, och alla medborgare har rätt till en objektiv, opartisk och rättvis rättegång |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>equality before the laws and the judicial process</th>
<th>• likhet inför lagen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Political rights | • "Så länge som folket inte bryr sig om att utöva sin frihet, kommer tyrannerna att göra det – för tyranner är aktiva och flitiga!"
• I demokratiska stater ska hela folket – du, jag och alla andra medborgare – bestämma tillsammans
• Folket har politiska rättigheter
• Sveriges grundlagar garanterar alla medborgare rösträtt, yttrandefrihet, mötesfrihet och ett stort antal andra politiska fri- och rättigheter som gör det möjligt att engagera sig politiskt. Ingen kan stängas ute från det politiska livet i Sverige. |
| Right to take part in public affairs | • Granska politikernas förslag. Du måste inte vara medlem i ett politiskt parti eller en intresseorganisation för att tycka till om politiska förslag.
  o Gå på ett offentligt sammankörd el. o Regeringens remisser. Alla medborgare har rätt att skicka in ett öppet remissvar på de betänkanden som regeringen lägger fram.
• Alla som uppehåller sig i Sverige har möjlighet att arbeta politiskt, med stöd av de rättigheter som står inskrivna i grundlagarna. Varje person – oavsett nationalitet – kan alltså demonstrera, debattera, ge ut tidningar, blogga, bilda partier och föreningar och mycket annat. Rösträtten är däremot knuten till bostadsort och medborgarskap.
• Folket styrs alltså av politiker som de själva väljer och den demokratiska maktens hela tiden kvar hos folket.
• Den svenska demokratin bygger på öppenhet. Alla makthavare och myndigheter måste därför vara beredda på att ständigt gransas.
• Folket och massmedierna kan också granska makthavarna tack vare offentlighetsprincipen. Alla medborgare har till exempel rätt att läsa myndigheters och kommuners protokoll och beslut. |
| Right to universal suffrage | • Alder er den siste stemmerettsgrensen
• Før kunne en man ha flere stemmer (basert på hvor mye skatt han betalte)
• Sverige var sist i Norden til å innføre allmenn stemmerett
• "men stemmeretten er en medborgerlig rettighet"
• stemmerett var et grunnlovssporsmål
• hvor mange tok plass etter valget 1921 som var kvinner? 5 (1 i førstekammaren och 4 i andrekamaren)
• Utstillingen omhandler jubileet for stemmerett for kvinner og alle andre voksne
• Be vedtatt 1918
• Ble fungerende i riksdagsvalg i 1921
• Før 1918 var det kun menn som hadde betalt skatt eller var vernepliktig som hadde stemmerett
• Om jubileet 2018–2022
• Demokratijubileum
• Kvinnelig stemmerett
• stemmerett kom ikke av seg selv och ble dratt sammen av ulike organisasjoner
• Begrepet ommyndig försvinne ur lagstiftningen.
• All offentlig makt i Sverige utgår från folket. Den svenska folkstyrelsen bygger på fri åsiktsbildning och på allmän och lika rösträtt.
• 1977 Valllokaler och alla andra allmänna lokaler måste anpassas så att även personer med funktionsnedsättning kan använda dem. (ACCESS)
I era amerikanska delstater kunde de nyanlända svensknarna omgående köpa mark, rösta i valen och utöva sin religiösa tro som de ville. Det var rättigheter som de hade saknat hemma i Sverige. I rösträttsdebatten fördes USA o a fram som ett gott exempel: om svensknarna ck samma frihet som amerikanerna, skulle nog inte så många emigrera. När svenska staten utreddde emigrationsfrågan 1907 blev slutsatsen att Sverige borde införa allmän rösträtt, bygga bättre bostäder (så kallade egnahem) och ett bättre skolväsen.


Granska politikernas förslag. Du måste inte vara medlem i ett politiskt parti eller en intresseorganisation för att tycka till om politiska förslag.

Gå på ett offentligt sammanträde

Regeringens remisser. Alla medborgare har rätt att skicka in ett öppet remissvar på de betänkanden som regeringen lägger fram.

Alla som uppehåller sig i Sverige har möjlighet att arbeta politiskt, med stöd av de rättigheter som står inskrivna i grundlagarna. Varje person – oavsett nationalitet – kan alltså demonstrera, debattera, ge ut tidningar, blogga, bilda partier och föreningar och mycket annat. Rösträtten är däremot knuten till bostadsort och medborgarskap.

demokratiet går bakover det vi tar för gitt: skrive og synes det vi vil går tilbake också i europa – ikke lenger selvsagt at pressen kan skrive hva den vil

Her blir riksdagsledamöterna intervjuet, Lenger bort holdes pressekonferanser, mange pressekonferanser i høst, med Løfven, talmannen m.fl.

det gule området utanför kammaren

mange journalister med tilgang

stilles direkte spørsmål fra journalister

I stora delar av världen är det omöjligt att söka fram samma information som du kan nå via mobilen.

Några elever på din skola startar en blogg, där de frispråkigt debatterar kommunpolitikernas bristande intresse för ungdomsfrågor.

I vissa delar av världen har bloggare som kritiserat sin regering piskats offentligt.

Yttrandefrihetsgrundlagen. Grundlag som skyddar rätten att uttala sig bland annat i radio och tv och på internet.

Tryckfrihetsförordningen. Grundlag som skyddar rätten att fritt och ocensurerat ge ut böcker, tidningar och andra tryckta skri er. Tryckfrihetsförordningen ger också alla medborgare rätt att ta del av dokument hos myndigheter och domstolar.

Yttrandefrihetsgrundlagen skyddar rätten att sända radio och tv och att publicera texter, bilder och filmer på internet. Tillsammans med tryckfrihetsförordningen skyddar alltså yttrandefrihetsgrundlagen folkets yttrande- och åsiktsfriheter.

All offentlig makt i Sverige utgår från folket. Den svenska folkstyrelsen bygger på fri åsiktsbildning och på allmän och lika rösträtt.

I en demokrati delas makten mellan människor, organisationer, företag, myndigheter och politiska församlingar

Grundlagarna är de viktigaste spelreglerna för alla som arbetar med politik och demokratisk påverkan. Grundlagarna beskriver vad ni har rätt att göra, men de och vanliga lagar sätter också vissa gränser för ert arbete:

Informationsfrihet

Åsiktsfrihet

Tryck- och yttrandefrihet

Rätt till insyn

Rättssäkerhet
Skydd mot diskriminering
Mötes-, förenings- och demonstrationsfrihet
Vi får leta efter mer information och ta reda på vilka lagar som gäller och vem som bestämmer vad.
Opinionsbildning handlar om att påverka andra människors åsikter och övertyga dem om att er fråga är viktig.
Var och en är gentemot det allmänna tillförsäkrad
yttrandefrihet: frihet att i tal, skrift eller bild eller på annat sätt meddela upplysningar samt uttrycka tankar, åsikter och känslor,
informationsfrihet: frihet att inhämta och ta emot upplysningar samt att i övrigt ta del av andras yttranden,
"Till främjande av ett fritt meningsutbyte och en allsidig upplysning skall varje svensk medborgare ha rätt att taga del av allmänna handlingar. "Kap 2 tryckfrihetsförordningen
1921 var partisystemet fortfarande under utveckling. Partiernas information till väljarna byggde till stor del på valmöten och hembesök "öga mot öga". Det fanns ingen radio eller tv, inga direktsända partiledardebatter eller granskande journalister i dagens mening. Det kunde vara ganska svårt för väljarna att veta vilken politik de stödde genom sin röst.
Till (demokrati-)historien hör förstås de stora besluten om folkets rösträtt, valbarhet och politiska makt. Men demokrati handlar även om valdeltagande, utbildning, pressfrihet, rättssäkra domstolar och myndigheter samt mänskliga fri- och rättigheter.
Stora reformer:
1949 En omarbetad tryckfrihetsförordning antas. Tryckfrihetsförordningen är en grundlag som skyddar rätten att fritt publicera texter och att ta del av allmänna handlingar (o entlig- hetsprincipen).
1992 Yttrandefrihetsgrundlagen instiftas för att skydda rätten att uttala sig i bland annat radio, tv och på internet.
2011 Regeringsformen
omarbetas, vilket bland annat innebär ett stärkt skydd mot diskriminering på grund av sexuell läggning och integritetsintrång.
Folket hade dessutom relativt stor politisk frihet med åsikts- och yttrandefrihet och omfattande mötes- och demonstrationsfriheter. Allt detta bidrog till att Sverige lättare kunde införa ett demokratiskt styre, utan stora förändringar i regeringsformen och riksdagsordningen
Fri åsiktsbildning handlar om rätten att begära information och att uttrycka åsikter i skrift, tal och andra former.
Vi kan arbeta med politik på många olika sätt, även utanför riksdagen. Alla vi i Sverige kan till exempel skriva insändare, demonstrera,
Alla möten i kammaren är öppna för allmänheten och massmedierna.
Bakom fönstren finns särskilda arbetsrum för journalister. Cirka 50 journalister har egna arbetsplatser i Riksdagshuset för att bevakas riksdagsarbeitet och berätta för allmänheten om det som sker i rikspolitiken.

Om Greta Thunberg (miljöaktivist)
Grundlagarna är de viktigaste spelreglerna för alla som arbetar med politik och demokratiskt påverkan. Grundlagarna beskriver vad ni har rätt att göra, men de och vanliga lagar sätter också vissa gränser för ert arbete:
Informationsfrihet
Åsiktsfrihet
Tryck- och yttrandefrihet
Rätt till insyn
Rättssäkerhet
Skydd mot diskriminering
Mötes-, förenings- och demonstrationsfrihet

Var och en är gentemot det allmänna tillförsäkrad
Mötesfrihet
Demonstrationsfrihet
Föreningsfrihet

NB! För att ordna större möten eller demonstrationer på allmän plats krävs tillstånd från polisen, som också kan hjälpa er att hålla ordning under mötet/demonstrationen
Se till att alla som kommer till mötet vet vad som är syet med mötet, och vilka regler som gäller. Ingen får störa den allmänna ordningen, uppmanna till brott, hota eller kränka andra människor.

Granska politikernas förslag. Du måste inte vara medlem i ett politiskt parti eller en intresseorganisation för att tycka till om politiska förslag.
Gå på ett offentligt sammanträde
Regeringens remisser. Alla medborgare har rätt att skicka in ett öppet remissvar på de betänkanden som regeringen lägger fram.
Vi kan arbeta med politik på många olika sätt, även utanför riksdagen. Alla vi i Sverige kan till exempel skriva insändare, demonstrera,

Partier och föreningar: Genom att samla era krafter i föreningar, nätverk och partier får ni större möjligheter att påverka
Var och en är gentemot det allmänna tillförsäkrad
Mötesfrihet
Demonstrationsfrihet
Föreningsfrihet

NB! För att ordna större möten eller demonstrationer på allmän plats krävs tillstånd från polisen, som också kan hjälpa er att hålla ordning under mötet/demonstrationen
Se till att alla som kommer till mötet vet vad som är syet med mötet, och vilka regler som gäller. Ingen får störa den allmänna ordningen, uppmanna till brott, hota eller kränka andra människor.

I städer och brukssamhällen kunde människor med liknande åsikter träffas, organiserar sig i föreningar och kämpa tillsammans för förändring.
I föreningar och frikyrkoförsamlingar fick medlemmarna nya vänner, en meningsfull fritid och inte minst en god utbildning i demokratins metoder.
Vi kan arbeta med politik på många olika sätt, även utanför riksdagen. Alla vi i Sverige kan till exempel skriva insändare, demonstrera,
Appendix VI: Table of ESCR in the Textual Material

The following table consist of textual passages linked to specific rights or groups of rights identified in the textual material – that is my research notes from observations and the four brochures. The table was originally made as a working draft. It is included as an appendix for the sake of transparency, to make it possible for the reader to follow the analytical process and reasoning of the textual analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right</th>
<th>Textual Material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Economic and social Rights (in general) | • Lovgiving - påvirker ditt liv fra vugge til grav: barneledig, barnebidrag, studiebidrag, skolesystemet, a-kassan, begravningslov  
• "Demokrati är inte bara rösträtt – det är rätten att leva ett värdigt liv.”  
• Bröd först!  
• En stor del av världens befolkning lever fortfarande i länder som präglas av upprepade väpnade konflikter, sjukdomar och stor fattigdom. Människorna i dessa länder har inte ens mat för dagen, och de får inte gå i skolan. Under sådana förhållanden är det mycket svårt att få demokratin att fungera.  
• Sedan 1980 har den andel av världens befolkning som lever i absolut fattigdom mer än halverats. Minska d fattigdom är en viktig förutsättning för demokratisk utveckling.  
• Ekonomisk ojämlikhet: Rösträtten är lika i många stater, men detsamma gäller inte människors ekonomiska makt. 1 procent av jordens befolkning äger mer än de övriga 99 procenten. Är denna snedfördelning av den ekonomiska makten ett problem för demokratin? Vad kan vi i så fall göra åt saken?  
• Hur stor ska demokratin vara? En av demokratins "eviga" frågor gäller storleken på den offentliga sektorn. Hur mycket skatt ska vi betala, och vilka frågor ska vara gemensamma? |
| Right to work | |
| Right to social security | |
| Right to adequate standard of living, including food, clothing and housing | • I era amerikanska delstater kunde de nyanlända svenskarna omgående köpa mark, rösta i valen och utöva sin religiösa tro som de ville. Det var rättigheter som de hade saknat hemma i Sverige. I rösträttsdebatten fördes USA o a fram som ett gott exempel: om svenskarna fick samma frihet som amerikanerna, skulle nog inte så många emigrera. När svenska staten utredde emigrationsfrågan 1907 blev slutsatsen att Sverige borde införa allmän rösträtt, bygga bättre bostäder (så kallade egnahem) och ett bättre skolväsen. |
| Right to health | |
| Right to education | • Betalt 1250,- i CSN när man går i gymnasiet  
• Folkskolan införs i Sverige. Stora delar av folket får nu lära sig att läsa och skriva – men många romer och samer saknar möjlighet att gå i skolan. |
• Kvinnor, arbetare och andra grupper med liten makt ville gärna visa sig värdiga rösträtten och ett fullvärdigt medborgarskap. Därför blev utbildning, skötsamhet och ansvarstagande viktiga inslag i många människors livsstil.
• Till (demokrati-)historien hör förstås de stora besluten om folkets rösträtt, valbarhet och politiska makt. Men demokrati handlar även om valdeltagande, utbildning, pressfrihet, rättssäkra domstolar och myndigheter samt mänskliga fri- och rättigheter.
• Rätt till utbildning
• 1842 Folkskolan införs.
• I era amerikanska delstater kunde de nyanlända svenskarna omgående köpa mark, rösta i valen och utöva sin religiösa tro som de ville. Det var rättigheter som de hade saknat hemma i Sverige. I rösträttsdebatten fördes USA o a fram som ett gott exempel: om svenskarna fick samma frihet som amerikanerna, skulle nog inte så många emigrera. När svenska staten utredde emigrationsfrågan 1907 blev slutsatsen att Sverige borde införa allmän rösträtt, bygga bättre bostäder (så kallade egnahem) och ett bättre skolväsen.

| Right to the enjoyment of culture and science |• Politisk konst (musik, poesi, lm). opinionsbildning måste förstås inte ske enbart genom debattartiklar, nyheter och andra journalistiska metoder. Även konstnärlig verksamhet omfattas av skyddet i grundlagarna. Många gånger kan konstverk, musik eller olika typer av uppträdanden vara väldigt effektiva sätt att få fram ett budskap.
• Fundera över hur just er fråga och det budskap ni vill få fram skulle kunna omformuleras som exempelvis dikt, målning, lm, dans, sång och teater. |