

**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY,
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

POLS 432 / PUBL 406 — 1st and 2nd TRIMESTERS 2009 (*i.e.*, 2 March to 15 November 2009)

**SOME ASPECTS OF POLICY-MAKING:
POLITICS AND POLICIES IN SCANDINAVIA**



LECTURER:

Professor Nigel S. Roberts (for further details see <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/pols/Staff/nroberts.aspx> and <http://www.nigel-roberts.info>).

OFFICE:

MY 533 (in the Murphy annexe).

PHONE:

463-5288.

EMAIL:

Nigel.Roberts88vuw.ac.nz (remember to replace "88" with the @ symbol). **Note:** Emails to Nigel Roberts about POLS 358 *must* have POLS 432 / PUBL 406 in the subject line; if they don't, they are liable to be deleted as spam.

LECTURE / SEMINAR TIMES:

Mondays, 1:10-3:00 pm.

VENUE:

KK 203 (which is on the second floor of the new Kirk building).

OFFICE HOURS:

During the first trimester 2009, my office hours will be Mondays 9:00-9:50 am and Thursdays 9:00-9:50 am. You are also welcome to telephone or email me to arrange an appointment.

COMMUNICATION OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

Whenever it's necessary to do so, additional information about POLS 432 / PUBL 406 will be posted as announcements on the POLS 432 / PUBL 406 2009 Blackboard website. As soon as they have been finalised, relevant details from the end-of-year exam timetable will also be placed on this site. *It is, of course, essential that all students consult Blackboard regularly, preferably at least once a day.*

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

The course will begin with a brief look at the structure of Scandinavian societies, and will proceed to an examination of the basis of the government and politics of Scandinavia. Close attention will then be paid to policy formation and policy outcomes in Scandinavia. The distinction between ministries and departments and the devolution of power will be examined carefully, as will the domestic and international consequences of Scandinavian policy preferences. By the end of the course, students should have a thorough understanding

* of the main features of the government and politics of Denmark, Norway and Sweden in particular, as well as of the government and politics of Finland and Iceland;

* of how policies are formulated and shaped in Scandinavia; and

* of major differences between and similarities with the government and politics of New Zealand.

COURSE CONTENT:

An outline of the structure and contents of the course can be found starting on page 5.

COURSE READINGS:

• **Essential text**

The POLS 432 / PUBL 406 textbook is David Arter, *Democracy in Scandinavia: Consensual, Majoritarian or Mixed?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

It is expected that all students will purchase POLS 432 / PUBL 406 textbook. It can be purchased from Vicbooks located on the top floor of the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. Books of Reading are distributed from the Student Notes Shop on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online. Opening hours are 8:00 am to 6:00 pm, Monday to Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays), and 10.00 am to 1.00 pm on Saturday. Phone: 463- 5515.

• **Recommended readings**

If you can pick up cheap second-hand copies, then three other books worth getting are:

David Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Jonathan Boston, *Governing Under Proportional Representation: Lessons from Europe* (Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, VUW, 1998);

Eric S. Einhorn and John Logue, *Modern Welfare States: Scandinavian Politics and Policy in the Global Age* (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Praeger, 2nd edition, 2003).

An extremely useful introduction to the field of public policy is Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Hugh Hecllo, and Carolyn Teich Adams, *Comparative Public Policy: The Politics of Social Choice in America, Europe, and Japan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 3rd edition, 1989).

EXPECTED WORKLOAD:

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 12 hours per week to POLS 432 / PUBL 406. This includes two hours of lectures / seminars per week.

ASSESSMENT REQUIREMENTS:

The course will be assessed on the following basis:-

- A review essay of about 1,500 words will contribute 10% to the overall grade awarded to students.
- Two main essays, each of about 5,000 words, will count for 50% of the overall grade awarded to students. (The better of the two essays will be worth 30%, while the other will be worth 20%.)
- A 3-hour long end-of-year Registry-conducted examination will contribute 40% to students' overall grades. The POLS 432 / PUBL 406 exam is not an open-book exam. The exam will be held sometime during the period 19 October to 15 November 2009.

The purpose of the review essay is to give students an early, broad perspective about Scandinavian politics and society; the two longer essays are to ensure that students develop an accurate and detailed understanding of particular aspects of the politics and policies of the Scandinavian states; and the aim of the end-of-year examination is to assess the ability of students to integrate and use the knowledge they acquire during the course when tackling specific questions or statements.

Full details of the topics for the essays, and the dates on which they are due, are given on pages 9 and 10, after the course outline and reading list.

Your written assignments must be submitted by their due dates. Extensions will be granted only to those who meet the University's *aegrotat* rules (e.g., students with a medical certificate, a family bereavement, or critical personal circumstances beyond their control). Late essays must be handed directly either to Professor Roberts or to a Political Science and International Relations Administration Assistant who will record on the essays the date and time they were received.

There is a uniform deadline for the final submission of all written in-term work (including research papers) for Honours courses. Students are advised that this deadline will be firmly adhered to; extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances, under the conditions stipulated in Victoria University's *aegrotat* regulations. Extensions must be approved by the Honours Coordinator (Professor Stephen Levine) in advance of the deadline. In 2009 the deadline will be 5:00 pm on **Monday, 12 October**. Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.

MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

In order to pass POLS 432 / PUBL 406, students must (i) attend at least three-quarters of the POLS 432 / PUBL 406 lecture / seminars, (ii) complete and submit all requisite written work, (iii) sit and complete the end-of-year examination, (iv) obtain an overall average of at least 50 per cent, and (v) have no more than one grade lower than a C.

A student who has obtained an overall mark of 50% or more, but failed to satisfy all of the mandatory requirements for the course, will receive a K grade for the course, while a course mark of less than 50% will result in the appropriate fail grade (D or E).

PENALTIES:

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND PLAGIARISM:

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work. Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification. The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source;
- The work of other students or staff;
- Information from the internet;
- Software programs and other electronic material;
- Designs and ideas;
- The organisation or structuring of any such material.

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:
<<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>>.

ASSIGNMENT COVER SHEETS:

All Political Science and International Relations Programme assignments must be handed in together with a signed Assignment Cover Sheet, a copy of which is appended to this course outline. Students are required to submit *both* (a) **two hard copies** *and* (b) **an electronic copy** of all their POLS 432 / PUBL 406 assignments.

RETURN OF ASSIGNMENTS:

After they have been graded, the first two assignments that you submit for POLS 432 / PUBL 406 will be returned to you in class; the third and final assignment (which is due in on 12 October – *i.e.*, in the last week of the second trimester) will be graded and returned to you by mail prior to the end-of-year POLS 432 / PUBL 406 examination.

THE USE OF TURNITIN:

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <<http://www.turnitin.com>>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. At the discretion of the head of School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

GENERAL UNIVERSITY STATUTES AND POLICIES:

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the Victoria University Calendar or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on <<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>>.

This website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST:

SECTION ONE – Politics in Scandinavia

1. INTRODUCTION (9 and 16 March 2009)

The initial POLS 432 / PUBL 406 seminars aim to provide students with a broad, general overview of Scandinavia. Some early articles that contain the genesis of my research and teaching interests in Scandinavian government and politics are:

Nigel S. Roberts, "New Models for New Zealand: Three Small Democracies Compared", *New Zealand International Review*, vol. 2, no. 2, March-April 1977, pp. 14-17.

Nigel S. Roberts, "Eco-Politics in Scandinavia: Lessons for New Zealand", *Canterbury Environment Journal*, vol. 3, no. 9, October 1978, pp. 10-11.

Nigel S. Roberts, "New Zealand, Denmark and Norway: Foreign Policy and National Character", in John Henderson, Keith Jackson and Richard Kennaway, eds., *Beyond New Zealand: The Foreign Policy of a Small State* (Auckland: Methuen, 1980), pp. 28-36.

2. THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES IN SCANDINAVIA (23 March 2009)

♦ Arter, *Democracy in Scandinavia*, chapter 1.

Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, chapters 1 and 2.

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, chapter 4.

Olof Petersson, *The Government and Politics of the Nordic Countries* (Stockholm: Publica / Fritzes, 1994), chapters 1 and 2.

Leslie Wolf-Phillips, *Comparative Constitutions* (London: Macmillan, 1972).

The Constitutions of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden.

3. ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND ELECTIONS IN SCANDINAVIA (30 March and 6 April 2009)

♦ Arter, *Democracy in Scandinavia*, chapters 2 and 8.

Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, chapter 5.

Jonathan Boston, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay, and Nigel S. Roberts, *New Zealand Under MMP: A New Politics?* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996), Appendix 2.

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, pp. 64-66, and Appendices A and B.

N.C.M. Elder, "The Scandinavian States", in S.E. Finer, ed., *Adversary Politics and Electoral Reform* (London: Anthony Wigram, 1975), pp. 185-202.

Petersson, pp. 53-70; 162-167; 168-171.

Bo Särilvik, "Scandinavia", in Vernon Bogdanor and David Butler, eds., *Democracy and Elections: Electoral Systems and their Political Consequences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), chapter 7.

4. POLITICAL PARTIES IN SCANDINAVIA (4 May 2009)

♦ Arter, *Democracy in Scandinavia*, chapters 3 and 4.

Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, chapters 3, 4, and 6.

Sten Berglund and Ulf Lindström, *The Scandinavian Party System(s): A Comparative Study* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1978).

Hans Bergström, "Sweden's Politics and Party System at the Crossroads", *West European Politics*, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1991, pp. 8-30.

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, chapter 5, and Appendices A and B.

Eric S. Einhorn and John Logue, "Continuity and Change in the Scandinavian Party Systems", in Steven B. Wolinetz, ed., *Parties and Party Systems in Liberal Democracies* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 159-202.

Elder, Thomas and Arter, chapters 2 and especially 3.

John Fitzmaurice, *Politics in Denmark* (London: Hurst, 1981), chapter 5.

Petersson, pp. 39-53; 71-76.

Diane Sainsbury, "Swedish Social Democracy in Transition: The Party's Record in the 1980s and the Challenge of the 1990s", *West European Politics*, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1991, pp. 31-57.

5. LEGISLATURES IN SCANDINAVIA (11 May 2009)

◆ Arter, *Democracy in Scandinavia*, chapters 5 and 9.

Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, chapter 9.

David Arter, *The Nordic Parliaments: A Comparative Analysis* (London: Hurst and Co., 1984).

Erik Damgaard, "The Strong Parliaments of Scandinavia: Continuity and Change in Scandinavian Parliaments", in Gary Copeland and Samuel Patterson, eds., *Parliaments in the Modern World: Changing Institutions* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 85-103.

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, pp. 66-72

Peter Esaiasson and Knut Heidar, eds., *Beyond Westminster and Congress: The Nordic Experience* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2000).

Fitzmaurice, chapter 3.

Stig Hadenius, *The Riksdag in Focus: Swedish History in a Parliamentary Perspective* (Stockholm: The Swedish Riksdag, 1997).

Petersson, chapter 4.

6. POLITICAL RECRUITMENT IN SCANDINAVIA (18 May 2009)

Erik Allardt, et al., eds., *Nordic Democracy* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab, 1981), chapter 5.

Peter Esaiasson and Knut Heidar, eds., chapters 3 to 7.

Elina Haavio-Mannila, et al., *Unfinished Democracy: Women in Nordic Politics* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985).

Beryl Nicholson, "From Interest Group to (Almost) Equal Citizenship: Women's Representation in the Norwegian Parliament", *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 46, no. 2, 1993, pp. 255-263.

Hans Peter Hilden, ed., *Folketinget efter valget Den 11. marts 1998* (Copenhagen: Folketingets Præsidium – Informations- og Dokumentationsafdelingen, 1998). *

Trond Nordby, ed., *Storting og regjering 1945-1985: Biografier* (Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget, 1985). *

Trond Nordby, ed., *Storting og regjering 1945-1985: Institusjoner - rekruttering* (Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget, 1985). *

---, *Stortinget i navn og tall 2005-2009* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2006). *

---, *Fakta om Folkvalda: Riksdagen 1998-2002* (Stockholm: Sveriges Riksdag, 1999). *

(*: These books contain basic data about political recruitment.)

7. EXECUTIVES IN SCANDINAVIA (25 May 2009)

◆ Arter, *Democracy in Scandinavia*, chapters 5, 7, 11, and 12.

Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, chapter 10.

Boston, especially chapters 2 to 5.

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, pp. 72-77 and Appendix C.

Peter Esaiasson and Knut Heidar, eds., chapter 11.

Kenneth Miller, *Friends and Rivals: Coalition Politics in Denmark, 1901-1995* (Lanham: University Press of America, c. 1996).

Petersson, chapter 5.

Olof Ruin, "Three Swedish Prime Ministers: Tage Erlander, Olof Palme and Ingvar Carlsson", *West European Politics*, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1991, pp. 58-82.

SECTION TWO – Policies in Scandinavia

8. POLICY-MAKING IN SCANDINAVIA (13 July 2009)

♦ Arter, *Democracy in Scandinavia*, chapters 6, 9, and 10.

Allardt, *et al.*, section II (i.e., chapters 7-11).

Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, chapter 7.

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, chapters 2 and 3.

Elder, Thomas and Arter, pp. 138-43; and chapter 5.

Petersson, chapter 6.

Rune Premfors, "The 'Swedish Model' and Public Sector Reform", *West European Politics*, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1991, pp. 83-95.

Pierre Vinde and Gunnar Petri, *Swedish Government Administration* (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 2nd rev. ed., 1978).

9. ECONOMIC POLICIES IN SCANDINAVIA (20 July 2009)

Allardt, *et al.*, chapters 12 and 16.

Marquis W. Childs, *Sweden: The Middle Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

Marquis W. Childs, *Sweden: The Middle Way on Trial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, chapter 9.

Assar Lindbeck, *et al.*, *Turning Sweden Around* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994).

Michele Micheletti, "Swedish Corporatism at a Crossroads: The Impact of New Politics and New Social Movements", *West European Politics*, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1991, pp. 144-165.

Henry Milner, *Sweden: Social Democracy in Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Petersson, chapter 10.

The latest OECD Economic Surveys for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

Scandinavian Political Studies, vol. 12, no. 4 (new series), December 1989 – devoted to "The Politics of Economic Flexibility."

10. LABOUR RELATIONS POLICIES IN SCANDINAVIA (27 July 2009)

♦ Arter, *Democracy in Scandinavia*, chapter 6.

Allardt, *et al.*, chapters 13-15.

Niklas Bruun, *The Nordic Labour Relations Model: Labour Law and Trade Unions in the Nordic Countries Today and Tomorrow* (Aldershot, Hants.: Dartmouth, 1992).

Karl H. Cerny, ed., *Scandinavia at the Polls: Recent Political Trends in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1977), part 3.

Andrew Cox and Noel O'Sullivan, eds., *The Corporate State: Corporatism and the State Tradition in Western Europe* (Aldershot, Hants.: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1988).

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, chapter 10.

Petersson, chapter 7.

Peter Swenson, *Fair Shares: Unions, Pay, and Politics in Sweden and West Germany* (London: Adamantine Press, 1989), chapter 5.

See also articles in the *Social and Labour Bulletin*.

11. SOCIAL WELFARE POLICIES IN SCANDINAVIA (3 August 2009)

Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, chapter 8.

Cerny, ed., chapter 5.

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, chapters 6, 8, 11, and 12.

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Fitzmaurice, chapter 6; or Miller, chapter 9.

Gunnar Heckscher, *The Welfare State and Beyond: Success and Problems in Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

John Logue, *Socialism and Abundance: Radical Socialism in the Welfare State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), chapter 1.

12. EDUCATION POLICIES IN SCANDINAVIA (10 August 2009)

Allardt, *et al.*, chapters 18-22.

Stephen J. Ball and Stattan Larsson, eds., *The Struggle for Democratic Education: Equality and Participation in Sweden* (London: The Falmer Press, 1989).

Jens Bjerg, *et al.*, "Provincial Reflections on Danish Comprehensive Education", *Compare*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1991, pp. 133-142.

Kjell Eide, "The Future of European Education as Seen from the North", *Comparative Education*, vol. 28, no. 1, 1992, pp. 9-17.

See also articles in the *European Journal of Education*.

13. HEALTH POLICIES IN SCANDINAVIA (17 August 2009)

Odin Anderson, "Swedish Health Care in Perspective", *Health Policy*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1992, pp. 99-111.

Tom Christensen, "How to Succeed in Reorganizing: The Case of the Norwegian Health Administration", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (new series), March 1987, pp. 61-77.

Ulf-G. Gerdtham and Bengt Jönsson, "Health Care Expenditure in the Nordic Countries", *Health Policy*, vol. 26, no. 3, 1994, pp. 207-220.

14. POLICIES FOR MINORITIES IN SCANDINAVIA (7 September 2009)

Drude Dahlerup, "From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4 (new series), 1988, pp. 275-298.

Harald Eidheim, *Aspects of the Lappish Minority Situation* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, rev. ed., 1974).

Jørgen Elklit, Johan Peter Noack, and Ole Tonsgaard, "Germans and Danes in North Schleswig", in Elklit, Noack, and Tonsgaard, *Nationalt tilhørsforhold i Nordslesvig* (Aarhus: Acta Jutlandica XLIV Samfundsvideenskabelig serie 14, 1978), pp. 249-275.

Tomas Hammar, "Cradle of Freedom on Earth': Refugee Immigration and Ethnic Pluralism", *West European Politics*, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1991, pp. 182-197.

L. Karvonen and P. Selle, *Women in Nordic Countries: Closing the Gap* (Aldershot, Hants.: Dartmouth, 1995).

Petersson, pp. 179-190.

15. FOREIGN POLICIES IN SCANDINAVIA (14 and 21 September 2009)

Allardt, *et al.*, chapters 28-31.

Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, chapters 11 to 14.

Thomas P. Boje and Sven E. Olsson Hort, eds., *Scandinavia in a New Europe* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1993).

Michael T. Corgan, *Iceland and Its Allies: Security for a Small State* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002).

Eric Einhorn, *National Security and Domestic Politics in Post-War Denmark* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1975).

Einhorn and Logue, *Modern Welfare States*, chapters 7 and Appendix D.

Elder, Thomas and Arter, chapter 6.

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, "On the Dividing Line: A Nordic Approach to Security", *New Zealand International Review*, vol. 11, no. 1, January-February 1986, pp. 7-9.

Fitzmaurice, chapter 7.

Kjell Goldmann, "The Swedish Model of Security Policy", *West European Politics*, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1991, pp. 122-143.

Petersson, chapter 11.

Chris Prebensen, *Norway and NATO* (Oslo: Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1974).

John F. L. Ross, "Sweden, the European Community, and the Politics of Economic Realism", *Cooperation and Conflict*, v. 26, no. 3, Oct. 1991, pp. 117-128.

Mondays 28 September 2009 to 12 October 2009 will be held in reserve for overflow seminars and extra sessions, but students' seminars will NOT be held earlier than the dates listed alongside the topics in this course outline.

ESSAYS AND EXAMINATIONS:

As outlined on page 3, you will be required to write three essays during the course of the year, namely:

- Essay A will be a book review of about 1,500 words, and it will contribute 10% to the overall grade awarded to students; and
- Essays B and C will each be of about 5,000 words, and together they will count for 50% of the overall grade awarded to students. (The better of the two essays will be worth 30%, while the other will be worth 20%.)

Essay A must be handed in by no later than Monday, 18 May 2009. It will be an academic review (of about 1,500 words) of one of the following introductory texts about Scandinavian politics and society:

- Andrew Brown, *Fishing in Utopia: Sweden and the Future that Disappeared* (London: Granta Books, 2008);
- Francis G. Castles, *The Social Democratic Image of Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978);
- Tony Griffiths, *Scandinavia* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1990);
- Kenneth Miller, *Denmark: A Troubled Welfare State* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991);
- William Shirer, *The Challenge of Scandinavia: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland In Our Time* (Boston: Little Brown, 1955 & Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977);
- James A. Storing, *Norwegian Democracy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963).

Each student is required to lead a seminar covering one of the topics in the course outline and reading list contained on pages 5 to 9 of this handout. **Essay B** follows on from your seminar presentation, and is thus based on one of the seminar topics either in Section One or Section Two of the course outline and reading list.

There are **two different deadlines for handing in Essay B**. They are as follows:

- Essays stemming from seminars led during the first trimester (that is, up to and including Monday, 25 May 2009) must be handed in by no later than **Monday, 13 July 2009**.
- Essays stemming from seminars led during the second trimester (that is, up to and including Monday, 12 October 2009) must be handed in by no later than **Monday, 12 October 2009**.

Essay C will consist of a topic of your own choosing connected with any aspect of the course. *Topics for the essay must be cleared with me by no later than Monday, 11 May 2009*, and as was the case for essay B, there are also **two different deadlines for handing in Essay C**. They are as follows:

- If you are *not* leading a seminar during the first trimester, then Essay C must be handed in by no later than **Monday, 13 July 2009**.
- If you are leading a seminar during the first trimester (and – as a result – handing in Essay B on or before 13 July 2009), then Essay C must be handed in to me by no later than **Monday, 12 October 2009**.

Please note that **students are required to hand in two copies of their essays**. This is to facilitate counter-marking by the University's external examiners. The essays and exam scripts of selected students (for example, contenders for First Class Honours, and students on the border between an Upper-Second and a Lower-Second Class degree) are subject to external assessment. In order to give you feedback about your work and the progress you are making, one copy of each of your essays will be returned to you; the other copy will be kept on file and will thus be available at short-notice for external scrutiny.

As explained on page 3, the end-of-year examination for POLS 432 / PUBL 406 counts for 40 per cent of the total marks for the course. It is a three-hour examination, and will be very fair: it will contain a wide selection of questions covering every major topic studied during the year. Students will be required to answer 3 questions (from the roughly 15 or 16 that will be asked) – including at least one from each of the two Sections of the course. You may answer questions in the exam that relate to topics you have covered in your essays, but – if you do – it is essential to remember that the reason for sitting an exam is *not* to regurgitate everything you know about a topic. It is, rather, an opportunity to test your ability to think clearly and creatively about specific problems (whether or not those problems have been posed in the form of questions or statements).

Nigel S. Roberts
17 February 2009

Page 1 photographs (clockwise from the top left-hand corner):

- Fredrik Reinfeldt, the current Prime Minister of Sweden;
- The Storting, the Norwegian Parliament;
- A Danish parliamentary ballot paper;
- Thingvellir, the site of the world's first Parliament, which was established in Iceland in 930 AD;
- Jens Stoltenberg, the current Prime Minister of Norway;
- The interior of the Eduskunta, the Finnish Parliament;
- The Folketing, the Danish Parliament;
- A statue of King Haakon VII, the first king of modern Norway.