

Does Deliberative Education Increase Civic Competence?

Online Appendix—Not Intended for Publication

A 1 Question wordings

The variables used in the study had the following question wordings:

Political interest — “Generally speaking, how interested in politics are you?”. Responses were measured on a four point scale; “Very interested”, “Quite interested”, “Not very interested”, “Not at all interested”.

Democratic values — The students were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: “Women should have the same rights as men”, “Citizens must follow the laws decided by the majority”, “Everyone should have the right to publicly criticize the government”, “Politicians should decide which religion is practiced in a country” (reversed), “All citizens in a country should be free to elect their leaders”, “Citizens should pay the taxes that have been decided by democratic process”, “Violence must never be used in political protests”, “There are better ways to govern a country than democracy” (reversed). Responses were measured on a four point scale from “Absolutely agree”, “Agree”, “Do not agree”, “Absolutely don’t agree”. All responses were recoded so that higher values equals more support for democratic principles. Cronbach alpha of .57 at the first time of measurement and .59 at the second.

Political knowledge — The items were the following (the correct answers are italicized): 1: “Do you know what position Magdalena Andersson holds in Stefan Löfven’s cabinet?” A) Minister for Foreign Affairs, B) *Minister for Finance*, C) Minister for Gender Equality, D) Minister for Rural Affairs. 2: “Every five years, the people of Sweden elect representatives to one of the EU’s institutions. Which one?” A) The Council of Europe, B) The European Commission, C) *The European Parlia-*

ment, C) The European Court of Justice. 3: “Which ideology does the Folkpartiet (The People’s Party) traditionally espouse?” A) *Liberalism*, B) Conservatism, C) Capitalism, D) Socialism. 4: “Which of the following countries is not a member of the EU?” A) Croatia, B) *Iceland*, C) Malta, D) Czech Republic. 5: “What percentage of the votes in elections is required to get into the Swedish Riksdag?” A) Two percent of the votes in the whole country, B) *Four percent of the votes in the entire country*, C) Five percent of the votes in the entire country, D) Seven percent of the votes in the entire country. 6: “How many parties are currently represented in the Swedish government (cabinet)?” A) 1, B) 2, C) 3, D) 4. 7: “What is David Cameron’s political role?” A) UN Secretary-General, B) *Prime Minister of the United Kingdom*, D) President of the European commission, D) NATO Secretary-General. Cronbach alpha was .39 at the first measure and .48 at the second measure. Only the first five questions at t0, all seven at t1 and t2.

Political discussion — The questions were: “How often do you talk about politics or societal issues with... A) Your parents? B) Other adults? C) Your friends?” Response options were “Very often”, “Often”, “Rarely” and “Never”. All responses recoded so that higher values equals a higher frequency of discussion. Cronbach alpha of .72 at the first measurement and .73 at the second.

A 2 Randomization checks

To make sure that the control and treatment groups were not significantly different in terms of socio-demographic background characteristics, we performed a series of randomization checks. In international comparative studies such as CivEd, the number of books at home is frequently used as a proxy to measure the socio-economic status of the family (Campbell, 2008) since this item correlates strongly with parents' education (Evans et al., 2010). In Table A1 we present results from t-tests where we have compared the treatment and control groups on variables measuring respondents' gender, the number of books at home and the country of origin of the mother and father, respectively. The randomization checks show that there were no significant differences in the proportions of boys and girls, foreign background, or students from specific socio-economic backgrounds when comparing the treatment and the control groups.

Table A1: Randomization checks

	Treatment	Control	Difference
Gender (female)	0.451 (0.249)	0.496 (0.252)	0.045 (0.065)
<i>Number of books at home</i>			
Less than 50	0.312 (0.183)	0.286 (0.163)	-0.026 (0.045)
Between 50 and 100	0.324 (0.110)	0.313 (0.112)	-0.011 (0.029)
Between 200 and 500	0.265 (0.118)	0.290 (0.162)	0.024 (0.037)
More than 500	0.099 (0.086)	0.112 (0.060)	0.013 (0.019)
<i>Mother's country of origin</i>			
Outside Europe	0.174 (0.179)	0.165 (0.193)	-0.009 (0.048)
Europe	0.130 (0.102)	0.099 (0.087)	-0.030 (0.025)
Nordic Country	0.038 (0.043)	0.026 (0.031)	-0.012 (0.010)
Sweden	0.658 (0.212)	0.709 (0.221)	0.051 (0.056)
<i>Father's country of origin</i>			
Outside Europe	0.178 (0.198)	0.166 (0.193)	-0.012 (0.051)
Europe	0.127 (0.111)	0.121 (0.095)	-0.006 (0.027)
Nordic Country	0.027 (0.044)	0.029 (0.044)	0.002 (0.011)
Sweden	0.668 (0.239)	0.684 (0.217)	0.016 (0.059)
Classes	29	30	59

Notes: Mean values across class means, standard errors in parentheses.

A 3 Representativeness of the schools

While the external validity of the study is not possible to study directly, it is important to know whether the participating schools appear to be like average Swedish schools or if they are atypical in some way. In Table A2 we present a comparison between the participating schools and Swedish schools in general on a few key dimensions of school performance and students' socio-economic background characteristics. The participating schools are very close to the general Swedish mean levels regarding grade points and the share of students who meet the basic matriculation requirements for studies at the university level. The mean income level of the parents students in the participating schools is close to the Swedish means income and the shares of students with foreign background and highly educated parents are very close to the national mean as well, while the share of female students is somewhat lower in the participating schools compared to the national mean. Overall, however, we can rest assure that the participating schools are not strongly atypical compared to the average Swedish schools.

Table A2: The participating schools are not atypical

	Participating schools	All contacted schools	Sweden in general
Median income	265,571	255,190	261,038
% female Students	47	48	47
% with ‘foreign background’	27	25	27
% with highly educated parents	50	48	48
Mean grade points	14.0	14.0	14.0
% with ‘basic matriculation’	69	72.5	71.3

Notes: Median income is for all men and women over 20 years old living in Sweden in 2015. Basic matriculation refers to whether students meet the entry level requirements for university studies. Grade points are calculated on a scale from 0 to 20. ‘Foreign background’ refers to the official Swedish definition according to which a person has a foreign background if a person is born in a country other than Sweden or has two parents born outside Sweden. Entries for the participating schools are mean levels calculated without taking into account the different sizes of the schools. The data on school performance, the share of female students, highly educated parents and foreign background come from the SIRIS database which is from National Agency for Education’s ‘Online information system on results and quality’: <https://www.skolverket.se/skolutveckling/statistik/sok-statistik-om-forskola-skola-och-vuxenutbildning>. Data on median income is comes on from Statistics Sweden: <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/statistik-efter-amne/hushallens-ekonomi/inkomster-och-inkomstfordelning/inkomster-och-skatter/pong/tabell-och-diagram/inkomster-individer-lankommun/sammanraknad-forvarvsinkomster-kommun-2000-och-20152017.-medianinkomst-i-2017-ars-priser/>.

A 4 Manipulation checks

One of way to test if the manipulation actually had an effect is to analyze whether it affected the classroom discussion climate. The classroom discussion climate items measure factors such as whether students feel free to express different opinions than their teachers, whether they are encouraged to make up their own minds, whether their opinions are respected, and whether different opinions are expressed in the classroom, etc. We combined these items into an additive index (Cronbach alpha .797). We rescaled the index to vary between 0 and 1 and regressed it on the binary variable indicating treatment or control status. The results presented in Table A3 show that those in the treatment group perceived their classroom climate as being significantly more open than did their peers in the control group. Hence, the experiment appears to have had the desired effect of creating a more open and deliberative climate in the classroom.¹

Table A3: Manipulation checks

	Classroom climate Index
Treatment	0.049***
<i>Deliberative education</i>	(0.013)
Constant	0.739***
	(0.010)
Observations	1144

Notes: Clustered standard errors (class level) in parentheses,

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

¹If we compare the differences between the treatment and control group for each of the eleven individual classroom climate indicators, all differences turn out to be statistically significant. All items were measured on four points scales from 1 to 4 and the differences vary between .09 and .14.

A 5 The teachers' views on the experiment

To further test whether the experiment was carried out satisfactorily we conducted two surveys, before and after the experiment, with the participating teachers. Before the experiment started, we asked them to what extent they thought that they would be able to implement the treatment and to what extent they felt motivated to participate in the study. The results presented in Table A4 show that a large majority, 93 percent of the teachers in both the treatment and control groups, thought they would be able to implement the treatment quite well or very well. Likewise, almost all teachers felt fairly or very motivated to carry out the experimental teaching practices (97 and 100 percent of the teachers in the deliberative and teacher-centered practices respectively).

After the experiment, we asked how well they were able to implement their assigned teaching practice. Most of the teachers said that they had been able to do it quite well or very well. This is true for both the teachers in the deliberative treatment (93 percent agreed) and the teacher-centered treatment (90 percent agreed). For the teachers carrying out the deliberative treatment, we specifically asked whether they had been able to follow the criteria for deliberation. 96 percent said that they had been able to do that fairly or very well. For the teachers carrying out the teacher-centered education, we specifically asked whether they had been able to follow the instructions for the single student assignments, and 100 percent of the teachers said that they had been able to do that fairly or very well. We also asked whether the teachers used to teach in a traditional teacher-centered way or in a more deliberative way. We did not find that the previous teaching style was significantly related to the

Table A4: The teacher’s impressions of the study

	Deliberative education	Teacher centered education
<i>Pre-treatment measures</i>		
% who thought they would be able to implement the treatment quite/very well	93	93
% who felt quite/very motivated	97	100
<i>Post-treatment measures</i>		
% who were able to implement the treatment quite/very well	93	90
% who were able to follow criteria for deliberation fairly/very well	96	
% who were able to follow instructions for single student assignments quite/very well		100

Notes: N=57/58. Entries show the share stating the response options “quite well” or “very well” as opposed to “quite well” or “not well”. The unit of analyses is class-teachers evaluations of specific classes, i.e. teachers who participated in the experiment with several classes answered one survey for each class.

effectiveness of the field experiment. The results from the teacher survey and the manipulation check also chime well with the information from the research assistants and researchers who continuously kept contact with the teachers during the study.

A 6 A note on heterogenous effects

One key issue in the previous literature is whether the classroom practices affect all students in the same way or whether the effects are heterogeneous, i.e. whether the effects are stronger among some groups of students than others. Several of the previous studies mentioned here point out that civic education, and deliberation in particular, might have a *compensatory effect*. From previous research we know that the family environment plays a crucial role in the political socialization process (Cesarini, Johannesson and Oskarsson, 2014; Westholm, 1999). Coming to school, the students are not on a level playing field in this respect. Those who grow up in homes where the parents are discussing politics embrace democratic values and participate in politics have an advantage in terms of their civic competence compared to those who grow up in non-political home environments. The compensatory hypothesis claims that deliberative education is mainly beneficial for the students who lack a stimulating home environment, i.e. that classroom practices compensate for what they lack at home. Several studies show support for such an effect; civic education and classroom discussions in particular appear to be most beneficial for students from disadvantaged backgrounds (Neundorf, Niemi and Smets, 2016; Andersson, 2015; Campbell, 2008; Campbell and Niemi, 2016; Langton and Jennings, 1968). However, in theory one could also think of other forms of heterogeneous effects, such as that civic education might be most beneficial for those who already have a high level of civic competence and are already used to discussing and thinking about political issues. Such an effect would accelerate differences between students rather than compensate for the unequal starting positions. See the discussion in

Lindgren, Oskarsson and Persson (2018). However, the literature does not provide any strong empirical support for such hypotheses. While these ideas are, of course, interesting, our field experiment was not designed to test for such heterogeneities and it does not have enough statistical power to do so. But even though our experiment was not designed to test for heterogeneities, we have tested to interact the treatment effect with the number of books at home, and two questions on the family economic situation; a question on how much money the student's the family has compared to other families and a question on how much money their parents are able to spend on them. We find no consistent support for the idea that students of different backgrounds reacted differently to deliberative education based on these analyses.

A 7 Models without covariates

In the main body of the article, we only present models with covariates and baseline measures of the dependent variables due to space constraints. In Table A5 to A8 we present three models for each dependent variable; 1) without covariates and baseline, 2) with control for baseline and 3) with control for baseline and covariates. In most of the models we find insignificant effects of the treatment. However, concerning knowledge we did find a significant difference in the models without covariates and baseline measures. But when taking these initial differences into account and controlling for the covariates, the difference turns insignificant. When it comes to political knowledge, there was for some reason a small difference between the groups even before the experiment started.

Table A5: Political interest and democratic values after the experiment

	Interest			Values		
Treatment	0.017 (0.019)	-0.009 (0.012)	-0.012 (0.012)	0.013 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.008)
Constant	0.642*** (0.014)	0.206*** (0.024)	0.186*** (0.030)	0.790*** (0.010)	0.309*** (0.022)	0.306*** (0.027)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	0.642	0.633	0.633	0.790	0.793	0.792
Observations	1218	1137	1092	1158	1032	994
Number of classes	59	59	59	59	59	59

Notes: Clustered standard errors (class level) in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A6: Political knowledge and political discussions after the experiment

	Knowledge			Discussions		
Treatment	0.305*	0.024	0.068	0.021	0.009	0.009
	(0.174)	(0.155)	(0.143)	(0.019)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Constant	3.631***	2.151***	1.932***	0.425***	0.130***	0.124***
	(0.138)	(0.193)	(0.282)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.019)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	3.631	3.751	3.706	0.425	0.423	0.423
Observations	896	686	661	1201	1103	1061
Number of classes	59	59	59	59	59	59

Notes: Clustered standard errors (class level) in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A7: Political interest and democratic values at the end of the year

	Interest			Values		
Treatment	0.017	0.001	-0.002	0.011	0.002	-0.000
	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Constant	0.634***	0.242***	0.193***	0.810***	0.363***	0.336***
	(0.019)	(0.024)	(0.034)	(0.011)	(0.028)	(0.030)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	0.634	0.635	0.634	0.810	0.811	0.810
Observations	979	899	867	921	809	783
Number of classes	50	50	50	50	50	50

Notes: Clustered standard errors (class level) in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A8: Political knowledge and political discussions at the end of the year

	Knowledge			Discussions		
Treatment	0.404*	0.290	0.307	0.012	0.007	0.006
	(0.221)	(0.199)	(0.201)	(0.021)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Constant	4.090***	2.967***	2.409***	0.438***	0.171***	0.143***
	(0.155)	(0.197)	(0.310)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.026)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	4.090	4.181	4.168	0.438	0.446	0.445
Observations	800	572	553	957	869	839
Number of classes	50	50	50	50	50	50

Notes: Clustered standard errors (class level) in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A 8 Robustness checks

An alternative to the ordinary least square models with heteroscedastic-consistent standard errors clustered at the class level presented in the main paper is multilevel models. As a robustness check we present such multilevel models in Table A9 to A12. In these models we use two levels: students in classes. The main pattern in these results is the same as in tables A5 to A8.

We also estimate more complex multilevel models with a three level structure; individuals (level 1) clustered in different classes (classes 2) clustered by different teachers (level 3). In these models we also include varying slopes on the treatment by teacher as well since there may be variation in teacher effectiveness. These models are presented in Table A13 to A14 and the treatment effects estimates remain similar.

Table A9: Political interest and democratic values after the experiment, multilevel (2 levels).

	Interest			Values		
Treatment	0.022 (0.019)	-0.008 (0.013)	-0.011 (0.013)	0.013 (0.011)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)
Constant	0.639*** (0.014)	0.207*** (0.017)	0.186*** (0.025)	0.787*** (0.008)	0.317*** (0.020)	0.312*** (0.022)
sd(Intercept at level 2)	0.048*** (0.010)	0.022*** (0.010)	0.022*** (0.010)	0.034*** (0.005)	0.018*** (0.004)	0.020*** (0.004)
sd(Residuals at level 1)	0.239*** (0.005)	0.184*** (0.004)	0.184*** (0.004)	0.103*** (0.002)	0.084*** (0.002)	0.082*** (0.002)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	0.642	0.633	0.633	0.790	0.793	0.792
Observations	1218	1137	1092	1158	1032	994
Number of classes	59	59	59	59	59	59

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A10: Political knowledge and political discussions after the experiment, multilevel (2 levels).

	Knowledge			Discussions		
Treatment	0.389** (0.165)	0.096 (0.149)	0.135 (0.142)	0.026 (0.019)	0.009 (0.009)	0.009 (0.009)
Constant	3.561*** (0.119)	2.125*** (0.156)	1.855*** (0.223)	0.423*** (0.013)	0.131*** (0.011)	0.124*** (0.018)
sd(Intercept at level 2)	0.498*** (0.072)	0.404*** (0.070)	0.371*** (0.071)	0.053*** (0.009)	0.005 (0.024)	0.000*** (0.000)
sd(Residuals at level 1)	1.421*** (0.035)	1.268*** (0.036)	1.243*** (0.036)	0.208*** (0.004)	0.150*** (0.003)	0.150*** (0.003)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	3.631	3.751	3.706	0.425	0.423	0.423
Observations	896	686	661	1201	1103	1061
Number of classes	59	59	59	59	59	59

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A11: Political interest and democratic values at the end of the year, multilevel (2 levels).

	Interest			Values		
Treatment	0.016 (0.022)	0.001 (0.017)	-0.001 (0.016)	0.014 (0.013)	0.004 (0.009)	0.001 (0.008)
Constant	0.632*** (0.016)	0.244*** (0.023)	0.200*** (0.032)	0.804*** (0.010)	0.374*** (0.027)	0.343*** (0.028)
sd(Intercept at level 2)	0.051*** (0.011)	0.032*** (0.010)	0.030*** (0.011)	0.036*** (0.006)	0.019*** (0.005)	0.017*** (0.005)
sd(Residuals at level 1)	0.242*** (0.006)	0.199*** (0.005)	0.198*** (0.005)	0.106*** (0.003)	0.093*** (0.002)	0.092*** (0.002)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	0.634	0.635	0.634	0.810	0.811	0.810
Observations	979	899	867	921	809	783
Number of classes	50	50	50	50	50	50

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A12: Political knowledge and political discussions at the end of the year, multilevel (2 levels).

	Knowledge			Discussions		
Treatment	0.395* (0.214)	0.272 (0.191)	0.266 (0.189)	0.012 (0.019)	0.007 (0.012)	0.006 (0.012)
Constant	4.026*** (0.160)	2.995*** (0.199)	2.532*** (0.283)	0.437*** (0.015)	0.171*** (0.015)	0.143*** (0.024)
sd(Intercept at level 2)	0.650*** (0.087)	0.493*** (0.084)	0.479*** (0.084)	0.046*** (0.010)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.018)
sd(Residuals at level 1)	1.415*** (0.037)	1.359*** (0.042)	1.344*** (0.042)	0.212*** (0.005)	0.169*** (0.004)	0.167*** (0.004)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	4.090	4.181	4.168	0.438	0.446	0.445
Observations	800	572	553	957	869	839
Number of classes	50	50	50	50	50	50

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A13: Treatment effects after the experiment, multilevel (3 levels).

	Interest	Values	Knowledge	Discussions
Treatment	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.002 (0.007)	0.132 (0.128)	0.009 (0.010)
Constant	0.185*** (0.025)	0.312*** (0.022)	1.768*** (0.225)	0.124*** (0.018)
sd(Varying treatment slope by teacher)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000 (.)	0.276*** (0.134)	0.000*** (0.000)
sd(Intercept at teacher level)	0.023*** (0.009)	0.000 (.)	0.310*** (0.080)	0.014*** (0.009)
sd(Intercept at class level)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.020 (.)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
sd(Residuals at individual level)	0.184*** (0.005)	0.082 (.)	1.241*** (0.035)	0.150*** (0.004)
Control for baseline	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual level controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1092	994	661	1061
Number of classes	59	59	59	59

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A14: Treatment effects by the end of the year, multilevel (3 levels).

	Interest	Values	Knowledge	Discussions
Treatment	-0.001 (0.016)	0.001 (0.008)	0.283 (0.179)	0.006 (0.012)
Constant	0.200*** (0.032)	0.345*** (0.028)	2.536*** (0.280)	0.143*** (0.024)
sd(Varying treatment slope by teacher)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.326 (0.292)	0.000 (.)
sd(Intercept at teacher level)	0.000 (.)	0.010*** (0.008)	0.252 (0.275)	0.000 (.)
sd(Intercept at class level)	0.030 (.)	0.013*** (0.008)	0.306* (0.194)	0.011 (.)
sd(Residuals at individual level)	0.198 (.)	0.092*** (0.002)	1.346*** (0.042)	0.167 (.)
Control for baseline	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual level controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	867	783	553	839
Number of classes	50	50	50	50

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A 9 Alternative coding of the knowledge variable

Another issue relates to the knowledge questions, we find that while most students answered the questions, many students had skipped one or more of them. Coding the missing answers as incorrect answers yields substantially the same results. Results from such models are presented in A15-A16.

Table A15: Political knowledge - alternative coding

	Knowledge after experiment			Knowledge end of the year		
Treatment	0.352**	0.063	0.089	0.380*	0.172	0.158
	(0.175)	(0.145)	(0.138)	(0.222)	(0.199)	(0.200)
Constant	3.193***	1.809***	1.482***	3.827***	2.909***	2.414***
	(0.148)	(0.149)	(0.234)	(0.161)	(0.179)	(0.262)
	(0.138)	(0.193)	(0.282)	(0.148)	(0.149)	(0.234)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	3.193	3.261	3.219	3.827	3.938	3.930
Observations	1213	1108	1065	977	886	854
Number of classes	59	59	59	50	50	50

Notes: Clustered standard errors (class level) in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A16: Political knowledge - alternative coding, multilevel.

	Knowledge after experiment			Knowledge end of the year		
Treatment	0.433** (0.172)	0.137 (0.145)	0.165 (0.143)	0.380* (0.215)	0.171 (0.198)	0.153 (0.203)
Constant	3.123*** (0.123)	1.793*** (0.128)	1.389*** (0.181)	3.775*** (0.161)	2.946*** (0.175)	2.573*** (0.244)
sd(Intercept at level 2)	0.556*** (0.072)	0.450*** (0.064)	0.440*** (0.065)	0.662*** (0.086)	0.592*** (0.081)	0.607*** (0.083)
sd(Residuals at level 1)	1.524*** (0.032)	1.323*** (0.029)	1.292*** (0.029)	1.512*** (0.035)	1.404*** (0.034)	1.394*** (0.035)
Control for baseline		✓	✓		✓	✓
Individual level controls			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	3.193	3.261	3.219	3.827	3.938	3.930
Observations	1213	1108	1065	977	886	854
Number of classes	59	59	59	50	50	50

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A 10 Randomization Inference

An alternative to estimate conventional p-values is to compute randomization inference (RI) p-values (Heß, 2017). The RI p-values reflect the variation arising from the randomization. When estimating these p-values we have taken into account the fact that the randomization was blocked by teachers as described in the main paper as well as that randomization was conducted at the level of classes and not individual students. The RI p-values are presented in A20 and are very similar to the p-values from the models presented in the main paper.

Table A17: Randomization inference

	Estimate	p-value	RI p-value
After the experiment			
Interest	-.012	0.333	0.346
Values	-.003	0.649	0.625
Knowledge	.068	0.635	0.604
Discussions	.009	0.331	0.280
End of the year			
Interest	-.002	0.918	0.919
Values	-.000	0.973	0.968
Knowledge	.307	0.134	0.153
Discussions	.006	0.662	0.650

A 11 Saturated Regression

A further way to analyze experiments with clustered randomization with a blocking scheme is to use saturated regression (Lin, 2013). This method takes into consideration the blocking scheme used when estimating the results. The general idea here is to not only use a set of block indicators as covariates (a strategy that might be prone to bias), but to estimate the treatment effect within each group of blocks and estimate the average effect over these estimates. In models A18 and A19 we present estimates according to this idea. We estimate three level models with varying slopes at the teacher level and including block indicators among the covariates (as well as the individual level covariates and baseline controls used in previous models) and interact all (centered) covariates with the treatment indicator. Again we can confirm that the null effects for interest, values and discussion are precisely estimated. However, the effect on knowledge is estimated to about .2 more correct answers after the experiment and .3 more correct answers by the end of the year. These esti-

mates are significant at the 90 percent level (after the experiment) and at the 95 percent level (by the end of the year). Hence, while we can conclude that we find no support for an effect on values, interest and discussion, there is a substantially interesting change in knowledge. Whether this effect is significant or not depends on the modeling strategy and model specification.

Table A18: Saturated Regression, after the experiment.

	Interest	Values	Knowledge	Discussions
Treatment	-0.015 (0.012)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.181* (0.107)	0.003 (0.010)
Constant	0.160*** (0.038)	0.307*** (0.031)	1.759*** (0.313)	0.121*** (0.028)
Three level models	✓	✓	✓	✓
Varying treatment slopes	✓	✓	✓	✓
Control for baseline	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual level covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓
Block indicator covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓
Treatment X covariate interactions	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1092	994	661	1061
Number of classes	59	59	59	59

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A19: Saturated Regression, end of the year.

	Interest	Values	Knowledge	Discussions
Treatment	0.000 (0.015)	0.000 (0.007)	0.347** (0.158)	0.003 (0.013)
Constant	0.583*** (0.037)	0.772*** (0.018)	3.781*** (0.338)	0.415*** (0.032)
Three level models	✓	✓	✓	✓
Varying treatment slopes	✓	✓	✓	✓
Control for baseline	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual level covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓
Block indicator covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓
Treatment X covariate interactions	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	867	783	553	839
Number of classes	50	50	50	50

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A 12 Effects on grades

One objective with our experiment was to test whether deliberative education increases learning in a way that makes it spill over into general political knowledge. However, we can also use the experiment to see if deliberative education directly affects the students' ability to achieve the learning objectives in the social science education course. To do so, the distribution of grades within each participating class was collected.² As the students were anonymous during the experiment we are not able to match any specific students answers with his or her final grade in the course. However, due to the clustered nature of the experiment, we do know which classes that were subjected to the deliberative education intervention and which were subjected to the traditional teacher-centered teacher practice. Therefore, the following

²We have been able to obtain the grades for all except two of the participating classes.

analysis is conducted at the aggregated level of classes and the aggregation is done by taking the mean of all variables within each class.

The outcome measures used are the average grade points in a class and the proportion of students who passed the course. In the Swedish upper-secondary school system, students who passed a course are given a grade from A to E and a students who do not achieve the learning objectives are given the grade F.³ We then followed the Swedish National Agency for Educations standard for assigning numerical values to each given grade. According to this standard the grade F correspond to 0 grade points, E to 10 grade points and the grade points are thereafter increased by 2.5 for each subsequent grade up to the maximum of 20 grade points for an A. Table A20 presents the results where the class’s average grade points and the proportion of students who passed the course is used as the dependent variable. The included control variables are the class averages of the individual level covariates used in the main article (gender, mother’s and father’s country of origin, respectively, and number of books at home). In the two models with control for baseline we included the class average score on the first political knowledge test conducted before the experiment started. Similarly to the results for the political knowledge measures we observe a small and positive, although not statistically significant, effect of deliberative education on students’ possibilities of achieving the learning objective of the course.

Using the observed partial correlation between the treatment indicator and the

³If a teacher does not have sufficient information about a student to decide their level of knowledge, e.g. because of extensive truancy, the student is given a “dash” instead of any grade between A-F. As only 5 of the students in our sample got a dash as their final grade for the course, we have treated them in the same was as students who obtain an F.

dependent variables we can compute the sample sizes that would have been required to obtain statistically significant results. In order for the size of the estimated effect of the treatment on the average grade points in Column three to be statistically significant at the 5 percent level a sample size of approximately 730 classes would have been needed. The corresponding number for the proportion of students who passed in column six is approximately 310 classes.⁴

Table A20: Average grade at the end of the course and share of students who passed

	Average grade points			Share of students who passed		
Treatment	0.594 (0.778)	0.931 (0.807)	0.542 (0.799)	0.025 (0.036)	0.052 (0.036)	0.038 (0.036)
Constant	12.539*** (0.611)	-7.935 (10.479)	-3.961 (9.312)	0.896*** (0.026)	0.170 (0.551)	0.315 (0.490)
Class level controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
Control for baseline			✓			✓
Mean DV control group	12.539	12.539	12.539	0.896	0.896	0.896
Observations	57	57	57	57	57	57

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

⁴In both of these calculations a power level of 80 percent is assumed.

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A 13 The teaching material

The distributed teaching material consisted of three parts. First, a document containing teaching instructions with an overview of the planned lessons and some general information about the teaching practice assigned to the teacher. Second, a number of exercises the students should work with during the lessons. Third, two documents for the students to read about democracy and human rights. For the teaching instructions and each of the exercises, two different versions were created - one for the teachers assigned to the treatment group and one for the teachers in the control group. When presenting the material below we first include the version of the instruction or exercise distributed to teachers assigned to the deliberative education practice and then the corresponding version for the ones assigned to teacher-centered teaching practice. The material was originally written in Swedish but have been translated into English.

Instructions for the study of social studies teaching – Deliberative education (DE)

The aim of the study is to compare different ways of teaching social studies. This planning documentation includes instructions on the way that you are to implement within the study. The study is based on you shifting your teaching towards a more *deliberative approach*. We are well aware that this may not be the way you teach in other contexts, but we are asking you to follow the planning documentation *as far as possible*. This is crucial for the study.

The planning documentation contains lesson plans and material for approximately 7 one-hour lessons. If your lessons are longer or shorter, you can make adjustments to accommodate a different time period. The "Lesson Plans" table below lists each one-hour lesson. This table shows which exercises are to be done in which lesson. If the exercises take a longer or shorter time, you can move the exercises from one lesson to another. You can also adjust which exercises are done in which lesson if you feel that you need to. It's not a problem if you don't manage to complete all the exercises planned for a lesson. For the opposite situation, if the class works quickly, there are a number of additional exercises in the planning documentation.

This planning documentation has two sections. **Basic instructions:** for teaching the lessons and also brief information about the exercises and teaching texts. **In-depth information:** which addresses those who want more information and contains a more detailed explanation of how the planning documentation relates to the learning objectives in Social Studies courses 1a1 and 1b, as well as a brief outline of the theory behind teacher-centred education. The first part also contains suggestions for questions that can be used to test the student's knowledge of the material.

Lesson Plans

Lesson	Content	Text
1.	Introduction, Questionnaire 1 Human rights (HR) exercises: Everyday actions 1, Death penalty	
2.	HR exercise: Freedom of expression, Freedom of religion, Freedom of expression 2	Students read the text about HR.
3.	HR exercise: The rule of law, Discrimination 1 & 2	Repeat the text about HR.
4.	HR exercise: Everyday action 2 (Note! Requires a projector!) Democracy exercises: Decision-making 1	Students read the text on democracy, Part 1.
5.	Democracy exercises: Decision-making 2 & 3 Direct democracy	Students read the text on democracy, Part 2.
6.	Democracy exercises: Dictatorship 1, Dictatorship 2, Civil disobedience.	Students read the text on democracy, Part 2.
7.	Survey 2	

Basic instructions: deliberative education

The teacher's role in deliberative education is to lead the lesson, be available for questions, and summarize what you and the students have completed during each lesson. You can use your usual routines for doing this. However, the form of teaching practice described in the planning documentation is based on students completing group discussion exercises. The exercises contain *cases* or *dilemmas* that the students are supposed to work on using *collective practical problem-solving*. They also have the teaching texts included in the planning documentation to assist them in this.

The lessons require the students to discuss the problem in small groups and solve the case/dilemma to the best of their ability. The teacher is asked to open up a whole class discussion after each exercise. This method is based on creating the best possible conditions for a conversation between the students, making it possible for them to test their arguments, listen to and reason with others.

For these discussions to be as effective as possible, a number of discussion criteria have been identified. These are that the students are to: *Listen respectfully to other people's arguments and do their best to assist other group members in putting forward their arguments*. It is also important *not to insult anyone and behave respectfully toward each other*. Finally, it is part of each exercise to *try to reach agreement*, or at least to *agree on what they disagree about* in the group. These criteria are defined as instructions in each exercise. The discussion criteria must also be repeated by you at the start of each lesson. (The material includes a separate PowerPoint presentation entitled "Discussion criteria" where the criteria are listed as dot points. This Powerpoint presentation has been shown during lessons).

The content for each lesson and the exercises deal with human rights and democracy. The following is an example of a lesson plan: As homework prior to each lesson, the students are required to read parts of a text on democracy as a form of decision-making and a text about what the majority principle. Each lesson begins with the students being divided into groups. The students are then handed an exercise with a dilemma that problematizes the question of the extent to which minorities should be able to influence democratic decisions. Before the students begin the exercise, the teacher runs through the discussion criteria.

While the students are doing the exercise, the teacher goes around and helps the groups that need additional perspectives on the dilemma or need concepts or something else that they perceived as unclear explained to them. The teacher is also responsible for being observant and taking action if the students deviate from the discussion criteria. Once the groups have finished discussing the dilemma and reported on their solutions to the instructions, under the leadership of the teacher, they can problematize the dilemma further in a whole class discussion. Once the teacher senses that the exercise is complete, a new exercise is begun.

In other words, the teaching used in the lessons during the study are to be focused on this particular form of teaching practice. It's important to point out that the lesson plans and exercises, in terms of the purpose and core content of the topic, as well as the learning objectives that the students are to work toward, are part of the Social Studies syllabus. For example, the exercises contain instructions on how to find out what the **terms** used in the exercise mean. Students are also encouraged to use

the discussions to show the **different perspectives** they see on the problems raised in the exercises. Furthermore, the students are encouraged to think about the **similarities and differences** in how the others participating in the discussion view the set of problems.

Exercises and texts

The study's project members have written the texts included in the material themselves. The same applies to most of the exercises. Some of the human rights exercises however have been based on Amnesty International's educational materials (this applies to the discrimination exercises and exercises on freedom of expression, freedom of religion, and the death penalty). All exercises and texts will be sent to you as PDF files. If you would like, we can also send all the material out to you via ordinary mail.

In-depth information

This section starts with how the content of the course relates to the Social Studies syllabus. This is followed by a brief presentation of the theory behind deliberative education. Finally, a test designed to measure the student's knowledge has been included. The test, which you are free to use, is based on the learning objectives of the course but should not be seen as comprehensively covering all of these. The text below is based on the Assessment support material for Social Studies - Social Studies 1a1 and 1b (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012).

Note that the planning documentation for this study does not cover all parts of the core content of the courses. Instead, a number of parts have been selected to constitute the course introduction since the study covers only 7 lessons. The parts of the course included in the study are described below, which makes it possible for the teacher to plan what to include in the rest of the course.

How are the aims of the subject related to the teaching practice in the study?

The lessons in the study are linked to several parts of the aims of the Social Studies school subject. Teaching in this subject aims to "develop the student's knowledge about people's living conditions" including issues related to power, democracy and human rights. In addition, it aims to "help create the foundations for the student's active participation in the life of the community". Through this subject, students are to be given the foundations for developing their "knowledge of democracy and human rights" as well as various social conditions and ways of organizing societies from different angles. They are also to develop a "knowledge of the importance of historical circumstances as well as how various ideological, political, economic, social and environmental circumstances affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures. Through the teaching in this subject, students are also to be given the opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding in oral and written form."

What core content are the lesson plans in the study based on?

The planning documentation is based primarily on the first and second points in the core content of Courses 1a1 and 1b in Social Studies. The content of these courses is very similar. However in Course 1b, there is an additional sentence under the first point that deals with ideologies. It is not included in the points listed from the core content below.

Democracy and political systems at the local and national levels and within the EU. International and Nordic cooperation. The opportunities for citizens to influence political decisions at these various levels. The distribution of power and opportunities for influence in various systems and at different levels based on fundamental models of democracy and the possibilities of digital technology.

Human rights: what they are, the relationship between the state and the individual, and how to claim one's individual and collective human rights.

The lesson plans in the planning documentation begin with a number of lesson plans on human rights. The exercises in the lesson plans are based on the points above and deal with what human rights are, the relationship between the state and the individual, and how as a citizen one can claim one's individual and collective rights.

These are followed by lesson plans based on the core content related to democracy and political systems at the local and national levels. The focus is on citizens' opportunities to influence political systems based on fundamental models of democracy. In other words, influence at the EU level and in international and Nordic cooperation is not dealt with. Similar to what is described in the Swedish National Agency for Education's commentary material, the term *political system* is used in the context of a "focus on how power is distributed in these systems and how they can be influenced" (Swedish Agency for Education, 2011:5,6). The lessons target the set of problems surrounding democratic decision-making, namely democracy as a decision-making process. In accordance with the Swedish National Agency for Education's commentary material, the lesson plans and exercises are also intended to highlight the question of what democracy is and look at the concept of democracy from different angles in relation to the role of citizens and the function of the political system. In other words, the planning documentation covers large parts of the first point in the core content but not all of it. There is therefore good reason to follow up the study with teaching of the core content dealing with ideologies, political parties, and the function of democracy in relation to the EU, and to international and Nordic cooperation.

What parts of the learning objectives are the lesson plans in the study based on?

The first part of the learning objectives is identical for the Social Studies Courses 1a1 and 1b. Suggestions for two essay questions that test parts of these learning objectives are given below. It's important to emphasize that the teachers who take part in the study and use the questions must supplement these with other student tasks before making their assessments of the students' achievement of the learning objectives. The questions asked in the student surveys do not have as their primary aim to measure achievement of the learning objectives in the subject syllabus. Instead,

the questions are the project’s way of measuring the student’s knowledge. We would therefore like to emphasize that it is the teacher’s responsibility to assess and grade the student. Our measurements are only used within the framework of the project and are comparative in nature.

E	C	A
<p>The student can give a general account of and analyze the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies.</p> <p>The student can also give a general account of human rights. In their analysis, the student clarifies links in simple terms, and draws simple conclusions about the similarities and differences between how different societies are organized.</p> <p>In addition, the student can give a general account of the significance of historical circumstances and conditions and draw simple conclusions about how contemporary social conditions, such as the development of working life, affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures.</p>	<p>The student can give a detailed account of and analyze the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies.</p> <p>The student can also give a detailed account of human rights. In their analysis, the student clarifies links and draws well-founded conclusions about the similarities and differences between how different societies are organized.</p> <p>In addition, the student can give a detailed account of the significance of historical circumstances and conditions and draw well-founded conclusions about how contemporary social conditions, such as the development of working life, affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures.</p>	<p>The student can give a detailed and nuanced account of and analyze the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies.</p> <p>The student can also give a detailed and nuanced account of human rights. In their analysis, the student clarifies the complex links and draws well-founded conclusions about the similarities and differences between how different societies are organized.</p> <p>In addition, the student can give a detailed and nuanced account of the significance of historical circumstances and conditions and draw well-founded and nuanced conclusions about how contemporary social conditions, such as the development of working life, affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures.</p>

The questions focus on the second sentence in the learning objectives regarding human rights, and that the student gets to demonstrate the extent to which he/she can give an account of what human rights are. Can the student do so in a *general, detailed or detailed and nuanced* way? The questions are based on the core content of the course and deal with what human rights are, the relationship between the state and the individual, and how as a citizen one can claim one's individual and collective rights.

The first sentence in the learning objectives is about whether the student can give an account of and analyze “the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies”. However, here we have chosen to operationalize “the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies” rather narrowly and focus on the core content that has set the tone for the lessons, i.e., highlighting the question of what democracy is and being able to look at the concept of democracy from different angles in relation to the role of citizens and the function of the political system. The questions are

intended to give the students the opportunity to clarify in their analysis *simple links and draw simple conclusions*, alternatively *clarify links and draw well-founded conclusions*, or *clarify complex links and draw well-founded conclusions* concerning these.

The third sentence explains how the analysis is to be assessed. The first part of the third sentence is about the extent to which the student can give a general, detailed, or detailed and nuanced account of the significance of historical circumstances and conditions for the way in which societies are organised and their social conditions. The next part of the sentence is about the extent to which the student can draw conclusions about how contemporary social conditions affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures. In the learning objectives, contemporary social conditions are exemplified by the *development of working life*. However we have chosen to base the questions on the content dealt with in the lessons, that is, human rights and democracy. Consequently, the students' analyses are assessed on the basis of questions where they get the opportunity to show the extent to which they can draw conclusions about how contemporary social conditions *affect* human rights and democracy and how human rights and democracy *are affected* by individuals, groups and social structures.

The assessment matrix with its assessment criteria is based on the *Swedish National Agency for Education's Assessment Support Material for Social Studies*. The assessment matrix is presented with the test.

Suggestions for essay questions:

What are the distinctive features of human rights? What are the distinctive features of a democratic system of government? In what different ways are there links between human rights and a democratic system of government? Discuss in detail!

Alternatively:

There are a number of conditions that must be fulfilled for a country to be called democratic, one of them being universal and equal suffrage. What other conditions should a country fulfil before it can be called democratic? Discuss in detail!

Assessment criteria	E quality	C quality	A quality
Breadth and depth of the content as well as the use of concepts	<p>The student's answer contains the essential elements of the core content.</p> <p>The student uses relevant social science concepts, not always entirely correctly or in the right context. The student's use of concepts is characterised by just listing them without using them to any great extent in their analysis and conclusions.</p>	<p>The student's answer is more precise and comprehensive, quantitatively and qualitatively, and includes several of the core parts of the content.</p> <p>The student uses relevant social science concepts to a greater extent, generally correctly and in the right context in their analysis and conclusions.</p>	<p>The student's answer is even more precise and comprehensive, quantitatively and qualitatively, and includes most of the core parts of the content viewed from different angles.</p> <p>The student uses relevant social science concepts throughout, correctly and in the right context in their analysis and conclusions.</p>
Links, analysis and conclusions	<p>The student clarifies similarities, differences and links. The links provided are linear and rarely comprise several stages. Analyses and conclusions are of a general nature and are sometimes argued on subjective grounds without always having support in the facts.</p>	<p>The student clarifies similarities, differences and links. The links provided are linear and occasionally comprise several stages or are in the form of non-linear relationships.</p> <p>Analyses and conclusions are sometimes specific in nature and the student clarifies them using relevant explanations and examples or by drawing parallels, for example. Links and conclusions are clarified with support in the facts.</p> <p>The students can sometimes problematize and put forth relevant objections and counter-arguments.</p>	<p>The student clarifies similarities, differences and links. The links provided are linear and often comprise several stages or are in the form of non-linear relationships.</p> <p>Analyses and conclusions are frequently clarified with the aid of a number of clear and relevant examples and explanations, or by the student drawing parallels. Links and conclusions are clarified with support in the facts.</p> <p>The student's text has thoroughly problematized the content and presents relevant objections and counter-arguments. The student weighs in many different aspects and looks at things from different angles by analysing the arguments.</p>

The theory behind the lessons

The form of teaching described in the planning documentation is called deliberative education. It assumes that people learn things more effectively if they listen to each other's arguments in an open

and flexible discussion with others (Gutmann 1999; Gutmann & Thompson 1996; Englund 2000A, 2000b, 2004, 2006, 2007). These ideas come from educational philosophy literature on pragmatism (Dewey 1916/2002). According to this approach to learning, young people ought to be given the opportunity to discover and immerse themselves in different types of problems through conversations and discussions with others. The expectation is that knowledge and meaning arise as a result of the young people engaging in conversation which sheds light on different aspects of what is to be learnt. The deliberative in this discussion situation is about the students focusing on listening to each other, helping each other to develop their arguments, not insulting each other and respecting each other's views.

For further reading, see:

Englund, T. (1999). "Den svenska skolan och demokrati. Möjligheter och begränsningar". i SOU 1999:93: *Det unga folkstyret. Demokratiutredningens forskarvolym VI*, pp. 13-50.

Englund, T. (2000). *Deliberativa samtal som värdegrund – historiska perspektiv och aktuella förutsättningar*. Stockholm: Swedish National Agency for Education.

Fishkin, J. S. (1991) *Democracy & deliberation: new directions for democratic reform*. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press.

Gutmann, A. (1999) *Democratic education: with a new preface and epilogue*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Gutmann, A. and D. F. Thompson (1996) *Democracy and disagreement: why moral conflict cannot be avoided in politics, and what should be done about it*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press.

Instructions for the study of social studies teaching – Teacher-centred education (TCE)

The aim of the study is to compare different ways of teaching social studies. This planning documentation includes instructions on the way that you are to implement within the study. The study is based on you shifting your teaching towards a more *teacher-centred approach*. We are well aware that this may not be the way you teach in other contexts, but we are asking you to follow the planning documentation *as far as possible*. This is crucial for the study.

The planning documentation contains lesson plans and material for approximately 7 one-hour lessons. If your lessons are longer or shorter, you can make adjustments to accommodate a different time period. The "Lesson Plans" table below lists each one-hour lesson. This table shows which exercises are to be done in which lesson. If the exercises take a longer or shorter time, you can move the exercises from one lesson to another. You can also adjust which exercises are done in which lesson if you feel that you need to. It's not a problem if you don't manage to complete all the exercises planned for a lesson. For the opposite situation, if the class works quickly, there are a number of additional exercises in the planning documentation.

This planning documentation has two sections. **Basic instructions:** for teaching the lessons and also brief information about the exercises and teaching texts. **In-depth information:** which addresses those who want more information and contains a more detailed explanation of how the planning documentation relates to the learning objectives in Social Studies courses 1a1 and 1b, as well as a brief outline of the theory behind teacher-centred education. The first part also contains suggestions for questions that can be used to test the student's knowledge of the material.

Lesson Plans

Lesson	Content	Text
1.	Introduction, Questionnaire 1 Human rights (HR) exercises: Everyday actions 1, Death penalty	
2.	HR exercise: Freedom of expression, Freedom of religion, Freedom of expression 2	Students read the text about HR.
3.	HR exercise: The rule of law, Discrimination 1 & 2	Repeat the text about HR.
4.	HR exercise: Everyday action 2 (Note! Requires a projector!) Democracy exercises: Decision-making 1	Students read the text on democracy, Part 1.
5.	Democracy exercises: Decision-making 2 & 3 Direct democracy	Students read the text on democracy, Part 2.
6.	Democracy exercises: Dictatorship 1, Dictatorship 2, Civil disobedience.	Students read the text on democracy, Part 2.
7.	Survey 2	

Basic instructions: teacher-centred education

Teacher-centred education is a form of teaching practice that focuses on the individual thinking of students. With the teacher's help, the individual thinking of each student is made accessible to the class through dialogue between the teacher and the class. It is principally about focusing the teaching on methods that allow the teacher to understand how well the students are grasping the content and then giving them room to develop their own individual thinking.

To a large extent, these methods are more focused variants of what is considered to be the most prevalent methods used in Swedish schools: whole class reviews by the teacher and individual work by the students. Whole class teaching is based on the teacher giving lectures, introductions and using IRE sequences. IRE means that the teacher initiates (I) a question to which he/she knows the answer, followed by the student responding (R), then the teacher evaluating (E) the student's response.

Individual work is focused on the students working on completing exercises. The exercises contain *cases* or *dilemmas* that the student is supposed to work on to solve. They have the teaching texts included in the planning documentation to assist them in this. The lessons proceed as follows: the teacher introduces today's theme and exercises and conducts a classroom dialogue with the students about these. The following is an example of a lesson plan: Students are given the task of reading parts of a text on human rights in preparation for the next lesson. When that lesson starts, all the students are given an exercise sheet about the rule of law. The teacher reads through the exercise and the introductory text about the dilemma with the students and elaborates on a number of aspects and any complex concepts in the text. The teacher might also ask the students a number of questions about what the text is about. In addition, the students might have questions for the teacher on what the text is about ("If you commit a crime in a country where you are not a citizen, can you be deported from that country?"). Once these aspects, concepts and student questions have all been dealt with, the students start to work through the exercise. Most of the exercises contains a *Step 2* in which students get additional information. In the exercise about the rule of law, the students are asked to read some of the Articles from the UN Declaration on Human Rights. These Article texts can be difficult to comprehend and the teacher may need to go through them and talk to the class about what they mean. Then the students work on the exercises to the best of their ability. As the students complete the exercise, the teacher goes round and helps and supports them in doing their work. When the teacher senses that most students have completed an exercise, the teacher interrupts the students' individual work and, addressing the whole class, brings up questions that he/she has assembled.

Teacher-centered education is characterized by two teaching techniques: whole class reviews by the teacher and individual work completed by the students. In other words, the teaching used in the lessons during the study are to be focused on these particular teaching techniques. It's important to point out that the lesson plans and exercises, in terms of the purpose and core content of the topic, as well as the learning objectives that the the students are to work toward, are part of the Social Studies syllabus. For example, the exercises contain instructions on how to find out what the **terms** used in the exercise mean. Students are also encouraged to use the exercises to show the **different perspectives** they see on the problems raised. Furthermore, the students are encouraged to think about the **similarities and differences** in how one can view the set of problems.

Exercises and texts

The study's project members have written the texts included in the material themselves. The same applies to most of the exercises. Some of the human rights exercises however have been based on Amnesty International's educational materials (this applies to the discrimination exercises and exercises on freedom of expression, freedom of religion, and the death penalty). All exercises and texts will be sent to you as PDF files. If you would like, we can also send all the material out to you via ordinary mail.

In-depth information

This section starts with how the content of the course relates to the Social Studies syllabus. This is followed by a brief presentation of the theory behind teacher-centered education. Finally, a test designed to measure the student's knowledge has been included. The test, which you are free to use, is based on the learning objectives of the course but should not be seen as comprehensively covering all of these. The text below is based on the Assessment support material for Social Studies - Social Studies 1a1 and 1b (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012).

Note that the planning documentation for this study does not cover all parts of the core content of the courses. Instead, a number of parts have been selected to constitute the course introduction since the study covers only 7 lessons. The parts of the course included in the study are described below, which makes it possible for the teacher to plan what to include in the rest of the course.

How are the aims of the subject related to the teaching practice in the study?

The lessons in the study are linked to several parts of the aims of the Social Studies school subject. Teaching in this subject aims to "develop the student's knowledge about people's living conditions" including issues related to power, democracy and human rights. In addition, it aims to "help create the foundations for the student's active participation in the life of the community". Through this subject, students are to be given the foundations for developing their "knowledge of democracy and human rights" as well as various social conditions and ways of organizing societies from different angles. They are also to develop a "knowledge of the importance of historical circumstances as well as how various ideological, political, economic, social and environmental circumstances affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures... Through the teaching in this subject, students are also to be given the opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding in oral and written form".

What core content are the lesson plans in the study based on?

The planning documentation is based primarily on the first and second points in the core content of Courses 1a1 and 1b in Social Studies. The content of these courses is very similar. However in Course

1b, there is an additional sentence under the first point that deals with ideologies. It is not included in the points listed from the core content below.

Democracy and political systems at the local and national levels and within the EU. International and Nordic cooperation. The opportunities for citizens to influence political decisions at these various levels. The distribution of power and opportunities for influence in various systems and at different levels based on fundamental models of democracy and the possibilities of digital technology.

Human rights: what they are, the relationship between the state and the individual, and how to claim one's individual and collective human rights.

The lesson plans in the planning documentation begin with a number of lesson plans on human rights. The exercises in the lesson plans are based on the points above and deal with what human rights are, the relationship between the state and the individual, and how as a citizen one can claim one's individual and collective rights.

These are followed by lesson plans based on the core content related to democracy and political systems at the local and national levels. The focus is on citizens' opportunities to influence political systems based on fundamental models of democracy. In other words, influence at the EU level and in international and Nordic cooperation is not dealt with. Similar to what is described in the Swedish National Agency for Education's commentary material, the term *political system* is used in the context of a "focus on how power is distributed in these systems and how they can be influenced" (Swedish Agency for Education, 2011:5,6). The lessons target the set of problems surrounding democratic decision-making, namely democracy as a decision-making process. In accordance with the Swedish National Agency for Education's commentary material, the lesson plans and exercises are also intended to highlight the question of what democracy is and look at the concept of democracy from different angles in relation to the role of citizens and the function of the political system. In other words, the planning documentation covers large parts of the first point in the core content but not all of it. There is therefore good reason to follow up the study with teaching of the core content dealing with ideologies, political parties, and the function of democracy in relation to the EU, and to international and Nordic cooperation.

What parts of the learning objectives are the lesson plans in the study based on?

The first part of the learning objectives is identical for the Social Studies Courses 1a1 and 1b. Suggestions for two essay questions that test parts of these learning objectives are given below. It's important to emphasize that the teachers who take part in the study and use the questions must supplement these with other student tasks before making their assessments of the students' achievement of the learning objectives. The questions asked in the student surveys do not have as their primary aim to measure achievement of the learning objectives in the subject syllabus. Instead, the questions are the project's way of measuring the student's general knowledge. We would therefore like to emphasize that it is the teacher's responsibility to assess and grade the student. Our measurements are only used within the framework of the project and are comparative in nature.

E	C	A
<p>The student can give a general account of and analyze the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies.</p> <p>The student can also give a general account of human rights. In their analysis, the student clarifies links in simple terms, and draws simple conclusions about the similarities and differences between how different societies are organized.</p> <p>In addition, the student can give a general account of the significance of historical circumstances and conditions and draw simple conclusions about how contemporary social conditions, such as the development of working life, affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures.</p>	<p>The student can give a detailed account of and analyze the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies.</p> <p>The student can also give a detailed account of human rights. In their analysis, the student clarifies links and draws well-founded conclusions about the similarities and differences between how different societies are organized.</p> <p>In addition, the student can give a detailed account of the significance of historical circumstances and conditions and draw well-founded conclusions about how contemporary social conditions, such as the development of working life, affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures.</p>	<p>The student can give a detailed and nuanced account of and analyze the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies.</p> <p>The student can also give a detailed and nuanced account of human rights. In their analysis, the student clarifies the complex links and draws well-founded conclusions about the similarities and differences between how different societies are organized.</p> <p>In addition, the student can give a detailed and nuanced account of the significance of historical circumstances and conditions and draw well-founded and nuanced conclusions about how contemporary social conditions, such as the development of working life, affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures.</p>

The questions focus on the second sentence in the learning objectives regarding human rights, and that the student gets to demonstrate the extent to which he/she can give an account of what human rights are. Can the student do so in a *general, detailed or detailed and nuanced* way? The questions are based on the core content of the course and deal with what human rights are, the relationship between the state and the individual, and how as a citizen one can claim one's individual and collective rights.

The first sentence in the learning objectives is about whether the student can give an account of and analyze “the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies”. However, here we have chosen to operationalize “the way in which different societies are organized and their social conditions as well as their underlying ideologies” rather narrowly and focus on the core content that has set the tone for the lessons, i.e., highlighting the question of what democracy is and being able to look at the concept of democracy from different angles in relation to the role of citizens and the function of the political system. The questions are intended to give the students the opportunity to clarify in their analysis *simple links and draw simple conclusions*, alternatively *clarify links and draw well-founded conclusions*, or *clarify complex links and draw well-founded conclusions* concerning these.

The third sentence explains how the analysis is to be assessed. The first part of the third sentence is about the extent to which the student can give a general, detailed, or detailed and nuanced account of the significance of historical circumstances and conditions for the way in which societies are organised and their social conditions. The next part of the sentence is about the extent to which the student can draw conclusions about how contemporary social conditions affect and are affected by individuals, groups and social structures. In the learning objectives, contemporary social conditions are exemplified by the *development of working life*. However we have chosen to base the questions on the content dealt with in the lessons, that is, human rights and democracy. Consequently, the students' analyses are assessed on the basis of questions where they get the opportunity to show the extent to which they can draw conclusions about how contemporary social conditions *affect* human rights and democracy and how human rights and democracy *are affected* by individuals, groups and social structures.

The assessment matrix with its assessment criteria is based on the *Swedish National Agency for Education's Assessment Support Material for Social Studies*. The assessment matrix is presented with the test.

Suggestions for essay questions:

What are the distinctive features of human rights? What are the distinctive features of a democratic system of government? In what different ways are there links between human rights and a democratic system of government? Discuss in detail!

Alternatively:

There are a number of conditions that must be fulfilled for a country to be called democratic, one of them being universal and equal suffrage. What other conditions should a country fulfil before it can be called democratic? Discuss in detail!

Assessment criteria	E quality	C quality	A quality
Breadth and depth of the content as well as the use of concepts	<p>The student's answer contains the essential elements of the core content.</p> <p>The student uses relevant social science concepts, not always entirely correctly or in the right context. The student's use of concepts is characterised by just listing them without using them to any great extent in their analysis and conclusions.</p>	<p>The student's answer is more precise and comprehensive, quantitatively and qualitatively, and includes several of the core parts of the content.</p> <p>The student uses relevant social science concepts to a greater extent, generally correctly and in the right context in their analysis and conclusions.</p>	<p>The student's answer is even more precise and comprehensive, quantitatively and qualitatively, and includes most of the core parts of the content viewed from different angles.</p> <p>The student uses relevant social science concepts throughout, correctly and in the right context in their analysis and conclusions.</p>

<p>Links, analysis and conclusions</p>	<p>The student clarifies similarities, differences and links. The links provided are linear and rarely comprise several stages. Analyses and conclusions are of a general nature and are sometimes argued on subjective grounds without always having support in the facts.</p>	<p>The student clarifies similarities, differences and links. The links provided are linear and occasionally comprise several stages or are in the form of non-linear relationships.</p> <p>Analyses and conclusions are sometimes specific in nature and the student clarifies them using relevant explanations and examples or by drawing parallels, for example. Links and conclusions are clarified with support in the facts.</p> <p>The students can sometimes problematize and put forth relevant objections and counter-arguments.</p>	<p>The student clarifies similarities, differences and links. The links provided are linear and often comprise several stages or are in the form of non-linear relationships.</p> <p>Analyses and conclusions are frequently clarified with the aid of a number of clear and relevant examples and explanations, or by the student drawing parallels. Links and conclusions are clarified with support in the facts.</p> <p>The student's text has thoroughly problematized the content and presents relevant objections and counter-arguments. The student weighs in many different aspects and looks at things from different angles by analysing the arguments.</p>
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The theory behind the lessons

The teaching practice described in the planning documentation is based on a theory which claims that students learn things better if they are taught in a way that focuses on dialog between the teacher and the class. There is also a practical issue concerning the use of an approach that is feasible, that is, applicable given the conditions in classes with up to thirty students. In other words, it is principally about focusing the teaching on methods that give the teacher an opportunity to understand how well the students are grasping the content and then giving them scope to develop their own thinking. As mentioned above, to a large extent these methods are refined variants of techniques which are considered to be the most prevalent in Swedish schools (Lindblad & Sahlström 1999), where whole class teaching is based principally on IRE sequences (Liljestränd 2002). That the communication process for learning purposes will be more effective using a teacher-centered approach is considered to be the advantage of this type of teaching practice (Hoff Sommers 2000). In the area of higher education in particular, this tradition is strong and there are many studies showing that teaching that uses teacher-driven dialog is effective for student outcomes (see for example Caldwell 2007; Dufresne, et al. 1996, Hanley et al. 1997). Using this approach and assisted by the teacher's questions, the teacher can take advantage of the opportunity to convey information and perspectives to a large group of students.

For further reading, see:

Bransford, J. D., Brown, A. L., & Cocking, R. R. (Eds.) (1999). *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Caldwell, J. E. (2007) "Clickers in the Large Classroom: Current Research and Best-Practice Tips". *CBE – Life Sciences Education* 6:1:9-20.

Wenk, L., Dufresne, R., Gerace, W, Leonard, W, Mestre, J. (1997) "Technology-assisted active learning in large lectures." In C. D'Avanzo and M. McNichols eds. *Student-active science: models of innovative in college science Teaching*. Philadelphia, PA Saunders College Publishing.

Human rights

Human rights in our everyday lives: coexisting with others

In this exercise, you will discuss how to uphold human rights in our everyday lives. Read the case story below and reflect on what would be the best thing to do.

Start with everyone reading the case story. Then reflect on what you think about the case. Then start a discussion in the group. Do you all have the same opinions? What separates your opinions?

Help everyone to express what they think by asking “What do you mean?”, “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other’s standpoints.

Try to agree on the answers. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box.



Story:

When Anton arrives at school, he can hear how the whisperings about him start up. But he knows that no one would dare to stand up and say anything. Nobody would dare to talk to him.

It’s about Anton’s sweatshirt. His sweatshirt has the slogan “Whites rule” on it. The message is clearly racist, but it can be interpreted in another way.

Anton has worn the sweatshirt a few times and the teachers have tried to make him see reason. Anton sometimes chooses to pretend that the message is something different and at other times he says that they can just try to take it off him – if they dare and if they can.

The school principal has been called in and has talked with him about the school rules and told him that he can’t wear the sweatshirt at school. Anton maintains that he can wear any sweatshirt he likes. The situation is currently in a stalemate.

You are a student at the same school as Anton and one day the school principal and some teachers catch sight of you and your friends. They ask if you have time to talk, and you do have time. The school principal describes the situation with Anton to you, which you are very familiar with. But you haven’t had the courage to confront Anton either.

The school principal asks you if you have any good ideas about what can be done. He says: “You have just been studying democracy and human rights. What do you think we should do about Anton and his sweatshirt?” What do you answer?

Discuss this before you turn over the paper.

There are a number of alternatives there to think about and reflect on. Discuss and decide which are the best two alternatives and compare your choice with what you had arrived at before you read the alternatives.

A – I think you should be allowed to wear any clothing you like. If you want to advertise your ideological standpoint, you must be allowed to do so even if it means that you are breaking some law or rule.

B – I will talk to Anton, someone has to stand up to him and this time it's my turn, I must have the courage to stand up for what I believe in which is that racism doesn't belong here. Just expelling Anton won't solve the problem.

C – Expel him from the school! You're entitled to do that aren't you? Hate speech is banned!

D – Use democracy! Let's hold a vote at the school about the problem. If the students vote against being allowed to wear sweatshirts with dubious slogans that can be interpreted as breaking the law, we should follow that decision and then it's up to everyone to keep a check on each other.

E – This has nothing to do with me. I don't make the decisions here and this is a question for the management of the school. I'm not an expert in the law.

F – This doesn't interest me. If it happened down town I wouldn't care and it doesn't bother me, the same applies if it happens at school.

The group has arrived at the following: A) before we saw the alternatives B) after we saw the alternatives:



Human rights

Human rights in our everyday lives: coexisting with others

In this exercise, you are to try to summarize how human rights should be enforced in our everyday lives. Read the case story below then reflect on what you think is a good attitude to have towards the world around you.

Then reflect on what you think about the **question**: How should we relate to each other and why is it not always easy to relate to others?



Story:

When Anton arrives at school, he can hear how the whisperings about him start up. But he knows that no one would dare to stand up and say anything. Nobody would dare to talk to him.

It's about Anton's sweatshirt. His sweatshirt has the slogan "Whites rule" on it. The message is clearly racist, but it can be interpreted in another way.

Anton has worn the sweatshirt a few times and the teachers have tried to make him see reason. Anton sometimes chooses to pretend that the message is something different and at other times he says that they can just try to take it off him – if they dare and if they can.

The school principal has been called in and has talked with him about the school rules and told him that he can't wear the sweatshirt at school. Anton maintains that he can wear any sweatshirt he likes. The situation is currently in a stalemate.

You are a student at the same school as Anton and one day the school principal and some teachers catch sight of you and your friends. They ask if you have time to talk, and you do have time. The school principal describes the situation with Anton to you, which you are very familiar with. But you haven't had the courage to confront Anton either.

The school principal asks you if you have any good ideas about what can be done. He says: "You have just been studying democracy and human rights. What do you think we should do about Anton and his sweatshirt?" What do you answer?

Reflect on what you think about the case story above: What arguments do you have for your opinion? What possible arguments can you think of?

Discuss this with the rest of the class before you turn over the paper.

There are a number of alternatives there to think about and reflect on. Discuss and decide which are the best two alternatives and compare your choice with what you had arrived at before you read the alternatives.

A – I think you should be allowed to wear any clothing you like. If you want to advertise your ideological standpoint, you must be allowed to do so even if it means that you are breaking some law or rule.

B – I will talk to Anton, someone has to stand up to him and this time it's my turn, I must have the courage to stand up for what I believe in which is that racism doesn't belong here. Just expelling Anton won't solve the problem.

C – Expel him from the school! You're entitled to do that aren't you? Hate speech is banned!

D – Use democracy! Let's hold a vote at the school about the problem. If the students vote against being allowed to wear sweatshirts with dubious slogans that can be interpreted as breaking the law, we should follow that decision and then it's up to everyone to keep a check on each other.

E – This has nothing to do with me. I don't make the decisions here and this is a question for the management of the school. I'm not an expert in the law.

F – This doesn't interest me. If it happened down town I wouldn't care and it doesn't bother me, the same applies if it happens at school.

I have arrived at the following: A) before I saw the options B) after I saw the options:



Human rights

Values exercise: the death penalty

In this exercise, you will discuss values in relation to human rights. You are to read the case story below and discuss what you think of the claims that are made in the case story.

- Start with everyone reading the case story. Then reflect on what you think. Then start the conversation and ask the questions "What do you think?" and "What do you mean?" when talking with each other.
- Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's stands (views) by saying "What exactly do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect what the others in your group think.
- In conclusion: try to come to an agreement on an answer to the question. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box below the story.
- Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it?

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

You start to chat with a woman sitting next to you on a bus. Her name is Joanna, she is 43 years old and has a husband and two children, she works as recreation centre instructor and is very interested in music and sports. She is very friendly and easy-going and you chat about all sorts of things.. Suddenly the topic of conversation slips into the crime rate and Joanna says that crime has increased greatly in recent years, which is hardly surprising at all because there are so many "idiots rampaging around the town". Joanna says that she recently read the story in the newspaper about an "idiot" who drove off the road without reason and hit a guy, injuring him so seriously that he is now paralyzed from the waist down. Absolutely terrible, says Joanna, and is quite decided that those people who have done such a thing have no right to go on living any more. "Ruining the life of another person just by being so negligent. It should be the death penalty for maniacs like that. Or at least you should be able to torture them a bit, maybe paralyse at least one leg of the person who did that". Then she turns to you and says: "What do you think?"

What do you answer? What do you think? And why?

The group has concluded the following:

Below are some relevant Articles from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning the death penalty.

- Read through the Articles and resume the discussion.
- Did you arrive at different conclusions? How did these Articles impact your decision? Write down your amended conclusions if applicable in the box below.

Article 3: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person."

Article 5: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."



After reading the Articles, the group has arrived at the following conclusion:

Human rights

Values exercise: the death penalty

In this exercise, you will think about values in relation to human rights. You have probably already at some time or other thought about and perhaps even discussed the question of the death penalty. Before you answer, think about what arguments make you think about this question the way you do.

The question is: Should a country be able to impose the death penalty?

Answer alternatives: A) No, it is totally unreasonable. B) Somewhat doubtful, but it doesn't seem to be right in a democracy. C) Somewhat doubtful, but many democracies have it so perhaps it is reasonable. D) Yes, it is reasonable.

Read the case story below and reflect on what arguments are used in the standpoint being taken. Reflect on what you think about Joanna's standpoint as argued in the case story.

In the box below, write down how you would respond to Joanna's questions.

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

You start to chat with a woman sitting next to you on a bus. Her name is Joanna, she is 43 years old and has a husband and two children, she works as recreation centre instructor and is very interested in music and sports. She is very friendly and easy-going and you chat about all sorts of things.. Suddenly the topic of conversation slips into the crime rate and Joanna says that crime has increased greatly in recent years, which is hardly surprising at all because there are so many "idiots rampaging around the town". Joanna says that she recently read the story in the newspaper about an "idiot" who drove off the road without reason and hit a guy, injuring him so seriously that he is now paralyzed from the waist down. Absolutely terrible, says Joanna, and is quite decided that those people who have done such a thing have no right to go on living any more. "Ruining the life of another person just by being so negligent. It should be the death penalty for maniacs like that. Or at least you should be able to torture them a bit, maybe paralyse at least one leg of the person who did that". Then she turns to you and says: "What do you think?"

What do you answer? What do you think? And why?

I have concluded the following:

- Below are some relevant Articles from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning the death penalty.
- Read through the Articles and reflect on how these Articles relate to your arguments. Then answer the questions in the box below:

Article 3: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person."

Article 5: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

- What do these Articles mean?
- What does it mean that they are part of Sweden's constitution?
- What arguments might there be for Sweden, unlike the USA for example, not having the death penalty?
- Many countries that we are dependent on, and that we trade a lot with such as China, have the death penalty. How should we relate to countries that do not look at the "right to life" in the same way as it is written into Swedish law?

How would you reply to the questions?

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Human rights

Values exercise: freedom of expression

In this exercise, you will discuss values in relation to human rights. You are to read the case story below and discuss what you think of the claims that are made in the case story.

- In your discussion, it is important that you reflect on what you mean and help each other to express what each of you mean. What different **perspectives** are there in your group? Are there **similarities and differences** in how you view the problem? Ask each other follow-up questions like “What exactly do you mean?”.
- Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other’s standpoints by saying “What exactly do you mean?”, “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect what the others in your group think.
- In conclusion: try to come to an agreement on an answer to the question. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box below the case story.
- Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it.

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

After school, you decide to go home with one of your classmates. Your classmate’s Dad is at home and their neighbour Robert has come over for a visit. The weather is nice so you and your classmate and his Dad are all sitting on the balcony basking in the sun, while Robert stands and smokes. Robert starts talking about a news item on the TV that he has seen about the Pride festival. “All these homosexuals” upset Robert. If you are in fact “one of those”, you really shouldn’t be “dressing up” and making a “spectacle” of yourself down town, is what he thinks. “Instead you should be trying to hide it”. No, Robert sighs, events like Pride ought to be banned. He takes a deep drag on his cigarette, then looks down at you and asks: “Or what do you think?”

What do you answer? What do you think? And why?

The group has concluded the following:

Below are two relevant Articles from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning freedom of expression. It's important to point out however that *how a right is understood is a matter of interpretation*.

Read through the Articles and resume the discussion.

Did you arrive at different conclusions? How did these Articles impact your decision? Write down your amended conclusions if applicable in the box below.

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.



After reading the Articles, the group has arrived at the following conclusion:

Human rights

Values exercise: freedom of expression

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on how you view the situation in the case story below. Start by reading the case story.

When you have read it, reflect on how you would answer the question Robert asks. Also reflect on why this is your answer, that is, what *arguments* you would use. Try thinking through these arguments and getting them as clear as possible. Ask yourself if you would be able to convince someone who thought differently from you with these arguments?

Write down the *arguments* that you arrived at in the box below the case story. Remember that you must be able to outline your arguments to others in the class.

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

After school, you decide to go home with one of your classmates. Your classmate's Dad is at home and their neighbour Robert has come over for a visit. The weather is nice so you and your classmate and his Dad are all sitting on the balcony basking in the sun, while Robert stands and smokes. Robert starts talking about a news item on the TV that he has seen about the Pride festival. "All these homosexuals" upset Robert. If you are in fact "one of those", you really shouldn't be "dressing up" and making a "spectacle" of yourself down town, is what he thinks. "Instead you should be trying to hide it". No, Robert sighs, events like Pride ought to be banned. He takes a deep drag on his cigarette, then looks down at you and asks: "Or what do you think?"

What do you answer? What do you think? And why?

I have concluded the following:

Below are two relevant Articles from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning freedom of expression. It's important to point out however that *how a right is understood is a matter of interpretation*.

Read the Articles.

When you have done that, reflect on: How do these Articles relate to the arguments I wrote down in the box on the previous page?

After reading the Articles did you arrive at different conclusions? How do these Articles influence what you think? Write down the different conclusions you might draw after having read and thought about these Articles.

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

After reading the Articles, I have arrived at the following conclusion:



Human rights

Values exercise: freedom of religion

In this exercise, you will discuss values in relation to human rights. You are to read the case story below and discuss what you think of the claims that are made in the case story.

- Start with everyone reading the case story. Then reflect on what you think about the case. Then start the conversation and ask the questions "What do you think?" and "What do you mean?" when talking with each other.
- Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's standpoints by saying "What exactly do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.
- In conclusion: try to agree on how to approach this question. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box below the story.
- Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it?

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

You are at a party to celebrate your cousin's 23rd birthday. Her friend Peter is there. You are eating cake and drinking coffee. After a while you start talking a bit more with Peter. It turns out that he is studying to become an engineer at university. It is his first year and he is really enjoying it. Then he suddenly starts talking about the planned construction of a mosque in the town. Peter thinks it's terrible that anyone is allowed to build a mosque in Sweden at all because, according to him, Sweden is a Christian country. He is not very religious himself, but just the idea of a mosque makes him angry. It shouldn't be allowed to build a mosque in Sweden, says Peter with emphasis, takes a gulp of coffee and another slice of cake, looks at you and asks:

"What do you think?"

What do you answer?

The group has concluded the following:

Below is an relevant Article from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning freedom of religion.

- Read through the Article and resume the discussion.
- Did you arrive at different conclusions? How did this Article impact your decision? Write down your amended conclusions if applicable in the box below.
- What do you think we should say to Peter? Would you say what you think to Peter? Why? "Why not?"

Article 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.



After reading the Article, the group has arrived at the following conclusion:

Human rights

Values exercise: freedom of religion

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on how you view the situation in the case story below.

When you have read it, reflect on how you would answer the question Peter asks. Also reflect on why this is your answer, that is, what *arguments* you would use. Try thinking through these arguments and getting them as clear as possible. Ask yourself if you would be able to convince someone who thought differently from you with these arguments?

Write down the *arguments* that you arrived at in the box below the case story. Remember that you must be able to outline your arguments to others in the class.

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

You are at a party to celebrate your cousin's 23rd birthday. Her friend Peter is there. You are eating cake and drinking coffee. After a while you start talking a bit more with Peter. It turns out that he is studying to become an engineer at university. It is his first year and he is really enjoying it. Then he suddenly starts talking about the planned construction of a mosque in the town. Peter thinks it's terrible that anyone is allowed to build a mosque in Sweden at all because, according to him, Sweden is a Christian country. He is not very religious himself, but just the idea of a mosque makes him angry. It shouldn't be allowed to build a mosque in Sweden, says Peter with emphasis, takes a gulp of coffee and another slice of cake, looks at you and asks:

"What do you think?"

What do you answer?

I have concluded the following:

Below is the Article from the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights that is relevant to this case story. It's important to point out however that how a right is understood is a matter of interpretation.

Read the Article.

When you have done that, reflect on:

- How does this Article relate to the arguments you wrote down in the box on the previous page?
- After reading the Article, did you arrive at different conclusions?
- How do this Article influence what you think?
- Write down the different conclusions you might draw after having read and thought about this Article.

Article 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.



After reading the Article, I have arrived at the following conclusion:

Human rights

Case of freedom of expression

In this exercise, you will discuss values in relation to human rights. You are to read the case story below and discuss what you think of the claims that are made in the case story.

- Start with everyone reading the case story. Then reflect on what you think about the case. Then start the conversation and ask the questions "What do you think?" and "What do you mean?" when talking with each other.
- Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's standpoints by saying "What exactly do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.
- In conclusion: try to agree on how to approach this question. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box below the story.
- Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it?

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

Case story: On 20 July 2003, 50 members of a free church congregation in Borgholm gathered to listen to Pastor Åke Green's sermon. The topic for the day was homosexuality. The question to be treated in the sermon was: "Is homosexuality an innate drive or is it the forces of evil toying with mankind." Green based his sermon, according to him, on the word of God. His message in the sermon was that homosexuality is against God's intentions for His Creation. Green claimed that God had created human beings as men and women and thus homosexuality is an "abnormality". He argued that it doesn't exist in either the animal or plant kingdom and therefore should not exist in human beings either. Åke Green also claimed that AIDS had arisen because of homosexuals. He said that these "sexually twisted individuals will rape animals" and that not even animals "go free from human sexual needs and the fire that is ignited in a person". Green also asked whether homosexuality is an innate drive or "the forces of evil toying with mankind?". He claimed that it was, without any doubt at all, the latter.

Should you be able to say things like this about a group of people? Does it matter who says it?

The group has concluded the following:

What happened?

Åke Green tried, unsuccessfully, to get the local media to write about his sermon. But he did send a precis of the sermon to Ölandsbladet, a regional newspaper, which was seen by the Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Rights (RFSL). RFSL reported Åke Green to the police for hate speech and Kalmar District Court sentenced Green to one month in prison. He appealed this sentence to the Göta Court of Appeal, where he was acquitted entirely. The prosecutor appealed against this judgement, but the Supreme Court also acquitted Green. The Supreme Court argued that Green would most likely be acquitted if he appealed the judgement to the European Court of Justice, because it was about his interpretation of the Bible and that it was thus a matter of freedom of religion.

To discuss further: It is reasonable, with reference to the Bible, to express an opinion on a group of people the way that Åke Green did? Why?/Why not?

Find out: What is in fact the role of the European Court of Justice? Does anyone know what the European Court of Justice is?



The group has found out what the European Court of Justice is (reported on below) and in our view the answers to the discussion questions are the following:

Human rights

Case of freedom of expression

In this exercise, you will reflect on how to uphold human rights in our everyday lives. To help you, you have the introductory text to the human rights topic, and in particular the part that deals with freedom of expression.

The fundamental question that you are being asked to consider in this exercise is: What does freedom of expression entail and why are there limits on freedom of expression?

Read the case story, which has been taken from real life. When you have finished reading, think about the question in the box and then write down your answer. Also write down *why* you arrived at this answer. Bear in mind that you may be asked about the conclusion you

Story:

On 20 July 2003, 50 members of a free church congregation in Borgholm in Sweden gathered to listen to Pastor Åke Green's sermon. The topic for the day was homosexuality. The question to be treated in the sermon was: "Is homosexuality an innate drive or is it the forces of evil toying with mankind." Green based his sermon, according to him, on the word of God. His message in the sermon was that homosexuality is against God's intentions for His Creation. Green claimed that God had created human beings as men and women and thus homosexuality is an "abnormality". He argued that it doesn't exist in either the animal or plant kingdom and therefore should not exist in human beings either. Åke Green also claimed that AIDS had arisen because of homosexuals. He said that these "sexually twisted individuals will rape animals" and that not even animals "go free from human sexual needs and the fire that is ignited in a person". Green also asked whether homosexuality is an innate drive or "the forces of evil toying with mankind?". He claimed that it was, without any doubt at all, the latter.

Should you be able to say things like this about a group of people? Does it matter who says it?

I have concluded the following:

What happened?

Åke Green tried, unsuccessfully, to get the local media to write about his sermon. But he did send a precis of the sermon to Ölandsbladet, a regional newspaper, which was seen by the Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Rights (RFSL). RFSL reported Åke Green to the police for hate speech and Kalmar District Court sentenced Green to one month in prison. He appealed this sentence to the Göta Court of Appeal, where he was acquitted entirely. The prosecutor appealed against this judgement, but the Supreme Court also acquitted Green. The Supreme Court argued that Green would most likely be acquitted if he appealed the judgement to the European Court of Justice, because it was about his interpretation of the Bible and that it was thus a matter of freedom of religion.

What do you think? It is reasonable, with reference to the Bible, to express an opinion on a group of people the way that Åke Green did? Why?/Why not?

Find out: What is in fact the role of the European Court of Justice? Do you know what the European Court of Justice is?



I have found out what the European Court of Justice is (reported on below) and in my view the answers to the discussion questions are the following:

Human rights

Values exercise: the rule of law

In this exercise, you will discuss values in relation to human rights. You are to read the case story below and discuss what you think of the claims that are made in the case story.

- In your discussion, it is important that you reflect on what you mean and help each other to express what each of you mean. What different **perspectives** are there in your group? Are there **similarities and differences** in how you view the problem? Ask each other follow-up questions like “What exactly do you mean?”.
- Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other’s stands (views) by saying “What exactly do you mean?”, “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other’s standpoints.
- In conclusion: try to come to an agreement on an answer to the question. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box below the story.
- Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it.

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

During break, you and some friends are sitting around, waiting the next lesson. Jennifer, one of your classmates, is turning over the pages of a newspaper. Suddenly Jennifer starts muttering and swearing in an irritated manner. You immediately become curious what she is reading that is making her so upset. She is reading an article about a terrorist who was arrested just before he was about to open fire with a machine gun on a pedestrian street. But the man was unsuccessful, the gun jammed, and now he is being held in detention pending trial. “This is just sick,” says Jennifer, “to waste time and money on a trial on a nutcase like this. Nope, the best thing would be to skip the trial and run him out of the country, maybe to a desert island, or a long way down in a mine.” Then she look up from the newspaper, looks at the rest of you and asks: “What do you guys think?”
What do you answer? And why?

The group has concluded the following:

Below are some relevant Articles from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning the rule of law. It's important to point out however that how a right is understood is a matter of interpretation.

- Read through the Articles and resume the discussion.
- Did you arrive at different conclusions? How did these Articles impact your decision? Write down your amended conclusions if applicable in the box below.

Article 9: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."

Article 10: "Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him."

Article 11.1: "Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence."

Article 11.2: "No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed."



After reading these Articles, the group has arrived at the following conclusion:

A large, empty rectangular box with a black border, intended for the group's conclusion.

Human rights

Values exercise: the rule of law

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on how you view the situation in the case story below. Read the case story.

When you have read it, reflect on how you would answer the question Jennifer asks. Also reflect on why this is your answer, that is, what *arguments* you would use. Try thinking through these arguments and getting them as clear as possible. Ask yourself if you would be able to convince someone who thought differently from you with these arguments?

Write down the *arguments* that you arrived at in the box below the case story. Remember that you must be able to outline your arguments to others in the class.

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

During break, you and some friends are sitting around, waiting the next lesson. Jennifer, one of your classmates, is turning over the pages of a newspaper. Suddenly Jennifer starts muttering and swearing in an irritated manner. You immediately become curious what she is reading that is making her so upset. She is reading an article about a terrorist who was arrested just before he was about to open fire with a machine gun on a pedestrian street. But the man was unsuccessful, the gun jammed, and now he is being held in detention pending trial. "This is just sick," says Jennifer, "to waste time and money on a trial on a nutcase like this. Nope, the best thing would be to skip the trial and run him out of the country, maybe to a desert island, or a long way down in a mine." Then she look up from the newspaper, looks at the rest of you and asks: "What do you guys think?"
What do you answer? And why?

I have concluded the following:

Below are some relevant Articles from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning the rule of law. It's important to point out however that how a right is understood is a matter of interpretation.

- Read the Articles.
- When you have done that, reflect on: How do these Articles relate to the arguments I wrote down in the box above?
- After reading the Articles did you arrive at different conclusions? How do these Articles influence what you think? Write down the different conclusions you might draw after having read and thought about these Articles.

Article 9: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."

Article 10: "Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him."

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After reading these Articles, I have arrived at the following conclusion:

Human rights

Values exercise: discrimination

Discrimination is when people are denied their human rights because of their gender, sexual orientation or ethnicity for example and an important cause of poverty.

In this exercise, your group are asked to reflect on an important sphere of human rights which relates to discrimination. Read the four cases below and then reflect on **which of them your group considers to be a case of discrimination**.

Start with everyone reading one case. Then reflect on what you think about it. Is it a case of discrimination that might have been taken up by Sweden's Equality Ombudsman (anti-discrimination ombudsman)? Then start a discussion in the group. Do you all have the same opinions? What separates your opinions?

Help each other to express what they think by asking "What do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.

Try to jointly agree on an answer to each case. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box that follows each case.

When you have all finished with all of the cases, the teacher will present to you which of these cases constitute discrimination under the law.

Case 1:

A Roma woman and her son went into a tobacconist shop in Skara, a large town in rural Sweden. But they were quickly told to leave by the shop's owner. The woman's husband then went into the shop and demanded an explanation as to why the boy and his mother had been told to leave the shop. The shop owner replied that it was because of the appearance of the woman's skirt. Then when the woman's uncle went into the shop and asked why the woman had been told to leave, he got the same explanation from the owner. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:



Case 2:

In a high school in Västerås, a regional city in Sweden, the management decided that vegetarian food would not be served in the school canteen any more, because there were so few vegetarians at the school. This meant that the four students who were vegetarians did not get lunch in the school canteen and had to take their own lunches to school each day. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:

Case 3:

A man began his probationary period as a forklift truck driver at a warehouse in Gothenburg. On one occasion when the man was about to unload from his forklift truck, he went off to fetch a tool. While he was away, the manager came up to another employee close by, a co-worker of the man, and asked "Where did that nigger go?". The co-worker later told the man what the manager had said. A short time thereafter, the man's probationary period ended and the co-worker was threatened with termination of his employment. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:



Case 4:

A man from Lysekil, a seaside town in the Swedish province of Bohuslän, who did not get a job at a company, suspected that he had been the victim of discrimination. Despite having better qualifications than the person who got the job, he missed out on getting the job. During the job interview, the manager of the company had asked if the man would consider moving to Trollhättan, a city some way to the north of Lysekil, because that was where the company's head office was. The man did not want to move and said to the manager that he would be more than happy to commute. The manager told a joke about how much better people from Västergötland (the province in which Trollhättan lies) are compared to people from Bohuslän and remarked to the man that he ought to think again about where he lived. When the man found out that he had not got the job, and that the person who later got the job lived in Trollhättan, he felt wronged.

The group has concluded the following:

Human rights

Values exercise: discrimination

Discrimination is when people are denied their human rights because of their gender, sexual orientation or ethnicity for example and an important cause of poverty.

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on an important sphere of human rights which relates to discrimination. Read the four cases below and then reflect on **which of them you consider to be a case of discrimination**. Base your answer on the text on human rights.

Start by reading one case. Then reflect on what you think about it. Is it a case of discrimination that might have been taken up by Sweden's Equality Ombudsman (anti-discrimination ombudsman)? Compare what you think with what is in the text on human rights. Write down your conclusion in the box. Then go through the same process with the next case.

When you have finished with all of the cases, the teacher will present to you which of these cases constitute discrimination under the law.

Case 1:

A Roma woman and her son went into a tobacconist shop in Skara, a large town in rural Sweden. But they were quickly told to leave by the shop's owner. The woman's husband then went into the shop and demanded an explanation as to why the boy and his mother had been told to leave the shop. The shop owner replied that it was because of the appearance of the woman's skirt. Then when the woman's uncle went into the shop and asked why the woman had been told to leave, he got the same explanation from the owner. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

I have concluded the following:



Case 2:

In a high school in Västerås, a regional city in Sweden, the management decided that vegetarian food would not be served in the school canteen any more, because there were so few vegetarians at the school. This meant that the four students who were vegetarians did not get lunch in the school canteen and had to take their own lunches to school each day. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

I have concluded the following:

Case 3:

A man began his probationary period as a forklift truck driver at a warehouse in Gothenburg. On one occasion when the man was about to unload from his forklift truck, he went off to fetch a tool. While he was away, the manager came up to another employee close by, a co-worker of the man, and asked "Where did that nigger go?". The co-worker later told the man what the manager had said. A short time thereafter, the man's probationary period ended and the co-worker was threatened with termination of his employment. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

I have concluded the following:



Case 4:

A man from Lysekil, a seaside town in the Swedish province of Bohuslän, who did not get a job at a company, suspected that he had been the victim of discrimination. Despite having better qualifications than the person who got the job, he missed out on getting the job. During the job interview, the manager of the company had asked if the man would consider moving to Trollhättan, a city some way to the north of Lysekil, because that was where the company's head office was. The man did not want to move and said to the manager that he would be more than happy to commute. The manager told a joke about how much better people from Västergötland (the province in which Trollhättan lies) are compared to people from Bohuslän and remarked to the man that he ought to think again about where he lived. When the man found out that he had not got the job, and that the person who later got the job lived in Trollhättan, he felt wronged.

I have concluded the following:

Human rights

Values exercise: discrimination

Discrimination is when people are denied their human rights because of their gender, sexual orientation or ethnicity for example.

In this exercise, your group are asked to reflect on an important sphere of human rights which relates to discrimination. Read the four cases below and then reflect in the group on **which of them you consider to be a case of discrimination**.

Start with everyone reading one case. Then reflect on what you think about it. Is it a case of discrimination that might have been taken up by Sweden's Equality Ombudsman (anti-discrimination ombudsman)? Then start a discussion in the group. Do you all have the same opinions? What separates your opinions?

Help each other to express what they think by asking "What do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.

Try to jointly agree on an answer to each case. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box that follows each case.

When you have all finished with all of the cases, the teacher will present to you which of these cases constitute discrimination under the law.



Case 1:

As part of a forklift truck driver training course, a placement at a building supplies and hardware store was suggested for a particular man. He went to the store and met with a representative of the store. The man's understanding of the conversation during this meeting was that he had got the placement. Just as he was leaving the store, it began raining heavily. He waited for a while at the exit and then began to realize that he would not get back home in time for his regular prayer time. He decided therefore to recite his prayers outside the exit of the store. One of the store managers then called the man's course supervisor and told him that the man would not be given a placement at the store. During this call, he mentioned that the man had recited his prayers at the exit to the store. The man felt that he did not get the placement because he had recited his prayers at the store. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:

Case 2:

Two people, both in a wheelchair, wanted to know which night clubs in the city didn't have stairs. They sent their question to the city council's SMS service "Answers to everything". They got the answer that wheelchairs were unsuitable for nightclubs and could pose a danger to the other guests. For example, other guests might not see a wheelchair because of the dimmed lighting and fall over it. For this reason, the SMS service replied that nightclubs were not suitable premises for visits by wheelchair users. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:

**Case 3:**

A woman was at a job interview for a job as waiting staff at a restaurant. The woman had a nose piercing and the employer wondered if she would be prepared to take it out during her shifts. The employer explained that this was because some of the older guests might react negatively to this kind of piercing. The woman didn't want to do this, which led to the employer terminating the interview and stating that she had not got the job. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:

**Case 4:**

A man worked at a company that manufactures equipment for the open-pit and mining industry. At a certain point in time, the company was forced to terminate staff due to a lack of work. In Sweden, if you have lost your job in this way, you have a certain right to get your job back if the company starts hiring staff again. After a year, the inflow of orders increased again and the company began to re-employ staff. The man communicated to the company that he would like to start working for them again. After a while, he received a call from a manager during which he was told that he was too old to get the job. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:

Human rights

Values exercise: discrimination

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In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on an important sphere of human rights which relates to discrimination. Read the four cases below and then reflect on **which of them you consider to be a case of discrimination**. Base your answer on the text on human rights.

Start by reading one case. Then reflect on what you think about it. Is it a case of discrimination that might have been taken up by Sweden's Equality Ombudsman (anti-discrimination ombudsman)? Compare what you think with what is in the text on human rights. Write down your conclusion in the box. Then go through the same process with the next case.

When you have finished with all of the cases, the teacher will present to you which of these cases constitute discrimination under the law.



Case 1:

As part of a forklift truck driver training course, a placement at a building supplies and hardware store was suggested for a particular man. He went to the store and met with a representative of the store. The man's understanding of the conversation during this meeting was that he had got the placement. Just as he was leaving the store, it began raining heavily. He waited for a while at the exit and then began to realize that he would not get back home in time for his regular prayer time. He decided therefore to recite his prayers outside the exit of the store. One of the store managers then called the man's course supervisor and told him that the man would not be given a placement at the store. During this call, he mentioned that the man had recited his prayers at the exit to the store. The man felt that he did not get the placement because he had recited his prayers at the store. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

I have concluded the following:



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I have concluded the following:

**Case 4:**

A man worked at a company that manufactures equipment for the open-pit and mining industry. At a certain point in time, the company was forced to terminate staff due to a lack of work. In Sweden, if you have lost your job in this way, you have a certain right to get your job back if the company starts hiring staff again. After a year, the inflow of orders increased again and the company began to re-employ staff. The man communicated to the company that he would like to start working for them again. After a while, he received a call from a manager during which he was told that he was too old to get the job. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

I have concluded the following:

Human rights

Human rights in our everyday lives: how to act

In this exercise, you will discuss how to uphold human rights in our everyday lives. You will see a short film and reflect on what is good attitude to have to the world around you?

Then reflect on what you think about it. Then start a discussion in the group. Do you all have the same opinions? What separates your opinions?

Help each other to express what they think by asking “What do you mean?”, “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other’s standpoints.

Question: How should we relate to each other and why is it not always so easy? How should we behave in everyday life?

Watch the short film in Swedish “Linn’s film om mänskliga rättigheter” http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Llztw4QN0_o

Story:

Question:

Linn’s view is that human rights are things that we perhaps take for granted and believe that we already have.

But to what extent do the following phenomena occur among us:

- *Thoughts that say that some people by definition are inferior to others and can therefore be treated worse than others*
- *Thoughts that say that these people only have themselves to blame*
- *Thoughts that say that if I don’t fit in, it is my own fault*

However, Linn believes that we can think differently in our everyday lives, in each and every encounter with other people. That in everyday life we can say the right things to others, and that each of us can recognize that other people are a direct necessity for my life.

Discuss these questions: What should we *not* do, what should we *not* say? List of things that come up in the conversation. Try to immediately identify the three things that are most important.

Your group’s answers to the questions **before** the film

Once you have seen the film, answer the questions in the group again.

Question: How should we behave towards each other? How do you think people should behave in their everyday lives?

Has your group written down different things after the film was shown? Was there something in particular in the film that your group thought about? Was there something that made you change your mind?

Your group's answers to the questions **after** the film

Did you think the same before and after the film? Do you agree with Linn? Why?/Why not?



Human rights

Human rights in our everyday lives: how to act

In this exercise, you will reflect on how to uphold human rights in our everyday lives. To help you, you have the introductory text on human rights.

Reflect on what you think about human rights, what they mean to you, and to the world in which you live.

Write down in point form (maximum of four points per question) your answers to the questions below. Bear in mind that you may be asked to read your answers aloud to the class.

When everyone in the class has written down some points, the following short film in Swedish will be shown: "Linn's film om mänskliga rättigheter" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Llztw4QN0_o

Story:

Question:

Linn's view is that human rights are things that we perhaps take for granted and believe that we already have.

But to what extent do the following phenomena occur among us:

- *Thoughts that say that some people by definition are inferior to others and can therefore be treated worse than others*
- *Thoughts that say that these people only have themselves to blame*
- *Thoughts that say that if I don't fit in, it is my own fault*

However, Linn believes that we can think differently in our everyday lives, in each and every encounter with other people. That in everyday life we can say the right things to others, and that each of us can recognize that other people are a direct necessity for my life.

Write down in point form what you think about these questions: How should we behave towards each other? How do you think people should behave in their everyday lives?

Your answers to the questions **before** the film

Once you have seen the film, answer the questions again. Write down in point form what you think about these questions:

Question: How should we behave towards each other? How do you think people should behave in their everyday lives?

Your answers to the questions **after** the film

Have you written down different things after the film was shown? Was there something in particular in the film that you thought about?

Linn's view is that human rights are things that we perhaps take for granted and believe that we already have.

However, Linn believes that we can think differently in our everyday lives, in each and every encounter with other people. That in everyday life we can say the right things to others, and that each of us can recognize that other people are a direct necessity for my life.

What should we *not* do, what should we *not* say? Spend a few minutes listing at the bottom of the page the things that came up in the class when you discussed these questions. Go back to the text and reflect on how human rights are part of your everyday life.

Answers from others in the class



Democracy

Decision-making 1

In this exercise, you will discuss how decisions ought to be made. A story of an everyday situation is presented to you below. Discuss how the problem should be solved. Then there are two further questions.

In your deliberations, it is important that you reflect on what you think. Ask each other follow-up questions like “What do you think?”, “What exactly do you mean?”.

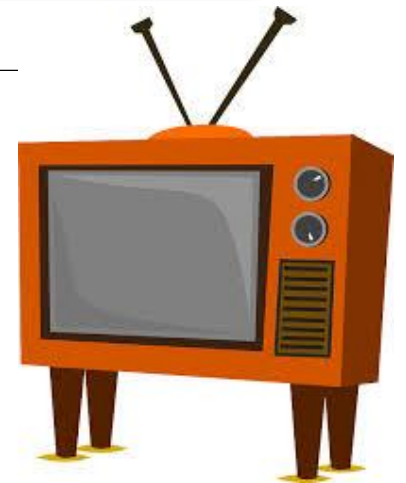
Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Challenge each other’s views by saying for example: “Could you clarify?”, “Can you provide any examples?”. Respect what the others in the group think even if you think differently.

Story:

Imagine that you are the parents in a family with 3 children. Every Saturday night, you watch one and the same TV program *together* as a family. The problem is that you don’t agree on what to watch. A, B and C want to watch a sports program. D and E want to watch an entertainment program. Every Saturday, you have the same problem. Who gets to decide what you will all watch on TV?

How do you think you should solve this problem?

The following suggestions have been made:



Suggestions for solutions

Which solution do you think is best and why?

You all watch the program that the majority want to see. In other words, you watch a sports program each week. This means that three of the five of you are always satisfied, and two are always dissatisfied.

Two Saturdays out of five you watch an entertainment program. Three Saturdays out of five you watch a sports program. This means that A, B and C get what they want three Saturdays out of five, D and E only get to watch what they want two Saturdays out of five. Each person gets to decide on one Saturday each what to watch.

You take it in turns, watching different programs every other Saturday. That way, A, B and C get to see their favourite program as often as D and E. But this means that every other week, there are three people who are dissatisfied. If you had watched a sports program every week, only two people every week would have been dissatisfied. Does it matter how large the minority is? (2 out of 5, 1 out of 8?)

Specific Cases



Now let's make things a little bit more difficult. What do you do in the individual case?

- D's classmate is the host of the entertainment program. So D would very much like to see it. A, B and C would prefer to watch the sports program, but they don't care as much as D what they watch.

Which of the following rules is the most important for making decisions? What do you all think?

- That the majority gets to decide compared with taking into account what the minority want.
- That as many as possible will be satisfied on any one occasion or that everyone will be satisfied sometimes.
- That you draw attention to the fact that it is unfair that some never get to watch what they want to watch while others always get to watch what they want to watch. (*Otherwise they might get so cross that they move out, or stop washing up when it's*

their turn, or start putting bread crumbs in the beds of the others. Perhaps we should simply let them have their way sometimes so that they don't make too much trouble)

Line up these arguments against each other! What is most important?

Summary

Often we think of democracy as being that everyone gets to vote for the option that they prefer and that the option which gets the most votes wins. But sometimes it might be reasonable to allow those in the minority to get what they want, despite the fact that they are fewer. (This does not mean abolishing democracy, but that you impose certain restrictions on it.) If we want different things, most of us think that it is fairer that the majority gets to decide than that the minority gets to decide. But are there not limits on what the majority gets to decide about? Is it fair that the majority are forced to take into account what the minority want?



Reflect on this. What do you think? Are there times when the majority must get to decide? Or when the minority must be allowed to have an influence?

The group has concluded the following:

Democracy

Decision-making 1

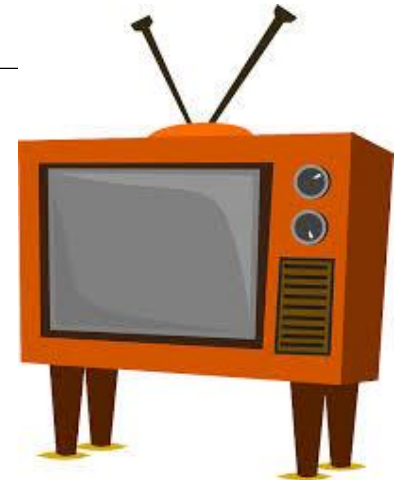
In this exercise, you will reflect on how decisions ought to be made. A story of an everyday situation is presented to you below. Reflect on how the problem should be solved. The different solutions can you come up with? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the different solutions?

Story:

Imagine that you are one of two parents in a family with 3 children. Every Saturday night, you watch one and the same TV program *together* as a family. The problem is that you don't agree on what to watch. A, B and C want to watch a sports program. D and E want to watch an entertainment program. Every Saturday, you have the same problem. Who gets to decide what you will all watch on TV?

How do you think the family should solve this problem?

The following suggestions have been made:



Suggestions for solutions

Which solution do you think is best and why?

You all watch the program that the majority want to see. In other words, you watch a sports program each week. This means that three of the five of you are always satisfied, and two are always dissatisfied.

Two Saturdays out of five you watch an entertainment program. Three Saturdays out of five you watch a sports program. This means that A, B and C get what they want three Saturdays out of five, D and E only get to watch what they want two Saturdays out of five. Each person gets to decide on one Saturday each what to watch.

You take it in turns, watching different programs every other Saturday. That way, A, B and C get to see their favourite program as often as D and E. But this means that every other week, there are three people who are dissatisfied. If you had watched a sports program every week, only two people every week would have been dissatisfied. Does it matter how large the minority is? (2 out of 5, 1 out of 8?)

Specific Cases



Now let's make things a little bit more difficult. What do you do in this individual case?

- D's classmate is the host of the entertainment program. So D would very much like to see it. A, B and C would prefer to watch the sports program, but they don't care as much as D what they watch.

Which of the following rules is the most important for making decisions? What do you think?

- That the majority gets to decide compared with taking into account what the minority want.
- That as many as possible will be satisfied on any one occasion or that everyone will be satisfied sometimes.
- That you draw attention to the fact that it is unfair that some never get to watch what they want to watch while others always get to watch what they want to watch. *(Otherwise they might get so cross that they move out, or stop washing up when it's their turn, or start putting bread crumbs in the beds of the others. Perhaps we should simply let them have their way sometimes so that they don't make too much trouble)*

Line up these arguments against each other! What is most important?

Summary

Often we think of democracy as being that everyone gets to vote for the option that they prefer and that the option which gets the most votes wins. But sometimes it might be reasonable to allow those in the minority to get what they want, despite the fact that they are fewer. (This does not mean abolishing democracy, but that you impose certain restrictions on it.) If we want different things, most of us think that it is fairer that the majority gets to decide than that the minority gets to decide. But are there not limits on what the majority gets to decide about? Is it fair that the majority are forced to take into account what the minority want?



Reflect on this. What do you think? Are there times when the majority must get to decide? Or when the minority must be allowed to have an influence?

I have concluded the following:

Democracy

Exercise in decision-making, Part 2.

In this exercise, you will again discuss how decisions ought to be made. The story this time is from a school environment, and the question is how the problem should be solved.

In your deliberations, it is important that you reflect on what you think. Ask each other follow-up questions like “What do you think?”, “What exactly do you mean?”.

Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other’s standpoints by saying “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other’s opinions even if you think differently.

Use what you have discussed so far in the first exercise about decision-making to reflect on how you view a problem based on the following.

Story:

Your class has received a sum of money to do something fun with to improve the group’s cohesion. A number of proposals concerning what you might do have come up. After some of these proposals have been rejected outright, three remain. The first entails the class going to watch the men’s national soccer/football team play a training match. 13 people support this proposal. The second proposal is that you will all go to a computer games trade fair that is coming to Gothenburg. 5 people support this proposal. The third proposal is to wait and raise a bit more money for a trip to Copenhagen. Those who support this proposal want to stay in hotels, go to a concert and see a band in Copenhagen. 9 people support this proposal. 3 people are happy to go along with just about anything as long as it doesn’t involve sport.



You are to plan out a strategy and provide suggestions on how to solve the problem. Start by writing down the alternatives and thinking through their similarities and differences.

- What are you going to do?
- Which way will you go?
- Does the majority principle apply?



The group has concluded the following:

Democracy

Exercise in decision-making, Part 2.

In this exercise, you will again reflect on how decisions ought to be made. This time, it's a story from a school environment. The question is how to solve the problem.

When you have read through the story, reflect on how you would solve the situation. Also reflect on why this is your answer, that is, what arguments you would use. Try thinking through these arguments and getting them as clear as possible. Ask yourself if you would be able to convince someone who thought differently from you with these arguments?

Write down the arguments that you arrived at in the box below the story. Remember that you must be able to outline your arguments to others in the class.

Story:

Your class has received a sum of money to do something fun with to improve the group's cohesion. A number of proposals concerning what you might do have come up. After some of these proposals have been rejected outright, three remain. The first entails the class going to watch the men's national soccer/football team play a training match. 13 people support this proposal. The second proposal is that you will all go to a computer games trade fair that is coming to Gothenburg. 5 people support this proposal. The third proposal is to wait and raise a bit more money for a trip to Copenhagen. Those who support this proposal want to stay in hotels, go to a concert and see a band in Copenhagen. 9 people support this proposal. 3 people are happy to go along with just about anything as long as it doesn't involve sport.



Make suggestions about how to solve the problem. Start by writing down the alternatives and reflecting on their similarities and differences.

- Does the majority principle apply?
- Is there something else that is more important to take into consideration?



I have concluded the following:

Democracy

Decision-making case 3

In this exercise, you are being asked to deliberate on what forms of decision-making ought to be used when making different types of decisions. Below are three stories from the school environment, and the question is how the problem should be solved in each case.

In your deliberations, it is important that you reflect on what you think. Ask each other follow-up questions like “What do you think?”, “What exactly do you mean?”.

Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other’s standpoints by saying “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other’s standpoints.

Imagine that you, the students in the class, are going to make the decisions in the three cases below:

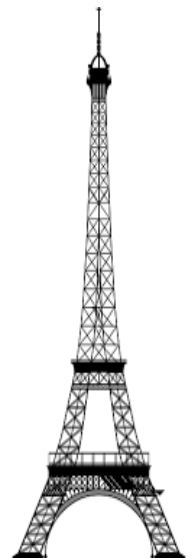
- You have a timetable which means you can leave earlier either on Mondays or Fridays.
- Ten people in the class have won a prize for “outstanding work against bullying in the school”. However, these 10 people think that the entire class should go on a trip. Paris, London, or Berlin have been proposed.
- Your class has received USD 50 per person from an anonymous donor. The donor has offered you two alternatives. Either you can donate the money to *Doctors Without Borders* or you can take the money for yourselves and put it towards a future class trip.



question 1, 2 and 3.

Now to the forms of decision-making: As you probably know, there are different ways to make democratic decisions and you are going to discuss and then choose one of them, out of all those listed on the next page, for each of the questions below. In other words, you can choose a different form of decision-making for each

What is most important is that you can argue for and explain why you think one form of decision-making is better or worse than the others in each instance. But you must jointly arrived at and choose one form of decision-making to apply to each question. *You must be able to explain and justify why your group chose a particular form of decision-making.*



Democratic forms of decision-making:

Decision-making by talking through and deliberating on what the best argument is for what you intend to do.	Deliberative democracy
Open ballot: Everyone holds up a card (green or red) to vote for or against each proposal.	Direct democracy
Voting by secret ballot: Hidden behind a screen, everyone places a green or a red card to vote for or against each proposal in an envelope and then places the envelope in a ballot box.	
Student Council – appointed by drawing lots: You draw lots to get three representatives. They then go off to the side, hold a discussion in private, and then make the decision.	Representative democracy
Student Council – elected: In this case, you will make decisions by electing three representatives. You write the name of the person whom you feel can make a wise decision. The three who get the most votes will be your representatives. They then go off to the side, hold a discussion in private, and then make the decision.	
The teacher decides: you hand over responsibility for the decision-making to the teacher, who makes the decision.	Rule by experts

The group has come to the conclusion that the forms of decision-making that should be applied for each question are as follows:



Democracy

Decision-making case 3

In this exercise, you are being asked to think about what forms of decision-making ought to be used when making different types of decisions. Below are three stories from the school environment, and the question is how the problem should be solved in each case.

Imagine that you, the students in the class, are going to make the decisions in the three cases below:

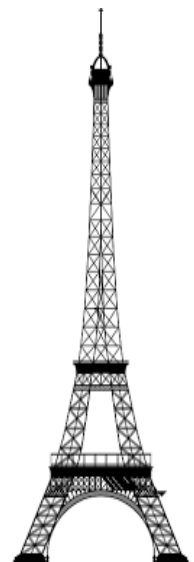
- You have a timetable which means you can leave earlier either on Mondays or Fridays.
- Ten people in the class have won a prize for “outstanding work against bullying in the school”. However, these 10 people think that the entire class should go on a trip. Paris, London, or Berlin have been proposed.
- Your class has received USD 50 per person from an anonymous donor. The donor has offered you two alternatives. Either you can donate the money to *Doctors Without Borders* or you can take the money for yourselves and put it towards a future class trip.



Now to the forms of decision-making: As you probably know, there are different ways to make democratic decisions and you are going to choose one of them, out of all those listed on the next page, for each of the questions below. This means you can choose a different form of decision-making for each question 1, 2 and 3.

What is most important is that you can argue for and explain why you think one form of decision-making is better or worse than the others in each instance. *You must be able to explain and justify why you chose a particular form of decision-making.*

Also reflect on why this is your choice, that is, what arguments you would use. Try thinking through these arguments and getting them as clear as possible. Would you be able to convince someone who thought differently from you with these arguments? What objections to your arguments might be raised?



Democratic forms of decision-making:

Decision-making by talking through and deliberating on what the best argument is for what you intend to do.	Deliberative democracy
Open ballot: Everyone holds up a card (green or red) to vote for or against each proposal.	Direct democracy
Voting by secret ballot: Hidden behind a screen, everyone places a green or a red card to vote for or against each proposal in an envelope and then places the envelope in a ballot box.	
Student Council – appointed by drawing lots: You draw lots to get three representatives. They then go off to the side, hold a discussion in private, and then make the decision.	Representative democracy
Student Council – elected: In this case, you will make decisions by electing three representatives. You write the name of the person whom you feel can make a wise decision. The three who get the most votes will be your representatives. They then go off to the side, hold a discussion in private, and then make the decision.	
The teacher decides: you hand over responsibility for the decision-making to the teacher, who makes the decision.	Rule by experts

I have come to the conclusion that the forms of decision-making that should be applied to each question are as follows:



Democracy

The case of majority rule through referenda

In this exercise, you will discuss in your group how democratic decisions ought to be made. Read the story below, which is taken from reality, and stop at the first question: Is the majority always right? Within this question are two more questions that you are also asked to discuss and deliberate on.

In your deliberations, it is important that you reflect on what you think. Ask each other follow-up questions like: "What do you think?", "What exactly do you mean?".

Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's standpoints by saying "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.

Try to agree on a position in your responses to the questions. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group.

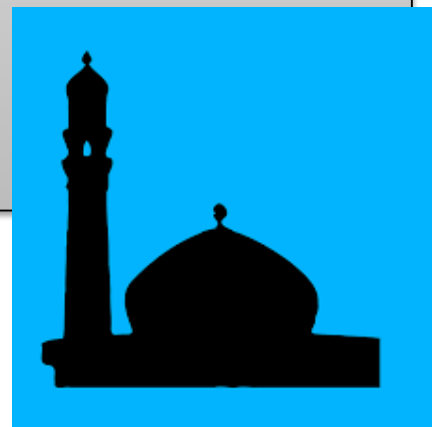
Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it?

Story:

In a direct democracy, decisions are made through referenda. Unlike an indirect democratic decision-making process, where the people first elect representatives who then make the decisions on behalf of the people, the result of a referendum can be legally binding. In Switzerland, direct democracy is used to make political decisions. Each year, its citizens have the opportunity to participate in hundreds of referenda at the national as well as the municipal level of government. In 2009, such a referendum was held to ban minarets on mosques. Before the vote, the question was discussed extensively, but more than that, there was a great deal of discussion about whether it was appropriate to hold referenda on questions of this kind at all.

The problem was that a 'No' to minarets would be contrary to freedom of religion and in breach of international agreements on human rights and freedoms that Switzerland had signed. The result was that 53 percent of eligible voters voted in the referendum and 57 percent of them voted in favour of a ban on minarets. After this referendum, Switzerland has come in for a great deal of criticism from other countries and from human rights organizations.

In 2014, a similar type of referendum was held in Switzerland. This time it concerned whether the Swiss wanted to see a reduction in immigration or not. The proposal – that the country should greatly reduce immigration by tearing up Switzerland's freedom of movement agreement with the EU – won by a very narrow margin. Once again, the outside world and the EU in particular were quick to condemn Switzerland harshly. Among other things, the EU has responded by refusing to renegotiate the existing agreement.



List of questions:

- Is the majority in a country always right?
- Do you think it was appropriate to hold the types of referendums that Switzerland held in these two instances?
- In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages of referenda?

The group has arrived at the following answers to these three questions:



Democracy

The case of majority rule through referenda

In this exercise, you will reflect on how democratic decisions ought to be made. Read the story below, which is taken from reality, and stop at the question: Is the majority always right?

Story:

In a direct democracy, decisions are made through referenda. Unlike an indirect democratic decision-making process, where the people first elect representatives who then make the decisions on behalf of the people, the result of a referendum can be legally binding. In Switzerland, direct democracy is used to make political decisions. Each year, its citizens have the opportunity to participate in hundreds of referenda at the national as well as the municipal level of government. In 2009, such a referendum was held to ban minarets on mosques. Before the vote, the question was discussed extensively, but more than that, there was a great deal of discussion about whether it was appropriate to hold referenda on questions of this kind at all.

The problem was that a 'No' to minarets would be contrary to freedom of religion and in breach of international agreements on human rights and freedoms that Switzerland had signed. The result was that 53 percent of eligible voters voted in the referendum and 57 percent of them voted in favour of a ban on minarets. After this referendum, Switzerland has come in for a great deal of criticism from other countries and from human rights organizations.

In 2014, a similar type of referendum was held in Switzerland. This time it concerned whether the Swiss wanted to see a reduction in immigration or not. The proposal – that the country should greatly reduce immigration by tearing up Switzerland's freedom of movement agreement with the EU – won by a very narrow margin. Once again, the outside world and the EU in particular were quick to condemn Switzerland harshly. Among other things, the EU has responded by refusing to renegotiate the existing agreement.



Short answer questions:

- Is the majority in a country always right?
- Was it appropriate to hold the types of referendums that Switzerland held in these two instances? Why?/Why not?
- In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages of referenda?
- What are the arguments for holding the type of referendum in the example and what are arguments against?

I have arrived at the following answers to these four questions:



Democracy

Case: dictatorship

In this exercise, you will discuss in your group what the problem is with dictatorship. Based on the characteristics of a dictatorship, deliberate on what is typical of dictatorship's opposite – democracy.

- The five points below summarize typical characteristics of a dictatorship. Deliberate on how each point can be compared with the democratic system in which you all live your lives.
- Then reflect on the advantages and disadvantages of these different social systems.
- Summarise by writing down these advantages and disadvantages in the box on the next page.



In your deliberations, it is important that you reflect on what you think. Ask each other follow-up questions like “What do you think?”, “What exactly do you mean?”.

Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's standpoints by saying “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other's standpoints.

Try to agree on a position in your responses to the questions. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group.

The characteristics of a dictatorship

An ideal, or an official ideology, that encompasses all key areas of human existence and which everyone is expected to adhere to. It claims to lead towards a bright future for the society.

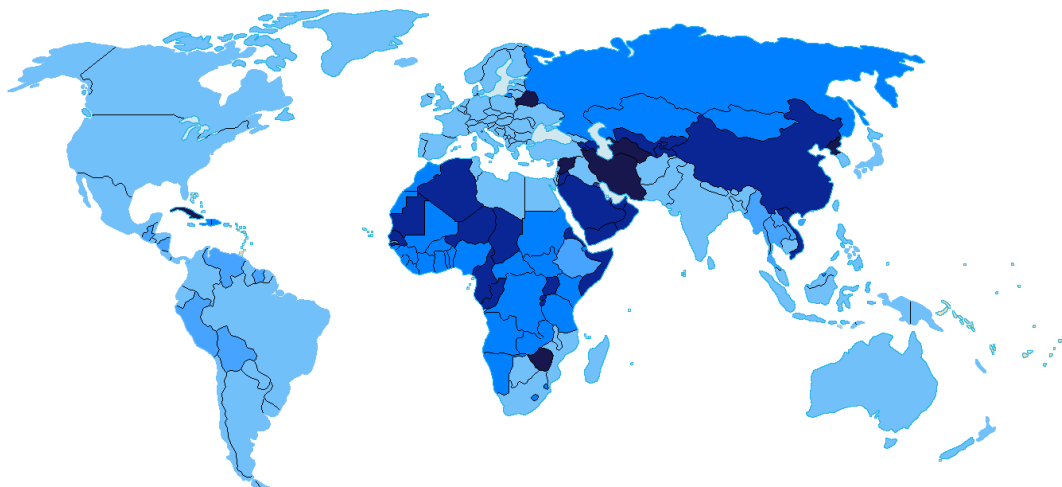
1. A single mass political party, often (but not always) led by a person, “the Leader” (typically a man).
2. A secret police that terrorizes not only opponents of the regime but also whole ethnic groups. Typically, to some extent the terrorizing is random. Nobody is safe, anyone can be arrested and imprisoned for no actual reason.
3. A monopoly on the mass media and advocacy (total control over the media), which facilitates censorship.
4. More or less complete control over the military.
5. Central control of the economy of the country.

Start by comparing each point with what you think characterizes the rules of play in a democracy.

Reflect on what the advantages and disadvantages of each system are – dictatorship versus democracy.

Summarize: which system appeals to your group and why?

The group has arrived at the following answers to the exercise:



Democracy

Case: dictatorship

In this exercise, you are asked to think about what the problems might be with dictatorships. Based on the characteristics of a dictatorship, reflect on what is typical of dictatorship's opposite – democracy.

- The five points below summarize typical characteristics of a dictatorship. Reflect on how each point can be compared with the democratic system in which you live your life.
- Then reflect on the advantages and disadvantages of these different social systems.
- Summarise by writing down these advantages and disadvantages in the box on the next page.



The characteristics of a dictatorship

An ideal, or an official ideology, that encompasses all key areas of human existence and which everyone is expected to adhere to. It claims to lead towards a bright future for the society.

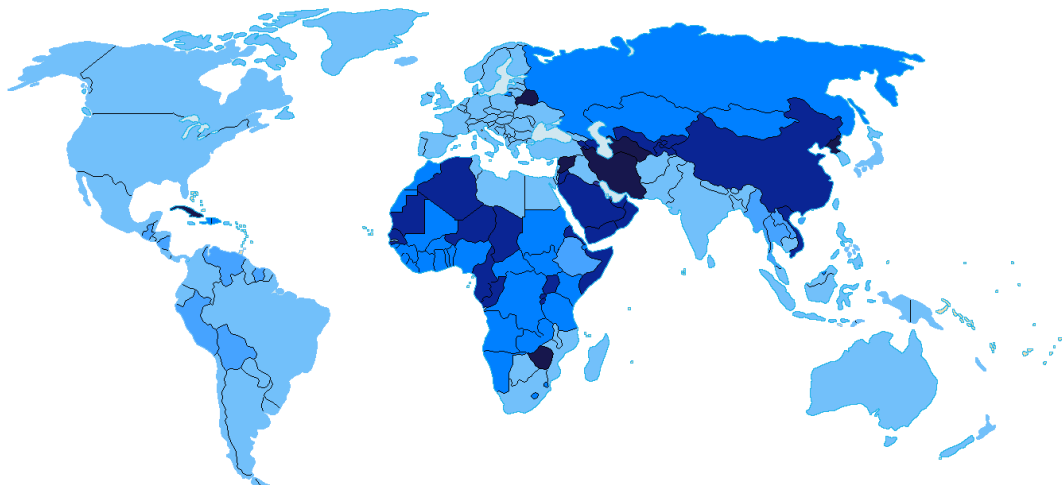
1. A single mass political party, often (but not always) led by a person, “the Leader” (typically a man).
2. A secret police that terrorizes not only opponents of the regime but also whole ethnic groups. Typically, to some extent the terrorizing is random. Nobody is safe, anyone can be arrested and imprisoned for no actual reason.
3. A monopoly on the mass media and advocacy (total control over the media), which facilitates censorship.
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5. Central control of the economy of the country.

Start by comparing each point with what you think characterizes the rules of play in a democracy.

Reflect on what the advantages and disadvantages of each system are – dictatorship versus democracy.

Summarize: which system appeals to you and why?

I have arrived at the following answers to the exercise:



Democracy

Case: dictatorship

In this exercise, you will discuss in your group what the problem is with dictatorship. Based on the characteristics of a dictatorship, reflect on what is typical of dictatorship's opposite – democracy.

- Below is a summary of the typical characteristics of various types of dictatorship. Read the summary, then reflect on the advantages and disadvantages of each type of dictatorship.
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of each of these systems for those in power?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages for the people living under each of these systems?
- Summarise by writing down these advantages and disadvantages in the box on the next page.

In your deliberations, it is important that you reflect on what you think. Ask each other follow-up questions like “What do you think?”, “What exactly do you mean?”. Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's standpoints by saying “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other's standpoints.

- Try to agree on a position in your responses to the questions. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group.

Characteristics of twentieth century dictatorships:

- Totalitarian regime: the state makes all the decisions about and is involved in absolutely everything. The individual is part of the collective, and there are simply no associations or organisations that are not linked to the state. A common ideology, a single party, no independent newspapers or other media.
- Authoritarian regime: a strong leader has power over the state, wants a society without politics and wants to separate the state from the society.
- Sultanism: the private and the public are merged, there is a strong family in power and succession to the “throne”, and the leader governs to protect his and his family's vested interests.
- Theocracy: A system of government where a god is seen as the highest authority and where the religious elite in control of the government claim to be representatives of God or some equivalent being.
- Authoritarian regimes with a veneer of democracy: attempt to disguise themselves as democracies by holding elections or in other ways trying to portray themselves as democratic, but where political rights and freedoms are severely restricted. Electoral fraud is commonplace.



Summarize: which system appeals to your group the most, which appeals to your group the least, and why (in both cases)?

The group has arrived at the following answers to the exercise:



Democracy

Case: dictatorship

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on different forms of dictatorship. What are the differences and similarities between these different types of dictatorship?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of each of these systems for those in power?

What are the advantages and disadvantages for the people living under each of these systems?

Summarise by writing down these advantages and disadvantages in the box on the next page.

Characteristics of twentieth century dictatorships:

- Totalitarian regime: the state makes all the decisions about and is involved in absolutely everything. The individual is part of the collective, and there are simply no associations or organisations that are not linked to the state. A common ideology, a single party, no independent newspapers or other media.
- Authoritarian regime: a strong leader has power over the state, wants a society without politics and wants to separate the state from the society.
- Sultanism: the private and the public are merged, there is a strong family in power and succession to the “throne”, and the leader governs to protect his and his family’s vested interests.
- Theocracy: A system of government where a god is seen as the highest authority and where the religious elite in control of the government claim to be representatives of God or some equivalent being.
- Authoritarian regimes with a veneer of democracy: attempt to disguise themselves as democracies by holding elections or in other ways trying to portray themselves as democratic, but where political rights and freedoms are severely restricted. Electoral fraud is commonplace.



Summarize: which system appeals to you most, which appeals to you least, and why (in both cases)?

I have arrived at the following answers to the exercise:



Democracy

Cases of civil disobedience, a form of opposition to the majority view.

In this exercise, in your group you are asked to deliberate on the extent to which a citizen can oppose the view and decisions of the majority. Read the story on the next page, which is taken from reality, and stop at the first question: What tactics may be used to protest against the view of the majority?

In your deliberations, it is important that you reflect on what you think. Ask each other follow-up questions like “What do you think?”, “What exactly do you mean?”.

Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other’s standpoints by saying “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other’s standpoints.

Try to agree on a position in your responses to the questions. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group.

Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it.

What is civil disobedience?

In a democracy, decisions are made which then become law. Engaging in civil disobedience in a democracy is about breaking the law and disrupting the order that the majority of the people want. Often, civil disobedience is based on a conviction that there is a higher form of justice than the law. So in civil disobedience this means that a citizen breaks the law because he or she considers that he or she has justice on their side. Those who carry out acts of civil disobedience often emphasize that they are doing so as a citizen of their society and not as a private individual (not for private gain). In addition, acts of civil disobedience generally do not involve violence. Activists who resort to civil disobedience rarely question the validity of *how* a law was made. Instead they protest that the law itself is unjust.



Story:

In 2013, some people at Kallak, a site outside Jokkmokk in the far north of Sweden, protested against a mining company. The mining company had a permit to drill for ore, but the activists lashed themselves to the machinery, built barricades across transport routes and refused to leave the site. One activist stated that: "This is a global issue and doesn't just affect people here in Jokkmokk. It is our joint responsibility to ensure that there will be water and air for future generations". Since then, the activists have been arrested and removed by the police many times.

The Jokkmokk municipal executive on the other hand was very positive to the plans for a mine. The municipal commissioner saw it as a great opportunity for a town with a declining population. According to him, the mine would "provide jobs, a better foundation for the economy and of course boost the population which has been declining for a long time." In 2013 and 2014, more permits were granted in order to explore opportunities for more mines in northern Sweden – which has not been viewed as positive by the indigenous people of the region, the Sami. In their view, this exploitation will destroy the land for reindeer herding.

When Eskil Erlandsson, former Minister for Rural Affairs and the minister responsible for Sami affairs was asked how one ought to prioritize when interests collide, he expressed the view that citizens must be able to "also look out for other interests in our society. The courts are the final arbiters the development of roads and other activities when different interests collide, because they do sometimes". In other words, Erlandsson was saying that the activists and the Sami people ought to be convinced by the good arguments that the proponents of mining had put forward. But is this possible?

- How should a democratic society respond to citizens who carry out acts of civil disobedience?
- What happens if it's a private company or a private individual who is impacted by civil disobedience?
- Can civil disobedience be legitimate (morally defensible)?

The group has arrived at the following answers to these three questions:



Democracy

Cases of civil disobedience, a form of opposition to the majority view.

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on the extent to which a citizen can oppose the view and decisions of the majority. First read about civil disobedience below and then read the questions that follow. Then as you read the story on the next page, you should have these questions in mind.

What is civil disobedience?

In a democracy, decisions are made which then become law. Engaging in civil disobedience in a democracy is about breaking the law and disrupting the order that the majority of the people want. Often, civil disobedience is based on a conviction that there is a higher form of justice than the law. So in civil disobedience this means that a citizen breaks the law because he or she considers that he or she has justice on their side. Those who carry out acts of civil disobedience often emphasize that they are doing so as a citizen of their society and not as a private individual (not for private gain). In addition, acts of civil disobedience generally do not involve violence. Activists who resort to civil disobedience rarely question the validity of *how* a law was made. Instead they protest that the law itself is unjust.



- How should a democratic society respond to citizens who carry out acts of civil disobedience?
- What happens if it's a private company or a private individual who is impacted by civil disobedience? What are the similarities and differences? Give some examples.
- Can civil disobedience be legitimate (morally defensible)? Why?/Why not? Write down the arguments that you have arrived at.

Story:

In 2013, some people at Kallak, a site outside Jokkmokk in the far north of Sweden, protested against a mining company. The mining company had a permit to drill for ore, but the activists lashed themselves to the machinery, built barricades across transport routes and refused to leave the site. One activist stated that: “This is a global issue and doesn’t just affect people here in Jokkmokk. It is our joint responsibility to ensure that there will be water and air for future generations”. Since then, the activists have been arrested and removed by the police many times.

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Write down in point form your answers to the questions below. Bear in mind that you may be asked to read your answers aloud to the class.



Democracy

The case of majority rule through referenda

In this exercise, you will discuss in your group how democratic decisions ought to be made. Read the story below, which is taken from reality, and stop at the first question: Is the majority always right? Within this question are two more questions that you are also asked to discuss and deliberate on.

In your deliberations, it is important that you reflect on what you think. Ask each other follow-up questions like “What do you think?”, “What exactly do you mean?”.

Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other’s standpoints by saying “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other’s standpoints.

Try to agree on a position in your responses to the questions. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group.

Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it.

Story:

Story: During the 1940s and 1950s, the issue of changing from left-hand to right-hand traffic was debated frequently in the Swedish Riksdag. It was decided that a referendum might be helpful in making the decision. An advisory referendum was held on 20th May 1955. Before the referendum, the media had an important role to play in providing information to everyone who would vote. The result of the referendum was that all of 82 % voted no to the introduction of right-hand traffic and only 15 % voted yes.

In 1967, Sweden switched from driving on the left to right-hand traffic following a Riksdag decision.

What do you think of the decision to introduce right-hand traffic?



Continuation

Referenda are often seen as a complement to general elections. In Sweden, there have been six referenda at the national level and many at the local level. Referenda can be divided into two types: binding referenda where politicians are required to implement the result; and advisory referenda where politicians do not need to implement the result. All six of the national referenda held in Sweden have been advisory.

List of questions:

- Which are more important do you think? The opinions of elected representatives (politicians) or the result of a referendum?
- Are referenda a good thing or a bad thing for democracy?
- In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages of referenda?

The group has arrived at the following answers to these three questions:



Democracy

The case of majority rule through referenda

In this exercise, you will reflect on how democratic decisions ought to be made. Read the story below, which is taken from reality, and think about the function of democracy. Is there such a thing as more or less democratic? Is it possible for the majority to vote “the wrong way”?

Story:

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In 1967, Sweden switched from driving on the left to right-hand traffic following a Riksdag decision.

What do you think about how the decision to introduce right-hand traffic was made?



Continuation

Referenda are often seen as a complement to general elections. In Sweden, there have been six referenda at the national level and many at the local level. Referenda can be divided into two types: binding referenda where politicians are required to implement the result; and advisory referenda where politicians do not need to implement the result. All six of the national referenda held in Sweden have been advisory.

List of questions:

- Which are more important do you think? The opinions of elected representatives (politicians) or the result of a referendum?
- Are referenda a good thing or a bad thing for democracy?
- In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages of referenda?

I have arrived at the following answers to these three questions:



Human rights

Case dealing with democracy, human rights and anti-democratic forces in societies

The rule book for democracy is seen as incomplete if it does not include the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. This is because democracy is seen as more than just a way of making decisions. Without human rights, a democratic system can be turned into a “tyranny of the majority” over minorities. Quite simply, democracy requires ‘good losers’, but these losers are also citizens with rights.

This exercise summarizes all of the previous lessons’ exercises. In groups, you are asked to discuss the questions that come at the end of this slightly longer text. Be mindful of the criteria for group discussions and try to arrive at jointly agreed answers to the questions at the end.

Story:

The history of human rights

The idea of human rights – that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights – has been around for a long time. But it wasn’t until the creation of the UN and the United Nations Charter in 1945 that countries began to agree to establishing international cooperation to safeguard human rights. In 1948, the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted and since then more countries have written these rights into their constitutions.

So it has become the obligation and the responsibility of a country or state to provide individuals in that country with their human rights. This means that the state is required to intervene if an individual’s liberty is taken away from them, if the individual’s right to protection from injustice is jeopardised, or the individual’s basic needs are not met. In other words, the laws of the state must not only make clear the state’s obligations and prohibit certain acts but the state must also have a functioning legal system (police, lawyers and prosecutors, fair and impartial courts). Over the course of history however, there have been many ideas about how a state should function and how the individuals in a state should act which do not have anything to do with human rights. An example is the fascist movement which from the 1920s grew strong in Italy.

Benito Mussolini and fascism in Italy

The man in the picture is Benito Mussolini and he was the leader of the Italian fascist movement. Fascism was based on nationalism (worship of one's native country), a one-party state, and faith in a strong leader among other things, and that violence is a legitimate means for achieving political ends. At the beginning of his political career however, Mussolini was not at all a right-wing radical but in fact a leftist activist, although he was a strong advocate of the use of violence as a means to gain political power. He worked on a socialist newspaper and wrote about how the socialist dream would become a reality if one could only wipe out the ruling classes. At the beginning of World War I (1914), he was expelled from the socialist party for his radical ideas, which then became the seed of his virulent hatred of socialism and those who represented it. After having been wounded as a soldier in the Italian army during World War I, he started a new political movement – this time on the extreme right. This movement was very violent and attacked its opponents using vandalism and common assault and battery. Mussolini stated that “we are not declaring war on socialism because they are socialists but because they are opposed to nationalism”.



In the years following World War I, Italy was a very poor country with huge debts and internal conflicts. Poverty-stricken workers were those who primarily espoused the ideas of socialism and they used strikes to demonstrate against the inequalities in Italian society. Through their violent acts against the socialists, the fascists began to gather support from Italy's landowners and industrialists. However, support for the fascist party was relatively weak. In the elections in 1921, they received only 7 per cent of the votes. In 1922 however, conflicts between the socialists and fascists escalated even more. Finally, the King of Italy felt that he has to choose a side. He chose the fascists because, according to Mussolini's bombastic rhetoric, they wanted to preserve the monarchy and restore Italy's greatness, a return to the prominence of the Roman Empire. Those who did not share Mussolini's and fascism's views were to be repressed using violence.

Could this happen again?

The notion that a political ideology can be so great that it must be put into practice using violence is a recurring phenomenon throughout history. Even if we consider that Swedish society has little in common with Italy in the 1920s, we can still see that in Sweden today there are some people who see

violence as a solution. However, Sweden has agreed with other countries to have human rights as its guiding principle. Beating another person into submission until he or she accepts a political ideology is therefore against the law in Sweden. But this requires that there are laws and a legal system (police, lawyers and prosecutors, fair and impartial courts) that can deal with political violence.

Political violence in Sweden today

During 2013-2014, a number of incidents involving political violence occurred in Sweden. For example, what can be viewed as a gang war occurred between left-wing and the right-wing extremist groups in Eskilstuna. In December 2013 in Kärrtorp, a suburb of Stockholm, a group of neo-Nazis attacked a peaceful demonstration against racism. Many threats were also made against active politicians and journalists.

The demonstration in Kärrtorp, December 2013



In 2014, the Swedish Security Service issued a warning that threats from both extreme left-wing and extreme right-wing groups were on the rise as Sweden approached an election year. The Security Service took the view that the mood between the two groups was escalating. What happens is that one action triggers a revenge action which in turn triggers a counter-action. This results in long chains of conflict where it is impossible to tell in the end what started it all.

Interview with two former members of extremist groups

In conjunction with the Security Service declaring the situation, two former members of extremist groups spoke out on Swedish Radio: Magnus Utvik, a former left-wing extremist, and Kent Lindahl, a former right-wing extremist. The groups that Magnus and Kent were members of used violence as a method for achieving their ends.

In his interview, Magnus stated that it is the same psychological mechanism that underlies both left-wing and right-wing extremist movements. The members of these movements have a very black-and-white view of the world, that is, “we are right and everyone else is wrong”. There is also enormous contempt for what is called the “degenerate” society. This means that any and all means are permitted to arrive at the truth and to create the brave new society. This new society is portrayed as a paradise. For left-wing extremists (such as the Revolutionary Front) this means the spread of communism across the world. For neo-Nazis, it’s an Aryan Europe. That violence is an acceptable method is in fact part of the ideology itself, for example the websites of left-wing extremist groups state that they support the Red Brigades in Italy, urban guerrillas in South America, and the Red Army Faction in Germany. They emulate the methods of these groups, making them their own, and have started a *class war*.

In Magnus' opinion, this is very far removed from the way in which the left did things in the 1970s, working as they did then with the tenants' association, solidarity organizations, organizations supporting Vietnam, and trade unions. Extreme left-wing groups today couldn't care less what other socialist groups think. They go directly to a class war. Similarly, neo-Nazis go directly to a race war and this is expressed in the same manner: The world is perceived as black and white, either are you for them or against them. If you are with us, use violence!

In the interview, Magnus Utvik and Kent Lindahl were asked why they believe that left-wing and right-wing extremist groups think that violence is the principal method for achieving a solution?

Both Magnus and Kent replied that these movements glorify violence and want the excitement. Magnus points out that the Revolutionary Front writes on its Facebook page "we speak the only language the neo-Nazis understand". In other words, they feel that they are entitled to use violence against other people. Directly attacking politicians and capitalists is seen as the most appropriate method for changing the current situation. People who do not feel the same way should be beaten up until they change their view out of fear. However, Magnus is careful to point out that the majority of left-wing parties and groups reject this way of thinking. For example, Sweden's Left Party expelled a member of the Young Left who would not reject the use of violence for political purposes. Magnus points out however that this individual has a very large number of followers on Facebook. In other words, there are many radical currents in the society that support the idea of using violence to effect change – to first of all beat up people, go to war against those who think differently – politicians, capitalists, neo-Nazis – in order to win such a battle.

What is it then that attracts young people to the Swedish branch of the Nordic Resistance Movement and this type of extreme political environment? According to Kent Lindahl, who has a past in right-wing extremist organisations in the 1980s, it's the same thing now as it was then. People get a kick out of these environments. Even if there is an ideological basis, violence comes into the picture quite quickly. When Kent meets young people who want help to escape from right-wing extremist groups, they often tell similar stories. He relates one example:

Stockholm is a very segregated, divided, city. The villa areas in Stockholm's southern suburbs are home to young people from relatively well-off homes without foreign ancestry. When guys from this kind of background are mugged, or hear about someone who has been mugged and robbed of their mobile phone or jacket (which sometimes happens) and it is suspected that the perpetrators are Swedish guys with an immigrant background, they become confused. The most important thing to establish in this situation is that what happened was a *robbery* and nothing but. But many adults in Swedish society find it very difficult to relate to this type of occurrence. Racism and prejudices

that may not have been there from the outset get mixed into the situation. When there is no support from the adult world at hand, the victim of the mugging starts to hate not just the robbers, but all guys that don't have the same background as they do. So who are the people who seek out these victims of robberies, hand out leaflets in schools, are prepared to listen to and support these guys? None other than the Swedish branch of the Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR). Their strategy is to affirm the victim's anger and declare that what happened is a consequence of Sweden's multicultural society. They tell these people that no one will come to their aid because "you are Swedes" and "nobody dares talk about the problems in this politically correct (PC) society". Slowly but surely, these suburban guys are drawn into a black-and-white world view. It becomes "us" against "them".

The reporter on the radio program concluded the interview by asking what kind of people are capable of beating up another person? Who resorts to violence?

That only certain people would be capable of beating up others is something that both Magnus and Kent reject out of hand. They say that violence exists within the group and group pressure makes it necessary to show off in order to be accepted. Anyone at all can get riled up: it's not unusual for example to attack traitors within their own ranks, says Kent. The ideology helps to affirm the dark sides of each individual, which leads people to do things that they never would have thought themselves capable of doing. Throughout history, there are far too many examples of precisely the same thing.

Magnus believes that young people gravitate towards the Revolutionary Front because they want to fight against capitalism, the exploitation of natural resources, and fight against sexism and for feminism. In actual fact, they become part of a kind of urban guerrilla force that takes up arms. They do not see neo-Nazis or other opponents as human beings but as enemy elements. They have dehumanised them, and that makes it is easier to attack them.

In Kent's view, depending on the context, people can do things they never would have dreamed of otherwise. In the extreme right-wing groups that he was part of, there were those who got more of a kick out of the violence than others. But it was very apparent that those who never wanted to be involved in violence were expelled quite quickly – they were never fully accepted. You were forced to go along with it, otherwise you could get into trouble.

Both Magnus and Kent think that the way things are heading with extremist political groups in Sweden does not look bright. They believe that it could be the start of a bleak wave of political violence because both sides are becoming increasingly militant.

Exercise: deliberate on and discuss the following questions:

- What are the conflicts between human rights and enforcing policies through the use of violence?
- What are the conflicts between the rules of play in a democracy and enforcing policies through the use of violence?
- Is there any situation in which you think that political violence is justified?
- Can political violence be democratic? Why? Why not?

Human rights

Case dealing with democracy, human rights and anti-democratic forces in societies

The rule book for democracy could be viewed as incomplete if it does not include the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. This is because democracy is seen as more than just a way of making decisions. Without human rights, a democratic system can be turned into a “tyranny of the majority” over minorities. Quite simply, democracy requires ‘good losers’, but these losers are also citizens with rights.

This exercise summarizes all of the previous lessons’ exercises. This exercise consists of a slightly longer text and some concluding questions. Read the text and then try to answer the questions.

Story:

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Both Magnus and Kent replied that these movements glorify violence and want the excitement. Magnus points out that the Revolutionary Front writes on its Facebook page "we speak the only language the neo-Nazis understand". In other words, they feel that they are entitled to use violence against other people. Directly attacking politicians and capitalists is seen as the most appropriate method for changing the current situation. People who do not feel the same way should be beaten up until they change their view out of fear. However, Magnus is careful to point out that the majority of left-wing parties and groups reject this way of thinking. For example, Sweden's Left Party expelled a member of the Young Left who would not reject the use of violence for political purposes. Magnus points out however that this individual has a very large number of followers on Facebook. In other words, there are many radical currents in the society that support the idea of using violence to effect change – to first of all beat up people, go to war against those who think differently – politicians, capitalists, neo-Nazis – in order to win such a battle.

What is it then that attracts young people to the Swedish branch of the Nordic Resistance Movement and this type of extreme political environment? According to Kent Lindahl, who has a past in right-wing extremist organisations in the 1980s, it's the same thing now as it was then. People get a kick out of these environments. Even if there is an ideological basis, violence comes into the picture quite quickly. When Kent meets young people who want help to escape from right-wing extremist groups, they often tell similar stories. He relates one example:

Stockholm is a very segregated, divided, city. The villa areas in Stockholm's southern suburbs are home to young people from relatively well-off homes without foreign ancestry. When guys from this kind of background are mugged, or hear about someone who has been mugged and robbed of their mobile phone or jacket (which sometimes happens) and it is suspected that the perpetrators are Swedish guys with an immigrant background, they become confused. The most important thing to establish in this situation is that what happened was a *robbery* and nothing but. But many adults in Swedish society find it very difficult to relate to this type of occurrence. Racism and prejudices

that may not have been there from the outset get mixed into the situation. When there is no support from the adult world at hand, the victim of the mugging starts to hate not just the robbers, but all guys that don't have the same background as they do. So who are the people who seek out these victims of robberies, hand out leaflets in schools, are prepared to listen to and support these guys? None other than the Swedish branch of the Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR). Their strategy is to affirm the victim's anger and declare that what happened is a consequence of Sweden's multicultural society. They tell these people that no one will come to their aid because "you are Swedes" and "nobody dares talk about the problems in this politically correct (PC) society". Slowly but surely, these suburban guys are drawn into a black-and-white world view. It becomes "us" against "them".

The reporter on the radio program concluded the interview by asking what kind of people are capable of beating up another person? Who resorts to violence?

That only certain people would be capable of beating up others is something that both Magnus and Kent reject out of hand. They say that violence exists within the group and group pressure makes it necessary to show off in order to be accepted. Anyone at all can get riled up: it's not unusual for example to attack traitors within their own ranks, says Kent. The ideology helps to affirm the dark sides of each individual, which leads people to do things that they never would have thought themselves capable of doing. Throughout history, there are far too many examples of precisely the same thing.

Magnus believes that young people gravitate towards the Revolutionary Front because they want to fight against capitalism, the exploitation of natural resources, and fight against sexism and for feminism. In actual fact, they become part of a kind of urban guerrilla force that takes up arms. They do not see neo-Nazis or other opponents as human beings but as enemy elements. They have dehumanised them, and that makes it easier to attack them.

In Kent's view, depending on the context, people can do things they never would have dreamed of otherwise. In the extreme right-wing groups that he was part of, there were those who got more of a kick out of the violence than others. But it was very apparent that those who never wanted to be involved in violence were expelled quite quickly – they were never fully accepted. You were forced to go along with it, otherwise you could get into trouble.

Both Magnus and Kent think that the way things are heading with extremist political groups in Sweden does not look bright. They believe that it could be the start of a bleak wave of political violence because both sides are becoming increasingly militant.

Exercise: deliberate on and discuss the following questions:

- What are the conflicts between human rights and enforcing policies through the use of violence?
- What are the conflicts between the rules of play in a democracy and enforcing policies through the use of violence?
- Is there any situation in which you think that political violence is justified?
- Can political violence be democratic? Why? Why not?

Human rights

Case of freedom of expression

In this exercise, you will discuss values in relation to human rights. You are to read the case story below and discuss what you think of the claims that are made in the case story.

- Start with everyone reading the case story. Then reflect on what you think about it. Then start the conversation and ask the questions "What do you think?" and "What do you mean?" when talking with each other.
- Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's standpoints by saying "What exactly do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.
- In conclusion: try to agree on how to approach this question. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box below the case story.
- Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it?

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

It is not unusual for political parties and their youth branches to want to visit schools. Even the right-wing extremist party, the National Democrats wants to do this. In the fall of 2007, a representative of the National Democrats contacted a school in Köping, a town in rural Sweden. They wanted to visit the school, talk politics with the students and distribute flyers. However the principal, Ragnar Larsson, made the decision not to give the party access to the school on the grounds that he did not want the National Democrats in his school.

Did Ragnar do the right thing? Why? Why not?

The group has concluded the following:



What happened?

What happened? The National Democrats did not accept the principal's decision and reported the school to the authorities as being in breach of the Swedish constitution. The Chancellor of Justice (JO), which supervises government agencies to ensure that they follow the law and regulations, criticized the school because Sweden's Freedom of the Press Ordinance states that no one may be prevented from distributing printed matter due to its content. Principal Ragnar Larsson argued that the values of the National Democrats were contrary to the school's value base and that they risked disturbing the peace. But this argument was rejected. However, JO's decision does not mean that anyone can come to a school, only that the school is not permitted to stop some parties from visiting but not others.

To discuss further: Karlberg School in Köping is a lower secondary school, which means that the students must come attend as it is part of Sweden's compulsory school system. Is it right that representatives of xenophobic parties are permitted to visit the school? Check out what applies on the school's website.

Is there any association, organization or party that really should not be allowed to visit a school? Why?/Why not?

The group has deliberated on the questions above and has arrived at the following:



Human rights

Case of freedom of expression

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on how you view the situation in the case story below. Read the case story.

When you have read it, reflect on how you would answer the question asked. Also reflect on why this is your answer, that is, what *arguments* you would use. Try thinking through these arguments and getting them as clear as possible. Ask yourself if you would be able to convince someone who thought differently from you with these arguments?

Write down the *arguments* that you arrived at in the box below the case story. Remember that you must be able to outline your arguments to others in the class.

Story:

It is not unusual for political parties and their youth branches to want to visit schools. Even the right-wing extremist party, the National Democrats wants to do this. In the fall of 2007, a representative of the National Democrats contacted a school in Köping, a town in rural Sweden. They wanted to visit the school, talk politics with the students and distribute flyers. However the principal, Ragnar Larsson, made the decision not to give the party access to the school on the grounds that he did not want the National Democrats in his school.

Did Ragnar do the right thing? Why? Why not?

I have concluded the following:



What happened? The National Democrats did not accept the principal's decision and reported the school to the authorities as being in breach of the Swedish constitution. The Chancellor of Justice (JO), which supervises government agencies to ensure that they follow the law and regulations, criticized the school because Sweden's Freedom of the Press Ordinance states that no one may be prevented from distributing printed matter due to its content. Principal Ragnar Larsson argued that the values of the National Democrats were contrary to the school's value base and that they risked disturbing the peace. But this argument was rejected. However, JO's decision does not mean that anyone can come to a school, only that the school is not permitted to stop some parties from visiting but not others.

To discuss further: Karlberg School in Köping is a lower secondary school, which means that the students must come attend as it is part of Sweden's compulsory school system. Is it right that representatives of xenophobic parties are permitted to visit the school? Check out what applies on the school's website.

Is there any association, organization or party that really should not be allowed to visit a school? Why?/Why not?

I have thought about the questions above and have arrived at the following:



Human rights

Case of freedom of expression

In this exercise, you will discuss values in relation to human rights. You are to read the case story below and discuss what you think of the claims that are made in the case story.

- Start with everyone reading the case story. Then reflect on what you think about it. Then start the conversation and ask the questions "What do you think?" and "What do you mean?" when talking with each other.
- Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's standpoints by saying "What exactly do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.
- In conclusion: try to agree on how to approach this question. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box below the case story.
- Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it?

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

In 2000, an anarchist magazine in Sweden published a themed number. The magazine mimicked the appearance and language of weekly men's and women's magazines. This number contained an anti-sexist guide to sex in the form of a "makeover" page. In a test to find out your "activist profile", there was a question about how you should react if you saw a "cop car" cruising by. If you were a true "AFA activist" (AFA stands for Anti-Fascist Action), you would note down the number plate while pulling down your hood and covering your face with both hands. The magazine also contained what it called a "riot guide". Among other things, this guide stated the following: "We all know the difficulties of planning a successful riot. Who should I invite, what should I wear and what methods should I use. There certainly are a lot of questions. To make it easier for you, we have reviewed the latest trends. Just follow our A-Z list to make your riot a guaranteed success". The riot guide contained more tips on how to plan and carry out riots.

Question: Should writing about how to carry out a successful riot be permitted? Why? Why not?

The group has concluded the following:

What happened?

The Security Service reported two people as editors of the magazine to the police. They were prosecuted for sedition. Seditious means trying to incite someone to commit a criminal offense. But these two people were acquitted. An important reason for the acquittal was that the content of the magazine could be interpreted as satire and jokes. The public prosecutor's argument, that there was a lot of serious information in the article, did not lead to a conviction.

To discuss further: Does it seem too easy to hide behind jokes and satire? Should the laws be stricter?

Is it okay, in the form of a joke, to describe how to make bombs or distil alcohol for example? How *should* the boundaries be drawn for what is permitted and what is not?

On the Internet, you can find instructions for just about anything. Should freedom on the Net be restricted?



The group has deliberated on the questions above and has arrived at the following:

Human rights

Case of freedom of expression

In this exercise, you will again reflect on how to uphold human rights in our everyday lives. To help you, you have the introductory text to the human rights topic, and in particular the part that deals with freedom of expression.

Once again, the fundamental question is what we can and cannot write and say in the context of freedom of expression. For example, is it permitted to joke about anything at all?

Below is a story of what happened when a magazine wrote about something that not everyone saw as a joke.

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.

Story:

In 2000, an anarchist magazine in Sweden published a themed number. The magazine mimicked the appearance and language of weekly men's and women's magazines. This number contained an anti-sexist guide to sex in the form of a "makeover" page. In a test to find out your "activist profile", there was a question about how you should react if you saw a "cop car" cruising by. If you were a true "AFA activist" (AFA stands for Anti-Fascist Action), you would note down the number plate while pulling down your hood and covering your face with both hands. The magazine also contained what it called a "riot guide". Among other things, this guide stated the following: "We all know the difficulties of planning a successful riot. Who should I invite, what should I wear and what methods should I use. There certainly are a lot of questions. To make it easier for you, we have reviewed the latest trends. Just follow our A-Z list to make your riot a guaranteed success". The riot guide contained more tips on how to plan and carry out riots.

Question: Should writing about how to carry out a successful riot be permitted? Why? Why not?

When you answer the question, you should use some of the terms that you have read about and probably used in the previous exercises you did. These terms are: **Freedom of expression, contempt, penal code, freedom of peaceful assembly, hate speech.**

What is the meaning of these terms? How do you use them?

Give an account of these terms and what you have concluded:

What happened?

The Security Service reported two people as editors of the magazine to the police. They were prosecuted for sedition. Sedition means trying to incite someone to commit a criminal offense. But these two people were acquitted. An important reason for the acquittal was that the content of the magazine could be interpreted as satire and jokes. The public prosecutor's argument, that there was a lot of serious information in the article, did not lead to a conviction.

Reflect on what happened and answer the following questions:

- Does it seem too easy to hide behind jokes and satire?
- Should the laws be stricter?
- Is it okay, in the form of a joke, to describe how to make bombs or distil alcohol for example?
- How *should* the boundaries be drawn for what is permitted and what is not?



Write down your answers:

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Human rights

Values exercise: discrimination

Discrimination is when people are denied their human rights because of their gender, sexual orientation or ethnicity for example.

In this exercise, your group are asked to reflect on an important sphere of human rights which relates to discrimination. Read the four cases below and then reflect in the group on **which of them you consider to be a case of discrimination**.

Start with everyone reading one case. Then reflect on what you think about it. Is it a case of discrimination that might have been taken up by Sweden's Equality Ombudsman (anti-discrimination ombudsman)? Then start a discussion in the group. Do you all have the same opinions? What separates your opinions?

Help each other to express what they think by asking "What do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.

Try to jointly agree on an answer to each case. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box that follows each case.

When you have all finished with all of the cases, the teacher will present to you which of these cases constitute discrimination under the law.



Case 1:

A student was subjected to harassment by other students for three years at a lower secondary school. The student was openly bisexual from Grade 8. But even in Grade 7, many people at the school assumed that the student was homosexual or bisexual. There were bullies among these people. For example, some students tried to push the student's head into a toilet while they flushed it. They called the student "disgusting", "abnormal" and a "fucking faggot". How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:

Case 2:

An upper secondary school student took the national exam in English and only just managed to get sufficient marks for a grade E (pass). When the student received his final grade for the course, the teacher informed the student that the quality of his knowledge was not worth more than an F (fail). The student was very disappointed and felt discriminated against by the teacher. He felt for example that he had not received as much time for conversation with the teacher who, according to the student, gave priority to female students. The teacher's view however was that the student had been told many times that his performance was not sufficient for an E, even if he managed to pass the national exam. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has arrived at the following concerning Case 2:

Case 3:

Two women were out for a night on the town. When the two women went into a night club, they sat down at a table and started kissing each other. A security guard came up to them and asked them to stop. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:

Case 4:

A university announced that they wanted left-handed people for a study about the relationship between fine motor ability and the brain's synapses system. A man who was right-handed registered his interest in being part of the study. When he was denied participation, he reported the matter to the Equality Ombudsman. The man felt aggrieved because he was excluded from the study on the grounds of being right-handed. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

The group has concluded the following:

Human rights

Values exercise: discrimination

Discrimination is when people are denied their human rights because of their gender, sexual orientation or ethnicity for example.

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on an important sphere of human rights which relates to discrimination. Read the four cases below and then reflect on **which of them you consider to be a case of discrimination**. Base your answer on the text on human rights.

Start by reading one case. Then reflect on what you think about it. Is it a case of discrimination that might have been taken up by Sweden's Equality Ombudsman (anti-discrimination ombudsman)? Compare what you think with what is in the text on human rights. Write down your conclusion in the box. Then go through the same process with the next case.

When you have finished with all of the cases, the teacher will present to you which of these cases constitute discrimination under the law.



Case 1:

A student was subjected to harassment by other students for three years at a lower secondary school. The student was openly bisexual from Grade 8. But even in Grade 7, many people at the school assumed that the student was homosexual or bisexual. There were bullies among these people. For example, some students tried to push the student's head into a toilet while they flushed it. They called the student "disgusting", "abnormal" and a "fucking faggot". How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

I have concluded the following:

Case 2:

An upper secondary school student took the national exam in English and only just managed to get sufficient marks for a grade E (pass). When the student received his final grade for the course, the teacher informed the student that the quality of his knowledge was not worth more than an F (fail). The student was very disappointed and felt discriminated against by the teacher. He felt for example that he had not received as much time for conversation with the teacher who, according to the student, gave priority to female students. The teacher's view however was that the student had been told many times that his performance was not sufficient for an E, even if he managed to pass the national exam. How do you view the case? Is it a case of discrimination? Discuss and justify your answer.

I have arrived at the following concerning Case 2:

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I have concluded the following:

Case 4:

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I have concluded the following:

Human rights

Values exercise: Social security

In this exercise, you will discuss values in relation to human rights. You are to read the case story below and discuss what you think of the claims that are made in the case story.

Start with everyone reading the case story. Then reflect on what you think about it. Then start the conversation and ask the questions "What do you think?" and "What do you mean?" when talking with each other.

Remember to let everyone finish what they want to say. Question each other's standpoints by saying "What exactly do you mean?", "Could you clarify?", "Do you have any examples?". Respect each other's standpoints.

In conclusion: try to agree on how to approach this question. At the very least, agree on what you disagree about! Summarize and write down the opinion of the group in the box below the case story.

Also reflect on whether you found it difficult to say what you think and stand up for it?

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.



Story:

You are at a friend's home. You are watching TV when your friend's older brother and his girlfriend Sara come home. They sit down beside you on the sofa and you start talking. On the TV news, there is a segment about unemployment. The segment is about a person who has been unemployed for almost a year now and has applied for a great many jobs but has still not managed to get one. Sara watches the segment intensely and then says that it's just terrible that we should need to pay for "a layabout like that who doesn't want to work". She firmly believes that there *are* jobs if you just make a bit of an effort and are prepared to take any job. "People who don't work should barely get enough money for food", says Sara. "That would get them off their backsides". She stops gazing at the TV, turns her gaze onto you and says: "What do you think?"

What do you answer? And why?

The group has concluded the following:

Below are some relevant Articles from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning social security. It's important to point out however that how a right is understood is a matter of interpretation.

Read through the Articles and resume the discussion.

Did you arrive at different conclusions? How did these Articles impact your decision? Write down your amended conclusions if applicable in the box below.

Article 22: "Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality."

Article 23.1: "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment."

Article 25:1 Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

The group has concluded the following:



Human rights

Values exercise: Social security

In this exercise, you are asked to reflect on how you view the situation in the case story below. Read the case story.

When you have read it, reflect on how you would answer the question Jennifer asks. Also reflect on why this is your answer, that is, what *arguments* you would use. Try thinking through these arguments and getting them as clear as possible. Ask yourself if you would be able to convince someone who thought differently from you with these arguments?

Write down the *arguments* that you arrived at in the box below the case story. Remember that you must be able to outline your arguments to others in the class.

When you are finished with the questions, turn over the page.



Story:

You are at a friend's home. You are watching TV when your friend's older brother and his girlfriend Sara come home. They sit down beside you on the sofa and you start talking. On the TV news, there is a segment about unemployment. The segment is about a person who has been unemployed for almost a year now and has applied for a great many jobs but has still not managed to get one. Sara watches the segment intensely and then says that it's just terrible that we should need to pay for "a layabout like that who doesn't want to work". She firmly believes that there *are* jobs if you just make a bit of an effort and are prepared to take any job. "People who don't work should barely get enough money for food", says Sara. "That would get them off their backsides". She stops gazing at the TV, turns her gaze onto you and says: "What do you think?"

What do you answer? And why?

I have concluded the following:

Below are some Articles from the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights that are relevant to this story. It's important to point out however that how a right is understood is a matter of interpretation.

Read the Articles.

When you have done that, reflect on: How do these Articles relate to the arguments I wrote down in the box above?

After reading the Articles did you arrive at different conclusions? How did these Articles impact your view, decision? Write down the different conclusions you might draw after having read and thought about these Articles.

Article 22: "Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality."

Article 23.1: "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment."

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I have concluded the following:



Human rights

Human rights in our everyday lives: coexisting with others

In this exercise, you will discuss how to uphold human rights in our everyday lives. Read the story below and then reflect on what you think is a good attitude to have towards the world around you. Talk to each other about this. Then you are asked to come up with a similar conflict to the one described in the story.

First of all, reflect on what you yourself think. In the group discussion, try to describe to the others what you think is a good attitude to have. Listen carefully to what the others have to say, what their opinions are. Do you all have the same opinions? What separates your opinions?

As usual, help each other out. Question each other by saying “What exactly do you mean?”, “Could you clarify?”, “Do you have any examples?”. Respect each other’s standpoints.

Question: How should we relate to each other and why is it not always so easy? How should we behave in our everyday lives so that we stand up for human rights?

Story:

Most countries have integrated human rights into their legislation. But human rights include the right to practice one’s religion and not to be discriminated against.

In the United Kingdom, a Christian couple who ran a small bed and breakfast tried to ban homosexual couples from staying overnight in their accommodation. The issue sparked a discussion about where the boundary lies between freedom of religion and the right not to be discriminated against.

It was concluded that freedom from discrimination is a human right under English law. A person carrying on a business under English law is therefore required to follow it. In other words, to assert religious reasons for not complying with the law is not a viable option.

The right to practice one’s religion is thus a right with certain qualifications. A person who creates special rules based on his or her interpretation of a philosophy of life (or a religion) cannot count on these rules being within the scope of the freedom to practice one’s religion if these rules discriminate against others.

The group has concluded the following:



Your next task in this exercise is first to come up with a similar conflict to that described above, where the right not to be discriminated against and being allowed to freely live one's life can come into conflict.

Before you start, list the terms that you are going to talk about. Key terms in the story above are human rights, legislation, philosophy of life/religion, discrimination. By helping each other out in the discussion, you can bring in several different perspectives and angles on what you are talking about. Help each other to problematize what you are talking about, examine the arguments from all angles (on the one hand ... on the other hand).

- When you arrive at the conflict you have chosen, start up the discussion.
- How should you/we prioritize?

Summarize in writing what you have arrived at below.

Addendum:

There are those who say that we often forget the responsibility that comes with human rights. The vast majority of people live close to other people. Respecting what other people do with their lives and their bodies is fundamental to being able to coexist peacefully with others. But we also have common legislation that the majority have voted for. There are those who believe that a nation's prosperity is measured by how it treats its minorities. Just because you have the right to question and challenge others does not mean that you are obliged to question and challenge others.

The group has concluded the following:



Human rights

Human rights in our everyday lives: coexisting with others

In this exercise, you are to try to summarize how human rights should be enforced in our everyday lives. Read the story below then reflect on what you think is a good attitude to have towards the world around you.

Then reflect on what you think about the **question**: How should we relate to each other and why is it not always easy to relate to others? How should we behave in our everyday lives so that we stand up for human rights?

Story:

Most countries have integrated human rights into their legislation. But human rights include the right to practice one's religion and not to be discriminated against.

In the United Kingdom, a Christian couple who ran a small bed and breakfast tried to ban homosexual couples from staying overnight in their accommodation. The issue sparked a discussion about where the boundary lies between freedom of religion and the right not to be discriminated against.

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The right to practice one's religion is thus a right with certain qualifications. A person who creates special rules based on his or her interpretation of a philosophy of life (or a religion) cannot count on these rules being within the scope of the freedom to practice one's religion if these rules discriminate against others.

I have concluded the following:



Your task in this exercise is first to come up with a similar conflict to that described above, where the right not to be discriminated against and being allowed to freely live one's life can come into conflict.

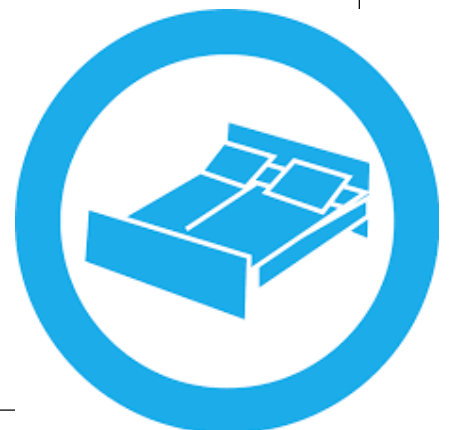
Before you begin, reflect on a number of key terms. Key terms in the story above are human rights, legislation, philosophy of life/religion, discrimination. What do these terms mean? Ask the teacher if you are unsure. Use the terms in your reasoning below.

Summarize in writing what you have arrived at.

Addendum:

There are those who say that we often forget the responsibility that comes with human rights. The vast majority of people live close to other people. Respecting what other people do with their lives and their bodies is fundamental to being able to coexist peacefully with others. But we also have common legislation that the majority have voted for. There are those who believe that a nation's prosperity is measured by how it treats its minorities. Just because you have the right to question and challenge others does not mean that you are obliged to question and challenge others.

I have come up with the following conflict where the right not to be discriminated against and being allowed to freely live one's life can come into conflict.



What is democracy?

Democracy as a concept

Democracy is a disputed concept and many meanings have been attributed to it. The original meaning of the word is “rule by the people” – but what does this actually mean? How should rule by the people be implemented in practice? Who are these people who are allowed to rule? Which people are not allowed to rule and why? What should we do if the people can't agree, or if various groups in society have totally opposite wishes and demands?



Throughout the ages, philosophers and political philosophers have put different meanings onto the concept of democracy. At times it has been a negatively charged word, almost synonymous with mob rule (where the power lies with an uncontrolled, angry mob). Today, the word democracy is mainly positively charged. In most parts of the world, political leaders say that they are *for* democracy, even if *how* democracy functions in different countries can be a bit so-so. In other words, democracy has become a bit of a catchword – countries

want to show that they are good democracies because it gives them status and a good reputation internationally.

What is needed for a society to be considered democratic?

Democracy can be seen as a goal or ideal in itself that entails certain values, but also as a system of government, a political form of governing a country. Differing views on what democracy is have led to different definitions (qualifiers or understandings) of the

Maximalist definition of democracy

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According to a maximalist or very broad definition, true democracy is not achieved until all parts of a society are democratic. In other words, the people should control what affects their daily lives. According to this view, democracy is not just about how decisions are made, it also emphasizes a democratic substance.

concept. Among all the conceivable definitions, one can distinguish between a maximalist and a minimalist approach to democracy.

Predictable rules and unpredictable outcomes

Another feature of democracy is in fact the *uncertainty* that characterises it. In a democracy, no one can know for sure beforehand what the election results will be. In non-democratic systems, often certain groups such as the military have the capacity and the opportunity to intervene if a conflict leads to what they see as a bad result. In a democracy, no group in society is able to intervene when the outcome of a conflict goes against their interests. Democracy thus means that all groups in society must expose their own interests to a certain degree of uncertainty. According to this view, democracy can be described as a political system that consists of *predictable rules and unpredictable outcomes*.



Minimalist definition of democracy

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The minimalist definition of democracy, on the other hand, is mainly concerned with *how* decisions are made, and about election procedures (how elections are arranged). When decisions are to be made, the focus is on the procedure itself. Democracy is seen primarily as a political *methodology*, useful for handling a fight between political parties over the right to govern a country. In a democracy, the role of the citizen is thus mainly associated with the right to choose the government at different points in time. Accountability (to hold political parties to account for what they have done) it is important, and is what citizens use against those in power. Accountability protects citizens from the risk that those in power just do whatever they like. As long as governments can be changed and the voters have a choice between at least two political alternatives, the

What do you need for a democracy?

Below are a number of points which can be seen as criteria that must be met in order for a society to be seen as democratic:

- *Elected decision-makers.* According to the country's constitution, power over political decisions must lie with the elected decision-makers.
- *Free and fair elections.* Politicians must be elected in regularly occurring impartial (free and fair) elections.
- *Universal suffrage.* Virtually all adults must have the right to vote in elections.
- *The right to stand as a candidate in elections.* Virtually all adults must have the right to stand as a candidate for publicly elected positions (stand as politicians).
- *Freedom of speech.* Citizens must have the right to freely express their opinions without risking punishment. This includes the right to criticize the authorities, the state, the government, the socio-economic system, and ideologies.
- *Alternative sources of information.* All citizens must have the right to look for alternative sources of information. Access to information from a variety of sources must exist and be protected by law.
- *Freedom of association.* To safeguard their rights, citizens must have the right to form independent associations and organizations such as political parties and special interest groups.



Models of democracy and decision-making processes

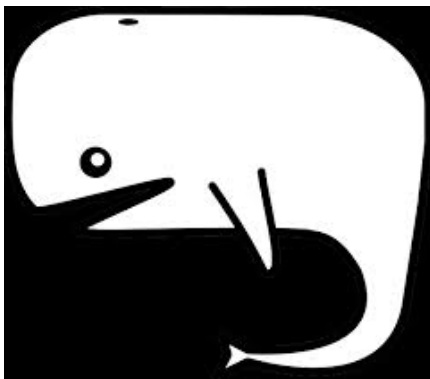
When we talk about democracy, there are many different concepts and definitions that need to be considered. The same is true when it comes to different kinds of democracy. It can be useful to start off by talking about how different types of democracy ought to function in theory, generally with the aid of ideal types. You can then go on to describe how things could be, and then discuss more extreme cases. Different theoretical models of democracy have very great differences and this makes it easy to compare and discuss their various advantages and disadvantages. In reality however, a democracy rarely matches up to the theory entirely. Instead, it is usually more as a mix of the different theoretical models.



The kind of democracy that exists in most democratic countries today, for example in Sweden, is usually referred to as representative democracy. The people choose representatives who then make the decisions, i.e. citizens vote for political parties or politicians in general elections. But there are also other ways for citizens to influence the decisions that are made, for example through referendums, petitions and demonstrations.

Representative democracy

Representative democracy means that in a democracy there are recurring general elections in which citizens can vote for representatives. 'Representatives' general refers to political parties or politicians. Elected politicians then make the big decisions in a society between elections. There are several theoretical variants of representative democracy. Two ways of looking at



representative democracy are on the one hand that voters are seen as casting their votes based on what they think the politicians will do in the future, or on the other hand that voters are seen as casting their votes based on how well they think that the sitting politicians have done their jobs in the past. Voting based on what politicians will do in the future is about voting for the politician/party that the voter thinks will do the best job during the next term of office (commonly referred to as giving a mandate). Often the parties will make promises

during their election campaigns and debate on what proposals are best for the future. The second variant is generally referred to as accountability and is about citizens rewarding or punishing the government in office in the mandate period just prior to the elections. What is the

most difficult thing when you are going to vote: Knowing what the different parties are going to do? Or knowing if the sitting government has been good or bad? How do you know this? And are there really any voters who only think about the future or only about how the previous government conducted itself?

Participatory democracy

Another variant of democracy is participatory democracy. In theory, participatory democracy should be achievable by citizens making all the decisions directly. Participatory democracy is sometimes also called direct democracy. Decisions are made for example by holding referenda that lead directly to a decision on an issue. In practice, participatory democracy refers to a democracy where the citizens also actively participate in decision-making in other ways between general elections. This might be through local groups making decisions together, through referenda, and through democratic decisions at the workplace, etc. It can also be through local referenda and what are called citizens' initiatives, for example, collecting signatures on a petition and thereby being able to bring about a political decision without the initiative for that decision having come from a politician. Thus, a participatory democracy requires citizens to be politically active between general elections as well. Participatory democracy can be seen as supporting representative democracy, and what is usually debated is how much should be decided by politicians and how much citizens should be able to influence decisions between elections.

Participatory democracy requires citizens to be politically active between general elections as well. Participatory democracy can be seen as supporting representative democracy, and what is usually debated is how much should be decided by politicians and how much citizens should be able to influence decisions between elections.

Deliberative democracy

Discussion and deliberation are seen as central in a democracy. What is important is not only *what* decisions are made but also *how* these decisions are made. The idea is that through deliberation and discussion, you can arrive at a decision that everyone agrees with – the best decision – and that consequently it should not be necessary to vote on things. Many people see this as unrealistic. On the other hand, just like representative democracy, in practice deliberative democracy is combined with other types of democracy. An example of



Decision-making in representative democracy, participatory democracy, deliberative democracy

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Representative democracy: general elections in which citizens vote for parties, and elected politicians make the big decisions between general elections.

Participatory democracy: citizens make the big decisions directly, for example through referenda.

Deliberative democracy: discussion and deliberation are

deliberative democracy is a user council. In a user council, a group of citizens get together and talk about how to resolve an issue, often at the local level. Then politicians use what the user council has arrived at in their deliberations when making decisions.

The representative democracy approach to decision-making and the role of the majority

Proportional representation electoral systems

Proportional representation electoral systems also have constituencies. The difference is that in each constituency, several candidates are elected. The fundamental idea is that the parties should get the same number of representatives as the proportion of votes they got, but for practical reasons there is often a lower threshold for the proportion of votes a party must get in order to get a seat in Parliament. In Sweden, which has proportional representation, that threshold is 4 percent. In proportional representation systems too, the party that gets the most votes generally forms the government. Unlike in majoritarian elections, it is rarely the case that the biggest party gets more than half of the votes. What happens then, as in Sweden, is that one

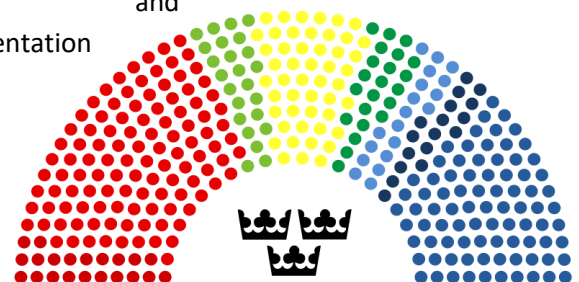
Political parties play an important role in democratic countries around the world. These parties represent different opinions that the citizens can vote for and the representatives of the parties then sit in the Parliament and make political decisions. This generally functions as a multi-party system or a two-party system in most democratic countries. In a multi-party system, there are many different parties. An example of this is Sweden. In a two-party system, there are two parties (there may be more than two, but in practice the others are so small as to be irrelevant). Examples of two-party systems are the USA and the UK.

Electoral systems

There are also different electoral systems. Electoral systems are about how the votes cast in elections are counted. Electoral systems are generally divided into plurality/majoritarian and proportional representation electoral systems.

Majoritarian elections

In majoritarian elections (also called plurality elections), the country is divided up into a number of constituencies. A constituency is thus a geographically defined area for vote counting. Those who live and vote in each constituency can elect a candidate for their constituency who then gets a seat in Parliament. So one person is elected, from the party that gets the most votes, from each constituency. The party that gets the highest number of representatives elected to Parliament gets to form the government. Majoritarian elections often lead to two-party systems because of the need to get the



What democracy is not

Majoritarian elections are considered to be good because they lead to stable governments and it is clear who is in power. This clarity makes it easier for the people to know if the government has done a good job or a bad job. Proportional representation elections are considered to be good because they are considered to be more representative – more people can vote for what they think is good if there are more than two alternatives. This can be seen as fairer, but on the other hand it may be difficult to form a strong government.

Totalitarian regimes

The term totalitarianism came into use in the 1920s and 1930s as part of the Italian fascist ideology. At that time, the fascist "totalitarian" state was close to being an ideal for Italian dictator Benito Mussolini: "Everything within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state" was his motto. In this ideology, the individual has no value at all and the collective is everything. All special interest groups – such as trade unions, political parties and international corporations – are perceived as a threat to the solidarity that must exist within the nation. All special interests must therefore be subject to state control and the state's needs. Thus, totalitarianism is an anti-democratic and anti-pluralistic system of government.

A totalitarian regime is characterised by:

- An ideal that encompasses all key areas of human existence and which everyone is expected to follow. It claims to lead towards a bright future for the society.
- A single *mass political party*, often (but not always) led by a person, "the Leader" (typically a man).
- A secret police that *terrorizes* not only opponents of the regime but also whole ethnic groups. Nobody is safe, anyone can be arrested and imprisoned for no actual reason.

Examples of totalitarian regimes

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The symbols of totalitarian regimes and their leaders: Germany under Adolf Hitler (1933–1945) and the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin (1922–1953). One could say that the totalitarian regime is the purest form of dictatorship in modern times. Unlike historical systems of government where there was no sharing of power, such as despotism (monarchical autocracy), totalitarian regimes lay claim to exercising complete control over the entire population, in all spheres of life. Nothing is allowed to evade state control.

- A *monopoly on mass media* and advocacy, which facilitates censorship.
- More or less complete control over the military.
- Central control of the economy of the country.

It can be said that the totalitarian system entirely lacks political, economic and social diversity. Only one party is permitted and this party sees itself as the heart of the state. In a totalitarian society, the party and the prevailing political ideology encompasses all parts of everyday life. There is also a strong cult of personality in the leadership.

Sultanism

Regimes in which the private and the public are merged, where there is a strong tendency toward nepotism, and there is succession to the “throne”, are referred to as sultanistic (sultanism). The despot controls everything based on his and his family’s own interests and no attempts are made to defend his actions with reference to an political orientation.

There is very little engagement by citizens in their society. The despot is often glorified and groups who criticize the “sultan” are frequently subjected to violence and oppression. The despot’s collaborators are recruited from among his family, friends or business associates. A person’s position in the political elite is based entirely on his (or her) personal relationship with the despot. In sultanism, there is no difference between a career in the state and doing personal favours for the despot. No group or individual in society is completely safe from the power of the “sultan”.



Authoritarian regimes



An authoritarian regime differs from a totalitarian regime on several counts. In a society under an authoritarian regime, although there are major restrictions on what people are allowed to think and what opinions they can have or express, the degree of

social and economic diversity is often greater than in a totalitarian regime. Nor is there any all-encompassing, guiding ideology as there is in a totalitarian state. The ruling party or the ruling elite may espouse a certain political ideology (as under Franco in Spain), but there is no intense mobilization of the people in support of this ideology. The leadership is characterized by one person or a small group exercising all the power. During the twentieth century, military regimes have been the most common type of authoritarian regime. In these regimes, the military have seized political power and hung onto it by coercive means. They have used military power as the principle way to subordinate the people. Military regimes have occurred throughout the world but have been particularly prevalent in Latin America.



Theocracy

A special form of dictatorship is the theocracy – a system of government where a god is regarded as having the highest power and where the ruling religious elite derive their power from being God’s representatives. The Pope and the Catholic Church can be said to have functioned as a theocracy in Europe in the Middle Ages. What characterises a theocracy is that a clergy (or something equivalent) have all the political power, and have control over the courts and legislation. A theocracy can be seen as a special instance of a totalitarian regime where ideology is replaced by religion. Modern examples of theocracies could be the regime in Iran, the Taliban in Afghanistan, or ISIS’s attempts to rule parts of Syria and Iraq.



Authoritarian system of government with a veneer of democracy

Many dictatorships and contemporary authoritarian regimes attempt to disguise themselves as democracies by holding elections or in other ways trying to portray themselves as democratic.

But the limitations on democracy that they impose are generally less to do with restricting the right to vote and more to do with aberrations in terms of citizens’ political rights and freedoms. Not infrequently, this means attacks on those who oppose the regime, the independent media and the freedoms of assembly and

association. In regimes of this type, elections are usually held under conditions that are conducive to the government. In recent years in some countries in Africa and in a number of post-Soviet states, the sitting government has more or less exploited its dominant position and used the government's great financial resources to actively combat and persecute opposition forces and to totally control the mass media. Another common strategy is to manipulate the elections themselves and the voting procedure, for example by making it difficult for people in certain areas to vote, while facilitating voting in areas where the government has strong support. It is not unusual either for votes to be 'lost' or added during the count.

Human Rights

Where do human rights come from?

A long time ago, it was generally accepted that the strongest and even those who controlled a certain geographical area should also have complete power and authority over other people within that realm. In many communities all over the world, the idea persisted that those who had power could treat those with less power more or less any way they wished. Eventually however, other ideas evolved and slowly a change began to take shape. What we now call the legal system, the rule of law, emerged.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

It was primarily after the Second World War that international cooperation on human rights developed. The horrifying events which occurred during the War resulted in the international community taking the view that states needed to take greater responsibility for the individual's human rights. The member states of the United Nations (UN) agreed that promoting an encouraging respect for human rights was to be one the UN's primary purposes, which is stated in Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations. At the end of 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. This declaration sets forth that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Human rights are thus rights that the individual is to be guaranteed by the state through international agreements. The state is required to protect the individual from various kinds of abuse and provide for the individual's fundamental needs. These rights are thus attached to the individual and act as a



John Locke

John Locke was a person who has meant a lot to the development of human rights. In the 17th century, he advanced the idea that the state has responsibilities and obligations towards its citizens. There are, quite simply, certain fundamental rights inherent in all people that cannot be taken away from them by the use of power or force. Locke felt that there should be a social contract between the people and those who governed them. The people were to agree to handing over power to those in government in return for taking responsibility for maintaining order and security in the country. Locke's ideas on how states ought to guarantee certain rights and freedoms for its people was fundamental to the first declarations of human rights, such as the French Declaration of the

limitation on the power of the state over the individual. Each right that the individual has entails an obligation for the state.

What is a human right?

Rights are things that are guaranteed in law. So for example a person who thinks that it is his or her human right to be allowed to play computer games in peace is wrong, because this is not written into Swedish law. Certainly, a person might think that playing computer games ought to be a human right, but in order for it to become such, that person would need to use the formal channels to convince others, write letters to political parties, arranging a conference, get the government interested in the issue. This is how, but perhaps not when it comes to playing computer games, human rights are continuously being developed. It can occur through non-government organisations (NGOs) drawing attention to particular issues which may lead to new human rights conventions. One such example is the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Terms to learn: convention, declaration and ratification

The UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights was initially a declaration. A *declaration* is a political manifesto, or statement of political will that states and/or international organizations can claim to be working from. For a declaration to become legally binding requires that the agreement is ratified by signing, and thus becomes a *convention* or in some instances a *covenant*.

Civil and political rights or economic, social and cultural rights?

Initially there were major differences of opinion among the UN member states, especially when it came to which rights would be included in the declaration. The two superpowers at the time, the USA and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), prioritised different parts. The USA and much of the Western World stressed civil and political rights over economic, social and cultural rights. They argued that the rights concerning the individual's freedom of expression and to participate in the general elections were more important than rights related to jobs, food, health and education. The USSR and other Communist states that were members of the UN were of the directly opposite view. However in 1966, enough member states, 35 in all, signed the International Covenants on both kinds of human rights. In doing so, these states undertook follow the Covenants. In most states, this means that the state makes the decision that the Convention or Covenant shall become law in the country, that is, the state has *ratified* the Convention or Covenant. When a state ratified a convention or covenant, the state becomes legally bound by the content of the Convention/Covenant.



Human rights – a part of Swedish law

Sweden has ratified most of the conventions and covenants on human rights that have been developed within the United Nations. In addition, Sweden is a member of the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe was formed in 1949 as a direct result of the atrocities of the Second World War. The purpose of the organization was to unite Europe and write a joint document on human rights, which later became the European Convention on Human Rights in 1950. Sweden is therefore obliged under international law to promote and protect these rights within Sweden. In Sweden, human rights are protected primarily through its three constitutional laws: the Instrument of Government, the Freedom of the Press Act, and the Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression. In addition, the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) – formally the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms – has been law in Sweden since 1995. Other Acts and Regulations of Swedish law also concern individual rights and freedoms. These include regulations in areas such as health and medical services, social services, and the prison and probation service, and protection against various forms of discrimination.

It is the state, in the first instance the government and its agencies, that are responsible for the promotion and protection of human rights in Sweden but municipalities and county councils as well as the courts are also responsible for human rights being promoted and protected. If an individual believes that a government agency has violated a human right, that person can apply to the government agency which can make a decision to overturn the original decision. The main check for safeguarding rights are the nation's courts. There is also the option of applying to the Parliamentary Ombudsmen (JO), who are elected by the Riksdag, to protest that a government agency or other public body has acted in breach of the law.

The Discrimination Ombudsman (DO) works to promote equal rights and opportunities and to combat discrimination. The DO helps individuals in safeguarding their human rights. The DO works actively for change leading to equal rights and opportunities regardless of sex, gender identity or gender expression, ethnic origin, religion or other belief system, disability, sexual orientation or age.

The European Union



Many issues that come under the domain of the EU are very much to do with human rights. These include for example asylum policy and gender equality policy.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press: what applies?

The rights of us citizens in Sweden are enshrined in our fundamental laws. These fundamental laws are the rules that govern Swedish society. They set forth how Sweden is to be governed and this is also where our fundamental rights and freedoms are specified. Much of their content deals with our freedom of expression. Fundamental rights and freedoms are about what we as citizens have the right to do. They are also about what the state may *not* do.

According to the Instrument of Government, we have the freedom to:

- to express thoughts, opinions and sentiments, orally, pictorially, in writing
- to procure information and acquaint oneself with the thoughts and opinions of others
- to organise or take part in meetings and demonstrations
- to associate with others for public or private purposes
- to practise one's religion alone or in the company of others.

The state may not:

- Coerce anyone to belong to a political association or other association, or coerce anyone into participating in a demonstration or other manifestation of opinion
- Coerce anyone into divulging which political party the person supports, or which religion the person professes
- Record citizens' political views in a public register.

The Instrument of Government also contains other important rights and freedoms. It sets forth that capital and corporal punishment are prohibited and that no one may be arbitrarily subjected to a body search, house search, wiretapping, or have their mail read. A person accused of a crime has the right to a fair trial. As mentioned previously, under Swedish law, no one may be discriminated against on the basis of their gender, colour, ethnic origin or sexual orientation. Likewise, no one may have their property arbitrarily appropriated and authors and artists own the rights to their works. If there is a conflict in the labour market, both employers and employees have the right to take industrial action.



Civil rights and freedoms have limitations

But there are also limitations on our freedoms and our rights. For example, we have the right to demonstrate, but that right can be limited by reference to maintaining order and security. There are also limitations on what we may say and write which are important to know. There are limitations on freedom of expression specified in the Freedom of the Press Act, and the Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression. Many limitations are about what applies in times of war, but many also apply under normal circumstances. In writing or formulating its

opinions, the press may never defame or insult another person. This is a punishable offence, a crime, in Sweden. Defamation is about communicating information liable to expose another person to the “disrespect” of others. However, if it was justifiable to communicate the information and if it was also true or there were reasonable grounds for believing it was true, no crime will have been committed. Whether or not the information communicated was true does not always matter however. Consequently, the question of whether it was justifiable to communicate offensive information in each instance is difficult to determine. The consequence of this has been that public figures such as politicians and celebrities are often required to endure somewhat more defamatory communications and behaviour than others.

Defamation

What Swedish law (the Penal Code) says about defamation is the following: “A person who points out someone as being a criminal or as having a

reprehensible way of living or otherwise furnishes information

intended to cause exposure to the disrespect of others, shall be

sentenced for defamation to a fine”. This applies in the physical world where we meet and talk to each other as well as on the Internet. For a period of time, there was some confusion about what applied on the Internet.

Agitation against an ethnic or national group

In Sweden, there are in fact limits on what we may say and write. An important limitation is that which comes under “agitation against an ethnic or

national group”. It is not only prohibited to threaten a national, ethnic or other such group of persons, but also to express “contempt” for any such group of people. Ethnic or national group refers to both specific ethnic groups such as “Turks” or “Sami” and groups of national or ethnic groups such as “immigrants”. A group may not be discriminated against on the basis of their race, colour, sexual orientation, national or ethnic origin, or religious beliefs. It is also prohibited to champion a certain “race” or “ethnic or national group” as superior. The prohibition applies not only to public statements that are spread to many people but also to

Can you defame someone on the Internet?

In a notable case in Sweden in 2012, two girls who started an Instagram account where they published libellous images of other young girls with libellous captions were convicted of defamation. A day or two after the publication, a rumour was spread that the person who created the account attended a certain high school. A riot broke out when several hundred young people descended on the school to take revenge on the girls. This all received a lot of attention in the mass media. The event was investigated by the police, which resulted in the girls being identified and prosecuted. In addition to being

such statements within closed communities. It is also prohibited to bear symbols that can be interpreted as agitation against an ethnic or national group, for example swastikas and other Nazi symbols.

Responsibilities and duties before the law

But how does this go together? Doesn't freedom of speech apply in Sweden? If you think that one group of people is worth more than others, shouldn't you be able to say so? All people have freedom of expression, but that freedom also entails certain responsibilities and duties. Sweden is a signatory to the UN's International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. This Convention also includes the prohibition of all propaganda based on the idea of racial superiority or which incites racial discrimination. As citizens in a democracy, we therefore have responsibilities and duties before the law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is part of the Swedish Constitution, and thus all citizens must comply with it.