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Undergraduate Thesis



THE SWEDEN DEMOCRATS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IDEOLOGY OF A RADICAL RIGHT-WING POPULIST PARTY OVER TIME

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the ideology of the Radical right-wing Populist Party, Sweden Democrats. The aim of the study is to see if and how the ideology of the Sweden Democrats has changed through its years of activity, by comparing the party in three periods. The focus in the analysis is put on the party's view on the Swedish national identity and on multiculturalism. The reason for analyzing the party's view on these two concepts is due to the fact that they can be seen as corner stones in a racist ideology. An explanation of the concepts will be presented in the theory chapter, which is later used in the analysis of the party. The study shows that the ideology of the Sweden Democrats has changed very little throughout its years of activity in terms of their view on the national identity and the multicultural idea. This as a result has led to a similar amount of change in the arguments that can be seen as racist, by the party.

Key words: Sweden Democrats, Multiculturalism, Nationalism, Racism, Radical right-wing Populism

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1. Introduction: Radical Right-Wing Parties and the Sweden Democrats

The national election of 2010 marked a change in Sweden's political history. It was the year that the party Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats, SD) passed the electoral threshold and gained parliamentary representation. Never before had a radical right-wing Populist Party (RRP) with anti-immigration sentiments and roots in the Swedish Nazi movement achieved a similar feat, in addition to this the election of 2014 further increased the level of influence of the party. SD with its 12.86% of the votes (Valmyndigheten, n.d) now finds itself in the position of being the third biggest party in Sweden. Even if having a RRP in an influential position is a new situation in Sweden, there has in recent years been a development in Western Europe where RRP's have grown in support all over the region (Mudde, 2000; Rydgren and Widfeldt, 2004). The elections of 2010 and 2014 have, to a larger extent, made Sweden a part of this development.

The development of the nationalistic, anti-multiculturalist and often openly racist parties known as RRP's, in Western Europe has been of great focus for scholars since their emergence. These kinds of studies have also been made in Sweden on SD, however not to the same extent or in a similar way as in other RRP cases. This is why we have chosen to analyze the party, in order to fill the gap left by previous research.

The aim of this thesis is to see if and how SD has changed ideologically since its creation until contemporary times by analyzing its view on nationalism, multiculturalism and possible racist arguments, by fulfilling this aim we want to contribute to current research in the areas of both RRP's development in Western Europe and the development of SD from its creation until contemporary times.

The question the thesis wants to answer as a result becomes: If and how has the RRP SD changed ideologically since its creation in 1988 until 2014?

The reason why it is of interest to attain knowledge about the party's ideology is due to the fact that the party in later years has worked hard to distance itself from its extreme nationalistic

background. The party now days call itself social conservative with a foundation consisting of nationalistic views and conservative values. With this claim the party has distanced itself from its previous extremist roots. This thesis will by analyzing SD party literature from its creation in 1988 until 2014 see if this claimed change in ideology has resulted in any real changes, or if the change from its former ideology is strictly rhetorical, by looking specifically on its ideas on nationalism and multiculturalism. The reason for looking at the party's ideological view on these two concepts is that they together can be seen as corner stones in a racist ideology. Due to the fact that the national identity created by the party's nationalism in combination with its view on the multicultural society and specific cultures has resulted in xenophobic arguments that one could claim has their origin in cultural racism.

The main reason for selecting SD in our research of RRP's is that Sweden throughout most of the 20th century has been portrayed and seen as a good example when it comes to openness, tolerance and a stronger will to accept refugees compared too many other countries in Europe (Gorodzeisky and Semyonov, 2009). However, as of the election of 2014 the third biggest party in the national political arena is a RRP. The result of this is that Sweden now finds itself in a similar position as many of the other countries in Western Europe including for example: France, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Austria (Rydgren and Widfeldt, 2004). Where RRP's since the 1980s, with their nationalistic and many times xenophobic agenda, have had an increase in electoral support and has thereby gained more power to effect the national policy (Von Beyme, 1988; Rydgren and Widfeldt, 2004). Scholars do tend to see the parties of this period as a new "party family" due to their similarities in their ideologies and party literature, which have a focus on nationalism, anti-establishment, xenophobia and emphasis on the importance of the national culture. Even though there are some differences and national characteristics they are seen as sharing the same ideological point of departure (Mudde, 2000; Rydgren and Widfeldt, 2004). What makes the case of SD especially interesting is that they in comparison with other RRP's have had to change internally many times throughout its years of activity. Something that makes them rather unique when compared to other party siblings in the rest of Western Europe (Widfeldt, 2008; Rydgren and Widfeldt, 2004).

In order to fulfill the aim and answer the question stated, this thesis is divided into seven chapters. In this introduction we have presented a brief background to the development of both

RRPs in Western Europe and SD. In the second chapter we present a review of previous research and literature in the fields connected to the aim and question of the thesis. This chapter makes it clear for the reader what this thesis wants to contribute to current knowledge. In the third chapter of the thesis the concepts used in the analysis is explained, it also provides the analytical framework that will be applied on the analysis. The fourth chapter presents a more specified aim and questions while chapter five handles the design and methods that will be used to gather and analyze data. In chapter six the analysis of SD party literature is performed and finally the research findings and results of the analysis are presented in chapter seven.

2 Review of Previous research on the ideologies of RRP in Western Europe and the ideology of SD

In order to fulfill the aim and answer the question of this thesis, presented in the previous chapter, we first have to look into previous research in the fields that are relevant for our study being; the research on RRP in Western Europe and previous research on the ideology of SD. Even if there does exist a vast amount of research done in these areas already. Our claim, which will be argued for in this chapter, is that little has been said about the development of SD in terms of its claimed change in ideology connected to its view on multiculturalism and nationalism during the party's years of activity. We also claim that focus many times in the research on SD has been put on the media sector's portraits and also statements from politicians in SD. As a result there exists a need to look into the party's party literature to see how it portrays the problems that immigration and multiculturalism causes to the Swedish national identity and how its arguments can be seen as xenophobic spawning from racism. This is something that has not been of focus in former research on the party's ideology.

2.1 Previous research on the ideologies of RRP in Western Europe

Many scholars have studied the topic of RRP and their development in Western Europe, of whom many call these RRP a new political “party family” (Rydgren, 2005; Mudde, 2000; Jungar and Jupskås, 2014; Ivarsflaten, 2008; Ignazi 2003; Ignazi and Ysmal, 1992).

Scholars have in previous research tried to identify the nature of RRP and what could be seen as uniting them into their own branch of party families. They agree upon the fact that RRP tend not to be similar in all aspects, out of necessity to fit in to the domestic political climate (Rydgren, 2005). However, they share common traits, which form their primary ideological point of departure or core. An example of this is their nationalistic and xenophobic opinion which often results in arguments such as: “We need to protect our nation from the evil outsiders” in their party literature (Mudde, 2000). Their use of complaints on immigration, which has been the most effective complain to use compared to the other two commonly used, being elitism and corrupt politics and economic changes, to attain the support of voters (Ivarsflaten, 2008). Scholars tend to use these criteria to make it possible to fit parties into the “party family”. The ideological core of these parties often results in arguments against the implementation of multiculturalism, due to the argued possibility that the national culture becomes lost, or at least compromised, in the process of implementing new foreign cultures brought from the immigrants to the country. This will then according to the RRP lead to societal problems such as rise in crime, moral decay and overpopulation (Mudde, 2000).

There exist extensive amounts of research on RRP in the West European region comparing how and if the RRP from the countries in the region fit into this family, which has proven to be the case, in terms of their ideological core (Ignazi 2003; Ignazi and Ysmal, 1992; Von Beyme, 1988; Rydgren and Widfeldt, 2004). Similar studies have also been made in other parts of the region such as Scandinavia with the same results (Jungar and Jupskås, 2014).

Scholars do tend to agree that even though each RRP does not look exactly the same in all of their rhetoric and ideas, they do share a similar ideology and can therefore be seen as a party family (Mudde, 2000; Rydgren and Widfeldt, 2004; Sunnemark, 2014; Jungar and Jupskås, 2014).

Some scholars have put emphasis on the lack of usage of party literature when researching on parties ideologies (Müller-Rommel and Pridham, 1991). One explanation is based on the language problems with primary sources of information, where party literature is almost always published in the native language making it hard for scholars from other countries to analyze them. Another explanation is the development of the more popular method to determine the ideology of parties has become to focus attention on the ‘political origins’ of the party leaders and officials instead of on the party programs (Mudde, 2000).

We will, by analyzing the party literature of SD, make it possible for scholars to include the party in similar studies of cross-national comparisons of RRP and their development in Western Europe. In addition, we will contribute to the studies on RRP party literature to make it possible to use SD to identify similarities and dissimilarities between these kinds of parties in the West European region.

2.2 Previous research on the ideology of SD

A lot of research and literature concerning SD has been made throughout the years. Academics have studied SD ideas and views on gender and how it connects with its nationalistic agenda (Towns, Karlsson and Eyre, 2014; Mulinari and Neergaard, 2013), its extremist backgrounds and reasons for its “failure” in elections prior to 2010 (Rydgren, 2006) and ideological position (Hellström and Nilsson, 2010). However, the focus has not been on the party’s claimed change in terms of ideology or how this change is presented in its party literature. Instead focus has been put on the party’s representative’s statements and actions in media and public debates or even the media portrayal of events concerning SD members. In the cases where SD party literature has been brought up the starting point is from 2000 and onwards which then leaves a gap on what it was before to what it is now.

Although much of the work on SD does include the party’s ideology or rather the results that spawns from it. Such as in the case of how the party’s nationalistic ideas and rhetoric’s results in a traditional view on gender roles where male is the superior sex and the main threat for women in the Swedish society is the immigrants and their cultures (Towns, Karlsson and Eyre, 2014). In other research concerning gender views and SD, the focus is aimed at how the creation of a “we”, being

the national population, by the female members of the party also results in a imagined need for protection of a “them”, being immigrants and their cultures, which researchers then concludes result in cultural racism (Mulinari and Neergaard, 2013).

In the research that explains why it has been so hard for SD to establish itself as a serious party; researchers have come up with possible reasons to why the party has had problems to be taken seriously by voters compared to other RRP's in Western Europe. Two important reasons brought up by scholars are that the Swedish population's class loyalties have endured, which has left little need for new identities such as an ethno-national one. This combined with the fact that the “immigration question” has been of little importance for the Swedish voters are seen as the biggest reason for the previous “failure” of SD in previous elections (Rydgren, 2002). Still, researchers also points out the hard work that the party has made in terms of cleaning up in the aspect of organization and rhetoric's in terms of the political agenda during different periods. This has resulted in that a strong decrease in extremist sentiments can be seen in its policies and political goals. This is something scholars argue has been necessary actions for the party in order for them to attain an increase in votes (Larsson and Ekman, 2001; Widfeldt, 2008). Even after all changes made in the cleaning process, the ideological core is argued to still be present and the same. The xenophobic arguments and emphasis on the importance of the Swedish national identity and culture results in a view that the “Swedish culture” is being threatened by the immigration flow and the multicultural approach adapted by the mainstream parties. Some scholars argue that multiculturalism is the main issue addressed by SD to blame for societal problems in the Swedish society (Hellström and Nilsson, 2010).

After our scanning of current research on SD, we have identified a need of an analysis of if and how SD has changed ideologically by analyzing its view on nationalism and multiculturalism. This has by few scholars been claimed to result in a racist ideology as shown in this chapter. There exists a gap in these areas, which is often filled with short explanations of the party's ties with extremist movements during its creation (Townes, Karlsson and Eyre, 2014). In addition, we claim that by doing an analysis of if and how SD has changed in its party literature we will fill the gap that has been left by previous researchers. This gap previous research has tried to fill by focusing on public debates, interviews and reports on SD-members actions in different cases by the media sector.

2.3 Summary of Previous Research

There is no lack of work in the field of RRP in Western Europe when it comes to their often extreme and openly nationalistic opinions. However, the case of SD seems to deviate from other RRP, due to the fact that the party has been forced to change its approach to similar questions many times. This, scholars argue, has been necessary in order for it to be a serious alternative by voters in its relatively short time of existence (Widfeldt, 2008). The provided review of the literature shows the lack of research done in the field concerning the claimed change in ideology of SD by looking at the party's ideas on nationalism and multiculturalism, which combined with its xenophobic arguments, can be claimed to have resulted in a racist ideology. It also shows the lack of using party literature to highlight these changes; this is the gap that this thesis aims to fill.

3.0 Constructivism and the Core Concepts in the Analysis of the Sweden Democrats Ideology

In order to make the thesis findings and results understandable when presented we will in this chapter explain our ontological point of departure and present the concepts that will be used in our research. To make it possible for this thesis to present and analyze if and how SD has changed ideologically, we will divide the party into three periods. In each period we will analyze the party's view on nationalism and multiculturalism. After analyzing the two concepts we will then see if they can be related to racist elements in the ideology and compare each period to one another. We will in this chapter develop and explain for the reader how we will use concepts of nationalism, multiculturalism and racism which are the concepts that lay the basis of our analysis of the party's ideology.

3.1 Social constructivism

While researching the ideology of SD this thesis is assuming that it is socially constructed. As a result of this assumption the thesis will focus on the party's ideas and beliefs, thereby making its ontological perspective that of social constructivism. What defines social constructivism is that it views reality as something socially constructed in the interactions of individuals, meaning that there does not exist a reality independent from individuals (Bergström and Boréus 2000). It tries

to explain and read in meaning to actions of individuals based on their ideas, norms, culture and identities (Bryman, 2010; Marsh and Stoker, 2010). Language has a key role when it comes to understanding and gives meaning to the shared constructed reality according to the constructivist view of the world (Bergström and Boréus 2000). This is why we will analyze the language used in the party literature of the SD in order to understand possible changes in its ideology.

3.2 Ideology

When analyzing ideologies from a social constructivist perspective one sees it as a set of ideas that lay as a foundation in every political party organization. This foundation then works as a lens of viewing the society, in terms of what is and to a large extent what should be. Even if ideologies do not share the same view on what is the problem in a society or if they do present the same solutions, they do have some core features in common. They all offer a world view, model of what is a desired future and finally they offer their idea of how to get from the world as it is seen as to be to what is desired (Heywood, 2012).

One can when studying the concept of ideology apply one of the two definitions in one's study. The first one being the restrictive definition where one sees ideology as "belief systems of the extreme left and right in the post-war Western world" (Mudde, 2000: 19) whilst by applying the inclusive definition ideologies are seen 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" (Sainsbury, 1980: 8). This thesis will view ideology by the inclusive definition, since it is more compatible with its aim, due to the fact that the aim is not to understand different ideologies and compare them to one another. But rather to understand the ideological view on key concepts which combined result in a normative ideas on how society should look like and what stands in the way for it to do so.

In this thesis we will by studying the ideology of SD during three periods make it possible to see if the party, as itself claims, has gone through an ideological change from its origin as a nationalistic democratic party 1988-2011 (Sweden Democrats, 2011A) with what could be understood as racist traits to become what it claims itself to be today, a social conservative party with a foundation in nationalistic and conservative values (Sweden Democrats, 2011B). By doing

this we will be able to see if an ideological change has in fact occurred or if it is strictly rhetorical.

3.3 Nation, Nation-State and Nationalism

To understand the concept of nationalism one does first need to understand the ideas it derive from. Therefore we will before explaining the concept of nationalism give a brief presentation of the concepts of nation and nation-state.

A nation can be defined as a social body of individuals who perceive themselves to be a community as well as an imagined political community, due to the fact that even if the members of the imagined community perceive themselves to be members of the same nation. The majority of them will most likely never meet each other and even less likely get to know each other. Still there is an imagined sense of communion (Anderson, 1993). The nations strive to either create or maintain their own state, which in this case would be a geographical area with clear borders dividing it from other nations. This state, as long as all inhabitants' perceives themselves to be united as a single nation and aims to remain one, is a nation-state (Haas, 1986).

Problems that nation-states have faced however, is that they have seldom been as homogeneous as they have wanted to believe. Scholars have instead identified a concept called "nation-building policies" where the homogeneity has been constructed by the state by different policies including: implementing a single "official" national language and religion and so on. These policies have always been in favor of the dominant group inside of the nation-state which then has resulted in that minorities inside of the nation-state have had to either assimilate or become excluded by the dominant national group (Kymlicka, 2007).

Nationalism then could be seen as an ideology where the collection of ideas main focus is the preservation of the nation-state and by doing so protect the nation that inhabits it, from the "other" from which one claims to be different (Haas, 1986). This "other" is a result from the creation of the national identity where the "we" is based on certain trait and characteristics, such as appearance, language, culture, religion and history (Kymlicka, 2007). All these things then create a perceived shared identity of the individuals who are part of the nation which makes them different or even unique when compared to others, in their own opinion. This then results in a

strong feeling of a “we” inside of the nation and as a result also a “them” (“the other”) for all who are outside of the nation (Kymlicka, 2007).

Threats seen by nationalists would then for example includes implementations of new languages in the education system, new culturally tied traditions, religious buildings and other policies that can threaten the homogenous nation-state. In this thesis this is the way nationalism will be used when analyzing the literature of SD.

The concept of nationalism can easily be connected to RRP in Western Europe since they all have in common a strong sense of a unique national identity which is being threatened in different ways by the development of the societies they find themselves in (Mudde, 2000; Rydgren and Widfeldt, 2004).

We will in our framework when analyzing SD look for its ideas on for example who can or cannot be a “Swede”, historical arguments for a Swedish national identity and the Swedish language.

3.4 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a concept, which originates from post second world war political movements that struggled for ethnic and racial equality. Many of these movements had the core idea of scrutinizing previous ideas of hierarchical relationships between race and ethnicities and fought for shared human rights for all. This resulted in the concept of multiculturalism where the society should provide equality and the same rights to all groups, especially minorities such as indigenous groups, with different cultures in a society (Kymlicka, 2010).

Some of the rights that can be seen as results of multiculturalism vary from recognition of land, cultural and self-government rights of indigenous groups to bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction in school (Banting and Kymlicka, 2006). According to a multicultural perspective each cultural and ethnic group in society should be allowed to practice their own distinct culture and all that comes with it as long as it does not conflict with the basic human rights and laws in the country where it resides. This however has led to some problems since it has put pressure on all of these cultures to rework themselves so as to fit the new situation in society where all cultures and traditions have to be accepting of others which might not have been accepted earlier including for

example homosexuality, people of mixed race and so on (Kymlicka, 2010). A multicultural society could be understood as being an enforcer of tolerance and protection for each group's cultural freedom. However some scholars argue that the protection of cultures may also lead to barriers between different groups, which in turn can lead to divisions within society that then may cause problems such as xenophobia (Sunnemark, 2014).

Since 1975 the Swedish constitution dictates that Sweden is a multicultural society and shall as a result not force immigrants to assimilate to society. Instead integration should be of focus so as to make it possible for society to develop and nourish different cultures at the same time. Immigrants shall also, according to the bill, be able to choose if they want to develop a Swedish identity or keep/develop their original identity (Sveriges Riksdag, n.d). This is important to have in mind when studying the arguments of SD with its nationalistic ideology, since the multicultural idea in this case could be seen as an idea of direct opposite goals compared to the nationalist ideology. Since RRP's with its nationalistic view see multiculturalism as something dangerous and also as a threat towards the national identity.

In our analysis of the party literature of SD we will identify the party's view on the multicultural idea by looking at arguments such as the outcomes it has on society and the Swedish national identity. We will also see if the party has some policies handling minority rights in its literature.

3.5 Racism

The final concept we will use in our analysis is that of racism. The concept of racism and its practice has changed in throughout time. In our analysis we will not focus on the more traditional way of looking at biological differences between humans for example black and white, also known as "biological racism". Biological racism has its origins in the colonial periods where white colonizers justified their actions towards native populations, who were seen as inferior by nature, by constructing value in to biological differences (Fox, Morosanu and Szilassy, 2012).

The thesis will instead focus on a more modern view and usage of racism, which is "cultural racism" (Fox, Morosanu and Szilassy, 2012). The aim of cultural racism is, like its predecessor biological racism, to divide society in to groups that are superior and inferior or wanted and not wanted, decided on the basis of what culture the group is or is seen to be from. Another key

feature of this new kind of racism, and its practitioners, is that it no longer uses the concept race when dividing groups in society; instead it uses arguments based on religion and cultures (Mulinari and Neergaard, 2013). That is why when explaining cultural racism this thesis will also introduce the concept of xenophobia with a brief introduction of an example resulting from it, being islamophobia.

3.5.1 Xenophobia

Xenophobia has been defined as the “fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or of anything that is strange or foreign” (Merriam-Webster Online, n.d). It is explained as a form of prejudicial attitude and behavior towards all that is perceived as foreign by the practitioner (Yukushko, 2008). There are however different views on what xenophobia originates from. Some scholars claim that xenophobia has its origin from rivalry between immigrants and natives in different situations such as work opportunity and housing during economic crises. Others claim that it originates from “cultural incompatibility” which makes it impossible for foreigners to adapt or integrate to the native culture (Wimmer, 1997).

What scholars do to a large extent agree upon are the results of xenophobia, which is the creation of a “we and them” identity division between natives and immigrants, where “them”, being foreigners in the eyes of the natives, are seen as threats to the country’s economy and social security (Wimmer, 1997). These types of arguments are often found in the party literature of RRP’s according to researchers (Mudde, 2010).

Xenophobia does not automatically lead to racism however, in RRP’s ideology the xenophobic creation of a “we” and a “them” could be seen as nourishing the racist idea that the “we” is superior and in need of protection from the “them” which makes it hard for racism to exist without xenophobia.

A good example of xenophobia, which is present in the West in contemporary times, is “islamophobia”. Where the religion of Islam and its practitioners is portrayed as problematic individuals, in Sweden SD has stated that Islam and Muslims are a threat towards gender equality, security and the freedom of speech. Thereby SD in its rhetoric create a picture of

Muslims as “the others” who are not fit to be called Swedes and should therefore not be part of the nation-state since they can never be part of the nation (Morgan and Poynting, 2011).

In the analysis of SD the concept of racism, no matter form, will be analyzed by looking at the party’s possible xeno- and islamophobic arguments and the party’s creation of a “we” and “them” based on either cultural or “biological” differences.

3.6 Analytical framework

In our framework we will use three questions in order to identify ideological changes in SD concerning nationalism, multiculturalism and racism during three periods. By answering these three questions we will then be able to compare the results from each period with the others. By doing so we can then see if SD has gone through a change of ideology in these areas, as they themselves claim. The questions are: 1) How do they portray the Swedish national identity? 2) How do they view multiculturalism? 3) Does the views on nationalism and multiculturalism reveal racist elements in the ideology of SD, if so how?

	How does SD portray the Swedish national identity?	How does SD view multiculturalism?	Does the views on the Swedish national identity and multiculturalism reveal racist elements in the ideology of SD, if so how?
Sweden Democrats 1988- 1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • appearance • language • culture • religion • history • other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • outcomes • rights • effect on national identity • other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “We and them” • Xenophobia • Islamophobia • Other
Sweden Democrats 1995- 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • appearance • language • culture • religion • history • other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • outcomes • rights • effect on national identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “We and them” • Xenophobia • Islamophobia • Other

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • other 	
Sweden Democrats 2005- 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • appearance • language • culture • religion • history • other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • outcomes • rights • effect on national identity • other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “We and them” • Xenophobia • Islamophobia • Other

4. Specified Aim and Research Questions

The specified aim of this thesis is to identify if and how elements of racism can be found in the Swedish RRP SD ideology, by analyzing its understanding of nationalism and multiculturalism. To achieve this aim we have provided three questions that we will build our analysis, of SD, on. We have divided SD into three periods starting from 1988 until 1995; the second period will be from 1995 until 2005 and the final period 2005 until 2014. After analyzing the party in these three periods and answering the questions we will then be able to compare them and see if an ideological change away from its extreme background has taken place or if the party has only changed its rhetoric.

The questions are:

- 1) Does SD portray the Swedish national identity differently in the different time periods? If so how?
- 2) Does SD view multiculturalism differently in the different time periods? If so how?
- 3) Does the views on the Swedish national identity and multiculturalism reveal racist elements in the ideology of SD during the different time periods, if so how?

5.0 Research Design and Method

This thesis will analyze the Swedish RRP SD through the usage of a textual analysis. The texts that will be analyzed in order to be able to gain knowledge on SD ideology are party literature. This study is to be of a qualitative nature and further on in this chapter we will explain why this is the chosen method and what benefits and problems that it brings with it, as well as our arguments of why certain parts of the party literature will not be handled in our analysis.

5.1 Design: A Comparison of SD's ideology over Time

The chosen design of this thesis is a qualitative comparative design that will divide SD into three different periods and analyze the party literature of these periods in order to be able to distinguish the ideology of the party and later on make it possible to see if there has actually occurred an ideological change when it comes to its view on nationalism and multiculturalism, which combined together used to result in a racist ideology.

The aim of quantitative studies, which are more suited for research involving many cases, is to be able to generalize. In qualitative research however the main idea is to study smaller amounts of cases to attain a deeper knowledge of them (Bryman, 2012). Since it is argued that the results of qualitative studies, due to the fact that their conclusions are reached by analyzing few cases, are impossible to use in order to generalize on to a bigger picture (Bryman 2012). Since our goal is not to be able to generalize SD as a model for other RRP in Western Europe but rather add to the knowledge of different types of RRP the qualitative design is more fitting than a quantitative would have been.

We will analyze SD and its ideology in three periods, as shown in our theoretical framework. We will shift from one period to the other at the points in history where the party changes leadership, since these are the times where the party develops the most. The first period is from 1988, which was the year that the party was created, until 1995 where the first party leader, Anders Klarström (1992-1995), left his position. This first period is important due to the fact that all the founding members of the party had their roots in the Swedish Nazi movement *Bevara Sverige Svenskt* (BSS, *Keep Sweden Swedish*) which had effects on the ideology of the party. Many of the

members in SD during the first period had a criminal background, which was seen as a problem by the first party leader, who during his time as party leader made a first attempt to limit the most extremist tendencies of the party. The reason for this was that the criminal background of the members combined with the view of the party, by the public, as an extremist party was seen as the main hindrances for a true political breakthrough (Larsson and Ekman, 2001). The second period is 1995-2005 where the party was led by Mikael Jansson, who during his time as the party leader continued the work, started by his predecessor, to clean the party internally which resulted in a rise of votes in the elections and decrease of members with Nazi and/or criminal records during this period. The third and final period is between 2005 until 2014 where the most recent and current party leader, Jimmy Åkesson, has been the head of the party. During his time in this position SD has reached new heights in terms of political success (Widfeldt, 2008).

A problem we face when doing an ideological analysis of SD is the fact that the official ideology, which is presented to voters and outsiders as a whole, is not always the fully reflected ideology of the individuals and groups inside of the party (Mudde, 2007). This however can be seen as an argument to why it might be a better choice to do a qualitative analysis in order to get a deeper knowledge so as to be able to find the real ideology whilst a quantitative research would have been analyzing the official ideology without making it possible to go in depth (Bergström and Boréus, 2005; Halperin and Heath, 2012).

5.2 Source of data: Party literature

In order to study the ideology of SD we will study the party's party literature from its creation in 1988 until contemporary times. We will analyze the party's principle and action programs from 1992, 2003, 2007 and 2011. We will also analyze the party programs from 1989, 1994, 1996 and 1999. Finally we will also analyze the document of ethical guidelines for party members from 2011.

We will avoid to include the now a days popular way of analyzing ideologies of parties by looking at the political origins of officials and leaders of the party and instead focus entirely on the party programs. The reason for this is that programs in general are the officially agreed upon statements by all members of the party and can therefore be seen as the manifested representation and expression of all who are part of the party. We will however avoid including election

programs since according to some scholars they are more tactical in nature and strives to attain votes and enhance the profile of the party and thus does not always show the true ideology of the party (Mudde, 2000). We have also chosen not to include articles from or about party officials since they do not in themselves represent the whole party and therefore are not fully acceptable to use when studying the whole party's ideology.

A problem that we are faced with in our analysis of the party literature is what scholars call the back- and front-stage of the party. The front-stage is what the party wants voters to see; an example of this could be the webpages and election programs, whilst the back-stage is where the party's true ideology is apparent. The main difference is that in order to attract and appeal more voters the parties might scale down their most radical opinions so that they are not clearly stated in these texts (Mudde, 2000).

Other ways that this analysis could have been made in order to distinguish the ideology of SD could have been observations or interviews of members from the party. But since we want to study the party from its creation until contemporary times this would be both time consuming and hard to distinguish who could or should be seen to be a good representative of the party. Therefore in order to attain the official ideology agreed upon or selected by the majority of the members we will analyze the party literature mentioned above. This also has the advantage of decreasing the risk for bias, which is more common in interviews where people who take part to a larger extent carry their own biases and prejudices. This together with the fact that people that participate in interviews many times are under the "interview effect" where the interviewee wants to give socially acceptable answers that are more incline with what they believe the interviewer wants (Halperin and Heath, 2012).

5.3 Textual Analysis of SD Ideology

The chosen method of analysis in this research is a textual analysis of ideology, where one by studying texts wants to find the occurrence of ideas and/or ideological segments in texts (Bergström and Boréus, 2005). When using this kind of method to analyze data one strives to find either, opinions and arguments in different discourses or hidden meanings and ideas in texts that are not directly stated. In both these cases it is important that the researcher carefully reads and searches for the context that the text is written in, in order to find the ideas that it contains

(Bergström and Boréus, 2005). In this case by using this method we want to attain clarity on SD's ideological position in terms of nationalism and multiculturalism to see if sentiments of racism that the party has had in the beginning has in fact decreased in later years. By using this type of textual analysis we will be able to find ideas that are hidden underneath what is written in the chosen literature.

The way that we will analyze the texts is to by reading the texts and at the same time asks specific smaller questions concerning the matters that we are looking for. These questions are connected to our framework:

- a) What does SD in this text claim is the common factor and basic necessity to be a Swede? Is it language, culture, appearance and/or religion?
- b) What are the problems with multiculturalism? Is it the outcomes that are the problem or the effects on the national identity or something else?
- c) Does there appear a xenophobic division of individuals? Do they read in values in to this division such as the "we" being better and in a threatened position by the worse "them"?

By getting answers to these smaller questions we will be able to, by adding them to the boxes in our analytical framework, find the answer to our specific research questions and fulfill our aim, which is stated in the previous chapter (Esaiasson 2007).

Qualitative research of this kind is often criticized in terms of validity and reliability since it carries a greater risk of including the researchers own values in the research process. In order to make this less of an issue we will therefore be transparent in a high degree on what conclusions we draw from the texts by including larger parts when quoting from our data in order to reveal the context it is drawn from and put it in connection with the theoretical framework developed earlier in the thesis. Since we have chosen sources of data that are not often changed we have also increased the level of reliability and validity to our research findings when it comes to others being able to replicate our research to reach the same conclusions by using the same framework that is used in this research.

6.0 Analysis of the Sweden Democrats Party Literature

As stated previously in the thesis we will in this chapter analyze SD in the three different periods, which we have divided the party into. We will in the analysis take one period at the time and answer the questions in the same order presented in our theoretical framework, being; 1) How does the SD portray the Swedish national identity in this period? 2) How does the SD view multiculturalism during this period? 3) Does the views on nationalism and multiculturalism reveal racist elements in the ideology of SD during this period, if so how?

In our analysis we will look for the answers to our specified questions that are connected to our theoretical framework. After finding and analyzing each period we will then compare them to one another in our conclusion of the analysis chapter to make it possible to see if and how the party has changed during its years of activity and by doing so we will fulfill the aim and answer the research questions of this thesis.

6.1 The Sweden Democrats 1988-1995

As stated earlier in the thesis SD founding members were all originally part of the Swedish Nazi movement BSS. Therefore one could imagine that the party literature from this period contains an ideology heavily focused on the Swedish nationality and the safekeeping of it. In 1992 the first party leader was chosen, Anders Klarström, who during his time at office started the first restructuring of the party. To analyze the party during this period we have been able to attain the party programs from 1989 and 1994, as well as the party's action program handling the European community from 1992.

6.1.1 *The Portrayal of the Swedish National Identity*

SD during the first period has a big focus on the protection of the Swedish nationality. In the party program from 1989 one can in the introducing part of the program read:

Even though our people for a long time were poor, even though being managed, for a long time by foreign actors, and the leading classes oppression befell our people, a grand economic and social development could occur peacefully and constructive in Sweden – mainly made possible due to the

national communion and its absence of foreign minorities. We were united and could thus be united.¹
(Sweden Democrats, 1989; 1)

Already here one can see that the party's interpretation of the Swedish history and its "success" has been possible by, or at least has a lot to thank for, the homogenous population. The party continues:

Sweden's successful progress is the work of the Swedish population. The Sweden that has developed for better and that we feel pride and gratitude for is a result of our ancestor's efforts... We should however not trick ourselves to believe that we have been nationally self-sufficient, it is important to remember the gratitude we owe the surrounding world, from which we have received valuable loans and priceless ideas and impulses. Of course Sweden has also had immigration, which have contributed with their skilled craftsmanship and ability and also stimulated our culture. We have mainly received Scandinavians, but also Baltics and other north Europeans, who have been able to acclimatize themselves in a fast pace. Examples of such enriching immigration to Sweden before and after the WWII is mainly the German and Austrian refugees as well as the Baltics, the Nordic labor migration and the Italian in the end of the 40s and start of the 50s. It is however important to remember that this immigration has been limited, free from cost and well-motivated.² (Sweden Democrats, 1989;1)

Here the party shows that Sweden in its opinion does actually have a lot to thank the outside world for, however the migration it sees as important and "good" has been from countries with populations who have had it easy to assimilate to the Swedish society. They also explain the conditions that make for "good" immigration by saying that it was "limited, free from cost and well-motivated" which then leaves room for the reader to think that maybe that is not the case of current immigration. Other than that the outside world's best contribution seems to be seen as

¹ Quote in Swedish: " Trots att vårt folk länge var fattigt, trots att översåtligt förmynderi, länge under främmande fogdevälde, och de ledande klassernas förtryck svårt drabbade vårt folk, kunde ändå en storartad ekonomisk och social utveckling ske fredligt och konstruktivt i Sverige – främst tack vare just den stora nationella samhörigheten och frånvaron av främmande folkminoriteter. Vi var eniga och kunde enas."

² Quote in Swedish: " Sveriges stora framsteg är svenska folkets verk. Det Sverige som utvecklats på gott och som vi känner stolthet och tacksamhet över, är ett resultat av våra förfäders arbetsinsatser...Fast vi ska inte förhäva oss i nationell självtillräcklighet, utan ständigt ha i minnet den stora tacksamhet vi står till vår omvärld, varifrån vi fått många värdefulla lån och hämtat många ovärderliga idéer och impulser. Men naturligtvis har även Sverige tidigt haft invandrare, som tillfört vårt landyrkesskicklighet och duglighet och även st imulerat vår kultur. Vi har tagit emot främst skandinaver, men även balter och andra nordeuropéer som snabbt har kunnat acklimatisera sig. Exempel på sådan berikande invandring till Sverige närmast före och efter andra världskriget är i främsta rummet de tyska och österrikiska flyktingarna liksom de baltiska, den nordiska arbetskraftsinvandringen och även den italienska i slutet av 40-talet och början av 50-talet. Man ska dock komma ihåg att denna invandring har varit begränsad, kostnadsfri och välmotiverad."

coming in the form of loans and ideas, things that do not come with individuals taking up residence in the country.

After the party has presented its view on the history of Sweden and introducing themselves as a party with focus on the national communion, democracy and ecological awareness who is an alternative for all Swedes no matter background or status in the society. They quickly move to the topic of explaining what it takes to attain Swedish citizenship. To become a Swedish citizen as a non-Nordic European one should according to the party have lived in Sweden for at least 10 years and also have a satisfactory control over the Swedish language both in speech and written form and also have knowledge about the history of Sweden. Nordic immigrants only need to have lived in Sweden for 3 years to receive their citizenship while Swedes who have migrated from Sweden and then return can once again become citizens after 2 years (Sweden Democrats, 1989).

The party also wants to make it possible to take back the citizenship from immigrants that has attained residence permits and Swedish citizenship on false grounds or commits a serious crime.

This shows that the main importance, for the party in 1989, of the Swedish identity is the language and shared history that all Swedes share. Something they also show in the section concerning schools and education where they say, "Education in the Swedish language and on our history has to be improved..."³ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:8)

The party also puts great emphasis on the Swedish culture, which they claim is threatened:

The Sweden Democrats wants to protect the Swedish cultures position and its development, both on a national and local level. Swedes have a rich cultural heritage which cannot be allowed to be lost for future generations. This cultural heritage is today threatened by poor education about culture in schools, the increasing amount of immigrants that come from outside of Europe and the commercial, US-inspired "junk culture".⁴ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:9; Sweden Democrats, 1994:9)

By this we learn that according to SD the important building stone that makes up the foundation of the Swedish national identity, during this period, seems to be the shared language, history and

³ Qutoe in Swedish: "Undervisningen i svenska språket och om vår historia måste förbättras..."

⁴ Quote in Swedish: " Sverigedemokraterna vill slå vakt om den svenska kulturens ställning och främja dess utveckling, både på riksnivå och på lokal nivå. Svenskarna har ett rikt kulturarv som inte får gå förlorat för framtida generationer. Detta kulturarv är idag allvarligt hotat av dålig kulturundervisning i skolorna, den ökande utomeuropeiska invandringen samt den kommersiella, USA-inspirerade "skräpkulturen".

culture. We also know that immigrants can become citizens of Sweden that however does not mean that they are part of the Swedish nation, as shown in the principal program from 1992 concerning the party's opinion on Sweden's involvement in the European community:

Sweden should together with the rest of Western Europe create a barrier towards immigrants from the third world and send the ones that already leave here home (even if some of them have received citizenship in our countries).⁵ (Sweden Democrats, 1992:2)

With this statement SD differentiates between individuals being Swedish and having Swedish citizenship. It shows that the opinion of the party seems to be that even if you fulfill all of the criteria's that builds up the Swedish identity, being; mastery of the Swedish language, knowledge about the Swedish history and culture. It seems that, according to the party, you are never really able to be part of the Swedish nation as a non-Swede.

In the party program of 1994 a new criteria to the Swedish national identity is brought up, being that of appearance, by the party: "The possibility to adopt Swedish children shall increase, at the same time the possibility to adopt non-Nordic children shall greatly be decreased"⁶ (Sweden Democrats, 1994:11).

There could of course be many possible arguments as to why adoption of children from countries outside of the Nordic countries should be decreased. But since the party does not argue for why it should be decreased, instead present it as a statement we can only assume that the party in its mind set wants to protect the typical "Swedish"/"Nordic" appearance of the population.

The party further develops its arguments that immigrants are to blame for many of the societal problems:

The criminality has increased considerably, especially the most serious crimes. Which is a sign for failed politics and no real policies have been made to address or handle the problem. Through moral upheaval, uncontrolled immigration and soft punishments for criminal activity Sweden has become a gathering place for international leagues and lawbreakers. Drug syndicates and terrorists have been

⁵ Quote in Swedish: "Sverige bör i samverkan med övriga västeuropa bilda en befolkningsmässig mur gentemot tredje världen och skicka hem de som nu uppehåller sig i våra länder (även om vissa av dem utnämnts till medborgare i våra länder)."

⁶ Quote in Swedish: " Möjligheten att adoptera svenska barn ska öka, samtidigt som möjligheten att adoptera utomnordiska barn starkt begränsas."

able to make a place for themselves here and many times the taxpayers have stood for their residence.⁷ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:2; Sweden Democrats, 1994:3-4)

The party claims that immigrants are a big reason for the increase in criminal activity and that it is together with the mainstream parties failed policy making and uncontrolled immigration that has created the problems in the Swedish society. The party seems to believe immigrants largely make up that organized crime. Which then to a large extent relates to the parties idea that individuals that are not and cannot be part of the Swedish national identity create these kinds of problems.

According to the party during the first period the immigrants are seen as threats not only on a societal level but also when it comes to the survival of the Swedish national identity. The party wants to remove this threat in different manners throughout the period. The solutions brought up in this party include a decrease in adoption from outside of the Nordic countries and immigration as a whole and to create a barrier around Europe so that the migration flow from third world countries stops, to name a few. The party also explains its view on the multicultural society, which is seen as a threat to the “we” that it has constructed.

6.1.2 The View on Multiculturalism

As shown earlier in the analysis SD, during this period, are of the opinion that it is thanks to the claimed historical homogeny of the nation that Sweden has been able to reach the successful development it has had. The immigrants that have had a positive effect on the countries development are explained to be from similar cultural backgrounds, explained as individuals from other Western European countries including Austrians, Germans, Baltics and Nordic neighbors (Sweden Democrats, 1989; Sweden Democrats, 1994). These immigrants have had an easier time to adapt to the Swedish society the party claims and are therefore seen as a form of positive influence to the Swedish society. The party openly explains that the idea of a multicultural society is not preferable in the case of Sweden through the whole period:

⁷ Quote in Swedish: "Kriminaliteten har ökat oroväckande, speciellt den grova brottsligheten, vilket är ett tecken på en misslyckad politik och inga verksamma åtgärder har vidtagits för att komma tillrätta med den. Genom moralupplösning, ohämmad invandring och lindriga straff för brottslig verksamhet har Sverige blivit tummelplats för internationella ligor och förbrytare. Knarksyndikat och terrorister har kunnat slå sig ned här och i många fall har skattebetalarna tvingats betala deras uppehälle."

Our nation is a collective where we all have a responsibility for our people's best now and in the future. We believe that an ethnically and culturally homogenous nation has a bigger chance to achieve a peaceful and democratic development compared to a multicultural heterogeneous state. History shows that common roots strengthens the national communion and provides for stability and justice.⁸ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:3; Sweden Democrats, 1994:4)

The party here explains that the multicultural way of forming a society is a less preferable one. They continue to argue against it and speak in favor for a national homogenous state:

The Sweden Democrats wants to work against the multicultural and multiethnic society which we are about have with the current immigration- and the so called fugitive politics. The Sweden Democrats believes that Sweden with its homogenous population have had a priceless advantage. The irresponsible immigration politics practiced during the last decades creates the risk that Swedes lose control over their own country.⁹ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:11)

The party does however see the need for immigrants but are very selective when it comes to whom it is that is welcome:

People should live where they have a chance to create a national belonging. Thus we should mainly allow for fugitives and immigrants from European origins to come here since Europeans are the ones that in the best way can assimilate to the Swedish society both ethnically and culturally. Temporary residency should be able to be provided to some fugitives from outside of Europe who can prove that they are at risk for their lives in their home country and don't have a close familiar neighboring country to escape to.¹⁰ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:11)

⁸ Quote in Swedish: " Vår nation är ett kollektiv där vi alla har ett ansvar för vårt folks bästa både nu och i framtiden. Vi tror att en etniskt och kulturellt homogen nation har större förutsättningar för en fredlig utveckling än en mångkulturell heterogen statsbildning. Erfarenheten talar för att gemensamma rötter stärker den nationella samhörigheten och bidrar till stabilitet och rättvisa."

⁹ Quote in Swedish: " Sverigedemokraterna vill motverka det mångkulturella och mångetniska samhälle som vi håller på att få med den nuvarande invandrings- och sk flyktingpolitiken. Sverigedemokraterna anser att Sverige i sin homogena befolkningssammansättning har haft en ovärderlig tillgång. De senaste årtiondenas ansvarslösa invandringspolitik gör emellertid att svenskarna riskerar att förlora kontrollen över sitt eget land."

¹⁰ Quote in Swedish: " Människor bör leva där de har en chans att skapa sig en nationell identitet. Därför bör vi huvudsakligen ta emot flyktingar- och invandrare av europeisk härkomst då européerna är de som bäst etniskt och kulturellt kan smälta in i det svenska samhället. Tillfällig transitering ska kunna ges till vissa utomeuropeiska flyktingar som bevisligen riskerar livet i sina hemländer och inte har något med hemlandet närbesläktat land att fly till."

In the program of 1994 the party increases the level of selectiveness when they in the same quote say that "...Thus we should mainly allow for fugitives and immigrants from North European countries to come here..."

The argumentation used against outside of Europe immigration is clear during this period. The party is of the opinion that for a country to develop in a preferable way there should be as little difference culturally and ethnically as possible. Not only does it seem as if though immigrants outside of the preferred area are unwanted due to their ethnical and cultural difference, but also due to the "proven" fact that immigrants are a big reason for the increased societal problems such as criminality.

It is however not only by ceasing immigration from these countries the party wants to hinder the development of a multicultural society. They also, in the program from 1994, want to remove the alternative for education in mother tongue. This was in our theory chapter explained as one of the criteria's that proved a country to support the rights of different cultures in the society. The party program of 1989 included a section stating that the native population of Sweden has historical right to their grazing areas of their cattle. This section was however removed in the party program of 1994.

Further on the party also wants to remove the public institutions responsible for handling the question of immigration since it is seen as a waste of the taxpayers' money:

The Swedish bureaucracy, who is often both ineffective and costly, has grown to an unacceptable size. The waste of our tax money has been allowed to continue far too long. Large sums have gone to pointless projects both nationally and internationally. The Press Subsidies Council and the immigration board are examples of organizations that are not needed, but tax payers find themselves having to support.¹¹ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:2)

The party programs of 1994 the party instead of targeting The Press Subsidies Council targets the County Council. 1994s program also further develops the idea of removing the Immigration

¹¹ Quote in Swedish: " Den svenska byråkratin, som ofta är både ineffektiv och kostnadsslukande, har svällt ut och fått oacceptabelt stora proportioner. Slöseriet med våra skattemedel har tillåtits pågå alltför länge. Stora belopp har använts till meningslösa projekt både nationellt och internationellt. Presstödsnämnden och invandrarverket är exempel på organisationer som inte behövs, men som skattebetalarna tvingas finansiera."

Board, the party still proposes to remove the immigration board but also wants to transfer its responsibilities to the police:

The Sweden Democrats most important political goal is to reestablish a Swedish Sweden. The immigration policies of the last decades have resulted in grave social and economic problems... The Sweden Democrats wants to cease all immigration from ethnically distanced cultures. Large resources must be put on making it possible in the near future to send all immigrants that have arrived in our country after 1970 back home. No regard should be paid to given citizenships rather a proposal for a new constitutional and citizenship law shall be put forward. The public institution handling immigration shall immediately cease to exist and the police shall be given increased resources in order to be able to take care of immigration cases.¹² (Sweden Democrats, 1994:10)

The argumentation that immigrants have been a big factor in the increase of criminality seems to go hand in hand with the reasoning that the police shall be the ones taking care of cases concerning immigration instead of a public institution. These cases once again seem to be focused on immigrants from outside of Europe as shown by this quote.

The immigrants as stated earlier are seen as the main threat to the Swedish culture, which is one of the corner stones to the national identity, according to the party. Together with the law that Sweden should strive to integrate new cultures to society instead of assimilating immigrants to the Swedish culture one can see that the party not only stand against the immigration policies but also the constitutional law of Sweden when they in this period wants the practice of multiculturalism to stop. Since immigrants are portrayed as the carriers of their own culture when coming to Sweden the risk the party seem to see is that since no one is forcing them to abandon it in order to adapt to the Swedish culture (which the good immigrants did when they came from Western Europe) the immigrants are seen as the reason for why multiculturalism does not work in Sweden. Instead the results of multiculturalism seem to be economical and social

¹² Quote in Swedish: " Sverigedemokraternas viktigaste politiska målsättning är att återskapa ett svenskt Sverige. De senaste årtiondenas invandrapolitik har vållat Sverige stora sociala och ekonomiska problem... Sverigedemokraterna vill stoppa all invandring av människor från etniskt avlägsna kulturer. Stora resurser måste avsättas för att skapa förutsättningar för att de som kommit till vårt land efter 1970 ska kunna återvända till sina respektive länder inom en snar framtid. Någon hänsyn till utgivna medborgarskap kommer inte att tas utan förslag till en grundlagsförändring och en ny medborgarskapslag kommer läggas. Invandrarverket skall omedelbart läggas ned och polismakten ges ökade resurser för att handha invandrarärenden."

insecurity with raises in crime levels and large unnecessary spending of the taxpayer's money to the public sector handling the immigration questions.

6.1.3 Racist Elements in the Ideology

There are prominent occurrences of racist argumentations in the party literature of SD during the first period as shown above. One example could be the reasoning over it taking a much greater time for immigrants from outside of Europe to be able to attain citizenship in the country. The division of wanted and unwanted immigration flows seems to be based on xenophobic arguments where the wanted immigration is seen as being from countries more similar to the national "we", which in 1989 included Europeans in general but in 1994 was reduced to Nordic Europeans. The unwanted immigrants, "them", are blamed for many of the problems in the Swedish society as shown here:

The politicians demand for "international solidarity" and for "the open society" has made it possible for an immigration policy that has opened our countries borders for an inflow of professed immigrants and political fugitives. After coming here they demand "democracy and equality" and by doing so demand equal civic rights and the right to keep "their own culture", including their own traditions and internal conflicts. This has of course resulted in what one can only expect and which will only increase for the worse: Unresolvable immigrant problems, increased levels of violence and crime.¹³ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:1-2)

Another example where they show xenophobic tendencies is in their principal program from 1992, as stated earlier, where they together with other West European countries wants to hinder migration towards Europe from third world countries. This together with the argumentation that these kinds of immigrants are "unwanted" since they are one of the largest causes for the increase of crime levels since many of them are, according to SD, violent and organized in criminal leagues and syndicates, the party also sees them as an economical problem. This results in, as

¹³ Quote in Swedish: " Politikernas krav på "internationell solidaritet" och på "det öppna samhället" har röjt vägen för en invandringspolitik som öppnat vårt lands gränser för en brokig ström av föregivna invandrare och politiska flyktingar. Sedan åberopar de "demokrati och jämlikhet" för att ställa ständiga krav på alla medborgerliga rättigheter och på att få bibehålla "sin egen kultur", inklusive sina inhemska sedvänjor och inbördes konflikter. Naturligtvis har detta lett till vad som var att vänta och bara kommer att bli allt värre: Olösliga invandrarproblem, ökat våld och ökad brottslighet."

showed in our theory chapter, an argumentation pattern typical for RRP's where "them", the immigrants, are perceived as threats towards the social and economic security of the country.

Xenophobic ideas can also be found in argumentation based on "cultural incompatibility" where foreigners outside of the "wanted" cannot adapt or integrate to the culture of the country migrated to. This argumentation can be seen in both party programs where the party claims that

People should live where they have a chance to create a national belonging. Thus we should mainly allow for fugitives and immigrants from European origins to come here since Europeans are the ones that in the best way can assimilate to the Swedish society both ethnically and culturally.¹⁴ (Sweden Democrats, 1989:11; Sweden Democrats, 1994:10-11)

This statement in combination with the party's desire to hinder adoption from countries outside of the Nordic countries could be seen as racist ide based on appearance thereby making the idea go more along the lines of the classical idea of racism based on physical appearance rather than culture.

6.1.4 Summary of SD 1988-1995

In our analysis of SD during the first period we have identified that the portrayal of the Swedish national identity is heavily based on a history of homogenous society with focus on common language, culture and history. The party during this period also is very open that citizenship does not equal inclusion in the Swedish nationality, where the party in both the principle program of 1992 and party program of 1994 wants to send foreigners from the third world who attain citizenship back to their home countries no matter if they are citizens or not. As of 1994 the inclusion of appearance as criteria is drawn from the party's development of an adoption policy where they want to drastically decrease the adoption of children from countries outside of Nordic region of Europe, which can be seen as wanting to hinder other people with other appearance to live in the country. The criteria for the national identity according to the party during this period seem to be the common history, language, culture and appearance.

¹⁴ Quote in Swedish: "Människor bör leva där de har en chans att skapa sig en nationell identitet. Därför bör vi huvudsakligen ta emot flyktingar- och invandrare av europeisk härkomst då européerna är de som bäst etniskt och kulturellt kan smälta in i det svenska samhället."

We have also presented the party's view on multiculturalism, which for the party is something that should not be practiced in Sweden. The party in the program of 1989 did to some extent include segments of native rights; this however was later removed in the program of 1994. The program of 1994 does also want to remove the possibility for education in mother tongue studies in school, which is also an indicator of the removal of minority's rights in Sweden. The reason for opposing the idea of a multicultural society seems to be based on the idea that the Swedish state will have a better chance to develop in a peaceful and secure way without the import of "Unresolvable immigrant problems", violence and crime, which they see immigrants as carriers of.

These ideological views on the national identity and the multicultural society has as proven above resulted in many xenophobic arguments which can be tied to a racist ideological thought. The division created from the view on who is and is not a Swede results in a "we" and a "them" situation. Whilst the argumentation against a multicultural society can be understood as the "we" being threatened by the "them" who stand for crime and violence among other things. This line of thinking could be interpreted as reading in value to different cultures since according to SD the immigrants that come from outside of Europe (northern Europe, according to the party in 1994), cannot adapt or assimilate to the Swedish way of life and are more violent and have less respect for the law. Making the "them" an unwanted social and economic burden, which will lead the country to a less pleasant future; these arguments could be seen as an example of cultural racism.

The analysis has shown a division created by the party based on appearance as well starting from 1994, where the party in its program wants to greatly decrease the possibility for adopting children from outside of the Nordic borders. This then would result in a more homogenous appearance of the population. Since the party does not state why they want to implement this change, based on our analysis this seems to be the most logical idea behind the policy.

6.2 The Sweden Democrats 1995-2005

During the second period the party elects a new leader, Mikael Jansson, who during his time as the party leader continued the work, started by his predecessor, to clean the party internally which resulted in a rise of votes in the elections and decrease of members with Nazi and/or criminal

records during this period. To analyze the party during this period we have been able to attain the party programs from 1996, 1999 and the principle program of 2003.

6.2.1 The Portrayal of the Swedish National Identity

The party programs of 1996 and 1999 do not change anything drastically in the background or history of Sweden. SD during the second period does however further deepen the idea that some foreigners are more compatible with the Swedish national identity compared to others, as is shown here:

Sweden belongs to the western culture group. Through Europe there is an invisible boarder that divides our culture group from the byzantine one. The conflict in former Yugoslavia has in a clear way established this boarder. Even though sharing an almost identical language the Serbs and Croatians have different religions and use different alphabets and have during hundreds of years belonged to different societies. This has resulted in that the Croatians are included in the western culture group together with the Italians, Slovenians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Polish, Lithuanians, Estonians and Finnish among others. At the same time the Serbs have found themselves in the east culture group together with Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Belarusians and Russians. Even though the west was divided in Catholicism and Protestantism a lot is uniting us on the cultural level. We have also in many ways a shared history with a calm conflict free migration between our countries. A common trait in the west is the enlighten school of thought with ideas on human freedoms and rights, which cannot be found in the rest of the world. We already today have many conflicts on the international level that are based on different views in these matters. On the national level we have also been able to note an increase of conflicts that are results of us having allowed migration from other culture groups to establish themselves here in our country. This development has to be stopped.¹⁵ (Sweden Democrats, 1996:5-6)

¹⁵ Quote in Swedish: "Sverige tillhör den västerländska kulturkretsen. Genom Europa går det en osynlig gräns som åtskiljer vår kulturkrets från den bysantinska kulturkretsen. Konflikten i det forna Jugoslavien har på ett tydligt sätt åskådliggjort denna gräns. Trots ett nästan gemensamt språk har serber och kroater olika religion och använder olika alfabet och har under hundratals år tillhört olika statsbildningar. Detta har medfört att kroaterna har hamnat i den västerländska kulturkretsen tillsammans med italienare, slovenare, ungrare, slovakar, tjecker, polacker, litauer, letter, ester, finnar m.fl., samtidigt som serberna har hamnat i den bysantinska kulturkretsen tillsammans med greker, albaner, bulgarer, rumäner, ukrainare, vitryssar och ryssar. Trots västerlandets splittring i katolicism och protestantism är det mycket som förenar oss på det kulturella planet. Vi har också i mångt och mycket en gemensam historia med en lugn konfliktfri migration mellan länderna. En utpräglat västerländsk företeelse är upplysningstänkandet med ideerna om mänskliga fri- och rättigheter, vilket inte har någon motsvarighet i den övriga världen. Vi ser redan idag många konflikter på det internationella planet som har sin grund i skilda synsätt i dessa frågor. På det nationella planet har vi

Not only does the party now seem to be friendlier towards other Europeans outside of the northern part of Europe. They also, for the first time, include the Christian religion as an important part of the Swedish and even Western culture. This is also shown here:

Our thousand year old Christian history and all our old beautiful churches motivates that the state continue the relation with the Swedish Church. No mosques can be allowed to exist on Swedish soil. International experiences shows that mosques can be a gathering place for terrorism and religious involvement in the political life. Muslims do other than this have the right to a sacrilegious life, individually and in group.¹⁶ (Sweden Democrats, 1996: 6)

This view on Islam is further developed in the program of 1999:

No mosques can be allowed on Swedish soil. Islam is not only a religious movement, it also has social and political ambitions which we do not see as wanted in Sweden. Unacceptable for us is for example the view on women and animal that can be found in Islam. Mosques and minarets are symbols for these kind of, unwished for, views.¹⁷ (Sweden Democrats, 1999:6)

Here a development is taking place in the literature of the party where Islam is not only seen as incompatible with the Swedish identity due to its views that deviates from the Swedish, according to the party, but it is also portrayed as a threat by itself to the political situation and social security of the nation.

The program of 1999 does also to some extent go back to a view similar to the one the party had in the first period concerning Europe:

The European continent has brought forward many culturally and scientifically elevated nations. Our shared history and our cultural heritage as a result is something we can be proud of as Europeans. Our strength is our diversity of national heritages and identities. This diversity is threatened by the plans to create an artificial, European identity. It is not desirable that our respective difference disappears in an all European melting pot; instead what is necessary is

också kunnat notera ett växande antal konflikter som har sin grund i att vi tillåtit migranter från främmande kulturkretsar att slå sig ned i vårt land. Denna utveckling måste stoppas.”

¹⁶ Quote in Swedish: "Vår tusenåriga kristna historia och alla våra gamla vackra kyrkor motiverar att staten behåller sin gamla relation till Svenska Kyrkan. Inga moskeer får existera på svensk mark. Internationella erfarenheter visar att moskeer kan vara en jordmån för terrorism och religiös inblandning i det politiska livet. Muslimer har annars rätt till ett sakralt liv, individuellt och gemensamt."

¹⁷ Quote in Swedish: " Inga moskéer får existera på svensk mark. Islam är inte bara en religiös strömning, utan har även sociala och politiska ambitioner som vi inte ser som önskvärda i Sverige. Oacceptabel för oss är exempelvis den kvinnosyn och den syn på djur som återfinns i Islam. Moskéer och minareter är symboler för dessa oönskade synsätt."

minded struggle to defend the mosaic of people and countries Europe is built of.¹⁸ (Sweden Democrats, 1999:5)

The idea of a western culture group from 1996 where all western culture were seen as having a lot of shared history and cultures build on similar foundations is now gone. Instead the party wants to distance themselves from other European cultures since the strength of the region is its diversity. Resulting in a view that diversity is good on an international level whilst bad on the national.

When it comes to citizenship few changes are made during this period. But in 1999 the party includes a small piece which says that together with the need to control the Swedish language and have knowledge of the Swedish history, an immigrant must also to become a citizen have to “To full extent recognize our Swedish culture. One must also present proof that one can fully support oneself in Sweden”¹⁹ (Sweden Democrats, 1999:5).

In this period the party has also further develops its idea on adoption. One can once again distinguish a hint of the importance of appearance in the national identity:

... At the same time as the possibility to adopt children from outside of the western culture group shall cease to exist, the national adoption shall give unwanted children a chance to a sound childhood.²⁰ (Sweden Democrats, 1996:12, Sweden Democrats, 1999: 15)

A ban to adopt children from countries outside of Western Europe can be seen as a way to secure a similar physical appearance of each individual inside of the Swedish borders. This is also strengthened in 2003:

A Nation can be defined in terms a common culture. Simply put two individuals are belonging to the same nation if they share the same culture. At the same time the relationship is more complex than that, depending on what you want to include in the concept of culture. Above the concept of

¹⁸ Quote in Swedish: “ Den europeiska kontinenten har frambringat många kulturellt och vetenskapligt högtstående nationer. Vår gemensamma historia och vårt kulturarv är följaktligen något vi kan vara stolta över som européer. Det som är vår styrka är vår mångfald av nationella arv och identiteter. Denna mångfald hotas av planerna på att skapa en artificiell, europeisk identitet. Det är inte önskvärt att våra respektive olikheter försvinner i en alleuropeisk smältdegel, utan vad som krävs är istället en medveten kamp för att försvara den mosaik av folk och länder som Europa består av.”

¹⁹ Quote in Swedish: “ Man skall även tillfullo erkänna vår svenska kultur. Därtill måste man kunna uppvisa hur man klarar sin egen försörjning i Sverige.”

²⁰ Quote in Swedish: “Samtidigt som möjligheten till adoption av barn med ursprung utanför den västerländska kulturkretsen skall upphöra, skall nationell adoption ge icke önskade barn en chans till en sund uppväxt.”

culture has been defined as “the surrounding givens, memories and understandings that we live in and are part of forming”. To get a more complete definition of the nation, one must include things such as language, religion, loyalties and ancestry. One should thus be able to recognize each other as part of the same nation. The nation is made by its people and their uniqueness.²¹ (Sweden Democrats, 2003:5)

Through this quote one can find the party’s view on what are the important criteria in the Swedish national identity of this period. And as seen in earlier literature from this period religion is included as well as language, history and culture.

The second period, to a larger extent than the first, includes the Swedish culture as an important piece of the Swedish national identity in written form. Especially its foundation in the Christian belief and enlighten school of thought, which they claim not to be found in other cultures from outside of Western Europe. In this period the party also further develops its view on the connection between appearance and the national identity where they not only want to drastically decrease the possibility to adopt children from outside of Europe but ban the possibility as a whole.

6.2.2 The View on Multiculturalism

There are a few changes in the party program of 1996 concerning the parties view on multiculturalism. The party’s goal is still to create a “Swedish Sweden” and they reuse the same formulations from the previous period. The party does however include two new segments that go more along the lines of the program from 1989 compared to that of 1994 when it comes to minority rights in the Swedish state.

Where the program of 1994 wanted to remove education in mother tongue completely the party in 1996 states that: “Education in mother tongue shall not be driven by tax money instead the immigrants themselves shall pay for it”²² (Sweden Democrats, 1996). This shows that even

²¹ Quote in Swedish: “ Nationen kan definieras i termer av en gemensam kultur. Enkelt uttryckt tillhör två människor samma nation om de delar samma kultur. Samtidigt är förhållandet mer komplext än så, beroende på vad man väljer att tolka in i kulturbegreppet. Ovan har kultur definierats såsom “*den omgivning av självklarheter, minnen och föreställningar som vi lever i och som vi är med om att forma*”. För att vi ska få en mer fullständig definition av nationen, måste sådant som språk, religion, lojaliteter och ursprung tillfogas. Man ska alltså också kunna känna igen varandra såsom tillhörande samma nation. Nationen utgörs av folket och dess särart.”

²² Quote in Swedish: “Hemspråksundervisningen skall inte drivas med skattepengar

though there should be no subsidies help for immigrants to learn the language of their parents, it shall not be forbidden to learn it as long as it can be paid from their own pocket.

The inclusion of rights to the native population is also brought back in the literature with the statement: “In Sweden other than Swedes there also live two indigenes populations, Saami and Finns. These shall be presented the possibility to preserve their cultural heritage”²³ (Sweden Democrats, 1996:12; Sweden Democrats, 1999: 15).

These two changes could be argued for as giving a more multicultural friendly impression from the party. The party does however keep its belief that a homogenous society has a better chance to develop in a better way than the multicultural alternative. Further on the party argues that racism is created in multicultural societies: “Racism is produced by those that create multicultural nations with built-in identity problems and has a constant risk for escalating ethnical conflicts”²⁴ (Sweden Democrats, 1996:12; Sweden Democrats, 1999:15). With this quote the party further develops its argumentation of problems with multicultural societies.

The inclusion of Islam in the party literature and the portrayal of the building of holy sanctuaries for the Muslims as a threat to Swedish society which therefore should lead to a ban of it, goes against the multicultural practice where all ethnic and cultural groups should be allowed to practice their culture as long as it does not go against the basic human rights. The party in 1999 does in a sense claim that the practice of Islam does go against the basic human rights with the statement that the view on women and animals in Islam is “wrong”. Together with the argumentation that the Swedish culture is built on the Christian belief one can see this as a further developed argument for Muslims being part of, the party created, “them”.

Similar to the first period the party seems to base its argumentation against multicultural on “cultural incompatibility”:

We reject the attempts to adjust the human after grand utopic ideas. Instead we think that the politics should be developed in accordance to how the human is in reality. Each society should be built on a foundation of values, where the smallest uniting corner stone is norms and values. This

utan får utövas genom invandrarnas egen försorg.”

²³ Quote in Swedish: ”I Sverige finns förutom svenskarna två urfolk, samerna och finnarna. Dessa skall beredas möjligheten att bevara och levandehålla sitt kulturarv.”

²⁴ Quote in Swedish: ”Rasism alstrar de som skapar mångkulturella nationer med inbyggda identitetsproblem och med ständig risk för eskalerande etniska konflikter.”

corner stone is important since it makes it possible for each individual to feel secure in their identity. Surely every person is unique, but at the same time we are also more or less similar to one another. We are all dependent on communion, other individuals that in different ways are similar to us and whom we can identify ourselves with.²⁵(Sweden Democrats, 2003:3)

Here the party once again shows that its belief is that it is not natural for different cultures to live together inside of a nation. They also seem to think that a communion can only be formed by individuals of similar identities, in order for the individual to feel secure in their own identity.

The party continues with this line of thought:

Even though the lines between cultures may sometimes be sharp, sometimes blurry, but also here the same principle as for humans goes: We are more or less similar to each other. Sure there are differences between Swedes and our Nordic neighbors even if they are smaller than the differences between the Swedes and individuals from cultural backgrounds from far away. That's why it can be more or less complicated to unite different cultures with each other. Sometimes this becomes very hard, since the different founding value systems in the different cultures collide, as a way to avoid these kinds of conflicts these types of cultural collisions should be avoided.²⁶ (Sweden Democrats, 2003:3)

This argument that each culture is either more or less similar to one another once again creates the "we" and "them" where the "them" are the individuals from far away cultures that risk to collide with the more similar cultures, "we". The party says that these kinds of collisions are unwanted and should therefore be avoided, which once again shows the opposition against multiculturalism. The solutions that the party comes up with are:

...However the immigration most is kept at such a level that it does not shake the population's foundation in such a way that ethical enclaves are created. When this has happened there are two

²⁵ Quote in Swedish: " Vi avvisar försöken att anpassa människan efter storslagna utopier. Istället menar vi att politiken bör utformas utifrån hur människan är i verkligheten. Varje samhälle bör vara byggt på en värdegemenskap, en minsta gemensam nämnare i form av grundläggande normer och värderingar. Denna enande faktor är viktig för att varje människa ska kunna känna sig trygg i sin identitet. Visst är varje människa unik, men samtidigt är vi också mer eller mindre lika varandra. Vi är alla beroende av gemenskaper, människor som på olika sätt liknar oss själva och som vi kan identifiera oss med."

²⁶ Quote in Swedish: " Förvisso kan de kulturella gränserna vara ömsom skarpa, ömsom suddiga, men även här gäller samma princip som för människan: vi är mer eller mindre lika. Visst finns det kulturella skillnader mellan svenskar och våra nordiska grannar även om de är mindre än skillnaderna mellan svenskar och människor från kulturellt avlägsna delar av världen. Därför kan det vara mer eller mindre komplicerat att förena olika kulturer med varandra. Ibland blir detta särskilt svårt, eftersom de olika kulturernas grundläggande värdesystem krockar. Som ett led i strävan att undvika konflikter bör den här typen av kulturkrockar förhindras."

possible solutions: a) remigration and b) assimilation – meaning that those, that have immigrated, take the majorities culture as their own so as to in the future they can be part of the nation.²⁷
(Sweden Democrats, 2003:6)

As shown earlier in the thesis assimilation is in direct opposition to the multicultural idea where no rights shall be given to different cultures, these should instead be forsaken so that the minorities can, in a similar way as proposed here, take the culture of the majority as their own.

6.2.3 Racist Elements in the Ideology

The second period is defined by its more specified definition of what the Swedish national identity is built on, which includes not only language, culture and history like in the first period but also religion. This together with the newly implemented segments of Islam, shown above, creates a clearer distinction between the “we”, being the western culture group in 1996 (with Christian and enlightenment thinking) and the Swedish nation in 1999. And the “them”, in this period more focused on the Muslim immigrants. The Muslims are seen as threats to social security due to their holy sanctuaries being portrayed as gathering place for terrorists and people of political interest. This could be seen as a clear indication of islamophobia it can also be seen as a form of cultural racism where the party reads in negative value on the Islamic culture and portray them as incompatible with the Swedish identity which therefore makes them unfit to be part of the Swedish nation-state.

The increase of opposition in the question of adoption of children from outside of the “wished for area” also shows that the importance of physical appearance is not only still important but actually even more so in this period than the first. Which then results in that the racist ideas based on appearance instead of culture is still present in the party during this period.

The second period in comparison to the first then distinguish itself as the period where cultural racism takes its form based on religious differences. Where the first period mainly used xenophobic arguments aimed at immigrants from countries outside of Nordic and later Western European countries, the second period instead develops these arguments but aims them towards a

²⁷ Quote in Swedish: “ ... Däremot måste invandringen hållas på en sådan nivå att den inte i grunden förändrar befolkningssammansättningen på så vis att etniska enklaver uppstår. När så ändå har skett finns det två möjliga lösningar: a) *återvandring* och b) *assimilering* - det vill säga att de, som invandrat, tar till sig majoritetskulturen och på sikt uppgår i nationen.”

more specific target, being Islam and its practitioners. This could then be seen as a development from xenophobia to islamophobia, which then as a result could be argued as being a more specified form of cultural racism. The party in this period is also keener on explaining that appearance is of great importance to the Swedish identity, this line of thinking could be argued to have its roots in the more traditional form of racism based on physical differences. The reason that one could claim this is that a child that is adopted would be able to achieve all of the criteria created by the party other than that of appearance which then seems to be the only factor that makes the child different compared to one born from Swedish parents. Therefore it seems as if the party with its idea of banning the possibility to adopt children from outside of Western Europe, wants to protect the physical appearance of the Swedish population.

6.2.4 Summary of SD 1995-2005

In our analysis of SD in the second period we have noticed a couple of changes compared to the first period when it comes to all of the areas we are interested in following in our study. The portrayal of the Swedish national identity has become more specified now including religion as well as the criteria from the first period; language, history, appearance and culture.

When it comes to the party's view on multiculturalism little has changed. The party still proclaims that a heterogeneous state is less likely to develop in a peaceful way compared to a homogeneous one. For the first time the party brings forth an alternative how to solve this problem other than sending the immigrants back to their place of origin. This alternative is assimilation of immigrants to the Swedish culture, which as explained in our theory chapter would be to go against the Swedish constitution where the society is to make sure that it shall develop and nourish different cultures.

This period for the first time also includes parts handling other religions or more specifically the religion of Islam and its practitioners. The Muslims are portrayed in a similar sense as the "immigrants from outside of the western culture group" or third world in the first period. The main difference is that they are now the only target for these accusations. The mosques are seen as gathering places for criminal activity and sources for political and social problems. This is accusations are what draws us to call the party islamophobic as well as culturally racist in this period.

The party in this period also deepens its idea that appearance is of great importance in the Swedish national identity. The idea to greatly decrease the possibility to adopt children from outside of the Nordic countries in this period has become a complete ban. This then to a larger extent could be claimed to be an idea that spawns from a racism based on physical appearance.

6.3 The Sweden Democrats 2005-2014

During the third period, which will be the final period analyzed in this thesis, the most recent and current party leader, Jimmy Åkesson, has been the head of the party. It is during his time at this position that the party has had its “golden period” in terms of results. In 2010 the party for the first time attained enough votes to pass the election threshold to take seat in the parliament and in the most recent election of 2014 the party became the third biggest party in Sweden. In order to analyze the party’s ideology during this period we have attained the document of ethical guidelines for party members from 2011, and the principle program from 2011. Finally we will also analyze the action program from 2007 handling the party’s view on immigration.

6.3.1 *The Portrayal of the Swedish National Identity*

There are not that many changes in the third period when it comes to the view on the Swedish national identity. There are not many changes when it comes to the criteria that builds the national identity instead the party during this period focuses on protecting the Swedish national identity in a similar fashion as in previous periods:

The Sweden Democrats view nationality politics, aid politics, refugee politics and immigration politics as a whole. Within this area we have found that too much immigration has, in a serious way, started to threaten the Swedish national identity and unity of our country. The immigration has also resulted in societal problems in the forms of alienation, group disagreements, criminality and large economical costs which inexorably has had negative effects on the Swedish economy and has thus put the general welfare system on hard trials. ²⁸ (Sweden Democrats, 2007:1)

²⁸ Quote in Swedish: " Sverigedemokraterna betraktar nationalitetspolitik, biståndspolitik, flyktingpolitik och invandringspolitik som en helhet. Inom detta område finner vi att en alltför stor invandring på ett allvarligt sätt har kommit att hota den svenska nationella identiteten och sammanhållningen i landet. Dessutom har den omfattande invandringen fört med sig sociala problem i form av utanförskap, grupp motsättningar och kriminalitet, samt stora ekonomiska kostnader, som

Once again the party sees immigrants as a threat to the Swedish national identity and the society as a whole. The definition of who is and who is not a Swede and thus the party further develops part of the national identity in this period: “One is Swedish if one is predominantly of Swedish identity, and if one by oneself and by others perceived as Swedish.”²⁹ (Sweden Democrats, 2007:1). Here the party adds a new criterion to the preexisting one; it is not enough to share the culture, language, religion and ancestry with other Swedes one must now also be perceived as one by other Swedes as well. The party during this period also ties the idea of the Swedish national identity to the idea of a nation:

The Sweden Democrats define the Swedish nation in terms of loyalty, common identity, common language and common culture. One can become member of the Swedish nation, according to us, by either be born in to it or by later in life choose to become part of it.³⁰ (Sweden Democrats, 2011B:15)

Together with this new view on the Swedish identity comes a deviation from previous periods in the view on adoption: “As an inborn Swede we include one that is born in Sweden or in an early age has been adopted by Swedish speaking parents with Swedish or Nordic identity.”³¹ (Sweden Democrats, 2011B:15). This quote can be seen as a move away from the idea from the previous periods that appearance is of great importance when it comes to the national identity. Since one apparently can be part of the Swedish national identity even if one is adopted from outside of Europe. This is an assumption based on that nowhere in the text a limitation from where one can be adopted is explained as in previous periods. The party is however keen on, once again, to explain that there is a distinct difference between being a citizen and being part of the Swedish nation:

ofrånkomligen haft en negativ inverkan på svensk ekonomi och som därmed satt det generella välfärdssystemet på svåra prov.”

²⁹ Quote in Swedish: “ Svensk är den som har en helt övervägande svensk identitet, och som av sig själv och av andra svenskar uppfattas som svensk.”

³⁰ Quote in Swedish: “ Sverigedemokraterna definierar den svenska nationen i termer av lojalitet, gemensam identitet, gemensamt språk och gemensam kultur. Medlem av den svenska nationen kan man enligt vår uppfattning bli genom att antingen födas in i den eller genom att senare i livet aktivt välja att uppgå i den.”

³¹ Quote in Swedish: “ Som infödd svensk räknar vi den som är född eller i tidig ålder adopterad till Sverige av svensktalande föräldrar med svensk eller nordisk identitet.”

The Sweden Democrats distinguish between citizenship in the Swedish state and belonging to the Swedish nation, but at the same time believes that citizens no matter national belonging should be equal before the law and have the same rights and obligations.³² (Sweden Democrats, 2011B:16)

Once again the party wants it to make it clear for the reader that a citizen of the Swedish state is not automatically part of the Swedish nation. The party does however seem to see a possibility for anyone to become part of the Swedish nation:

To be assimilated to the Swedish nation we include one with non-Swedish background that speaks Swedish fluently, recognizes oneself as Swedish, lives according to the Swedish culture, views the Swedish history as their own and feel a greater sense of loyalty towards the Swedish nation than with any other nation.³³ (Sweden Democrats, 2011B:15)

This is a new idea not found earlier in the previous periods. The party has during the first two periods gone to great length to create criteria of who is and who is not part of the national identity. This quote shows that the party has started to deviate from this line of thinking and that it now sees a possibility for anyone not only to become a citizen but also part of nation. They are still strict on the idea that citizenship does not automatically lead to the individual to be part of the nation though. The party does however clearly state that one cannot be part of the Swedish national identity if one does not forsake the original culture. As shown above where the word “assimilated” is used. The new found focus on loyalty can also be found in the parties conditions for citizenship in this period: “...In addition to this one shall also sign a declaration where one confirms ones loyalty to Sweden and agree to respect Swedish laws and other societal rules.”³⁴ (Sweden Democrats, 2007:10)

While the party is not clear on what this loyalty means or what function it holds it is now according to the party a criteria for the Swedish national identity.

³² Quote in Swedish: " Sverigedemokraterna skiljer på medborgarskap i den svenska staten och tillhörighet till den svenska nationen, men anser samtidigt att alla medborgare oavsett nationstillhörighet skall vara lika inför lagen och ha samma rättigheter och skyldigheter."

³³ Quote in Swedish: " Som assimilerad till den svenska nationen räknar vi den med icke-svensk bakgrund som talar flytande svenska, uppfattar sig själv som svensk, lever i enlighet med den svenska kulturen, ser den svenska historien som sin egen och känner större lojalitet med den svenska nationen än med någon annan nation."

³⁴ Quote in Swedish: " ... Därtill skall man också underteckna en deklARATION där man bekräftar sin lojalitet med Sverige och förbinder sig att respektera svenska lagar och övriga samhällsregler. "

As shown above the Sweden Democrats in this period have added some new ideas to its portrayal of the national identity. The main changes include the importance to not only perceive oneself as Swedish but the need for others to do the same, the decreased importance of appearance by opening up the possibility for adoption. The biggest changes however is the possibility for individuals that are not originally part of the Swedish nation now according to the party are able to become part of it. The second important change is the inclusion of loyalty as an important criterion.

6.3.2 The View on Multiculturalism

In the third period the party continues the trend to oppose the idea of multiculturalism, which was started in the first period and continued in the second. The idea of forcing immigrants to assimilate to the Swedish culture, which started in the first period, is also continued in this period:

Sweden has taken in too many immigrants during too short amount of time and only a small amount of these have had actual need of protection. The large scale immigration and with the high birth rate in some of the immigrant groups together with the lack of a assimilation politics has led to that the Swedes in a few decades run the risk of becoming a minority in our own country. This development will affect all aspects of the life in our society and transform our country to something unrecognizable. ³⁵ (Sweden Democrats, 2007:2)

The party argues that there is a risk that Swedish culture will become a minority in its own country mainly due to large-scale immigration but also due to the usage of integration instead of assimilation and the high birthrate that can be found in some immigrant groups. The party continues this argumentation:

The irresponsible politics has created harsh social, ethnical, religious and cultural struggles. It has also resulted in segregation, rootlessness and criminality. The multicultural social order is today a

³⁵ Quote in Swedish: "Sverige har tagit emot alltför många invandrare på för kort tid, och endast en bråkdel av dessa har haft något egentligt skyddsbehov. Massinvandringen, tillsammans med den höga nativiteten hos vissa invandrargrupper och frånvaron av en assimileringpolitik, innebär att svenskarna inom några decennier riskerar att bli en minoritet i det egna landet. Denna utveckling kommer att påverka alla aspekter av samhällslivet och förvandla vårt land till oigenkännlighet."

grave threat against the communion and stability that makes up the foundation for the whole loyal Swedish welfare model. ³⁶ (Sweden Democrats, 2007:2)

This view on multiculturalism is very similar if not identical to the one found in the second period. The party does give an explanation of its view on integration and how it works in this period:

Integration means that two groups, in this case Swedes and immigrants, give up a piece of their essence and combine it into a new unit. The Sweden Democrats does however think that the swedes have an absolute right to keep and further develop their culture and identity in Sweden is therefore against integration as a solution to the problems that has arisen as a result to the irresponsible immigration politics.³⁷(Sweden Democrats, 2007:8-9)

As in previous periods the idea of a homogenous state seems to be preferable by the party. The argumentation is harsher towards the rights of immigrants in this period especially in terms of religion:

The public aid to immigrant associations and all other activities that aim to encourage foreign cultures and identities in Sweden shall stop. Holidays tied to religion shall only be of traditional Swedish and Christian origin. The tax financed mother tongue education shall cease. The immigrants that want their children to learn a mother tongue language shall arrange and pay for this themselves.³⁸ (Sweden Democrats, 2007:9)

We can see that the idea of children learning a foreign language is still not wished for by the party the same goes for the immigrant that in any way tries to encourage their culture. The importance of the Christian tradition that was introduced in the second period has also had an increase of importance during this period:

³⁶ Quote in Swedish: "Denna oansvariga politik har skapat svåra sociala, etniska, religiösa och kulturella motsättningar, tillika segregation, rotlöshet och kriminalitet. Den mångkulturella samhällsordningen är i dag ett allvarligt hot mot den inre sammanhållning och stabilitet som utgör grunden för hela den solidariska svenska välfärdsmodellen."

³⁷ Quote in Swedish: "Integration innebär att två grupper, i det här fallet svenskar och invandrare, ger upp en del av sitt väsen och sammanblandas till en ny enhet. Sverigedemokraterna anser dock att svenskarna har en absolut rätt till att behålla och vidareutveckla sin kultur och identitet i Sverige och motsätter sig därför integration som en lösning på de problem som har uppstått som en följd av den oansvariga invandringpolitiken."

³⁸ Quote in Swedish: " Det offentliga stödet till invandrarföreningar och alla andra verksamheter som syftar till att befrämja främmande kulturer och identiteter i Sverige skall dras in. Lovdagar i anslutning till religiösa högtider skall endast omfatta traditionella svenska och kristna högtider. Den skattefinansierade modersmålsundervisningen skall avskaffas. De invandrare som vill ge sina barn hemspråksundervisning får istället arrangera och bekosta detta själva."

The Swedish Church and its activities is an irreplaceable part of the Swedish tradition. The Swedish Church shall therefore be given the opportunity to collaborate with schools, in the way it has always done in our country. The children, whose parents are disturbed by the Swedish Church participation in the education, will be granted leave during these events. Other religious communities are to remit their activities outside of the Swedish school systems frames.³⁹ (Sweden Democrats, 2007:9)

As in the second period the party strongly relates the Swedish culture with Christianity, as can be shown in the quote above this also results in an idea that other religions shall have limited space to operate in the society.

The third and final period does not really bring anything new to the table when it comes to the parties view on multiculturalism. One can argue that the party does develop and specify some of the concepts that it has used in earlier periods in order to make its reasoning clearer. Other than this the party mainly focuses on explaining what fundamental corner stones are in the Swedish culture and what is not. The party continues to distance themselves from the idea that multiculturalism is a good practice and would it would prefer for the assimilation policies from before 1975 to be reinstated. This is in similarity to the other period's show that the homogenous state is what the party strives for.

6.3.3 Racist Elements in the Ideology

In many ways the third period is defined by the decrease of the more extreme sentiments that could be found in both the first and second period. The segments handling adoption from outside of Europe has been removed which has resulted in that the party no longer puts emphasis on appearance in its party literature, at least not in a similar fashion as in the first or even more so in the second. The party does however continue to put emphasis on the important influence that Christianity has had on the Swedish culture and the threat that other religions then possess to the Swedish culture, especially Islam:

³⁹ Quote in Swedish: " Svenska Kyrkan och dess aktiviteter är en omistlig del av den svenska traditionen. Svenska Kyrkan ska därför ges möjlighet att verka i samarbete med skolorna, på det sätt den alltid har gjort i vårt land. De barn, vars föräldrar känner sig störda av Svenska Kyrkans medverkan i skolan, beviljas ledighet vid sådana tillfällen. Övriga religiösa samfund hänvisas till att bedriva sin verksamhet utanför det svenska skolsystemets ramar."

Islam and especially its strong political and fundamentalist branch is according to the Sweden Democrats the religion that has proven to be the hardest to coexist in harmony with the Swedish and Western culture. The Islamic influence on the Swedish society should therefore to a great extent be discouraged and immigration from Islamic countries with strong influence of fundamentalism should be very restricted.⁴⁰ (Sweden Democrats, 2011B:27)

Here the party continues its xenophobic “we” and “them” argumentation from the second period which is based on “cultural incompatibility” based on religion. The party in this period once again targets the Muslims that reside in Sweden:

No religious buildings, with for Swedish architectural tradition, foreign architecture, shall be permitted to be built. Conspicuous religious or political symbols, such as for example the veil or turban, shall not be permitted to be worn in labor practice by publicly employed staff, since this may cause a damage on the citizens trust in the public sector objectivity. Full body covering veils shall not be allowed to be worn in schools by individuals not of age. Ritual slaughter shall be banned, as shall import of products that has been produced by such practice or other forms of animal cruelty.⁴¹ (Sweden Democrats, 2007:10)

The party once again shows its idea of forbidding mosques in Sweden, however not as extreme as in the previous period where it was seen as a gathering place for terrorists and criminal activity. The islamophobic tendencies are still very present in the ideology of the party and even though the party claims to stand for religious rights, according to themselves, “The Sweden Democrats is a non-religious party which views the freedom of religion as a natural part of the democratic society”⁴² (Sweden Democrats, 2011B:27). Even if this is what the party claims they still want to limit the possibility for individuals of other beliefs, once again especially Muslims, to practice their religion. As shown above where the party wants to forbid the usage of veils in the public

⁴⁰ Quote in Swedish: “Islam och i synnerhet dess starka politiska och fundamentalistiska gren är enligt Sverigedemokraternas uppfattning den religiösa åskådning som visat sig ha svårast att harmoniskt samexistera med den svenska och västerländska kulturen. Islamismens inflytande på det svenska samhället bör därför i största möjliga utsträckning motverkas och invandringen från muslimska länder med starka inslag av fundamentalism bör vara mycket starkt begränsad.”

⁴¹ Quote in Swedish: “Inga religiösa byggnader, med en för svensk byggnadstradition, främmande arkitektur, skall få byggas. Iögonfallande religiösa eller politiska symboler, som till exempel slöja eller turban, skall inte vara tillåtna att bäras i yrkesutövningen av offentliganställd personal, då det riskerar att skada medborgarnas tilltro till den offentliga verksamhetens objektivitet. Heltäckande slöjor skall inte få bäras i skolan av omyndiga elever. Ritualslakt skall vara förbjuden, liksom import av produkter som framställts genom sådan slakt eller genom andra former av djurplågeri.”

⁴² Quote in Swedish: “Sverigedemokraterna är ett icke- konfessionellt parti som betraktar religionsfrihet som en naturlig del av det demokratiska samhället.”

sector and cease public financial aid to communities that wants works with encouragement of other cultures than those of Christian origins.

Even if the segment handling adoption, from the previous periods, has been removed in the literature of this period one can still find an idea handling the importance of appearance in this period. The installment that it is not enough to identify oneself as Swedish but one must be viewed and recognized as Swedish by others hints that appearance is still of importance since it is the first thing people can see before interacting with an individual.

The final period is very similar to the second when it comes to its argumentations based on religious differences. The main difference between the two periods is that the third has a less extreme rhetoric tied to its arguments towards the Muslims. The same can be said about the previous idea of protecting the physical appearance of the population by banning adoption from outside of Western Europe. Instead the party implements the idea that it is not enough to perceive oneself as a Swede but one must also be perceived as such by others. This we argue can be traced to the idea that physical appearance is still of importance for the party but that it is formulated from another angle.

6.3.4 Summary of SD 2005-2014

The final period of SD in this analysis does not contribute a lot in the form of new ideas on the Swedish national identity or multiculturalism. The party does during the period decrease its previously straightforward rhetoric when it comes to the national identity. But the same criteria as in the second period can still be found fairly easy in the literature with the exception of appearance where we in our analysis have found segments that could implicate that the importance for an individual to be seen/identified not only by him-/herself as Swedish but also by others send similar signals that appearance is still of importance. The other addition that the party makes is the concept of loyalty to the Swedish state. The party does not develop what it means with loyalty, it only states that immigrants that want citizenship should agree to sign a document where they assure that they are loyal to Sweden first and foremost. The party in this period also opens up for the possibility that immigrants can become part of the nation even if they are not originally part of it from birth.

The party still opposes the idea of a multicultural society with similar argumentations found in the previous periods. The party presents its view on what integration means and what it results in which is seen as a threat towards the national identity due to the risk of it becoming lost in the compromise necessary in the process of integration. The party still emphasizes the importance that the Christian ideas and values has had historically on the Swedish culture and continues to explain the risks that other religions and cultures pose.

The islamophobic tendencies from the second period still hold an important part of the literature in the final period where the division of “we” and “them” is as clear as earlier. The Muslims are still treated as a threatening “them” that should either assimilate to the Swedish culture or at least stop showing their religious belonging in public by wearing cultural garbs such as turbans and veils. This goes against the parties claimed support of religious freedom.

6.4 Comparison of the Three Periods of the Sweden Democrats

In our analysis of SD we have studied the party in three different periods in order to identify its ideological development in the areas of nationalism and multiculturalism. What we have found is that these two together in all of the periods has resulted in some racist ideas. The first period laid the foundation of what it means to be Swedish and why the Swedish culture is threatened by the multicultural society that Sweden has turned in to. The party with its clear structure of the Swedish national identity creates a division in the society where all who fulfill the criteria created by the party belongs to the national “we”. Its view on multiculturalism and its negative influence on the “we” can as a result be seen as a creation of a “them”. What varies in the different periods is which group is included in the “them” and what criteria are important in order to belong to the “we”. In the first period the “we” is based on the idea of common language, culture and history. In the party program of 1994 the party for the first time also includes the importance of appearance for the national identity, which spawns from the party’s desire to drastically limit the possibility to adopt children from outside of the Nordic countries. This desire is part of all the party literature in the second period but is later removed in the third. However, the third period as stated earlier includes the idea that others also need to be able to identify a person as part of the Swedish nation in order to belong to it, which could be seen as a smoother formulation on the importance of appearance.

The first period treats the “them” as the immigrants from outside of Western Europe. Something that is changed in the second period where the further develops the “we” by including religion to its criteria which then results in a further development of the “them” as well. It is in this period one for the first time can identify the islamophobic ideas in the party literature. Islam is portrayed as a threat to the “we” and society due to its “cultural incompatibility” and dangerous nature. The mosques are portrayed as gathering places for criminal activity and terrorism. Even if the portrayal of Muslims and Islam as a whole is less extreme in the third period one can still see that the idea started in the second period lingers on and is prominent in the party’s literature. This result in that the “them” in the second and third period is more focused on portraying Muslims as the “them” rather than all immigrants from outside of Western Europe.

The party in all of the periods is keen on connecting the “them” with rise in societal problems such as crime and economical costs. In order to solve these problems the party in the first period wants to send all foreigners who have immigrated to Sweden after 1970 back to their country of origin. In the second period the idea of assimilation is presented as another alternative which is further developed in the third, where the “them” shall strive to become part of the “we” by forsaking all that is different from the criteria for the “we” created by the party.

Our analysis has also shown that the racist elements, even if they are presented in different ways throughout the periods, are based on almost identical ideas, which is to divide society into different groups based on different criteria and then make them different from one another. The most common way the party does this is by using its creation of “Swedes” which becomes the “we” to make it possible to also distinguish a “them”, which is portrayed in a negative way, which as shown is a group that becomes more specific in the second and third period compared to the first. With creation of two groups the party in all periods follow the, by scholars identified, racist idea of creating groups that are “wanted” and “unwanted”.

To conclude our comparison of the ideological development of SD has shown that the party has not really changed ideologically when it comes to dividing the population of Sweden in a “we” and “them”. What set the periods apart from one another is the specifications of who is part of the “we” and as a result who is part of the “them”. What starts of as xenophobic argumentations that can be connected to a racist foundation is developed to a more specified form, being islamophobia, which could be claimed to be an even more extreme form of cultural racism. This

shows that the party no matter the development in other areas of its political agenda still has a core in the racist ideology which therefore as scholars has stated earlier makes it fit to still, in the final period, be seen as a RRP. Our claim, based on this analysis, is that the only thing that has changed in the party is its way to divide the population of Sweden.

7. Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer the question: If and how has the RRP SD changed ideologically since its creation in 1988 until 2014? In order to get an answer the question stated we did in the fourth chapter with the help of our theoretical framework identify three more specified questions that we were going to answer in order to attain an answer to the first. These were if the party's view on the Swedish national identity and multiculturalism had changed through the periods and if so in what ways. After finding SD's view on these two concepts we wanted to see if they together would reveal racist elements in their ideology in the different periods.

The answers we have found, in this study, are that the national identity created by SD has seen some slight developments throughout the party's years of activity. The first period established the foundation of which criteria were necessary in order to have a Swedish national identity which was: common language culture and history, concerning these three criteria not much has changed in the following periods. The party has however implemented new criteria along the way. In the second period the idea of religion was implemented as an important part of the national identity as well. The idea of appearance as a necessity has also been brought up by the party in all three periods but in different ways.

The party's view on multiculturalism has throughout all periods been very negative and has not seen much change. Multiculturalism is by the party seen as a cause of societal problems and it would therefore, according to SD, be preferable if Sweden reverted back to the original law of assimilation rather than the one from 1975, which Sweden follows today, where it is stated that we shall integrate new cultures into the Swedish society.

SD's developing portrayal of the national identity could as a result be seen as one of the main reasons that the racism which can be found in the party's ideology has changed. The implementation of religion as criteria did in the second and the third period result in a harsher resistance, in the rhetoric's, against Islam and its practitioners. In our analysis we have revealed that what in the first period was mainly xenophobic arguments spawning from racism in the two later became more focused into islamophobic arguments.

Our research has shown that the party which claims that it has had a change in ideology has rather only smoothed out the most radical ideas with a less extreme rhetoric. The racist idea based on a "we" and "them", which can be found by studying the party's view on nationalism and multiculturalism, is still very present in the ideology of the party. Our answer to the research question is thus that the party has had no real ideological change since its creation. This also sheds light on the question if the claimed change was true or only rhetorical.

After the scan of the previous literature on both RRP's and on the ideology of SD we found that there existed two gaps that this thesis could fill. The first was that scholars had identified difficulties in analyzing the ideology of the RRP's in different countries due to problems related to party literature only being released in native language, which has then led to hardships when wanting to compare RRP's to one another. The second gap found was that the research on the ideology of SD had not been focusing on the party's view on nationalism and multiculturalism but still wanted to connect them to a racist ideology by using the portrayal of the party and its members by media or simply looking at the party's roots in the extremist movements. By using only the party literature, excluding election programs, in our analysis we have in contrast to current research on SD been able to analyze the party's "real" ideology which former research has based on certain actions and statements from different party members. What makes our findings relevant thus is that the party literature is the common agreed upon opinions by all party members, which therefore makes it the most secure source of information when analyzing a party's ideology. Our finding can be seen as a contribution to both the study of the ideology of SD and as a result to the research of RRP's in Western Europe as well.

By answering the questions stated in this thesis we have also fulfilled the aim of it, which was to contribute to current research in the areas of both RRP's development in Western Europe and the

development of SD from its creation until contemporary times. Since we have given an answer to how SD, a Swedish RRP, has developed during its years of activity.

The relevance of our finding is twofold; it's relevant from a scholarly perspective since it has mapped out the development of the RRP SD's ideology throughout its time of activity. This can then be used in future research that aims to study RRP's and compare parties in this "party family" to one another, by identifying similarities and differences. Comparing the development of these kinds of parties historically to see if they follow a similar development pattern would therefore be a good way to continue the research of this thesis.

Our finding is also relevant from a political perspective, since current development, in the West European region, has shown that RRP's are growing and becoming more established in their national political arena. One could therefore claim that there exists a need to understand these kinds of parties when it comes to their development and ideology, which is something this thesis, has contributed to in the case of SD.

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