



Gender (in)equality in the Swedish Radical Right

A Comparative Study of New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats

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Abstract

This thesis aims to describe the use of gender symbols and gender equality ideas in contemporary nationalist parties in Sweden. Nationalism and national identity traditionally contain gendered ideas, symbols and identities, in which women are subordinate to men. Paradoxically, in Sweden, gender equality has become an intrinsic part of the national identity. Theories on gender and nationalism are applied and used in the quantitative and qualitative analysis in order to distinguish and describe the use of gender symbols and gender equality ideas in the two Swedish parties New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats. The findings show that the parties do rely on traditional nationalist gender roles, and that the Sweden Democrats emphasize these roles to a greater extent than New Democracy. The analysis also shows that both parties try to incorporate the Swedish gender equality into their ideologies but interpret the notion of gender equality in two different ways.

Nationalism | Radical right populist parties | Ideology | Gender | Gender equality

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1 Introduction

After the rise and fall of the nationalist parties during World War II, it seemed impossible that such parties would ever come to exist in Europe again.¹ Nevertheless, during the past few years, in the shadows of the financial crisis, the radical right has once again gained ground in Europe.² The emergence of the new nationalist party family, the radical right populist parties, is best described as a mere explosion. France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Finland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden are all countries which have experienced the rise of nationalist parties in their politics over the past decade.³

Nationalism is built upon the importance of national identity, which conventionally is structured around traditional gender roles in which women are deemed inferior to men.⁴ In Sweden, gender equality, a direct opposite to the idea of traditional nationalist gender roles, has over the past decade, come to be one of the cornerstones for Swedish national identity.⁵ Despite this ideological paradox, radical right parties have still been able to establish themselves in Sweden. The first time one of these parties emerged was during a shorter period in the 1990's with the party New Democracy. More recently the Sweden Democrats, a self-declared nationalist party, was elected into government in the election of 2010.⁶

The emergence of RRP parties in Sweden has been a controversial and highly debated topic. Both New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats have drawn interest from Swedish journalists who have scrutinized their politics in several published books.⁷ The academic literature, however, has not covered the topic of the ideology of the two Swedish RRP parties. There is a part of the literature on radical right parties concerned with describing the ideology on these parties although; there is still a lack of scholarship on the Swedish cases.⁸ There is plenty of academic literature trying to explain the emergence of this type of parties in general and another part of the literature focuses on categorizing political parties in order to determine whether they belong to the radical right populist party family or not.⁹ Last but not least, there

¹ Rydgren (2005); Betz & Johnson (2004):316

² Rydgren (2002):27

³ Ignazi (2006)

⁴ Yuval-Davis (1997)

⁵ Towns (2002)

⁶ Ignazi (2006); Sverigedemokraterna (2010b)

⁷ Larsson & Ekman (2001); Jakobsson (2010); Blomquist & Slätt (2004)

⁸ Mudde (2000); Gardberg (1993); Bakic (2009); Zaslove (2004); Betz & Johnson (2004); Swyngedouw & Ivaldi (2001):1-22

⁹ Rydgren (2004); Luther (2009); Rydgren (2002); O'Malley (2008); Rydgren (2005); Arter (2010)

is the literature concerned with the role of gender in nationalism.¹⁰ The nationalist ideology does, as previously mentioned, build on highly gendered ideas, but the previous literature on gender and nationalism only deals with older nationalist movements such as Fascism and Nazism.¹¹ There is no scholarship on gender and nationalism in contemporary radical right parties. The general aim of this study is thus to describe the use of gender symbols and gender equality in contemporary radical right populist parties in Sweden.

The rest of this thesis is organized into seven chapters. In order to provide a sufficient background and in order to identify the scientific gaps in existing scholarship, there will first be a thorough and thorough review of the literature. The following theory chapter will give an overview of theories on social constructivism along with the main theories on gender and nationalism. The theories on gender and nationalism are divided into four themes which are used in the analytical framework. These are followed by a succinct chapter stating the specified aim and research questions. The chapter on research design and method outlines the case selection and methods used both for collecting and analyzing data. Forthcoming part, ‘Analysis: The use of Gender Symbols and Gender Equality Ideas in the ideology of New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats’, presents the results of the collected data. This chapter is divided into two parts, first a quantitative analysis examining whether one party relies more on gender symbols than the other and one qualitative analysis concerned with *how* these parties use gender symbols and gender equality ideas in their ideologies. In order to make the qualitative analysis more comprehensible, it is structured according to the four themes in the theory chapter and analytical framework. The last chapter, Conclusions, presents the answers to the research questions, discusses the implications of the findings, both for society and politics, and suggests ideas for future research.

2 Literature Review

European countries have over the past decades experienced the materialization of a new nationalist party family, namely the radical right populist parties (from here on referred to as RRP parties).¹² One of the main arguments these parties share is the claim that mainstream political parties focus too much on the well-being of the party itself and too little on what the

¹⁰ Yuval-Davis (1997):21; Walby (2006):118

¹¹ Ferber (2004); Durham (1998)

¹² Rydgren (2002):27

people actually want, and thus are undemocratic.¹³ With this as a starting point, these parties portray themselves as ‘defenders of “true” and “genuine” democracy’.¹⁴ The contemporary RRP parties are said to differ from the previous neo-fascist parties from the past.¹⁵ The delegitimization of anything related to Nazism and/or Fascism after the Second World War lead up to the stigmatization of biologically based racism and anti-Semitism.¹⁶ The focus of RRP parties today leans more towards opposition of pluralism as they feel that it endangers the culture of the national society.¹⁷ In general, the RRP parties across Europe are similar in the way that they form their political programs, although some scholars point out a difference between the Scandinavian radical right and its counterparts on the continent.¹⁸

The new wave of RRP parties in Europe was first dismissed as something that would disappear about as quickly as they had emerged.¹⁹ As these parties have proved their ability to sustain a significant role within national and/or European politics, the interest of doing research in this subject has increased among scholars.

An extensive part of the research on RRP parties has focused on explaining the emergence and underlying reasons for the recent growth of these parties.²⁰ Within the emergence literature, little attention has been directed to the role of ideology and rhetoric used by these parties.²¹ As the phenomenon primarily has been observed in Western Europe, this geographic area has also been the focus of previous research.²² France, Belgium, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark and the Netherlands have all seen an increase in the support for RRP parties.²³ The most frequently researched countries have been France, Denmark and Austria, but other than Denmark there is little research about Scandinavia. Only in exceptional cases has Sweden been included in comparative cross-national studies, involving other countries such as France, Germany and Belgium.²⁴ These cross-national studies are however somewhat outdated as they were conducted during the 90’s when the party New Democracy was active in Sweden.

¹³ Betz & Johnson (2004):316

¹⁴ Ibid:316

¹⁵ Ignazi (2006)

¹⁶ Rydgren (2005)

¹⁷ Ignazi (2006)

¹⁸ Rydgren (2002):27; Kitschelt (1997); Mudde (2000)

¹⁹ Betz & Johnson (2004)

²⁰ Rydgren (2004); Luther (2009); Rydgren (2002); O’Malley (2008); Rydgren (2005)

²¹ Rydgren (2004); Luther (2009); Mudde (2000)

²² Rydgren (2004); Luther (2009); Rydgren (2002); O’Malley (2008); Rydgren (2005)

²³ Ignazi (2006)

²⁴ Gardberg (1993)

Apart from the emergence literature, there is a smaller literature focusing on the categorization of RRP parties. This literature consists of case studies in which the scholars perform research in order to determine whether the party in question can be classified as an RRP party or not. In contrast to the emergence literature, one can here find research about other parts of Scandinavia such as Finland and Sweden.²⁵ When it comes to categorization research on Sweden, it has mainly been concerned with the failure of RRP parties; namely the case of New Democracy during the 90's. Although Sweden has seen the emergence of a new RRP party - The Sweden Democrats - no academic research on Sweden as a positive case has been conducted.

Another smaller body of scholars has chosen to contribute to the literature concerning the ideology of RRP parties. This literature consists of either single case studies or in unique cases, comparative studies.²⁶ The literature on RRP ideology deals with the parties as unitary actors influenced by the existing national political environment.²⁷ This is possibly the main reason to why the scholars have preferred to focus on one specific party at the time, as they wish to perform a deeper and more extensive investigation on their ideologies.

Both of the Swedish RRP parties; - New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats - have drawn interest from several Swedish journalists who have scrutinized their politics in numerous published books.²⁸ This means that even though there has been a large societal interest in these two parties, there is still a lack of academic research. The literature that does exist on the ideology of the New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats follows the same principle as the general literature on RRP ideology, consisting either of case studies or sometimes comparative studies. The Sweden Democrats has been involved in a number of case studies in which their ideology has been scrutinized.²⁹ The problem with this literature on the Sweden Democrats is the fact that it is primarily journalistic. Although these works have been written by eminent and acknowledged journalists, these writings cannot be considered academic research. New Democracy, on the other hand, has been included in some of the academic comparative case-studies previously mentioned in the section on categorization.³⁰

²⁵ Arter (2010)

²⁶ Mudde (2000); Gardberg (1993); Bakic (2009); Zaslove (2004); Betz & Johnson (2004); Swyngedouw & Ivaldi (2001):1-22

²⁷ Mudde (2000)

²⁸ Larsson & Ekman (2001); Jakobsson (2010); Blomquist & Slätt (2004)

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Gardberg (1993); Ignazi (2006)

Some scholars claim that there is a slight ideological difference between the Scandinavian RRP party family and the radical right in continental Europe. This difference is said to lie in that the Scandinavian parties are less authoritarian and emphasize democracy in a different way than e.g. Front National and the Austrian Freedom Party.³¹ Due to these differences, cross-national comparative studies can be problematic, and then especially when comparing Scandinavian RRP parties to their counterparts in continental Europe. This, in combination with the lack of research on Swedish RRP parties, is one of the reasons to why this thesis will remain on a national level, comparing New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats.

Nationalism traditionally builds on highly gendered ideas and symbols which is shown in the literature focusing on the aspect of gender relations within nationalist racist and fascist ideology and movements.³² The literature concerning gender and fascism is focused on policy toward women rather than women as members or voters of radical right movements.³³ Other scholars who touch upon the subject of gender and racism talk more about masculine and feminine roles within extreme right social movements outside the political sphere. This research is to a large extent based on cases from the United States.³⁴ A majority of the literature focus on women and their role more than on masculinity and the role of men although the latter is not entirely excluded. Apart from the literature on racism and fascism there is also literature dealing with gender, the nation and nationalism. It involves the role of gender in collective strategies towards the perceived needs of a nation such as nationalism.³⁵

The gender literature lacks research on gender relations within contemporary RRP parties. This study will contribute to this specific literature by examining the role of gender in the ideology of the two Swedish RRP parties, -New Democracy- and -the Sweden Democrats-.

In sum, one can conclude that there is insufficient research on Sweden as a positive case in which an RRP party has emerged and managed to sustain its role in the national politics. There is furthermore no academic research comparing New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats. The largest gap, however, seems to be the role of gender equality and /or gender symbols within the ideology of contemporary RRP parties. With these gaps as the starting-point, the aim of this research is to provide a comparative analysis and description of the use

³¹ Rydgren (2002):27; Kitschelt (1997); Mudde (2000)

³² Ferber (2004); Durham (1998); Walby (2006); Yuval-Davis (1997)

³³ Durham (1998)

³⁴ Ferber (2004); Durham (1998)

³⁵ Walby (2006); Yuval-Davis (1997)

of gender symbols and gender equality ideas in the ideology of New Democracy and The Sweden Democrats. We use theories on gender and nationalism to address the following questions: (1) In what ways are these parties similar and/-or different in terms of their use of gender symbols and gender equality ideas? (2) Does one party rely more on gender symbols and ideas than the other? With these questions, this thesis seeks to make a contribution to the three main literatures discussed above. The study will produce new knowledge of the use of gender symbols and gender equality in the case of contemporary RRP party ideology in Sweden.

3 Theoretical Approach

3.1 Social Constructivism and the Study of Ideas and Ideologies

According to the philosophical school of Constructivism, beliefs are what construct reality. Both the social and political world is thus a creation of social construction. Without human interpretive activity, there is simply no independent objective social or political reality. According to Carol Bacchi this view simultaneously accentuates the extent to which our perception of the world is the ‘products of social forces’.³⁶ Furthermore, it emphasizes the need to examine concepts which are taken for granted such as socially constructed categories of people including those of women and men.³⁷ As stated by Bacchi, the ideas underlying policy proposals give shape and meaning to the ‘problem’ they attempt to deal with. The fact that these ideas entail political interventions, imply that they are created by political actors.³⁸

With this as a perspective, it is clearly relevant and interesting for research in political science to look at ideational factors such as the ideology of parties.³⁹ Ideology is defined as ‘a body of normative or normative related ideas about the nature of man and society as well as the organization and purposes of society’. It includes both ideas about how society or man ought to be and ideas about how they are. More specifically, party ideology is defined as ‘a party’s normative (-related) idea about the nature of man and society as well as the organization and the purpose of society’.⁴⁰ According to Seliger, there are two ways in which the term ideology can be used, namely inclusively and restrictively. In the latter, ideology is limited to the

³⁶ Bacchi & Eveline (2010):117

³⁷ Ibid:117

³⁸ Ibid:111

³⁹ Hay (2000)

⁴⁰ Mudde (2000):187-189

belief-systems of the extreme left and right in the post war Western world.⁴¹ Mudde claims that the restrictive use of the term ideology ‘limits not only our view of the phenomenon at hand, but also its usage in comparative research; what is extremist and ideological in one context can be moderate and non-ideological in another’.⁴² Therefore, the term ideology will, in this study, be used in an inclusive way.

3.2 Gender and Nationalism

Nationalism is the assumption that the borders of a state correspond or should correspond completely with the cultural boundaries of the people living in that specific state.⁴³ This is rarely, if ever, the case as there are almost always people living within states who are not considered to be members of the hegemonic nation.⁴⁴ One consequence coming from this assumption is the naturalization of the hegemony of one collectivity and its access to the ideological apparatuses of both state and civil society.⁴⁵ With nationalism also follows the idea of a common culture and identity. An important presumption for this common identity is the ethnic and cultural similarity shared amongst the inhabitants of the nation. The national culture is an important cornerstone of the nation and is thus in great need of protection from the threats of foreign cultures.⁴⁶ The nationalist ideology is built on various gender symbols and normative ideas about gender relations. Nationalism can therefore not be understood without taking the gender aspect into consideration. Sylvia Walby and Nira Yuval-Davis both argue that there is a two-way relationship between gender relations and the nation and one cannot understand either of these two without the other as they are both informed and constructed by each other.⁴⁷

The dictionary definition of gender relates to persons of the masculine or feminine gender, referring to the male or female sex.⁴⁸ On similar terms as the previously mentioned relationship between gender and the nation; women and men are ‘defined in terms of one another, and no understanding of either could be achieved by entirely separate study’. This implies that information given about women is at the same time information about men.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Mudde (2000):187-189.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Yuval-Davis (1997):11; Walby (2006):120

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Yuval-Davis (1997):11

⁴⁶ Eccleshall (1994) :153

⁴⁷ Yuval-Davis (1997):21; Walby (2006):118

⁴⁸ Scott (1986):1053

⁴⁹ Ibid:1056

Furthermore, the term gender is used to define social relations between men and women.⁵⁰ This discards biological explanations to female subordination based on the facts that women are able to give birth and men are physically stronger. Thus ‘gender becomes a way of denoting “cultural constructions”’, which are the social ideas about proper roles for women and men.⁵¹

There is several prominent ways in which the nation is believed to rely on proper gender relations and, in particular, proper behavior by women. First, gender is central to the biological reproduction of the nation; second, gender is important for the cultural reproduction of the nation. Third, ideas of proper gender roles are important in the creation of national identity; and last, gender is crucial in the construction of what is perceived as nationally familiar in contrast to the ‘Other’. Each of these sets of ideas will be discussed below.

3.2.1 (1) Gender and the Biological Reproduction of the Nation

First, the future of the nation is thought to depend on continuous growth or at least the reproduction of its population.⁵² The growth can sometimes come from immigration, but in most cases it depends solely on female reproduction.⁵³ The nation has a constant need of people, and then especially men as they are needed as workers, settlers, and as soldiers.⁵⁴ Women on the other hand are often perceived to be inferior to men as they are seen as weaker as and more irrational than men.⁵⁵

The pressure on women to have children is not related to them as individuals but rather to their presumably natural role as reproducers of the collective nation.⁵⁶ The biological role of women can thereby override the right for women to decide their own fertility. Historically, women have under special circumstances been ‘called upon, sometimes bribed, and sometimes even forced to have more or fewer children’.⁵⁷ For example, the Nazi regime in Germany awarded honor crosses to Aryan mothers who had given birth to at least four children.⁵⁸ The party also opposed contraceptives as it was ‘suppression of the procreative faculty of millions of the very best people’ and made sure that access to birth control became

⁵⁰ Scott (1986):1056

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Yuval-Davis (1997):29

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ferber (2004):83

⁵⁶ Yuval-Davis (1997):22

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Durham (1998):22

more difficult. Furthermore, abortions were made illegal and penalized with death.⁵⁹ Also post-war nationalist groups have sometimes joined anti abortion movements in order to ensure the reproduction of the population.⁶⁰ By controlling the biological female reproduction of the nation, nationalists see an opportunity to restore the masculinity of the national male and also see it as a way to sustain the survival of the nation.⁶¹

3.2.2 (2) Gender and Reproduction of Culture

Second, the culture and tradition of a nation is composed of ‘style of dress and behavior as well as to more elaborate bodies of customs, religion, literary and artistic modes of production, and, of course, language’ which fill the function of ‘border guards’, helping us in identifying people as either members or non-members of the collectivity.⁶² These ‘border guards’ also have an influence on the construction of both womanhood and manhood.⁶³ For example, in many nationalist groups, one of the most characteristic views of gender is the normative division between male and female. William Pierce, founder of the National Alliance made a straightforward statement about the sexual division of labor. He argued that there are ‘fundamentally different roles for men and women: men are the providers and the protectors, and women are the nurturers. Men bring home the bacon and they guard the den: women nourish the children and tend to the herd’.⁶⁴ This shows how women are strongly associated with children and thus also the home which lies within the private sphere.⁶⁵

The construction of the home includes the relationships between adults and also that between adults and children.⁶⁶ Other components include cooking and eating traditions, domestic chores, play and bedtime stories in which the basis for our understanding of the world become naturalized and reproduced.⁶⁷ As women have come to be so strongly connected with the home, they have come to represent, not only the biological reproduction of the nation, but also the cultural reproduction.⁶⁸ This view is shared throughout various organized nationalist movements. Women are to assume the familial role where they are assigned the traditional

⁵⁹ Durham (1998):18, 23

⁶⁰ Ferber (2004)

⁶¹ Durham (1998):83

⁶² Yuval-Davis (1997):23

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ferber (2004):76

⁶⁵ Ibid:45

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

domestic role.⁶⁹ The family is perceived to be very important by many nationalist groups and the women bear the obligation towards creating, nurturing and sustaining a proper family.

As a result, in many nationalist ideologies, the woman and more specifically the mother has come to symbolize the spirit of the collectivity.⁷⁰ For example, the symbol for the French Revolution was a woman giving birth to a baby.⁷¹ The association of collective territory, identity and womanhood has probably had its contribution from people's historical dependency on 'Mother Earth'.⁷² Furthermore, women do not just represent the collectivity as the spirit of the nation but also the familial future of the nation.⁷³ This is illustrated by the fact that women in many nationalist groups not only are expected to raise and foster their closest family but also the larger nationalist 'family' as the nation in many cases is seen as a big 'family'.⁷⁴ Women are not only assigned these two familial roles, but are also deemed inferior in comparison to men as they are perceived as weaker and irrational.⁷⁵ In addition, women are given a smaller role where they act as the social facilitators of the groups.⁷⁶ Women are thereby central in the role of creating links not only between groups but also with outsiders. Having women in the role of social facilitators makes nationalist groups more approachable by other citizens.⁷⁷ As nationalist groups want to increase not only their lifespan but also the legitimacy of the group this role has become central as it gives a picture other than the old one in which the groups consist of 'angry white men'.⁷⁸

Masculinity is an important topic in gender politics of nationalist movements. The nationalist groups express great fear towards losing their masculinity. These groups have a few major focus points on which they blame their emasculation and also provide measures of how to restore the lost masculinity. Both nationalist movements and groups claim that masculinity has been thrown seriously into question because of the politics of diversity and tolerance.⁷⁹ Arguments are made that the state is a direct threat towards masculinity because it is an engine of gender inversion as it allows feminists to enter its politics. Feminist politics leads to

⁶⁹ Ferber (2004):51

⁷⁰ Yuval-Davis (1997):45; Walby (2006):120

⁷¹ Yuval-Davis (1997):45

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ferber (2004):52

⁷⁵ Ibid:83

⁷⁶ Ibid:57

⁷⁷ Ibid:59

⁷⁸ Ibid:79

⁷⁹ Ibid:77

a feminization of men and further more of women becoming more masculine.⁸⁰ Therefore feminism is seen as a severe threat towards male masculinity.

The nationalist society has seen a transformation from that of a patriarchy in which a father, or the king as a father of the nation, ruled over both men and women, towards a society of fraternity in which men have the right to rule over their women in the private sphere, but where they are equal among themselves within the public sphere.⁸¹ This is exemplified by the statement of the Fascist Italian minister of education - Ferdinando Loffredo - who argued that women were not supposed to be in the workforce, they 'must return to the absolute subjection of man, father or husband'.⁸² The citizenship of women is thus viewed differently than that of men.⁸³ The typical citizen is described as an 'economically successful middle class male head of a family' while women are merely described as dependents of their men and family.⁸⁴ In addition there seem to always be rules, regulations and policies specific to women to a greater extent than there is towards men.⁸⁵

The position of women in the collectivity is somewhat ambivalent.⁸⁶ On one hand, they symbolize, as previously discussed, both the unity of the nation and the cultural reproduction of the nation.⁸⁷ On the other hand, they are often excluded from the 'we' of the collectivity and from the public sphere in which politics lies within.⁸⁸ An extreme illustration of this is Hitler and his belief that the man's world was the state whereas the woman's world was 'her husband, her family, her children and home'.⁸⁹

3.2.3 (3) Gender Relations as a Marker of National Identity

National identity is built upon shared elements present in the everyday life of people. These elements create a sense of belonging to a nation or collectivity. Gender relations have an obvious and major place in this everyday life and thus also in the creation of a national identity. In contrast to the traditional gender roles of nationalism, Sweden is renowned for its prominent role as a country of gender equality. Since the 1990's gender equality has become

⁸⁰ Ferber (2004):155

⁸¹ Yuval-Davis (1997):79

⁸² Durham (1998):15

⁸³ Yuval-Davis (1997):78

⁸⁴ Ibid:84

⁸⁵ Ibid:22-23

⁸⁶ Yuval-Davis (1997):47; Walby (2006):120

⁸⁷ Yuval-Davis (1997):47

⁸⁸ Yuval-Davis (1997):47; Walby (2006):119

⁸⁹ Durham (1998):22

an intricate part of the Swedish culture and identity.⁹⁰ This unique element will be discussed below.

Interestingly, Sweden is a country which has come to be strongly associated with Gender Equality. It was during the 1990's that gender equality became a part of the Swedish identity. In 1995 Sweden was granted an award by the United Nations for being the most gender equal state in the world. Since then Sweden has grown to be an international role-model in gender equality questions especially for other EU-members. The progress on gender equality issues in Sweden and the recognition of Sweden as a world leader in this respect has led to an incorporation of gender equality in to Swedish national identity.⁹¹ Many Swedes now take great national pride in the fact that Swedish social insurance is based on the individual rather than the family, allowing men and women to divide family responsibilities, such as parental leave, amongst themselves, or that Sweden has a long tradition of public daycare giving both parents the opportunity to work and provide for their family.⁹²

As one can see gender equality is a substantial part of Swedish national identity. National identity in turn, is a crucial component in nationalist ideology, which contains more traditional gender roles, not necessarily compatible with the ideas of gender equality. This will have implications for Swedish nationalist parties as they need to somehow incorporate gender equality as part of the Swedish way in to their nationalist ideology which contains contradictory traditional gender roles.

3.2.4 (4) Gender and the Construction of the 'Other' and National Familiarity

The concept of the 'Other' is based upon the distinction of a common character and culture which creates boundaries for the own cultural unit. By creating such boundaries one is able to identify who belongs and who does not. This creates a world with a division between 'us' and 'them' and in which the self is defined in terms of the 'Other' and vice versa.⁹³

One of the departing assumptions of nationalist visions of the nation-state is that only members born within the collectivity - and in many other cases only certain native-born citizens - can be full members of it.⁹⁴ Nationalist movements in the USA have claimed that 'all white people must be protected from the evils of the non-white, non-Christian, non-

⁹⁰ Towns (2002):162

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid:166

⁹³ Yuval-Davis (1997):47

⁹⁴ Durham (1998):22

heterosexual 'Others'.⁹⁵ The 'other' or the 'stranger' is a present theme in all forms of nationalism. It can be certain groups perceived as 'strange' such as asylum-seekers, immigrants and foreigners and which are perceived as a threat towards the nation.⁹⁶ The threat is depicted to be that these groups bring new and foreign culture, religion, traditions and norms which pose a threat towards the national culture.⁹⁷ As an extreme illustration, the Nazi regime in Germany believed that women should be saved from the Jewish 'Other'.⁹⁸ The stranger has almost exclusively been portrayed as male and is looked upon as inferior and uncivilized.⁹⁹ In nationalist contexts, the myth of the 'Other' is structured around a stereotype of the male 'stranger' harassing, threatening or actually raping the national women whose honor has to be defended'.¹⁰⁰

Non-heterosexuals, or rather homosexuals, are, as previously mentioned, also included in this group of 'Others'. Nationalist groups often see homosexuality as something unnatural, as nature intended women and men to have sexual relations and not members of the same sex.¹⁰¹ Many nationalist groups also have a strong belief in wired roles of the two biological sexes, in which the man is the protector and the women are to take care of the children and the social and physical reproduction of the nation.¹⁰² The homosexual is thought to pose a different type of threat than that of multiculturalism, a threat towards the very masculinity of the national males for two reasons. Firstly, lesbians no longer have the need of a man, which leads to the emasculation of the national male. Secondly, homosexuality weakens the hegemony of the national male and is a threat towards the survival of the nation.¹⁰³

The concept of the 'Other' has been created on assumptions that immigrants and foreigners pose a threat towards the nation and thus also the national culture by bringing in a foreign norms, traditions and religions. In addition to posing a threat against the nation and the national culture the 'others' has come to pose a threat towards existing gender relations of a nation.

⁹⁵ Durham (1998):84

⁹⁶ Mudde (2000):187-189

⁹⁷ Ferber (2004):83

⁹⁸ Durham (1998):18

⁹⁹ Yuval-Davis (1997):48

¹⁰⁰ Yuval-Davis (1997):51;Walby (2006):121

¹⁰¹ Ferber (2004):93

¹⁰² Ibid:155

¹⁰³ Ibid:92

Sweden has since the mid-70's been a multicultural society.¹⁰⁴ As a self-identified gender equal country, Sweden has come to observe inequalities in other cultures, and then especially those of 'foreign' cultures that immigrants presumably have brought with them.¹⁰⁵ Gender-related behaviors that have been brought to attention as non-Swedish include 'violence against women, patriarchal control of female family members, sexuality and even murder,' behaviors which are portrayed as something originating from a 'foreign' culture. Swedish men performing similar acts of violence are instead seen as exceptions from the normally gender equal culture.¹⁰⁶ This has brought on a division between 'Swedes' and immigrant 'Others'. This means that gender equality has been incorporated and intertwined in the Swedish culture, whereas gender inequality has come to be highly associated with that of immigrant culture and thus in the creation of the 'Other'.¹⁰⁷

3.3 How is theory used?

Within the literature on gender and nationalism, the following themes have been identified (1) Gender and the Biological Reproduction of the Nation, (2) Gender and the Reproduction of Culture and (3) Gender Relations as a Marker of Swedish National Identity, and (4) Gender and the Construction of the 'Other' and National Familiarity. Within these themes, there are certain indicators which are used in order to distinguish gender roles and gender symbols in the empirical data (see appendix). The theoretical framework will be applied to the chosen cases, consisting of two political parties, in order to describe and analyze in what way and to what degree these parties use gender symbols and gender equality in their ideology.

¹⁰⁴ Towns (2002):161

¹⁰⁵ Ferber (2004):158

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.168

¹⁰⁷ Ibid:157-179

Table 1 Analytical Framework

(1) Gender and the Biological Reproduction of the Nation	(2) Gender and Reproduction of Culture	(3) Gender Equality as a Marker of Swedish National Identity	(4) Gender and the Construction of the 'Other' and National Familiarity
<p>Two biological sexes:</p> <p><i>Women are procreators of the nation/Men are protectors of the national species</i></p>	<p>Two gender roles:</p> <p><i>Women are cultural reproducers/Men are protectors of culture</i></p> <p><i>Men are leaders and belong to the public political sphere/Women are followers and belong in the private sphere</i></p>	<p>Individualized gender:</p> <p><i>Women and men are both important as cultural reproducers and protectors of culture</i></p> <p><i>Men and women both belong to the public as well as the private sphere</i></p>	<p>Male 'Other', a threat against women:</p> <p><i>The male 'Other' rape, harass and threaten women</i></p>
<p>Men and women are not equal:</p> <p><i>Male physical superiority</i></p>	<p>Men and women are not equal:</p> <p><i>Male social superiority</i></p>	<p>Men and women are equal:</p> <p><i>No part superior</i></p>	<p>Others as cultural destroyer</p> <p><i>i.e. of appropriate gender relations</i></p>
<p>Heteronormativity:</p> <p><i>Central for biological reproduction</i></p>	<p>Nuclear family:</p> <p><i>Central for cultural reproduction</i></p> <p><i>Most important unit in society</i></p>	<p>The individual:</p> <p><i>Central for gender equality</i></p> <p><i>Most important unit in society</i></p>	

4 Specified Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to provide a comparative analysis and description of the use of gender symbols and gender equality ideas in the ideology of New Democracy and The Sweden Democrats. We use theories on gender and nationalism to address the following questions: (1) In what ways are these parties similar and/or different in terms of their use of gender symbols and gender equality ideas? (2) Does one party rely more on gender symbols and ideas than the other?

5 Research Design and Methods for Gathering and Analyzing Data

This study will be a descriptive study, as the main research question is concerned with analyzing *how* something is and the focus is not on trying to explain *why* something is as it

is.¹⁰⁸ The possible choices of design would be either a case study or a comparative case study.¹⁰⁹ The two Swedish RRP parties have in previous research either been compared to RRP parties from other countries or been treated as single case studies. As they have never been compared to each other, the comparative design is the most appropriate and is thus our choice of design.¹¹⁰ Under certain circumstances a problem with the comparative design can be the difficulty of finding comparable cases. For our purposes, this has been not been a problem, as Sweden has only had these two RRP parties. The question of how many cases to include is also answered by the fact that there are only so many cases to choose from in the Swedish context.¹¹¹

The possible methods for collecting data in qualitative research includes interviews, participation/observation or through gathering documents.¹¹² As one of the cases - New Democracy - is no longer an active political party, it would be difficult to use interviews as interview objects could have changed opinion over time. 'Texts reflect both conscious and subconscious preconceptions that the authors in the environment of the origin bear'.¹¹³ Thus documents seem more appropriate, as they reflect the ideas of the party during its active years. The same problem goes for participation, as it is impossible to observe a party that is no longer active. Therefore, reviewing documents such as party programs, parliamentary bills and debate articles seem more appropriate in order to fulfill the aim of describing how these two parties use gender symbols and gender equality. It would, however, be possible to use interviews for the Sweden Democrats. But as this is a comparative analysis, it is better to use the same method for data collection. The use of different methods could pose a problem as the interpretations drawn from the different sources could be less comparable and generating slightly different reflections of the original ideas.

The choice of data will be party programs and parliamentary bills from New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats. In addition, debate articles written by these parties and published in Swedish newspapers will be used. The chosen newspapers will be; Aftonbladet, Dagens Industri, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen, Göteborgs-posten, Helsingborgs Dagblad, Nerikes Allehanda, Svenska Dagbladet, Sydsvenskan, Östgöta Correspondenten and Sundsvallstidningen. Most of these are major national Swedish newspapers, with the

¹⁰⁸ Bergström & Boréus (2005) :155

¹⁰⁹ Burnham (2004):55-68

¹¹⁰ Ibid:66

¹¹¹ Ibid:88

¹¹² Marsh & Stoker (2010):257-266

¹¹³ Esaiasson (2007):239

exception of Helsingborgs Dagblad and Sundsvallstidningen. These two will be included as they contain debate articles written by members of the parliament, which is the criteria for all collected debate articles. All data should be of 'national' character, meaning that municipal bills and debate articles in smaller local newspapers and/or written by actors outside the parliament will not be included. The result will thus reflect the parties' ideology on a national level. The time period from which party programs, parliamentary bills and debate articles will be collected corresponds to the time period of the existence of the parties. The existence of New Democracy will be considered to be from 1991-1994 as the party, post to 1994, only held one mandate in one single municipality. The existence of the Sweden Democrats will be considered as the years of 2006-2011. The party elected the present party leader Jimmie Åkesson in 2005 the following year, 2006, the party chose a new party symbol. The change of the party symbol was motivated by the statement that the party had gone through radical changes. Therefore, 2006 is considered the year when the party took its present form. Thus 2006-2011 will represent the existence of the Sweden Democrats in its present form.

The possible methods for analyzing data would be through qualitative content analysis, or quantitative content analysis. The fundamental idea of quantitative content analysis is to quantify, meaning counting or measuring the occurrence of certain phenomena and thus what magnitude a certain phenomena have.¹¹⁴ Qualitative content analysis is used for more complicated interpretations rather than counting and measuring.¹¹⁵ This research is concerned both with (1) how these parties use gender symbols/gender equality and (2) the magnitude to which these parties use these. Therefore both the qualitative and quantitative approach to content analysis will be used. Party programs, parliamentary bills and debate articles will be used in both types of analysis.

The qualitative analysis of ideas aims to extract and clarify idea about societal 'problems' reflected in a certain text. It is used also as a tool in order to discover important ideas through the study of texts.¹¹⁶ The analysis of ideas will be used as the aim is to describe the use of gender symbols and gender equality and thus the ideas about these two subjects. Implications for using this method include the importance of transparency. The interpretations should be firmly founded in the data. In order to show that the interpretations are firmly founded in the data, long quotes will be used in order for the reader to follow and understand the

¹¹⁴ Bergström & Boréus (2005):43-44

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Esaiasson (2007):239; Bergström & Boréus (2005):149-159

interpretations. The ideational indicators (see appendix) on gender and nationalism, discussed above, are used in the analytical framework, which not only increases the transparency but also the validity and reliability, as these show clearly that it is the gender ideas that are being measured. The reliability is also increased as the indicators makes it easier for future researchers to replicate this study. Analytical framework show more specifically what is being searched for in the data and also helps to clarify otherwise unclear concepts into observable variables. Indicators which have been developed from the various literatures in the theory chapter increase transparency. With the help of the indicators and through intensive reading, the data will be examined to reveal both what is directly stated when it comes to gender ideas and gender equality and also what is more subtle and sublimely expressed within the context of the data.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, subtle and sublime uses of gender ideas can be uncovered by analyzing what and/or which gender issues are mentioned and discussed in the same context.

The quantitative content analysis in this study aims to investigate to which extent gender ideas and gender equality ideas are present within the chosen parties. The analysis will not simply consist of counting single words, but rather measuring to which degree these issues are given space in the parties' ideologies. In other words, the study aims to look at a) how much space in party programs and parliamentary bills that is dedicated to, or concerned with, the topic of gender relative to other issues and b) how many debate articles that touch upon this topic relative to the total number of debate articles. A possible problem with the quantitative part is a potentially unequal distribution of bills and debate articles between the parties. To remedy this, we will be examining the party programs, bills and debate articles proportionally rather than in terms of absolute numbers.

In order to analyze the data collected, the analytical framework below will be used. From the theoretical background, four themes on gender have been extracted. For each of these four themes, there are a number of indicators which will be used in order to locate the relevant features of ideas concerning gender in the ideologies of these parties. From this matrix, it will be possible to distinguish and describe in which way the different parties use gender symbols and thus gender equality which is also the aim of this research.

¹¹⁷ Esaiasson (2007):237

Table 2 Analytical Framework

(1) Gender and the Biological Reproduction of the Nation	(2) Gender and Reproduction of Culture	(3) Gender Equality as a Marker of Swedish National Identity	(4) Gender and the Construction of the 'Other' and National Familiarity
<p>Two biological sexes:</p> <p><i>Women are procreators of the nation/Men are protectors of the national species</i></p>	<p>Two gender roles:</p> <p><i>Women are cultural reproducers/Men are protectors of culture</i></p> <p><i>Men are leaders and belong to the public political sphere/Women are followers and belong in the private sphere</i></p>	<p>Individualized gender:</p> <p><i>Women and men are both important as cultural reproducers and protectors of culture</i></p> <p><i>Men and women both belong to the public as well as the private sphere</i></p>	<p>Male 'Other', a threat against women:</p> <p><i>The male 'Other' rape, harass and threaten women</i></p>
<p>Men and women are not equal:</p> <p><i>Male physical superiority</i></p>	<p>Men and women are not equal:</p> <p><i>Male social superiority</i></p>	<p>Men and women are equal:</p> <p><i>No part superior</i></p>	<p>Others as cultural destroyer</p> <p><i>i.e. of appropriate gender relations</i></p>
<p>Heteronormativity:</p> <p><i>Central for biological reproduction</i></p>	<p>Nuclear family:</p> <p><i>Central for cultural reproduction</i></p> <p><i>Most important unit in society</i></p>	<p>The individual:</p> <p><i>Central for gender equality</i></p> <p><i>Most important unit in society</i></p>	

6 Results: The use of Gender Symbols and Gender Equality Ideas in the ideology of New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats

6.1 Background

New Democracy emerged in 1990, less than a year before the election in 1991.¹¹⁸ The party was founded by the well-read aristocratic businessman Ian Wachtmeister and the less educated entertainment entrepreneur Bert Karlsson.¹¹⁹ Neither of them had been politically active in a party before founding New Democracy. Less than a year after the founding of New Democracy, the party managed to get elected into parliament. The party was considered a populist party as it did not have a clear stance on the traditional left and right scale of Swedish

¹¹⁸ Gardberg (1993)

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

politics.¹²⁰ This combined with the party's restrictive immigration policy brought on the fact that New Democracy came to be considered a nationalist party.¹²¹

In contrast to New Democracy, which had only existed for less than a year before being elected into parliament, The Sweden Democrats had more of a struggle in order to get into parliament. The original party was founded in 1988 but has existed in its present form since 2006.¹²² The present party leader, Jimmie Åkesson, had been politically active for almost a decade before taking the role as party leader.¹²³ The Sweden Democrats is a self-declared nationalist party and was elected into parliament in the election of 2010.¹²⁴

As discussed in the theory chapter, the nationalist ideology assumes proper and different roles for men and women. These roles are seen as a part of the culture and traditions of a nation, which fill the function as 'border guards', assisting in the creation of national identity. Due to these gendered 'border guards', nationalism cannot be fully understood without taking gender into consideration. In the quantitative analysis below, there will be a comparison between New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats, examining whether one party relies more on gender symbols and ideas than the other.

6.2 Quantitative Analysis: Comparison of the use of Gender Symbols and Gender Equality in the ideology of New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats

This quantitative section of the analysis will investigate how much space in party programs and parliamentary bills that is dedicated to, or concerned with, the topic of gender, relative to other issues and, how many debate articles that touch upon this topic relative to the total number of debate articles. The section below will be structured according to the three different types of documents. Each part will deal with the material from both political parties. The focus will first be on the party programs followed by a discussion of the parliamentary bills, thereafter the debate articles and last there will be a concluding comparison.

First, the party programs from the two different parties are comparable in size, which is illustrated in Table 3 below. After comparing the party programs, it is obvious that the Sweden Democrats emphasizes gender to a greater extent than New Democracy. In the party program for the Sweden Democrats, seven out of forty-eight paragraphs contained gender

¹²⁰ Gardberg (1993)

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Larsson & Ekman (2001)

¹²³ Sverigedemokraterna (2010b)

¹²⁴ Ibid.

related issues, which is substantially more than the one out of one-hundred-forty-seven for New Democracy. Since New Democracy did not have a separate election manifesto, this data cannot be compared, but the Sweden Democrats’ manifesto still illustrates the fact that this party gives a lot of emphasis to the role of gender in its ideology.

The party program for New Democracy was first published as a short debate article in Dagens Nyheter, one of the daily newspapers in Sweden. This was later developed into full fledged party program which has been the object of analysis in this study. The party program, which can also be considered as the election manifesto for New Democracy, consists of twelve pages, approximately one-hundred-forty-seven paragraphs containing the party’s main positions in various political topics. Out of these one-hundred-forty-seven paragraphs, only one of them contained two lines addressing gender-related issues according to the analytical framework.

The party program for the Sweden Democrats was acquired from the party’s website and has about the same amount of pages as the party program for New Democracy. The party program has a different layout in comparison to that of New Democracy, consisting of ten pages but only forty-eight paragraphs as illustrated in Table 3 below. Even though the number of paragraphs are substantially fewer than those in the party program of New Democracy, a total of seven paragraphs had gender related content. The website of the Sweden Democrats also contained an election manifesto for the election of 2010, which contained ninety-nine pledges divided into thirteen different themes. Two out of these themes were fully dedicated to the issue of gender and twenty pledges had gender related content.

Table 3 Party programs for New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats

	Pages	Paragraphs	Gender relevant paragraphs	Gender relevant paragraphs (percent)
<i>New Democracy</i>	10	48	7	7/48 = 14.5
<i>The Sweden Democrats</i>	12	147	1	1/147 = 0.7

Second, when examining and comparing the parliamentary bills of the two parties, Table 4 below shows that there is a considerable difference between New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats. Even though the Sweden Democrats have yet to complete their first year in parliament, the share of parliamentary bills containing gender related content is significantly

larger than the share for New Democracy, no matter which year of New Democracy's time in parliament this is compared to.

There is a big difference in the number of parliamentary bills produced by the two parties as New Democracy was in parliament for a whole term (four years) whereas the Sweden Democrats, at the point of data collection, was only in the first year of the first parliamentary term. In Table 4 below one can see that during New Democracy's first year in parliament, the party managed to produce two-hundred-nine parliamentary bills. Out of these parliamentary bills, only five contained issues or statements that could be related to gender, which in percentages amounts to a mere 2.39 percent. During the second year, the number of bills had decreased to one-hundred-five but the number of bills with gender related content had increased to ten bills, corresponding to 8 percent. For the last year, the number of parliamentary bills had once again decreased, this time to one-hundred-five. Despite this, the share of gender-related parliamentary bills had increased to 8.57 percent. Throughout the whole parliamentary term, New democracy managed to produce four-hundred-thirty-nine parliamentary bills of which only twenty-four contained gender related content or statements. In total this amounts to a mere 5.47 percent.

At the point of the data collection, the Sweden Democrats was in the first year of the first parliamentary term. At this time, the Sweden Democrats had produced fifty-four parliamentary bills out of which seventeen had gender related content or statements, amounting to 31.48 percent as illustrated by Table 4 below. Even though the Sweden Democrats has not completed their first year in parliament, the share of parliamentary bills containing gender related issues is significantly higher than the total for New Democracy in this aspect.

Table 4 Parliamentary bills produced by New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats

	Year	Nr. Parliamentary bills	Relevant parliamentary bills	Gender relevant parliamentary bills (percent)
<i>New Democracy</i>	1991 - 1992	209	5	$5/209 = 2.4$
	1992 - 1993	125	10	$10/125 = 8$
	1993 - 1994	105	9	$9/105 = 8.6$
	Total	439	24	$24/439 = 5.5$
<i>Sweden Democrats</i>	2010 -2011	54	17	$17/54 = 31.5$
	Total	54	17	$17/54 = 31.5$

Last, New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats have published about the same number of debate articles, although the Sweden Democrats have a larger share of articles which contain gender issues which is illustrated in Table 5 below. Out of New democracy’s thirty-one articles, only one of them contained such an issue whilst out of the Sweden Democrats, thirty-two articles ten were identified as gender related. Despite the fact that the time period of the data collection for debate articles is two years longer for the Sweden Democrats which makes the number of released debate articles per year fewer than for New Democracy, the share of debate articles containing gender-related issues is once again significantly higher for the Sweden Democrats.

The debate articles for both New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats were collected during two different time periods and different time spans. New Democracy wrote thirty-one debate articles which were published in various Swedish newspapers during the years 1991 to 1994. Out of these articles only one could be identified as having statements or content related to the issues of gender roles and or gender symbols. Converted in to percentage this sums up to be 3.23 percent.

Articles written by the Sweden Democrats were collected from the years of 2006 and 2011. The party managed to have thirty-two debate articles published during this period which is one more than those of New Democracy. Out of the published articles, ten of these contained statements or content which were identified as related to gender roles and/or gender symbols. This equals a percentage of 31.25 percent.

Table 5 Debate articles written by New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats

	Year	Debate articles	Gender Relevant debate articles	Gender related debate articles (percent)
<i>New Democracy</i>	1991 -1994	31	1	1/31 = 3.2
<i>The Sweden Democrats</i>	2006 - 2011	32	10	10/32 = 31.3

When comparing the collected data, it is clear that, in each type of document, the Sweden Democrats has a significantly higher percentage of gender related content than New Democracy which is illustrated in Table 6 below. To conclude, the quantitative analysis shows that the Sweden Democrats rely on gender symbols and ideas to a much greater extent

than New Democracy. This answers the question of whether one party relies more on gender symbols and ideas than the other.

Table 6 Comparison of gender related content in party programs, parliamentary bills and debate articles by New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats (percent)

	Party programs	Parliamentary bills	Debate articles
<i>New Democracy</i>	0.068%	5.47%	3.2
<i>The Sweden Democrats</i>	14.5%	31.48%	31.3

The following section will describe *how* these two parties use gender symbols and ideas in their ideology. The analysis will be structured in accordance with the analytical framework, following the four themes on gender. Each theme will contain a discussion on both political parties.

6.3 Qualitative Analysis: Gender Symbols and Gender Equality Ideas in the Ideology of New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats

6.3.1 (1) Gender and the Biological Reproduction of the Nation

As discussed in the theory chapter, the biological reproduction of the nation is traditionally an important aspect in nationalist theory, in order to ensure the survival of the nation.¹²⁵ The two sexes are distinguished through their biological differences which are said to complement each other.¹²⁶ This view implies different roles for men and women, where women are seen as the procreators and the men as protectors of the national species.¹²⁷

6.3.1.1 *New Democracy*

New Democracy emphasizes a biological difference between the sexes, which permeates the stance on family policy. In a parliamentary bill, the party states that '*women and men are, luckily, different in several aspects*'.¹²⁸ It is not clearly stated that these 'aspects' are purely biological, but taking the context in which the statement is presented into consideration, this suggests that this is the case. Time and time again, indications that women are weaker than men, and thus need protection, can be found. The party constantly repeats how '*the legal system becomes pointless if it cannot protect women and children from abuse and brutal*

¹²⁵ Yuval-Davis (1997):29

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ny Demokrati (1993/1994:So16) 'Kvinnor och män är tack och lov olika i flera avseenden. De olikheterna är värdefulla tillgångar som skall värnas och som är oundgängliga, såväl i familjeliv och arbetsliv och samhällsliv'

death'.¹²⁹ New Democracy does not state explicitly that men are stronger than women, but from the theoretical discussion above it is clear that one cannot understand either sex without the other as they are both informed and constructed by each other. The description of 'weak' women in need of protection thus makes it evident that the man is perceived as stronger.¹³⁰ Also, violent acts associated with male perpetrators, such as rape and domestic violence, are brought up frequently in the collected data, which is a further confirmation of this view.

Furthermore, New Democracy talks about the family as solely consisting of a mother and a father. The party accentuates that the parents of a child are always two and that *'family policy shall not encourage irresponsibility or the rise of so-called single-parent families'*.¹³¹ This follows the nationalist normative ideas about heterosexual relations in order to ensure a biological reproduction of the national species.¹³² New Democracy proposed changes for the social insurance system which includes child benefits. The party pushed for increased child benefits, making it more favorable to bear children, which goes hand in hand with traditional nationalist ideas. This could be interpreted as anti immigrant as a sustained reproduction of the national species eliminates the need for immigration as a measure for continuous population growth. Although, New Democracy advocated an abolishment of the supplement for large families, giving families increased benefits for having more than one child. As this opposes the nationalist tradition, in which parties historically have given rewards to families for each additional child, and in context with other statements from New Democracy, this cannot not be interpreted as an anti-immigrant policy.

6.3.1.2 The Sweden Democrats

Much like New Democracy, the general view in the ideology of the Sweden Democrats is firstly that *'all humans are not alike. We differ in many ways'*, and secondly, that *'men and women are created as different.'*¹³³ The use of the expression 'created' indicates that it is a biological difference that is referred to. In the nationalist ideology, women are made out as weaker than men and this element is also present in the ideology of the Sweden Democrats as the party stresses the need for women to be protected from violent acts such as rape and abuse. In order accomplish this, the party suggest a *'real life sentence [...] for the following*

¹²⁹ Ny Demokrati (1992/1993:Ju821) 'Rättsordningen blir meningslös om den inte kan skydda kvinnor och barn från övergrepp och brutal död'

¹³⁰ Yuval-Davis (1997):21; Walby (2006):118

¹³¹ Ny Demokrati (1993/1994:So16) 'Familjepolitiken skall inte heller uppmuntra till oansvarighet eller till framväxten av s k enföräldersfamiljer'

¹³² Yuval-Davis (1997):29

¹³³ Sverigedemokraterna (2005):8 'Alla människor är inte likadana. Vi skiljer oss åt på många sätt' ; Ibid. 'Män och kvinnor är inte skapade likadana'

crimes where the perpetrator has shown particular ruthlessness and violent behavior: sexual abuse and rape'.¹³⁴ Additional measures proposed in order to create a safer and more protected environment for women include a register of convicted sexual offenders and an increased support to women's aid. These measures all indicate a view of women as weaker and inferior to the stronger and superior men.

As previously mentioned, the Sweden Democrats emphasizes a view in which men and women are different. Additionally, they state that *'men and women complement each other, and therefore, the right for all children to have a mother and a father is of great importance*'.¹³⁵ Furthermore they make the claim that *'each and everyone's sexual orientation is private matter, but the traditional and thousand-year-old marriage is intended to be a union between man and women. As for the rest, we defend judicial rights for homosexuals to be treated the same as heterosexuals*'.¹³⁶ Both of the quotes above illustrate the Sweden Democrat's opinion of how the family should consist of a heterosexual couple. Even though the last sentence proclaims that homosexual individuals should have equal judicial rights as heterosexual individuals, the quote as a whole, express that there certain rights from which homosexual people should be excluded, such as, in this case, the right to get married. In similarity to New Democracy the normative view of the family as consisting of a mother and a father is directly linked to the nationalist focus on the survival of the nation. As homosexual couples are incapable to reproduce, and thus cannot ensure or sustain the survival of the national species, the Sweden Democrats does not encourage homosexual relations. However, it is still noteworthy that the party, in contrast to New Democracy, defends the judicial rights for homosexuals as this directly contradicts conventional nationalist ideas on homosexuality as we saw in the theory chapter. As the party, in this aspect, deviates from the traditional nationalist ideas this is interpreted as an indication that the Sweden Democrats makes an effort to incorporate the Swedish ideas on gender equality, which pushes for equal rights for all individuals, regardless of gender and/or sexual orientation.

Additionally, the Sweden Democrats advocates a general increase in child benefits along with an increase of maternity allowance, child support and housing benefits for single parents. All

¹³⁴ Sverigedemokraterna (2010/2011:Ju421) 'Riktiga livstidsstraff [...] för följande brott där gärningsmannen uppvisat särskild hänsynslöst och våldsamt beteende: våldtäkt och grov våldtäkt'

¹³⁵ Sverigedemokraterna (2005):8 'män och kvinnor kompletterar varandra, och därför är också alla barns rätt till en mor och far av väsentlig betydelse'

¹³⁶ Johnny Skalin (2008) 'Var och ens sexuella läggning är en privatsak, men det traditionella och mer än tusenåriga äktenskapet avser likväl ett förbund mellan en man och en kvinna. Vi försvarar i övrigt de homosexuellas rättigheter att juridiskt behandlas lika som heterosexuella'

of these changes in family policy are interpreted as incentives or encouragements for families to have children as similar incentives have been used before by other nationalist movements with the main purpose to increase the birthrate of the population.

In contrast to New Democracy which never brings attention to this issue, the Sweden Democrats emphasizes the importance of women's health. With the headline '*We want more screening*' the party discusses the importance of screening in order to discover and/or prevent diseases such as breast cancer, which particularly affects women.¹³⁷ In addition, the Sweden Democrats' election manifesto clearly states how the party wishes to grant diseases common to women, more attention and resources. This focus on the health of women is interpreted in light of the nationalist role of women as procreators of the nation. The party continues the discussion on health with an argument stating that Sweden needs '*greater efforts from the authorities in order to prevent [...] cancer, for example public health campaigns against smoking, alcohol, and bad eating habits*'.¹³⁸ Keeping the population, and then especially women, in good health is not merely expressing a concern for public health, but also the party's view of women as procreators. In the wider context of Sweden Democrats' gender ideas, this can be read as a prerequisite for ensuring the survival of the national species, and sustaining a strong and healthy population.

6.3.1.3 Comparison

Both parties share the view that there are in fact, biological differences between women and men. Women are depicted as the weaker sex, conveyed by the emphasis on women's need of protection. The heteronormative outlook on relationships is another element shared by the two parties. However, the way this is expressed differ somewhat as New Democracy only argues for why heterosexual relations are preferable, whilst the Sweden Democrats takes the issue one step further and discuss heterosexuality as well as homosexuality. Regarding the issue of families consisting of single parents, there is a distinct difference in opinion between the parties. New Democracy clearly states that single-parenting is not to be supported economically, so as to discourage this type of family. The Sweden Democrats, on the other hand, wants to increase the benefits for single-parents which show that despite the party's heteronormative view of the family, the Sweden Democrats accept single-parents. This along

¹³⁷Björn Söder (2008) 'Vi vill ha mer screening'

¹³⁸Ibid. 'större satsningar från myndigheter för att förebygga [...]cancer, till exempel folkhälsokampanjer mot rökning, alkohol och dåliga kostvanor'

with the focus on women's health and well-being shows how the Sweden Democrats emphasize the biological reproduction to a greater extent than New Democracy.

6.3.2 (2) Gender and Reproduction of Culture

As we saw in the theory chapter, it is not only biologically that men and women are perceived to be different within nationalism. Gender is also important for roles in societal life, where men and women take on different roles.¹³⁹ It is important that men are and should remain masculine whilst the women should hold on to their femininity.¹⁴⁰ Men are placed in the public political sphere and the women are perceived to belong to the private sphere. Together man and woman form the family which is the most important unit in society. Women bear the responsibility to foster the future generations thus also passing down the national cultural heritage while the role of men is to protect this culture from foreign concepts and traditions.¹⁴¹

6.3.2.1 New Democracy

New Democracy holds the stance of traditional nationalist thoughts, not only by stressing the importance the family has for society, but also by upholding traditional gender roles for men and women. As we will show below, the party considers women as belonging to the private sphere, at home nurturing their children and of men as belonging to the public work life. In accordance with conventional nationalist ideas, New Democracy also describes the family as *'the Swedish society's most important and basic foundation'*.¹⁴² This view usually goes hand in hand with more traditional gender roles including a male leader and a female follower.

New Democracy does emphasize differences between men and women which is illustrated in the quote *'these differences are valuable assets, which should be preserved as they are essential in family life, workplace and society'*.¹⁴³ In addition, the party argues that *'if the parents want to use the money as salary to themselves for their own childcare they should be able to'* and this salary should also be pension-entitled.¹⁴⁴ Based upon these statements the interpretation is that parenting should be a job like any other job. It does, not express that this is a job belonging to the mother or the father in particular. However, the party continues by

¹³⁹ Ferber (2004):45

¹⁴⁰ Ibid:77

¹⁴¹ Ibid:45

¹⁴² Ny Demokrati (1992/1993:So617) 'Familjen är individens och det svenska samhällets viktigaste och mest grundläggande fundament'

¹⁴³ Ny Demokrati (1993/1994:So16) 'De olikheterna är värdefulla tillgångar som skall värnas och som är oundgängliga, såväl i familjeliv och arbetsliv och samhällsliv'

¹⁴⁴ Ny Demokrati (1992/1993:Fi211) 'Vill föräldrarna använda pengarna som lön till sig själv för sin barnomsorg gör de det'; Ny Demokrati (1993/1994:Fi210)

stating that *'the government created a system which in practice forced a large number of women out on the labor market – even during the time in which they had infants and toddlers at home – despite the fact that they themselves wanted to take the responsibility for the nurturing and upbringing of their children'* which clearly illustrates a view of women as not only taking the role as stay at home mothers but also how women *want* to take this traditional role.¹⁴⁵ New Democracy continues to accentuate the traditional gender roles as the party criticizes the proposition to stimulate fathers to take parental leave with the allocution

‘we think that the government should take responsibility for Sweden’s economy consistent and long-term, instead of giving families with children ridiculous and extremely costly pointers. The Swedish mothers and fathers can themselves take responsibility for the division of labor they wish to have in their home and families.’¹⁴⁶

The ridiculing of incentives to fathers’ parental leave, along with the already discussed traditional view on the role of women, shows that there is no ambiguity that the party holds a view in which men belong to and should remain in the public working life. This shows that the party relies on conservative gender roles traditionally found in nationalism.

6.3.2.2 Sweden Democrats

There is no doubt that the Sweden Democrats adhere to traditional gender roles for/and between men and women. Men and women are perceived to be different and have natural preference towards each other. As we will show below, it is clearly expressed that men belong to the masculine public sphere and thus women belong at home in the private sphere. Forcing men to take a role in the private sphere is seen as both a threat toward their masculinity and their role in the public sphere. The family, and explicitly the heterosexual nuclear family is seen as an ancient and very important cornerstone in society. The use of traditional gender roles is illustrated by the empirical evidence below

The Sweden Democrats has explicitly stated that *'Men and women are not created the same and can therefore in different contexts take different starting points and do different things in different ways'* which points out the fact that women and men are perceived as different and

¹⁴⁵ Ny Demokrati (1992/1993:So617) 'Man konstruerade ett system som i praktiken tvingade ut ett mycket stort antal kvinnor på arbetsmarknaden – även under spädbarns- och småbarnstiden – trots att de egentligen själva ville ta ansvaret för sina barns uppväxt och uppfostran'

¹⁴⁶ Ny Demokrati (1993/1994:So16) 'Vi anser att regeringen skall ta ansvar för Sveriges ekonomi, långsiktigt och konsekvent, istället för att ge barnfamiljerna larviga och ytterst kostsamma pekpinningar. Sveriges mammor och pappor kan själva ta ansvaret för den arbetsfördelning de önskar i sina hem och familjer.'

that they fill different functions/roles in society.¹⁴⁷ The Sweden Democrats opposes theories on gender identity, gender education in schools along with queer theories as these, according to the party, ‘*re-program our children and their natural preferences*’.¹⁴⁸ The use of the term ‘re-programming’ indicates that men and women have predefined differences and preferences which should not be tampered with.

The interpretation that forced parental leave for fathers is seen as a punishment as men has to take on a feminine role is based on the statement

‘when the government, through Hägglund, last year introduced the so called “gender equality bonus” it was a way of punishing those parents wanting to divide the care and upbringing of their children on their own. I, as a Sweden Democrat, know that “real people” can take care of their children by themselves, without the help from Hägglund and his colleagues’.¹⁴⁹

The statement from the Sweden Democrats saying that the family is ‘*Necessary for each individual human being’s inner well-being*’, together with explication;

‘Since the beginning of humanity, and in virtually all societies, the family has been the fundamental unit on which society is based upon. The relationship between man and woman, and their children is the essential precondition for a harmonious society. The family is society’s inner core and the precondition for the human reproduction, which also represents the foundation of each nation’s survival. The family’s function as a base for society is precondition for a functioning society. The family is an intermediary for culture and fostering.’¹⁵⁰

is explicitly and undoubtedly interpreted as first, an indication of the importance of the family and second, how a proper family should consist of a mother, father and their children, thus that the Sweden Democrats has a very heteronormative view of the family.

¹⁴⁷ Sverigedemokraterna (2005):8 ‘Män och kvinnor är inte skapade likadana och kan därför i olika sammanhang ta olika utgångspunkter och göra olika saker på olika sätt’

¹⁴⁸ Sverigedemokraterna (2010/2011:Fi231) ‘omprogrammera våra barn och deras naturliga preferenser’

¹⁴⁹ Jimmie Åkesson (2009) ‘När regeringen, genom Hägglund, förra året införde den så kallade ‘jämsällldhetsbonusen’ var det ett sätt att bestraffa de föräldrar som vill dela upp vårdnaden och uppfostran om sina barn på egen hand. Jag, som sverigedemokrat, vet att ‘verklighetens folk’ kan ta hand om sina barn själva, utan hjälp från Hägglund och hans kolleger’

¹⁵⁰ Sverigedemokraterna (2005):7 ‘Nödvändig för varje enskild människas inre välbefinnande’; Ibid:8 ‘Sedan mänsklighetens begynnelse, och i så gott som alla samhällen, har familjen varit den grundläggande enhet varpå samhället baserats. Förhållandet mellan man och kvinna, och deras barn, är den nödvändiga förutsättningen för harmoniska samhällsförhållanden. Familjen är samhällets innersta kärna och själva förutsättningen för den mänskliga fortplantningen, vilken överallt utgör grunden för respektive nations fortlevnad. Familjens funktion som bas för samhället är en förutsättning för ett fungerande samhälle. Familjen är kulturförmedlande och fostrande’

6.3.2.3 Comparison

Both parties agree upon the importance of the family and that men and women take different roles in society. However, there is a difference to how this issue is addressed. New Democracy talks about how women *want* to stay at home with their children whereas the Sweden Democrats talk about the different roles as natural and thus not something people choose and these natural preferences should not be tampered with. The Sweden Democrats are the only one to express the danger of tampering with these natural roles since New Democracy never mentions anything of it as a danger, merely that women and men prefer different roles. Even though one can find small indications of heteronormativity within the ideology of New Democracy, it is only within the ideology of the Sweden Democrats that its importance is explicitly stated and emphasized. Throughout this whole section, even though the two parties have similar opinions, the Sweden Democrats express their view much stronger and more clearly than New Democracy.

6.3.3 (3) Gender Equality as a Marker of Swedish National Identity

As we discussed in the theory chapter, Swedish national identity is strongly associated gender equality. For the regular Swede, it seems particularly ‘Swedish’ to believe that men and women are equal in both the aspect of family and work-life. The belief that the individual is most important in society and that gender should not be of any relevance is upheld as typical ‘Swedish values’. As does the idea that men and women share the responsibility for fostering and protecting future generations. All of this above is contradictory to conventional nationalist ideology which divides people into groups of gender and sexes, thus also different roles in society.

6.3.3.1 New Democracy

New Democracy has shown a traditional nationalist view on gender and gender-roles. Despite the belief that men and women are different, they also try to incorporate Swedish gender equality ideas in their ideology. However, New Democracy’s use of the term gender equality does not refer to a symmetric equality. Instead, as shown below, their idea of gender equality still builds on the nationalist idea that men and women are different and thus are in need of different treatment in different situations. Gender equality is not the only term which New Democracy interprets and uses in its own way. The party also attempts to merge the individualistic aspect of Swedish gender equality in their otherwise nationalistic view on gender roles.

One can clearly see that New Democracy has incorporated gender equality in their ideology in the following quote *'we think that it is quite obvious that, in a civilized society, there should be gender equality between men and women'*.¹⁵¹ As the quote continues with *'nevertheless, we want to strongly uphold that this is not equal to symmetry. Women and men are thankfully different in several respects'* the interpretation is that New Democracy's gender equality presupposes differences between men and women, and that gender equality not necessarily means equal treatment for men and women.¹⁵²

New Democracy advocates a *'high priority for equal terms for women and men, regarding business, work, employment- and other work conditions as well as opportunities for development'*.¹⁵³ This shows how the party incorporates ideas of gender equality as the party emphasizes the importance of empowering women status on the labor market, which is part of the public sphere, as a way of breaking traditional ideas on gender roles. New Democracy describes the phenomena of women taking out an extended leave of absence as a *'trap for women'*, which expresses a will to increase women's participation in the labor market.¹⁵⁴ This contradicts previous statements in which the party has stated how women belong in the private sphere, as they want to stay home and care for their children. It reflects how New Democracy tries to incorporate Swedish gender equality in their nationalist ideology, but which also causes tensions as these two sets of ideas oppose each other.

Previously, New Democracy has pointed out how men and women are in need of different treatment in order to accomplish gender equality. In the statement saying that *'a society, where individuals and groups of individuals are different, have different preferences and preconditions, must also offer different solutions for these individuals.'*, the party clarifies that the focus should be on the individual needs of each person as people have different needs.¹⁵⁵ This contradicts the evident focus the party has given to the family as the most important unit in society. In order to incorporate the focus on the individual as a part of Swedish gender equality with the conventional nationalistic importance of the family, they express themselves as follows: *'the family is the individual's and the Swedish society's most important and basic*

¹⁵¹ Ny Demokrati (1993/1994:So16) 'Vi tycker det är alldeles självklart att det i ett civiliserat samhälle skall råda jämställdhet mellan män och kvinnor'

¹⁵² Ibid. 'Vi vill dock på det bestämdaste hävda att detta inte är liktydigt med symmetri. Kvinnor och män är tack och lovolika i flera avseenden'

¹⁵³ Ny Demokrati (1991/1992:Fi37) 'hög prioritet för lika villkor och förutsättningar för kvinnor och män, i fråga om företagande, arbete, anställnings- och andra arbetsvillkor samt utvecklingsmöjligheter'

¹⁵⁴ Ny Demokrati (1993/1994:So615) 'kvinnofälla'

¹⁵⁵ Ny Demokrati (1991/1992:Fi42) 'ett samhälle där individer och grupper av individer är olika, har olika önskemål och förutsättningar, måste också erbjuda olika lösningar'

foundation'.¹⁵⁶ This shows how the party merely throw in the word individual in this context, even though in the whole context New Democracy repeatedly emphasize family over the individual. This interpretation is strongly established when the party in the following words

‘Swedish family policy of today is built upon an erroneous point of view of an extremely individualist view of humanity. Every person is treated as a pure and isolated, lonely individual which is not considered as a part of a family or other group’

state how the individual cannot flourish outside the family.¹⁵⁷

6.3.3.2 *The Sweden Democrats*

Much like New Democracy, the Sweden Democrats has a view in which men and women are different. Despite these differences, the Sweden Democrats emphasizes that men and women should have the same rights and opportunities in society. The Sweden Democrat’s view on gender equality is very ambiguous. In contrast to the ideas of New Democracy the party defines gender equality in terms of security for women, which interestingly enough is accomplished by the abolishment of gender education.

As shown in a previous quote, the Sweden Democrats has stated that men and women are different and therefore sometimes take different starting points, which emphasizes how women and men are perceived as different and that they fill different functions/roles in society and also comply with traditional nationalist ideas. Adding to the discussion, they also claim *'that all people, regardless of gender, should have the same rights and opportunities'*.¹⁵⁸ The Sweden Democrats continue: *'our party strongly rejects discrimination of people on the basis of gender, religious and political affiliation or ethnic background'*, which pronouncedly points out that people, under no circumstances and regardless of gender should be victims of discrimination.¹⁵⁹ Given this, the interpretation is that the Sweden Democrats make attempts to integrate some ideas of Swedish gender equality into their ideology.

¹⁵⁶ Ny Demokrati (1992/1993:So617) 'Familjen är individens och det svenska samhällets viktigaste och mest grundläggande fundament'

¹⁵⁷ Ny Demokrati (1993/1994:So16) 'Svensk familjepolitik idag bygger på en felsyn baserad på en extremt individualistisk människosyn. Varje person betraktas som en renodlad och isolerad, ensam individ som inte anses leva i en familj eller annan grupp gemenskap.'

¹⁵⁸ Sverigedemokraterna (2005):8 'alla människor, oavsett köntillhörighet, ska ha samma rättigheter och möjligheter'

¹⁵⁹ Ibid:4 'Partiet tar starkt avstånd ifrån diskriminering av människor på grundval av kön, religiös och politisk tillhörighet eller etnisk bakgrund'

As discussed in the theory chapter, conventional nationalist movements have described the state as an engine of gender inversion when allowing feminists to enter its politics. The party considers feminism as leading to the feminization of men and women becoming more masculine. In accordance to this, the Sweden Democrats state:

‘As a first step towards a more equal and safe society for women in Sweden and a gender policy based on science and common sense, we want to see an abolishment of the tax-funded aid towards gender education and other activities in which the government, based on reality detached political theories, try to experiment with, or change our children and young people’s behavior and gender identity.’¹⁶⁰

From this quote one sees the distinct similarities between the conventional view and the view of the Sweden Democrats both in terms of having the belief that there are certain natural roles including femininity and masculinity, and that these, under no circumstances, should be tampered with. Gender education is seen as a violation towards these natural roles and preferences of men and women. Despite how the party, as previously shown, talk about same rights for women and men, this quote is quite contradicting as gender education is very much concerned with the idea of gender equality. Thus, showing that the party has its own interpretation of gender equality namely as being equivalent of security for women. This is further illustrated by the argument that the removal of gender education in Swedish schools would increase gender equality and thus women’s safety.

Another important aspect of gender equality is, as previously mentioned, focus on the individual. The Sweden Democrats explicates that

‘Through [...] our efforts for balance between freedom and safety, individualism and community, we hope to recreate a welfare state characterized by safety, prosperity, democracy, harmonious relationships and a strong internal solidarity in the foundation of common identity’¹⁶¹

and therefore the party recognizes that it takes effort in order to balance the two contradicting ideas of individualism and communalism. Interestingly, this is one of the very few occasions

¹⁶⁰ Sverigedemokraterna (2010/2011:Fi231) ‘Som ett första steg mot ett mer jämställt och tryggare samhälle för Sveriges kvinnor och en jämställdhetspolitik baserad på vetenskap och sunt förnuft vill vi se avveckling av det skattefinansierade stödet till genuspedagogik och annan verksamhet där staten med utgångspunkt i verklighetsfrånvända politiska teorier försöker experimentera med, eller ändra på, våra barns och ungdomars beteendemönster och könsidentitet’

¹⁶¹ Jimmie Åkesson (2010a) ‘Genom [...] vår strävan efter balans mellan frihet och trygghet, individualism och gemenskap, hoppas vi kunna återskapa ett folkhem präglad av trygghet, välstånd, demokrati, harmoniska förhållande och en stark inre solidaritet på den gemensamma identitetens grund’

in which the Sweden Democrats explicitly insinuates a focus on the individual and which almost disappear behind the great emphasis on family and community, discussed in the section on Gender and Reproduction of Culture. The interpretation of this is that individualism is not of great importance in the ideology of the party, even though the Sweden Democrats makes an effort to incorporate the concept as it is a part of gender equality.

6.3.3.3 Comparison

When comparing New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats, one notices that the parties are fairly similar in the aspect that they both try to incorporate Swedish gender equality into their ideologies. Despite this similarity, the parties embrace gender equality in different ways, as New Democracy does not perceive gender equality as equivalent to symmetry. The Sweden Democrats on the other hand, emphasize that men and women should have the same rights thus a symmetric distribution of rights. In addition, gender equality for the Sweden Democrats is considered to be the safety for women. New Democracy mentions that women's status should be promoted in society whilst the Sweden Democrats wants to reach gender equality by removing gender education conventionally promoting women's rights. Furthermore, New Democracy emphasizes the individual significantly more frequently than the Sweden Democrats, and thereby contradicts itself more often as the party also emphasizes the family and collectivity.

6.3.4 (4) Gender and the Construction of the 'Other' and National Familiarity

The 'Other' in Nationalism is portrayed as a cultural destroyer, bringing in foreign culture, religion, traditions and norms which pose a threat towards the national culture as we discussed in the theory chapter. In the case of Sweden, where gender equality has come to be a part of the national identity, foreign cultures containing more traditional gender roles become 'Others' as they pose a threat towards this element of Swedish national identity. The more traditional gender roles, in which women are deemed inferior to men, conduce to the creation of the 'Others' as raping, harassing and threatening women.

6.3.4.1 New Democracy

In the ideology of New Democracy, the view on the 'Other' is not clearly related to gender equality or traditional nationalism. The 'Other' is present, but there are no clear connections to gender. The party talks very 'objectively' about immigrants, as well as Swedish citizens, committing crimes but it is never stated that immigrants specifically pose a threat against women. In this aspect New Democracy contradicts conventional nationalist ideology which,

as discussed in the theory chapter, uses gendered ideas to create an image of the ‘Other’. Moreover, the party’s objective rhetoric on immigrants also shows that the party does not use the idea of gender equality to point out inequalities in foreign culture to create an ‘Other’. To conclude, the view of the ‘Other’ in the ideology of New Democracy, clearly deviates from the usual nationalist idea.

6.3.4.2 The Sweden Democrats

In contrast to New Democracy in the aspect of the ‘Other’, the Sweden Democrats’ ideology goes hand in hand with conventional ideas on nationalism, as the party holds the view that immigrants bring in culture and values which goes against the Swedish idea on gender equality and thus poses a threat towards this attribute. The Sweden Democrats strongly regard the ‘Other’ as male, not only threatening Swedish women but also immigrant women. In addition, the view of women as the weaker sex in need of protection, also mobilizes national males as protectors of the national species, as discussed in the theory chapter.

The party has expressed how there, *‘in Sweden, [...] is no room for misogynistic religions and ideologies’* which is a clear indication of how the Sweden Democrats has adopted gender equality ideas as it is part of the Swedish national identity and culture.¹⁶² In this context, the notion of gender equality is used to contrast the Swedish national identity with the unequal culture of immigrants and thus in the creation of the ‘Others’. The Sweden Democrats continues on this note by promoting *‘an increased support to women who live under a religious and honor-related oppression in Sweden’* and *‘a ban on the wearing of full veil in public places’*.¹⁶³ This shows how the party considers their interpretation of gender equality as something essential, and how all women should be protected from misogyny. Noteworthy is that the Sweden Democrats states how the party *‘wants to grant an expanded support to vulnerable immigrant women through an offensive against forced marriage, honor-related and religious oppression’* which indicates not only a concern about the Swedish women but also immigrant women, since, as we saw in the theory chapter, conventional nationalism mainly is concerned about the national women in this aspect.¹⁶⁴ It is also interpreted as yet another indication that the party has incorporated elements of the Swedish gender equality into their ideology. In addition, the emphasis on the protection of women implicates another

¹⁶² Sverigedemokraterna (2010a) ’I Sverige finns det inte plats för kvinnofientliga religioner och ideologier’

¹⁶³ Ibid. ’Ett ökat stöd till kvinnor som lever under religiöst och hedersrelaterat förtryck i Sverige’; Ibid. ’Ett förbud mot bärandet av heltäckande slöja på allmän plats’

¹⁶⁴ Sverigedemokraterna (2010/2011:Fi231) ’Därtill vill vi ge ett utökat stöd till utsatta invandrarkvinnor genom en offensiv mot tvångsgiften samt hedersrelaterat och religiöst förtryck’

important gender role, namely that of the national male protectors, but in difference from conventional nationalist ideas, not only as protectors of national species but as protectors of all women affected by gender inequalities brought on by the immigrant ‘Others’.

The party has claimed that *‘mass immigration increases the number rape cases’* which is a clear indication that the party holds the view of male ‘Others’ raping, and thus threatening women.¹⁶⁵ The Sweden Democrats has presented statistics showing the immigrant’s overrepresentation in rape cases and when discussion violence of women, cases in which the offender foreign origin are often used as examples.¹⁶⁶ The phenomenon has even been described by the party as a *‘wave of rape’* sweeping through Sweden.¹⁶⁷

6.3.4.3 Comparison

In the aspect of the ‘Other’, there is a significant difference between the ideologies of New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats. The only point these parties have in common would be the fact that they emphasize that immigrants commit crime. However, New Democracy does not point out immigrants as *more* prone to crime than national Swedes. In the ideology of the Sweden Democrats, on the other hand, it is very obvious how the immigrants are used as scapegoats. The Sweden Democrats use the gender equality attribute in Swedish national identity to fuel the image of the immigrants as a threat by pointing out the unequal culture of the immigrants. Such tendencies are not found in the ideology of New Democracy, who speaks about this issue in very objective terms.

7 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to provide a comparative analysis and description of the use of gender symbols and gender equality ideas in the ideology of New Democracy and The Sweden Democrats. More specifically, we asked the questions (1) In what ways are these parties similar and/-or different in terms of their use of gender symbols and gender equality ideas? (2) Does one party rely more on gender symbols and ideas than the other?

Our conclusions in regards to the first question show that first, in terms of the gender roles connected to the Biological Reproduction of the Nation the Sweden Democrats and New Democracy have both similarities and differences. The similarities are found in the parties’

¹⁶⁵Jimmie Åkesson (2010b) ‘massinvandring genererar fler våldtäkter’

¹⁶⁶Sverigedemokraterna (2010/11:Ju419)

¹⁶⁷Jimmie Åkesson (2010b) ‘våldtäktsvåg’

belief that men and women are biologically different, and that women are regarded as the weaker sex. In addition, both parties have a heteronormative outlook on relationships, but they differ in the way express this as the Sweden Democrats address homosexuality whereas New Democracy does not. None of the parties encourage single-parenting, although New Democracy directly discourage this type of family whereas the Sweden Democrats still accepts their existence.

Second, moving on to the theme of Gender and Reproduction of Culture, the two parties mutually emphasize the importance of the family as a unit in society. Moreover the parties agree that men and women fill different roles in society, New Democracy, however, presents this as men and women voluntarily choose these roles whilst the Sweden Democrats believe these roles to be natural. The Sweden Democrats emphasizes heteronormativity to a greater extent than New Democracy and generally expresses stronger opinions than New Democracy on issues connected to gender and cultural reproduction.

Conclusions on the third theme, Gender Equality as a Marker of Swedish National Identity, show that gender equality has been incorporated into the ideology of both parties, although the parties have interpreted the term gender equality in two different ways. New Democracy does not regard gender equality as equivalent to symmetry and expresses that the focus should be on the individual. The Sweden Democrats on the other hand, believes in symmetric rights and obligations for men and women, but the main focus of gender equality is the importance of women's safety.

In the last theme, Gender and the Creation of the 'Other' and National Familiarity, we found the most significant difference between the two parties. New Democracy does not show any indications of either traditional nationalistic gender ideas, or ideas of gender equality in the creation of the 'Other' or the national familiarity. The Sweden Democrats on the other hand, strongly use gender equality and nationalist gender ideas in the party's creation of the 'Other' and national familiarity. The Sweden Democrats points out, not only, how immigrant culture contains elements of inequality and thus poses a threat toward the gender-equal Swedish national identity but also depict immigrants as violent, misogynistic and a threat against both national and immigrant women.

In question number two, quantitative analysis show that New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats both use gender symbols frequently in their ideology. However, the findings also show that in each type of document of the collected data, the Sweden Democrats have a much

larger share of gender related content. Given this, the answer to question number two is that the Sweden Democrats relies on gender symbols and ideas to a much greater extent than New Democracy.

New knowledge has been gained as this study has contributed to the three literatures described in the literature review. We have filled the gap in which there was lack of research on Sweden as a positive case in which a RRP party has emerged. In addition, we have filled the gap in which the research lacked a comparative study of New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats. Last but not least, we have contributed to the literature on the role of gender equality and gender symbols in contemporary RRP parties. The finding of this study shows that in the ideology two of the contemporary RRP parties - New Democracy- and -The Sweden Democrats- gender does play an important role.

As seen in the literature review, previous research has pointed out that Scandinavian RRP parties differ from their counterparts on the continent. As this study shows that gender equality as a part of Swedish national identity, plays an important role in the ideology of New Democracy and foremost the Sweden Democrats, it is possible that the feature of gender equality could be one of the traits in which the Scandinavian RRP parties differ from RRP parties in the rest of Europe. Similar studies on the role of gender ideas and gender equality should be conducted in both the other Scandinavian countries Norway, Denmark and Finland as the countries also have elements of gender equality, as well as in continental Europe in order to confirm whether this is the case or not.

Studies like ours are of grave importance in order to show what gender equality stands for when used in different political contexts. The findings of this study show that not only has the concept, in the nationalist context, come to be interpreted differently from the generally established notion of gender equality but the concept is also interpreted in two different ways by Swedish nationalist parties. If feminists and nationalists both come to emphasize the importance of typical left-wing ideas such as gender equality, the lines between left and the extreme right can come to appear blurry, even though there is a significant difference between these in reality. Implications of this may be a further legitimization of nationalist parties as voters find it hard to distinguish the extreme right from the mainstream political parties.

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Appendix 1- Analytical framework with indicators for interpretation

1) Gender and the Biological Reproduction of the Nation		(2) Gender and Reproduction of Culture		(3) Gender Equality as a Marker of Swedish National Identity		(4) Gender and the Construction of the 'Other' and National Familiarity	
Gender symbols/roles	Indicators	Gender symbols/roles	Indicators	Gender symbols/roles	Indicators	Gender symbols/roles	Indicators
Two biological sexes: Women are procreators of the nation/Men are protectors of the national species	Women are biological reproducers/ Men are protectors of women and children	Two gender roles: Women are cultural reproducers/Men are protectors of culture Men are leaders and belong to the public political sphere/Women are followers and belong in the private sphere	Women have greater responsibility for children and home Men are to protect and provide for their family and society and are seen as head of the family and society	Individualized gender: Women and men are both important as cultural reproducers and protectors of culture Men and women both belong to the public as well as the private sphere	Women and men have a shared responsibility for the children Women and men have a shared responsibility to work and provide for their family	Two gender roles of the 'Other': The male 'Other' rape, harass and threaten women	Male 'Other', threat against women
Men and women are not equal	Women are weaker than men	Men and women are not equal	Women are subordinate to men	Men and women are equal	Men and women should have the same rights and opportunities	Destroyer of gender equality	The other bring inequality
Heteronormativity	Homosexuals cannot produce new generations	The nuclear family is the most important unit in society	Emphasis on the proper family which is to include a mother and a father	The individual is the most important unit in society	Focus on the individual rather than the family/collective	Homosexuals as "Other"	Homosexuality is a threat towards national masculinity and male hegemony