Lagom: Intersects of nationalism and populism in Swedish parliamentary elections

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the unique set of circumstances which led to the rapid rise of a supposed right-wing populist party in Sweden. The Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats) are not the first nationalist party to enter the Swedish parliament, but are the first to survive multiple parliamentary elections and are currently the third largest party in parliament. This thesis argues the Sverigedemokraterna do not constitute a political party, but remain a populist movement within Swedish politics, are not right-wing but rather a lagom-inspired hybrid, and the stabilizing effects of the culture of lagom prevents the permanence of extremism in Swedish politics. The increase in immigrants from predominantly Muslim states due to the Arab Spring and the Syrian civil war stoke the anti-Islamic rhetoric of this nationalist group, but did not cause their rapid ascent and neither did the entry of Sweden into the European Economic Community. The Sverigedemokraterna are a single-point culmination of a century of nationalist and fascist groups splitting and merging within Sweden, but as other groups continue to appear the SD cannot be the only culmination.
This thesis looks at how an extreme right-wing political party seemingly appeared from nowhere and became the third largest party in just two election cycles. The party, called the Sweden Democrats, is called nationalist by opposing parties and the press, but does not act like a typical far-right party. It is my belief that a cultural phenomenon in Sweden called lagom is partially responsible for this. While the Sweden Democrats are anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic, on all other issues they vote along with the more liberal elements, the Social Democrats. This paper looks at the history of nationalism in Sweden, examines the various fascist groups which existed and exist today, details the history of immigration to Sweden, and shows the government responses to immigration. The conclusion of this thesis is that the Sweden Democrats are not a far-right party, they are not a typical political party and act like a political movement instead, but they have the potential to survive in parliament because they compromise with the majority on all other issues.
Dedicated to my husband William who remained by my side through all the many years and tears. You encouraged me to reach for goals which for many years seemed too far and lofty. Thank you for always believing in me and for stopping me when I threatened to quit. Thank you for allowing me my slight obsession with Sweden.

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*Man lär så länge man lever.*

*One learns as long as one lives.*
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Introduction

The rapid rise in popularity of the Sverigedemokraterna (SD) is unique in Swedish election history. Other small parties such as the Pirate Party and the New Democracy appear for one election and then disappear or are absorbed by other parties. As such, the stability of the system remains although the number of players increases from five to eight parties in the Riksdag. The question remains will the SD continue as an active political party in Sweden, or will they too be absorbed by another.

One study suggests the SD has “an overrepresentation of young, male, unemployed and secular voters,”\textsuperscript{1} while another suggests the SD are

Over-represented by middle-aged people, thereby contradicting the common view that voters of the so-called Radical Right Populist parties (RRP) are either in their youth or their dotage.\textsuperscript{2}

The SD as a political party appears short-lived as the party holds one issue above all others, that of immigration. The SD do not fit the model of traditional right-wing political parties as they consistently agree with the Social Democrats on retaining social welfare programs, and disagree with Moderates on smaller government and less regulation. Hellström and Nilsson (2010) show the SD voters “tend to articulate rather mainstream opinion with regard to welfare policy, taxation and so forth.”\textsuperscript{3} The insistence on a single-issue focus restricts party growth, despite the rapid ascension to parliament and the doubling of seats in only one election cycle. The placement of the SD on a traditional left to right political scale is difficult as the SD promote an anti-

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
immigrant, anti-Semitic rhetoric, but continue to vote predominantly along socialist lines with the ruling coalition. The may be why the Swedish people see the Moderate party as falling more to the right than the SD (see Figure 4, p. 38).

Examinations of elections data show little left to right movement of the parties on a political scale in the eyes of the Swedish electorate. This phenomenon may have linkage to the cultural norm of *lagom*, acting as a stabilizing agent against extremism in Swedish politics. The Communist party changes names to the Left Party after the fall of the Soviet Union, and after gaining seats snap back to their ‘normal’ numbers. This appears as *lagom* acting against the extreme left. The respondents to the SCB survey consider the Conservative/Moderate party to be the furthest right, despite the fascist roots of both the New Democracy and the SD. Again here, each time the Moderates make substantial gains in seats they lose them within two election cycles.

The Centre Party, which the respondents place right of center, lost the most seats of the period this paper examines. The Centre lost seats as the smaller parties emerged and those parties represent extremist movements which no longer wish to remain within traditional parties, and the coalitions formed by these small parties with the two larger parties retained the balance between bourgeois and socialist in another semblance of *lagom*. In this vein, the SD represent another extreme of the center-right, but being focused on a single issue, their members ideologically cannot exist as members of the Moderate Party. This also shows the shortened shelf life of the SD in the Riksdag.4 The apparent loss of seats by the Social Democrats and the gains of the Moderates have the potential to snap back in the 2018 election and with the *lagom* effect, the SD

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4 Figure 1 (p. 18) shows the number of the seats held by various parties from 1973-2014.
can lose as well. The SD remain in a precarious position as neither coalition wishes to work with them and the continuing anti-immigrant sentiment makes them unpopular with minority groups in the country.

In addition to the lagom factor, the decline of voter participation shown in Chapter 4 (p. 42) creates conditions for populist movements to appear. The various economic downturns of the late 20th century create conditions where young, white males in rural areas or from predominantly industrial areas feel temporal displacement as jobs disappear. The anti-immigrant rhetoric of the SD appealed to these affected populations as they struggle to provide for their families. The myth of job loss and social welfare loss spurred them into action. As Widfeldt reports in his article on the 2010 election, the SD relied on a solid support base as only 23 percent of the SD voters made their decision on how to vote in the week prior to the election, the second lowest of all parties that year.5 Looking at the diagram of votes for the SD (Figure 3, p. 36), one sees the party builds support as early as 1998, and the populist factors of EU membership and immigration create the rapid rise of this party into the Riksdag. There appears to be no underlying issue of hyper-nationalism or fascism in Sweden to explain the rise of the SD,

The potentiality remains of continued SD increases should new immigrants fail to integrate or assimilate. Some immigrants see Sweden as a temporary respite from war and famine and hope to return to their homelands again. For this reason, those immigrants are reluctant to integrate and assimilation is never an option. The clash of ideals, ideologies, and the clan structure of primordial kinship communities and the Westernized culture of Sweden becomes the flash point from which the SD could gain further strength. The following chapter continues the discussion of

these issues.

In this paper, I conduct a mixed-methods approach to examine the various potential causative events preceding the 2014 election, with special focus on the 2010 and 2006 elections as the SD is in the Riksdag in 2010 and existed as an otherwise fringe party before that. Chapter 2 tests the hypotheses concerning the influence of types and levels of immigration on votes for the SD and sets the groundwork for later discussions. Included in this discussion is a history of immigration to Sweden, listing the dates, countries of origin, and types of immigrants. Chapter 3 examines the Swedish election systems and government structure, the role of the political parties, the roles of the Prime Minister and Speaker of the Riksdag while Chapter 4 examines the results of elections in which the SD plays a part. Chapter 1 addresses the concepts of nationalism and fascism in Sweden and gives a history of the various nationalist and fascist political parties, groups, and movements in Sweden. The Conclusion brings all of these elements together to discuss the rise of the SD with a discussion of future elections and the future of populism in Sweden. The recent terrorist attack in Stockholm also features in the ongoing discussion of the future of the SD.
Literature Review

The examination of the pertinent literature forms the qualitative portion of this thesis. The literature data describe the numbers of immigrants, their origins, the types of immigration (refugee, asylum seeker, immigrant), the response from the state and the nation to immigration, and the elections data. Zimmermann et al examine existing literature of immigration policy for varying types of countries while Rosenberg et al looks at the existing data on the numbers of immigrants and the changes to Swedish government policy. An OECD report presented in the immigration chapter uses raw data from official government reports on both migration numbers and economic conditions but remains limited in scope. Bevelander and Westin present the number of migrants, country of origin, and economic changes in a report to the Migration Policy Institute in 2006.

An excellent source of data, though somewhat limited to post-1980, is the Overview and Time Series of reports by the Swedish Migration Board (Migrationsverket). The final official website, Immigrantsinstitutet (The Immigrant Institute), gives a breakdown of the history of immigration to Sweden as well as changes to immigration policy and provides links to legislation in Swedish and English. The paper *Assessing the Costs and Impacts of Migration Policy* by Ardittis and Laczko gives solid evidence about various types of migration to Sweden and the impact on

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government policy and law. The co-authors look at the existing legislation and government policy through an examination of the population of Sweden since WWII. Brochmann and Hagelund recognize a need for research to correlate immigrant data with the welfare systems in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Their research integrates existing research on immigrants and the effects on the welfare state, as well as how existing government policy impacts immigrants and welfare recipients. Sainsbury reexamines existing data on immigrants in Sweden to determine the number, type, and amount of assistance given to immigrants.

The paper examines in part the rights afforded the immigrants. Using the same data available to Brochmann and Hagelund, Sainsbury sets out to show the changes in the welfare systems of the Nordic countries and explain why migrants lose more rights and privileges during economic downturns than the native population. Finally, Hammar examines the results of the “Swedish Experiment” of accepting high numbers of immigrants and refugees. These data combined form the basis of understanding of the history of immigration to Sweden and the various government policies implemented or changed as shown in Chapter 2. What is revealed is that high levels of immigration have occurred repeatedly since WWII, yet there was no significant increase in the number or size of nationalist groups or parties. The parties merged, split, grew, and shrank over this period but none have reached the level reached by the SD in 2010. The next closest is the New Democracy (NyD), but the NyD only got into Parliament for a single four-

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year period and faded after that. What is lacking in the literature is a comprehensive study of those descendants of immigrants now into the second or third generation and their integration into Swedish society. Additional examinations of sources appear throughout the rest of this thesis.

The quantitative analysis examines voter response data collected for the Swedish National Elections Study Program by researchers Sören Holmberg, Henrik Oscarsson, and Per Hedberg in the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg in conjunction with Statistics Sweden (Statistiska centralbyrån, SCB). Swedish researchers present questionnaires to voters before and after each general election and the data exist for every election since 1954. The second dataset examined is the European Social Survey (ESS)\(^\text{13}\) which is conducted every two years across Europe. These data fill in the gaps between election years in Sweden. Following the chapter on immigration is a discussion of the election system in Sweden and a presentation of the election data examined.

**History of the issue**

In 2014 the anti-immigrant, right-wing nationalist SD became international headlines for their rapid growth. A self-styled anti-immigrant party stemming from known nationalist and fascist roots, the SD became more controversial with the influx of Syrian refugees fleeing civil war and

the terrorist group Islamic State. The SD embrace anti-immigrant rhetoric at the same time they claim not to be fascist or racist. The Swedish votes do not consider the SD to be far-right, despite the use of this term by the press. This thesis argues in part that the SD are not a political party, but rather a populist movement.

Populist groups can be leftwing or rightwing, with the leftwing populist groups pitting the masses against the élite in a dyadic struggle. The Rightwing groups are triadic, with the people aligned against the élites, but with the élites redirecting the focus of anger toward a reified other. Judis argues rightwing populism “is different from a conservatism that primarily identifies with the business classes against their critics and antagonists below.”

Part of what marks this group as a populist movement and not a true political party is their lack of rhetoric calling for lowered taxes and streamlined bureaucracy as other right-wing parties. The SD instead remain committed to the welfare state as it exists in Sweden, but only for ‘pure’ Swedes. Judis argues further that populism is “not an ideology, but a political logic,” and this makes sense as the SD project their anti-immigrant rhetoric while voting en bloc with the Social Democrats on other issues. The SD rhetoric is based on the original Social Democratic idea of Sweden as the People’s Home (Folkhemmet), and

Although the terms ‘the people’ and ‘people’s home’ are elusive, they do indicate a certain degree of continuity and ambiguity. SD makes use of this ambiguity to stress a narrow conception of ‘the people’ and ‘people’s home’ as limited to ‘real Swedes’. The SD concept of the folkhemmet is different from the socialist utopia envisioned by the early Social Democrats. The SD believe in the social welfare programs which stemmed from

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16 Hellström and Nilsson, ‘We Are the Good Guys,’ 62.
folkhemmet, but their nationalist roots distort the ideals of the Social Democrats. The folk for the SD includes only ‘real’ or ‘true’ Swedes, as discussed further in the next chapter.

While this was not the first nationalist group to enter parliament\(^{17}\), the appearance of the SD from seeming obscurity surprised many. The leading Swedish daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* echoed *It Can’t Happen Here* by Sinclair Lewis with the headline, “It must not happen here.”\(^{18}\) Because of their nationalist roots, the focus erroneously remains on the Syrian conflict as the sole causation of the success of the SD. Mainstream Swedish newspaper accounts of the 2014 campaign focused primarily on the Syrian refugee crisis and the SD response. SD Spokesperson Jimmie Åkesson repeatedly stated that the SD position is for refugees, immigrants, and family reunification efforts to be curtailed by 90 percent. In addition, the SD advocate increased funds to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) so long as the UNHCR keeps the refugees away from Sweden.\(^{19}\) None of the other parliamentary parties agree with these demands. The reports stating the Syrian conflict and immigration as the primary reason for the rise of the SD ignore the fact the Sweden Democrats entered the Riksdag in 2010, before large-scale Syrian immigration. Despite the supposed correlation between the Syrian immigrants and the increase in political presence, the rise in popularity is not due to any one group of immigrants, whether by ethnicity or religion. Other minor increases in nationalist fervor occurred

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\(^{17}\) See brief discussion of the New Democrats on pp. 32-33 and the chart of nationalist and fascist parties in Sweden found on page 23.

\(^{18}\) *Dagens Nyheter*, *Det måste inte hända här*, September 03, 2006, Accessed April 13, 2016. http://www.dn.se/ledare/det-maste-inte-handa-har/; *It can’t happen here* is a fictional account of a fascist who pretends to be a populist candidate in order to become the President of the United States.

in Sweden after waves of immigrants from Finland in the 1950s, Turkey in the 1970s, Chile in
the 1980s, Turkey and Greece in the 1980s, etc.

Part of the integration of immigrants into Swedish society and the Swedish nation involves
adherence to a unique concept known as *lagom*. Not merely a social phenomenon, *lagom*
permeates the political culture of Sweden as well.\(^{20}\) An Old Norse word, *lagom* exists in modern
Norwegian where it means ‘fitting’ or ‘suitable,’ but in modern Swedish *lagom* is the Goldilocks
response of Swedes to everyday situations and comes from seven plus decades of social
democracy. As with Goldilocks when she enters the home of the Three Bears, Swedes wish for
equity in all situations—not too hot and not too cold.

Therefore, the application of *lagom* means there cannot be too many men in government nor too
many women. There should be no evidence of wealth inequality, but wealth equity through
taxation which allows the ‘just right’ amount of welfare for everyone, regardless of age, gender,
sexuality, or any ethnicity. The Swedes desire integration but fear the loss of their Swedishness,
while the immigrants respect the need for some integration but also fear total assimilation
becoming “an oppressed group in an alien state.”\(^{21}\) The middle-ground approach offered by
*lagom* allows the immigrants to retain their cultural identity while also accepting inclusion
within the Swedish nation. This can be achieved through what Karl Deutsch describes as
“national and cultural assimilation through social learning,”\(^{22}\) or communication and

\(^{20}\) Lola Akinmade Åkerström, “Why are Swedes so quiet?” *Slate*, September 20, 2013, accessed March 23,


\(^{22}\) Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The
understanding within the nation, “beyond the mere exchange of goods and services.”23 Here Deutsch defines the nation as a group able to communicate, not always through language, but through shared customs, cultures, and mores, with the Swiss as a primary example. The Swiss consider themselves to be one nation, despite their differences. This melding of cultures counters the ideology of the SD who seek complete assimilation.

23 Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, 91.
Chapter 1: Nationalism and Fascism in Sweden

Nationalism

Anti-immigrant rhetoric, militarization with fetishization of the military, and mythologies of a glorious homogeneous past present as hallmarks of far right-wing—and quite possibly fascist—parties across Europe. Many of these groups begin as populist movements which propel them into their respective national spotlight but with no clear plan once they reach parliamentary levels. Questions about whether the SD represents nationalism, nativism, or fascism persist and this section helps to understand the definitions of these terms as well as how the terms apply to the SD. To begin, the terms nation, nationality, nationalism, and nativism deserve examination and definition to prevent confusion. For this thesis, I contend nationality and nativism exist as extremes of nationalism but in the example of Sweden one needs to consider them not as varieties of one concept, but as separate entities. An examination of the works of Anderson, Billig, Foucault, Derring, Deutsch, Payne, and others contributes to a better understanding of these terms. This review of the pertinent literature offers an alternative set of definitions for the two most prevalent uses of the term nationalism, i.e. nationality and nativism and the varied and diametrically opposed manner in which these concepts are presented in general.

Payne\textsuperscript{24} believes the rise of nationalism corresponds with the formation of the nation-state, while Anderson argues nationalism in Europe springs from the capitalist system of printing and the creation of what he terms “languages-of-power” or “administrative languages.”\textsuperscript{25} Karl W. Deutsch utilizes the term nationality in the dualist manner described in this paper. In an earlier


\textsuperscript{25} Benedict Anderson, \textit{Imagined Communities} (London and New York: Verso, 2003), 42-44.
work, Deutsch et al define nationalism as “feelings of loyalty to some territory, group, or state.”

Deutsch states that “ethnic and language groups are distinguished from each other” but also “Nationalism, based largely upon ethnic and linguistic distinctions, is still a great force.”

Deutsch then notes that examples exist of integration without ethnic and linguistic assimilation. Deutsch pointedly implies what Anderson later interprets as imagined communities when he states,

We can make a simple test to determine how thorough a nation’s consolidation is. Will its people stick together even through a catastrophe, a national defeat, or a severe economic depression?

Dr. Deutsch goes on to describe how the civic unity of the United States during and after the Great Depression is proof of the American national cohesion. Deutsch cites certain specific criteria in the development process of nation-building. Among these are trade, communication networks, self-awareness enforced by a common language, the use of national symbols, and the fusion of a national identity.

The idea Anderson considers to be nationalism germinates in cultural roots which cause people to believe they belong together in one “imagined community”. Anderson focuses on language-of power and the use of print-capitalism with language to control the masses in order to create a coherent nation or nation-state.

Billig, drawing on Anderson, considers the nation and the state to be congruent, seemingly to echo Payne to some extent. The use of symbols and even language create an ordinary, everyday

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27 Deutsch, Political Community, 158.

28 Deutsch, Nationalism and Its Alternatives, 31.

nationalism, what Billig terms “banal nationalism”.\textsuperscript{30} For Billig, this form of banal, everyday nationalism includes the appropriation of the flag of the United States of America flying in front of buildings and schools; the average citizen sees the image, but does not necessarily consciously associate it with the state or even the nation as it has become a background image in society. This flagging of society creates a mental image of the flag as normal so that its absence causes concern and greater displays of the flag and flag imagery such as at sporting events can be perceived as nationalist displays. What Billig describes, again drawing inspiration from Anderson, is part of the concept I consider in this work nationality. Nationality is the imagined community of Anderson combined with the flagging of Billig so that the population who feel they belong together as one people or nation can rally around a common language à la Anderson, or a common highly visible symbol of unity: the flag. Nationality is directed inward to reinforce borders and establishes a cohesive sense of ‘us’. It is not, however meant to promulgate hate as it also creates unity.

Anderson later echoes these ideas of Deutsch on the importance of language and social communication in the development of nations and nationality. The physical boundaries of the nation-state exist as a result of the nation building processes but boundaries reinforce the nation at the same time the boundaries are reinforced by the nation. The creation of boundaries also delineates markets as the nation benefits from trade with other nations in addition to the internal trade between villages, groups, and families.

Nativism—as opposed to nationality—is divisive and directed outward and creates an ‘us versus them’ based on factors such as race or religion. The borders, limitations, language, culture,

customs, religions, and other traits are amorphous, imagined to be ancient by the people of the nation. The nation creates borders and boundaries to segregate humanity and these boundaries are “mere artifacts that have little basis in reality…our entire social order rests on the fact that we regard these fine lines as if they are real.” Additionally, national holidays and remembrances of specific time periods exist as temporal boundaries for the nation again delineating ‘us’ from ‘them’.

The period after the French Revolution and indeed the fin de siècle sees increased nationalism (or perhaps nationality) as the consolidation of European nation-states continues. In his 1995 work on extreme nationalism and violent discourse in Scandinavia, Tore Bjørgo states that,

“In Scandinavia, two different types of extreme nationalists — on the one hand, neo-Nazis and others with a clear racist ideology, and on the other, anti-immigrant activists — seek support for their views from their interpretations of historic events. History comes to serve as mythological justification of their political messages and as legitimation for the use of violence against immigrants and political opponents.”

This conflict described by Bjørgo between the neo-Nazis and their detractors creates a linguistic and semantic nightmare for researchers who insist upon using the single term nationalism. Both ends of the spectrum exist as extremes but the label of nationalism is questionable. This shows the need for using separate terms but creates some confusion. Discussing the history of what he terms nationalism in Sweden, Bjørgo further shows that,

“Sweden’s past as an expansive great power in Northern Europe, particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the way it was influenced by the political culture of Prussia/Germany, shaped Swedish nationalism. The notion of a ‘Greater Sweden’ was alive in influential circles way into the twentieth century — at least until the middle of World War II.”

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33 Bjørgo, “Extreme Nationalism,” 184.
The idea of a national ‘glorious past’ and the artificially created antiquity of the nation presents later in the definitions of fascism. This also explains the use of runes and Viking symbols as the nationalists seek to create a temporal fixation with the past. One need look no further than the second stanza of the Swedish national anthem for a prime example of the glorious past myth.

_Du tronar på minnen från fornstora dar,
Då ärat ditt namn flög över Jorden._
(You rest upon memories from the great days of old,
When your name swept honored around the world).^{34}

Indeed, the anthem, sung at major and minor events by the general public, and also by the royal family, creates some of the banal nationalism described by Billig. In this case, however, the flagging is not of an object but of words. The words become commonplace, ingrained in the psyche of the Swedish people until it becomes part of what it means to be Swedish. Most chilling of all is the final line of the verse, “_Jag vet att du är, och du blir vad du var._” Here the translation is, “I know that you are, and [that] you remain what you were.” In other words, Sweden is and will remain the same glorious realm it was during the golden age so mythically presented as fact. The use of the various meanings of nationalism and the need by some to utilize alternative words such as nativism and nationality and perhaps the avoidance of the term nationalism itself creates confusion. Regardless of which term prevails, nationality, nativism, and even nationalism present a potential for extremism and violence and one possible outcome of extremism is fascism.

Fascism

The Swedish author Heléne Lööw cites Payne to define fascism using three categories: common ideological foundation elements, political objectives, and organization.\(^{35}\) The common ideological foundation elements include antiliberalism, antisocialism/Marxism, and anticapitalism in a moderate form. The political objectives include a nationalist authoritarian state built on traditions and a regulated non-class-bound national economic structure that has the ability to partially reshape social life. As with the primary example of Fascism—the Nazi party in Germany—the Swedish far-right enjoys symbolism and Bjørgo writes:

As nationalist symbols and sentiments are not much used and embraced by most Swedes (except in connection with sports), these symbols have to a large extent been appropriated and monopolized by right-wing, racist and neo-Nazi groups — who all wave the flag and sing ‘Du gamla du fria’\(^{36}\) with great enthusiasm. The main national celebrations of the extreme right in Sweden are the annual marches to commemorate the warrior kings of Sweden’s glorious imperial past during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in particular King Karl XII and Gustav II Adolf.\(^{37}\)

This imperial past creates in Sweden a chauvinistic nationalism not found in other Scandinavian countries, such as Denmark and Norway, although they share some of the same racist and anti-Semitic tendencies. During the Interwar Period, Swedish nationalists and proto-fascists begin to develop contact with the German NSDAP. Between 1915 and 1956 there exist no fewer than seventeen nationalist and fascist parties in Sweden. This number counts only those parties operating at the state level: many groups operate locally at the län or kommun level. Berggren questions that Swedish fascism was predominantly a German import during the interwar period.

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\(^{36}\) ‘Thou ancient, thou free,’ the Swedish national anthem. Note the final line of each chorus: ‘Yes, I will live and I will die in the North.’

\(^{37}\) Bjørgo, “Extreme nationalism,” 186.
and points to the Italian roots of Swedish fascism. Besides this assumption of an “un-Swedishness” of fascism, Berggren discusses the assumption that “a ‘common-sense’ definition of fascism as nothing but a hotchpotch of disparate ideas, paranoid myth-making and racist violence, is quite sufficient.”

During this period, various groups attempt to redefine themselves, with some identifying more with the German NSDAP ideologically and others attempting to downplay the fanaticism of the NSDAP. In 1938 within the NSAP, “the swastika was replaced by the traditional Wasa sheaf as the party symbol, and the ‘Grand Salute’ was replaced by the ‘Small Salute’, which involved raising only the lower arm rather than the whole arm”. Despite a strong anti-capitalist line, a coalition with the Sweden’s Socialist Party (SSP) only earns 0.7 percent of the national vote.

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39 For a list of fascist groups and political parties and their abbreviations, see Table 1, p. 23.
41 Payne, History of Fascism, 306.
After 1945, the various nationalist and fascist parties undergo multiple and sometimes simultaneous mergers, takeovers, and extinctions and many groups disband due to social pressures after the horrors of the Holocaust came to light. Figure 7, created by Lena Berggren and Stieg Larsson, shows the genealogy of the major groups in Sweden and actually debunks one myth about the SD: that they are direct descendants of the Nazi party.

In 1956 the National Socialist Combat League (Sveriges Nationalistiska Kampoförbund or SNSK) formed and later took the name Nordic Reich Party (Nordiska Reichspartiet or NRP), which lasted until 2009. In 1968, a small local party in Skåne province formed from portions of two minor parties, Medborgerlig Samling and Samling för Framsteg, and took the name Progress Party (Framstegspartiet or FsP). The FsP dissolved but members refound the FsP in 1979, the same year a loose network/political movement with the name Bevara Sverige Svensk (Keep Sweden Swedish or BSS) became more actively involved. The merged group renamed itself the Sweden Party (Sverigepartiet or SP) in 1986 and expelled the FsP party leader Hermann. Some members of the SP left with Hermann and formed the Sweden Democrats (SD), in 1988. By this time, the FsP renamed itself the SFsP (the Swedish Progress Party, Sveriges Framstegspartiet). The SFsP became a national party in 1989 but never achieved a mandate for membership in the Riksdag. As with the NSDAP in Germany, the modern Swedish nationalists and fascists adopted Viking symbols and runic scripts. The Mjölnir, or Thor’s Hammer, became a common symbol worn around the neck to identify like-minded individuals to each other in public. In 1990, a SFsP member named Tony Wiklander resurrected the old FsP, but again this party never gained entry to parliament. In 2001, the more radical elements of the SD split to form their own party called the National Democrats (Nationaldemokraterna or ND), but disband in 2014.42 This split

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occurred primarily because, writes Larsson,

the party has always been based on irreconcilable opposites: its ideology and activists have advocated Nazism while its rhetoric and official principles have sought to claim that the party is democratic. There is no such thing as ‘democratic Nazism’.

The ND chose to embrace the extreme Nazi elements in Sweden, including the National Youth, a Hitler Youth-like organization. It is the National Youth who carried out the most violent acts in the name of the party, including the 2003 “violent attack on participants in the Gay Pride Festival in Stockholm [where] the party’s chairman, Marc Abramsson, was subsequently imprisoned for battery and rioting”. On September 11, 2003, a member of the National Youth stabbed to death the Swedish Foreign Minister, Anna Lindh. The ND and SD publicly condemned the murder while at the same time vilifying Lindh as bringing traitors to Sweden—in the form of the German foreign minister—and members of both parties wrote about Lindh in online forums and chatrooms.

Throughout the history of nationalism and fascism in Sweden, Jews, immigrants, and homosexuals were the primary targets, as is the case with Nazi Germany as well. Before they disbanded, Stieg Larsson writes of how “the hatred of homosexuals by the extreme right is…enjoying a renaissance” with “National Democrat leaders who describe homosexuality as a disgusting disease on local radio” and this dehumanization of one part of the population recalled the horrors of the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide. A 2014 interview with SD parliamentary speaker Björn Söder revealed the othering of minority groups also. When the reporter asked if a person can be both Jewish and Swedish at the same time, Söder stated that

43 Larsson, Expo Files, 112.
44 Larsson, Expo Files, 117, n. 2.
45 Larsson, Expo Files, 218-219.
when becoming Swedish, a Jew or a Sami gives up their other nationality in favor of their Swedish nationality. He somewhat backtracks by also stating that Jews and Sami have lived in Sweden for a long time, but he does not say they reside in Sweden as Swedes. Dagens Nyheter (DN), a prominent Swedish daily, quotes the SD ideological rhetoric as stating

"Just as a person born in another nation later in life can be a part of the Swedish nation, we also mean that a native Swede may cease to be a part of the Swedish nation by switching allegiance, language, identity or culture." This quote represents the ultra-nationalism of the SD and makes the group fascist in the eyes of the newspaper. Currently, the remaining nationalist or fascist parties in Sweden are the SD, the SFsP, and the FsP—but only the SD has seats in the Riksdag. The surge in popularity of the SD also coincides with the ascension of Mikael Jansson as party leader in 1995 and his decision to “ban the wearing of [pseudo-military] uniforms at public meetings”. Today the party presents a business casual appearance at events and rallies with the militant fringe elements ostracized.

The rhetoric changes include toned down language and more intellectually worded statements about crime rates, population growth, loss of jobs and social welfare programs, and race. By 1998 the SD achieved the status of largest non-parliamentary party. The influx of Muslim refugees into Europe after the Arab Spring created more racist fodder for the SD and in 2009, Jimmie Åkesson, party chief, wrote an opinion piece in which he stated

"As a Sweden Democrat I see this [Islam and Muslims in Sweden] as our biggest foreign threat since World War II, and I promise to do everything in my power to reverse the trend when we go to the polls next year…that leading representatives of the Muslim community will demand the implementation of Sharia law in Sweden; that the Swedish municipal health board will use taxes to circumcise totally health young boys; that Sweden would have a higher level of rape and that

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46 The Sami (same, adj. samisk in Swedish) are semi-nomadic reindeer herders found in northern Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Russia. They are genetically unrelated to Swedes.


48 Larsson, Expo Files, 112.
Muslim men would be strongly represented among the rapists; that Swedish swimming clubs would introduce separate timetables for women and men, that Swedish municipalities would discuss the possibility of gender-segregated swimming education in schools.\textsuperscript{49}

This return to strongly worded hate speech creates a hostile environment in which newly arrived refugees and immigrants struggle for acceptance and the possibility of integration. The SD continue this anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim rhetoric as the main focus of their speeches.

One can argue that the long history of fascism and nationalism in Sweden culminates with the rapid growth of the SD, whether as a result of recent immigration or the passing of an unknown threshold of integrated but not assimilated immigrants. The question of integration versus assimilation past the first generation remains valid but no data are available on this other than case studies. One such study is the story of Fadime Şahindal, a Kurdish woman killed in Uppsala by her father in an honor killing. Fadime considered herself a Swedish woman and chose to follow her heart by rejecting arranged marriage to a cousin and instead began dating an Iranian-Swede, Patrick Lindesjö. The case shocked Swedish society as it showcased the intersect between primordial kinship communities and the Western social democracy of Sweden.

According to Unni Wikan (2008),

\begin{quote}
Fadime was an example of successful integration because she had embraced the value of freedom and fought for it vigorously. Her father was an example of a partial integration, because he spent much of his working life in Sweden and worked in a firm that employed Swedes almost exclusively. Also, he knew it was wrong of him to kill Fadime. In other words, he had acquired at least some idea of Swedish laws and regulation, even if not Swedish values.\textsuperscript{50}
\end{quote}

This begs the questions, is \textit{lagom} a value which immigrants learn, and once learned is \textit{lagom} the threshold for total assimilation versus integration, successful or otherwise for which the

\textsuperscript{49} Diana Mulinari and Anders Neergaard, 2014, “We are Sweden Democrats because we care for others: Exploring racisms in the Swedish extreme right.” \textit{The European Journal of Women's Studies} 21 (1): 9-10.

leadership of the SD search? These questions become part of the larger issues concerning immigration to Sweden and the reaction of the nationalist and fascist groups to recent and long-term immigrants.

Throughout the hundred plus years represented in this chapter and in Table 1 (see page 23), the number of groups existing at the same time dropped. Some merged, others disband, members changed allegiance or died off. Gradually over those hundred years, only a few have approached the Riksdag threshold, and only two have crossed it. Perhaps the ascension of the SD is not due to racism at all, but a response to EU membership and the fear of identity loss or the loss of sovereignty. These are issues to which no data speak. Again, were the SD more than a populist movement there would be specific rhetoric or party platform material calling for the Swedish equivalent of Brexit. As it is, the SD continue to support the Social Democrat’s European policies, with the exception of lessened immigration and stricter border controls. The discussion of immigration continues in the next chapter.
Another translation is the Swedish National Socialist Party. According to Payne, this party formed in 1924 but only took the name in 1930. (Payne, *History of Fascism*, 306).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Abbrev.</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>NF</td>
<td>The Swedish National Socialist Freedom Federation (Nationalsocialistiska Frihetsförbundet)</td>
<td>Founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>SFFP</td>
<td>Sweden’s Fascist People’s Party (<em>Sveriges Fascistiska Folkparti</em>)</td>
<td>Merged with NSNP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bet. 1926-1930</td>
<td>SFKO</td>
<td>Sweden’s Fascist Combat Organization (<em>Sveriges Fascistiska Kamporganisation</em>)</td>
<td>Initially the militia of the SFFP. Between 1928-29 developed contact with NSDAP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca. 1929</td>
<td>SNFP</td>
<td>Sweden’s National Socialist People’s Party (Nationalsocialistiska Folkparti)</td>
<td>Name changed from SFKO to SNFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>NF</td>
<td>The New Swedish Federation (<em>Nysvenska Förbundet</em>)</td>
<td>Created by Per Engdahl to be closer to Italian fascism than German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>FNS</td>
<td>Association of the New Sweden (<em>Föreningen det Nya Sverige</em>)</td>
<td>Created by Engdahl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>SNSP</td>
<td>The Swedish National Socialist Party (Nationalsocialistiska Folkpartiet)</td>
<td>Name change from NSNP to SNSP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aft. 1930</td>
<td>RNS</td>
<td>National Federation of the New Sweden (<em>Riksförbundet det Nya Sverige</em>)</td>
<td>Name changed from FNS to RNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>NSAP</td>
<td>The National Socialist Labour Party (Nationalsocialistiska Arbetarpartiet)</td>
<td>Formed when Sven-Olov Lindholm and followers were excluded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>NSB</td>
<td>The National Socialist Bloc (Nationalsocialistiska Blocket)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>SSP</td>
<td>Sweden’s Socialist Party (<em>Sveriges Socialistska Parti</em>)</td>
<td>Originally communist, beginning in 1937 became more fascist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RNS merged with the SNF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>SSS</td>
<td>Swedish Socialist Coalition (<em>Svensk Socialistska Samling</em>)</td>
<td>Name changed from NSAP to SSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sveaborg</td>
<td>A party branch of the SSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>SO</td>
<td>Swedish Opposition (<em>Svensk Opposition</em>)</td>
<td>Created by Engdahl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca. 1945</td>
<td>NSR</td>
<td>The New Swedish Movement (<em>Nysvenska Rörelsen</em>)</td>
<td>Name changed from SO to NSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>SNSK/NRP</td>
<td>National Socialist Combat League of Sweden (Nationalsocialistiska Kampoförbundet), Later called The Nordic Reich party (Nordiska Rikspartiet)</td>
<td>Founded. Dissolved in 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>FsP</td>
<td>The Progress Party (Framstegspartiet)</td>
<td>Local party in Skåne province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>FsP</td>
<td></td>
<td>FsP refounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>BSS</td>
<td>Keep Sweden Swedish (<em>Bevara Sverige Svensk</em>)</td>
<td>Loose network/movement. Became involved with FsP in 1986 under the new name SP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>SFsP</td>
<td>The Swedish Progress Party (<em>Sveriges Framstegspartiet</em>)</td>
<td>Remained from FsP to SFsP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>The Sweden party (<em>Sverigepartiet</em>)</td>
<td>Founded through merger of BSS and FsP. Later reconstituted as the SD.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Sweden Democrats (<em>Sverigedemokraterna</em>)</td>
<td>Party formed. Regrouped from SP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>SFsP</td>
<td></td>
<td>Became a national party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>FsP</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ressurected by Wiklander.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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51 Another translation is the Swedish National Socialist Party. According to Payne, this party formed in 1924 but only took the name in 1930. (Payne, *History of Fascism*, 306).

Chapter 2: Immigration to Sweden

One hypothesis concerning the introduction of the SD in 2014 centers around the Syrian Civil War (2011-present) and the refugee crisis stemming from the conflict. The hypothesis states that the SD entered parliament as a result of the influx of Syrian and other post-Arab Spring Muslim immigrants. The SD were in fact already in the Riksdag, albeit at smaller numbers, before the war in Syria began, having entered in 2010. This fact negates the hypothesis that the Syrian conflict is the trigger for the appearance of the SD in 2014. A second hypothesis scrutinized here deals with the levels of immigration to Sweden. This hypothesis states that the recent rise in the number of immigrants to Sweden is responsible for the increase in votes for the SD. To test this hypothesis, an examination of immigration history since WWII is presented in this chapter. The immigration history is presented chronologically and includes some facts on government policy and policy changes as a result of immigration changes.

Swedish government policy regarding immigration and migration changed drastically after World War II as economic need changed from skilled factory laborers to more advanced and technical workers. In 1951, an agreement among the Nordic countries gave Nordic citizens the right to migrate to other Nordic countries without special permits. During the 1960s the numbers of immigrants changed from Finns and some Yugoslavs to a majority non-Nordic

55 Brochmann and Hagelund, Immigration policy, 8.
immigrants for the first time in 1964. In 1954, Sweden joined Norway, Finland, and Denmark in a common Nordic economic market, and as the labor market in Sweden expanded in the 1950s and 1960s, Sweden relied mainly on skilled immigrant labor at factories. Gradually, technical jobs expanded and the blue-collar jobs became less in demand. Until the oil and gas crisis of 1972, the majority of immigrants to Sweden remained skilled laborers from Eastern Europe and Finland. Around this time period, the Swedish economy moved from factory labor to the technology sector. The 1970s saw other shifts in immigration from laborers to asylum seekers fleeing various conflicts around the world. The 1972 civil war in Uganda resulted in 70,000 stateless people who sought asylum and Sweden eventually accepted 1,000 refugees late that year. The following year thousands of Chilean refugees arrived after a military coup and the imposition of a junta led by Augusto Pinochet. Also that year, internal conflicts between Turks and Kurds in Turkey led to additional refugees. These were among the first Muslim groups to settle in Sweden. In 1972-1973, a series of global oil crises stopped immigration for labor from non-Nordic countries but immigration among the Nordic countries remained. Large-scale immigration to Sweden continued in the 1980s with immigrants and asylum seekers fleeing conflicts and poor economic conditions in Chile, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Iran, and other Middle Eastern countries. This second wave of Muslim immigrants was smaller than the first

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58 Fredlund-Blomst, “Assessing Immigrant Integration.”
wave. In 1981, General Wojciech Jaruzelski took power in Poland to counter the Solidarity Movement, and thousands of Poles fled to Sweden. By 1990, high unemployment in Sweden led to additional financial crises and a “deep economic recession” in 1991. Because of this recession, the Swedish government reduced allowances given to asylum seekers and resident aliens in 1994. Later in 1994, the Nordic region economic union integrated into the open European labor market (the EU/EEA area). During the end of the 1990s, strict austerity measures in Sweden caused further reduction in benefits to immigrants and asylum seekers. In the early to mid-1990s, the countries of origin of immigrants to Sweden shifted to the Balkans, Iraq, and Eastern Europe following the Balkan Wars and the First Gulf War. In addition to Muslims, Chaldean Christians from Iraq fleeing persecution arrived in Sweden.

Another factor in the changes to immigrants to Sweden involves the policies of her neighboring countries. In 2001 Denmark decided to restrict the number of asylum seekers, which increased the numbers who then applied to Sweden. A few years later in 2004, the decision to expand the EU into Eastern Europe—and the open migratory policies of the EU—allowed for more non-skilled laborers seeking work in Sweden. In 2007 Sweden followed the Danish model and restricted the number of asylum seekers and created an increase of applications to Norway. In 2008, the number of migrants slowed somewhat with the majority coming from Eastern European nations such as Poland and Romania. Economic collapse in Greece and the EU

63 Bevelander, “Immigration patterns,” 16; Fredlund-Blomst, “Assessing Immigrant Integration.”
67 Lundkvist, The future population of Sweden.
integration of Lithuania increased migrants from those countries in 2011. The latest change to immigration came because of the September 2013 decision by the Migration Board to grant permanent residence permits to all Syrians and stateless persons who fled the civil unrest in Syria. This asylum program is the largest in Europe and potentially affected the 2014 election, but many of the asylants were in Sweden when the blanket order was enacted.

In an article discussing immigrant riots in 2013, Fredlund-Blomst (2013) notes, “apart from asylum seekers, Sweden also has the largest and one of the oldest refugee resettlement programs in the European Union, dating back to 1950.” This statement is key to the second hypothesis examined here, that the high number of immigrants to Sweden has not changed recently, and is not a cause of the rise of the SD. The numbers of immigrants from various states within and without the EU denies the validity of this hypothesis. While immigration itself has risen, the integration and assimilation of the second and third generations and beyond confound the issue. Data utilized for this thesis do not contain information past the first generation.

Questions about religion—and Islam in particular—as a potential causative in the rise of the SD are equally false as many immigrants in the years preceding the Arab Spring and the Syrian civil war were Muslim and for the most part successfully integrated into Swedish society. Part of the SD rhetoric includes assertions that immigrants are the cause of job loss, loss of social programs, and a supposed rise in crime. This rhetoric aims to reify immigrants against what the SD call true Swedes. This is part of the dyadic of rightwing populism. The history of immigration is important as the recent Syrian conflict and the Arab Spring are not the only periods of large-scale

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68 Brochmann and Hagelund, *Immigration policy*, 13, 89.
69 Migrationsverket, “Overview and Time Series.”
70 Fredlund-Blomst, “Assessing Immigrant Integration.”
immigration. The narrow focus of anti-immigrant sentiment while backing the Social Democrats on all other issues shows the lack of political maturity of this group. The SD remain a political threat as a populist movement which should be contained within one or another party, but not independent. This examination of the immigration history is but one part of the SD story and it should be noted that this thesis does not examine the varying influence of second generation immigrants to Sweden. The SD appear to ignore those immigrants who are past the first generation. The SD call for assimilation and not mere integration, and so those who identify as Swedish, speak Swedish, and have given up their other cultural hallmarks are accepted by this group. The cultural assimilation of the second generation and beyond echoes the sentiments of SD party leader Jimmie Åkesson who has stated that one cannot be Jewish and Swedish or Sami and Swedish at the same time (see further discussion in Chapter 1, p. 21). The possibility exists that the SD are one possible culmination of one hundred years of nationalist and fascist groups in Sweden (see Chapter 1), and this particular outcome resulted in the SD reaching the four percent threshold. But, why now and not after the last large wave of immigration, and if because of islamophobia why not after the last wave of Muslim immigrants? The following chapter addresses these questions with an examination of the elections system in Sweden and the election data gathered by the SCB and ESS surveys.
Chapter 3: Elections in Sweden

Government Structure and Elections

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system of government consisting of the monarch as head of state, the prime minister as head of government, and separate judicial and legislative branches. Swedish parliamentary elections are determined by a proportional system whereby voters choose from two lists on the ballot. The ballots list party names first to allocate the number of seats each party receives in the Riksdag, with a second list of area candidates to decide who will then represent each constituency. The constituency seats are not winner-take-all, so parties win seats proportionally within each constituency. Here again is lagom in action as a compromise between direct representation of the American system and the similar-but-not two-list ballot of the German system.

Because of the two-list ballot, the possibility exists for a party to win enough votes in some of constituencies to gain entry to the Riksdag, but fail to garner a seat specifically for those constituencies. The candidate lists are created by the local party chiefs and are ordered in preference by the party. Out of the 349 seats in the Riksdag, 310 are fixed and 39 adjustment seats to make the total proportional to the country-level number of votes. The adjustment seats are used to keep the proportions in the Riksdag as close to the actual popular vote percentages as possible. Each party must receive two percent overall to be represented in the Riksdag—to limit the number of small parties. This though ties back to the culture of lagom as the number of constituents.

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71 The constituency level is equivalent to the kommun, or municipality. Sweden is currently divided into twenty-four län (singular and plural). A län is roughly equivalent to an English county as the and the word county is used in most translations. Each län is further divided into kommuner (singular kommun), with one or more towns and their surrounding areas. The kommun is roughly equivalent to the US version of a county. The smallest division is the socken (plural socknar) or församling, which translates as parish or assembly. There are discussions to devolve the län system and divide Sweden into five or six regioner (regions). As of this writing no changes are planned.
parties in the Riksdag must remain stable, and the introduction of too many small parties could upset the balance. This concept comes to the fore in the discussion of coalitions later in this section. After the party seat allocation, election officials choose members from party lists in each constituency to determine the members. A party member must receive two percent in a single constituency to receive a seat. Should more than one person receive two percent, the candidate with the most votes takes the seat. If a single candidate reaches two percent of the party’s total votes, they move to the top of the list for seating in the Riksdag. Preliminary results are announced by the major Swedish television networks and the election committee makes the final, official tally one week later. Once seats are chosen, the task of choosing a government and a new Prime Minister begins.\(^{72}\)

The role of the Prime Minister during elections is limited. The Prime Minister has the ability to call a snap election if he or she receives a vote of no confidence, but a second vote in the Riksdag can forestall a snap election if a new government is formed.\(^ {73}\) The Prime Minister can replace, move, and transfer other ministers without the prior approval of the Riksdag. The PM generally advises the Riksdag when this occurs.

After each election, the task of choosing a government retains primacy in the Swedish system and the Riksdag has unique rules to elect a prime minister and government. After an election, the members of the Riksdag elect a Speaker and three Deputy Speakers—each of whom are not from the same party—who serve the same four-year term as the members. The Speaker is chosen in the first legislative session after the election. Once elected, the Speaker cannot vote in

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\(^{73}\) Swedish *Statsminister*, lit. State Minister.
parliamentary proceedings and so a substitute member of his or her party is chosen to sit in his or her place in the chamber to vote. The Speaker and his/her deputies comprise the presidium, a collective role similar to the presidential role in other parliamentary systems. It is the Speaker who leads the discussions about forming a government and, along with representatives of the parties involved, “instructs one or several party leaders to jointly examine the possibilities of forming a government.” The new Speaker of the Riksdag is central to this task; yet the Speaker from the previous election cycle sets the tone which the new Speaker completes. The uniqueness of the Swedish system, however, is that the previous Speaker, after seeing the election results, contacts the winning party/ies to begin the process of selecting a coalition and a government. Again, once sees the influence of lagom on the Swedish system as a result of the centuries of four estates evolving into the bicameral, and in the twentieth century, unicameral legislative system. The evolution of an absolute monarch to an overbearing prime minister gives way to a constitutional monarchy with a prime minister who can be checked by the unusual role of the Speaker.

This unique position gives the outgoing Speaker enormous power. In the interim between elections, the Riksdag is unable to remove either Speaker. The Speaker has the duty of proposing a new Prime Minister after each election, and historically the Riksdag approves every suggested PM on the first round. According to the Riksdag website the Speaker may belong to any party in the Chamber, but,

Since 1982 the Speaker has been chosen from the largest party in the Riksdag majority, that is, the party or group of parties forming the Government. During the period of non-socialist governments in 1976-82, however, the Speaker was a

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74 “Elections to the Riksdag.”
75 “Elections to the Riksdag.”
Social Democrat and thus a representative of the largest party overall during that period. 77

Given that the Speaker also creates the agenda for each session of the Riksdag and is the official who calls for new elections in the case of a collapse of government, the Speaker is the most powerful government official in Sweden. In a hierarchical sense, the Speaker of the Riksdag ranks above the Prime Minister (Head of Government), but below the King (Head of State).

77 “Forming a Government.”
History of coalitions

Coalitions of parties form the basis of the government systems in Sweden. During the four decades from the 1930s to the 1970s there were five main parties in the Riksdag: the Social Democrats, the Liberals, the Agrarians (who become the Centre Party), the Communists (later the Left Party), and the Conservatives (later the Moderates). The parties split along class lines, with the Conservatives, Liberals, and Agrarians forming the bourgeois and the Social Democrats and Communists as the socialist\textsuperscript{78} classes. By the 1980s this ‘stable’ system crumbled as more parties appeared and began to enter the Riksdag. The Greens appear in 1988 and then disappear in 1991 when the Christian Democrats and the far-right New Democrats (NyD) appear. Compared to the SD, the NyD were more of a political party as their rhetoric included lowered taxes and lessened bureaucracy while also taking an anti-establishment and anti-immigrant stance. The SD remain focused on immigration and follow the Social Democrats on other policy issues. Those voters who supported the NyD in 1991 did not support the new SD in the 1994 election when the NyD “dissolved.”\textsuperscript{79}

The New Democrats disappeared by 1994 at the same time the Greens reappeared. From this date forward the Riksdag contained no fewer than seven parties. The Social Democrats retained their socialist dominance of the government in Sweden with either majority or minority governments and in coalitions with the Communists, Liberals, and occasionally the Greens until the 1990s. The bourgeois parties took control from 1990-1994 and then again from 2006 to 2014 when the Social Democrats returned with a minority government coalition with the Greens. The

\textsuperscript{78} Swedish language sources list the left-wing parties as socialistiska partierna (socialist parties) and not arbetarpartierna (working class parties), and right-wing parties as borgerlig (lit. burgher-like, bourgeois).

\textsuperscript{79} Hellström and Nilsson, “We Are the Good Guys,” 58.
Moderates (formerly the Conservatives), the Liberals, the Christian Democrats, and the Center form the opposition coalition, the Alliance for Sweden.\textsuperscript{80}

The Sweden Democrats surprisingly side with the socialist bloc on matters other than immigration, despite being excluded from both coalitions because of opposition to their policies. Further, Hellström and Nilsson (2010) show the SD voters demonstrate “dissatisfaction with the established parties, rather than being drawn to its [SD’s] ideology,”\textsuperscript{81} making the SD less of a full party and more of a grassroots or populist movement.


\textsuperscript{81} Hellström and Nilsson, “We Are the Good Guys,” 63.
Table 1 (p. 23) shows the history of nationalist and fascist groups and parties, small parties which never reached the level of the SD. Other small parties along the political spectrum appeared over the years and most failed to reach the Riksdag as well. The power of the SD remains in the clean-cut appearance of its youthful party leaders, its acceptance of the social welfare programs making up the modern Swedish state, and its public denunciation of violence and the more vocal racist and anti-Semitic elements along its fringe. These factors allow the possibility of a stronger SD in time for the 2018 election, and a possible center-right coalition with the Moderates or the Center party. No predictions are made here and further analysis of the SD up to and beyond the 2018 election remain as viable research possibilities.
Chapter 4: Elections Data Examination

The rapid growth of the SD and their increases in the Riksdag warrant examination as they attempt to usurp the pivotal, third largest party role held by the Centre Party. The elections data examined include raw numbers of votes received by the SD in the last five general elections and both Pre- and post-election surveys conducted by SCB and the European Social Surveys (ESS). Both the SCB and ESS surveys have relatively large sample sizes. The SD first appeared in the 1998 Riksdag election results with just 19,624 votes, or 0.40 percent of the total. In the following election (2002) their number jumped to 76,300 votes or 1.4 percent of the total, which represents a 388.8 percent increase. In 2006 the number again jumped, this time to 162,463 votes and 2.9 percent of the total, an increase of 212.9 percent. The 2010 numbers showed minimally slower growth with 5.7 percent of the total and 339,610 votes, which was still a healthy increase of 209 percent. This is the year the SD crossed the four percent threshold and gained entry to the Riksdag. The election of 2010 is notorious also for the lowest rate since 1960 of non-mandate parties—those who do not achieve a seat in the Riksdag—at 1.4 percent (85,023 votes).

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83 Hellström and Nilsson, ‘We Are the Good Guys,’ 56.


record highest rate of non-mandated parties is 2006 with 5.7 percent. In 2010, the three parties receiving the highest percent of the non-mandated vote are the Pirate Party (38,491 votes), 0.6 percent, Feminist Initiative (24,139 votes, 0.4 percent) and Sweden's Pensioners’ Interest Party (11,078 votes, 0.2 percent). The election of 2014 found the SD with 801,170 votes, 12.9 percent of the total, an increase over 2010 of 235.9 percent. The near trebling of votes each election positioned the SD as the third largest party in the Riksdag and a similar 200 percent increase in 2018 would garner 1.6 million votes and potential control over any coalition government in the Riksdag.

Figure 3 Votes received by SD in Riksdag elections

The numbers of parties in the Riksdag increased from five to eight over a fourteen-year period (1973-2010) with six parties in 1988, seven in 1991, and eight in 2010. The two largest parties, the Social Democrats and the Moderates, lost seats in an ebb and flow over these fourteen years. Some smaller parties represented former fringe elements of the Social Democrats and Moderates,


86 Statistiska centralbyråns.
with the Left existing as a far-left party since 1917. The Centre Party, the second largest until 1976, lost seats to the Moderates and to the Social Democrats, but with the entrance of multiple smaller parties the Centre lost even their third-largest ranking, first to the Liberals, and as of 2014 to the SD. This ranking has the potential to propel the SD further as a ‘king-maker’ party, but also can force the SD to make clear ideological stances on key issues. A change to party platform has the potential to drop the SD below the four percent threshold again, especially as they generally voted with the socialist bloc and the two coalitions changed immigration policy, though not as severely as the SD wanted.

Historically the Social Democrats were able to govern Sweden with very small coalitions or in majority governments. Because of changes in the makeup of the Riksdag, the Centre Party became the pivotal party in deciding which coalition formed the government as the Social Democrat party continued to shrink; The number of parties necessary for the Social Democrats to remain a controlling party also increased. The 1998 and 2002 elections appeared to show an ideological lean toward the left as the Left Party gains seats lost by the Social Democrats. These seats reverted back and lagom returned by the time of the 2006 election. Between 1973 and 1991 the Social Democrats only needed the support of one party to control the Riksdag, but after the 2010 election the requirement increased to necessitate a four-party coalition. The seats which the Social Democrats lost between 2006 and 2010 and the Moderates lost in 2014 were gained by the smaller parties. These parties represented the former fringe elements of the larger parties. Should the Social Democrats lose another twenty or twenty-five seats in the next election, their chance of successfully forming a coalition narrows significantly, and the potential for a Moderate

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88 See Figure 2, page 32.
or even SD-led government increases. A gain of this many seats by the SD would not change their current third-largest position, but their control of the situation in the Riksdag would be enormous. The extensive questionnaire SCB presents to voters before and after elections contains data which are relevant to understanding voting behavior in Sweden. Sample questions include number 61A reproduced here from the 2006 survey in which voters place the political parties on a left to right scale.

Variations of this question appear in each of the election questionnaires recorded by the researchers at Gothenburg University. The voters were given the opportunity to answer for each political party in terms of their placement on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right.

**Question 61A**

In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place the parties on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

![Figure 5 Question 61A of the SCB Election Survey](image)

**Placement of Political Parties and Self (line) on L to R Scale**

![Figure 4 Placement of Political Parties and Self on Left to Right Scale](image)
of the parties, give no answer, or admit they do not know. For the purposes of this thesis, only those responses which fall within the 0-10 range on the scale necessitate examination, with the blank responses and ‘Do Not Know’ answers omitted. The answers to these questions are compiled and displayed in Figure 4 showing where Swedish voters place political parties on the traditional left-to-right political scale in 2006, 2010, and 2014. The line represents the mean of the self-reported placement of the respondents. For this graph, the mean of responses to the question for each party are graphed by year.

A test of the results of the ESS survey by gender shows women tend to vote more left than men, however while the SCB data are testable by gender there are not enough observations (N<10) for the years available.\textsuperscript{89} Using a two-sample test of proportion on the ESS data, a positive and significant z value shows men are more likely to vote for the SD than women (N=10,017).\textsuperscript{90}

The 2014 data only include the response to this particular question and no other variables due to juridical restrictions, so an attempt to analyze these data across gender is not currently feasible.\textsuperscript{91} An attempt to analyze the effect of occupation on voting behavior or the left-right self-placement was not made as the ESS data are not formatted in that manner. All of these examinations are useful to determine if there exist potential relationships with the rise of the SD and voting

\textsuperscript{89} See Figure 10, Appendix B. ESS Round 7 (2014); ESS Round 6 (2012); ESS Round 5 (2010); ESS Round 4; (2008); ESS Round 3 (2006); ESS Round 2 (2004); ESS Round 1 (2002).


behavior, however, until such time as the 2014 data are fully available and the ESS occupation data are available, these analyses cannot be completed. The ESS data were tested using a two-sample test of proportion to look at age and party vote, however the very low number of respondents who voted for the SD ($N=28$) make analysis unreliable.

As shown, there is little movement of the political parties with the exceptions of a slight rightward shift in the Greens (MP) from 2006 to 2010, a slight leftward shift in the Social Democrats (S) in 2010 which reverses in 2014, and a surprising leftward shift in both the Moderates (M) and the Sweden Democrats (SD) during the eight-year period represented in Figure 4. The 2010 shifts correspond to the rightward shift of the Swedes in 2010 as reported in Figure 5. Correspondingly there is a leftward shift on the self-reported line in the same time period. It should be noted that the Centre Party (C) aligns with the right-wing parties in coalitions.

The follow-up question to the party placement question in the SCB surveys asks the voter to place themselves on the same scale. The ESS contains a similarly worded question, “In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Using this card, where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?”

As shown in Figure 4, the Swedes consider themselves very close to center politically and movements to the left or right swing back to center. As a social democratic state, the actual placement falls more to the left and this explains the placement by the respondents to the SCB survey of the Centre Party past 6 (right) on the left to right scale shown in Figure 5.

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92 See Figure 12, Appendix C.

93 ESS Round 7 (2014); ESS Round 6 (2012); ESS Round 5 (2010); ESS Round 4; (2008); ESS Round 3 (2006); ESS Round 2 (2004); ESS Round 1 (2002).

94 Sören Holmberg and Henrik Oscarsson, Statistics Sweden (SCB), (2014). Swedish election study 2006-2010 panel. Version 2.0, Swedish National Data Service. [http://dx.doi.org/10.5878/002092](http://dx.doi.org/10.5878/002092); Sören Holmberg and
questions, the ESS data are available for a full 14-year period. The difference between the means in the four overlap years (2002, 2006, 2010, 2014) are not significant enough to graph separately (see Figure 11, Appendix B) so the SCB data are ignored and only the ESS data are present in Figure 5.95

![Where Swedes place themselves on L-R political scale](image)

*Figure 6 Where Swedes place themselves on L-R political scale*

The next data examined, also from SCB, indicate that there shows a slight decrease of 11.2 percent in voter participating during the period 1973-2010. The data are raw numbers of total valid votes by party, by region. For this figure the total votes cast for the entire country are counted. The downward trend in voter participation reverses with a 5.7 percent increase between

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95 ESS Round 7 (2014); ESS Round 6 (2012); ESS Round 5 (2010); ESS Round 4; (2008); ESS Round 3 (2006); ESS Round 2 (2004); ESS Round 1 (2002); Holmberg and Oscarsson, Swedish election study 2006-2010.; Holmberg and Oscarsson, 2010-2014 panel [Limited, unpublished data. Used by permission]; Holmberg and Oscarsson, Swedish election study 2006.; Holmberg and Oscarsson, Swedish election study 2002.
2002 and 2014 as shown in Figure 6. The overall downward trend and decreased participation potentially represents voter apathy during the decline of the Social Democrat’s majority rule. Notable points are the lack of a change in voting trends in 1991 when Sweden faced a deep recession, and the obvious downward trend beginning in 1994 when Sweden officially joined the EU/EEA. With the Eurosceptic tendencies of nationalist groups, one expects to see an increase in voter participation at this time. Sweden joined the EU six years after the SD formed and four years before they appeared on a national ballot. At the time of this writing, no connection between EU membership and the rise of the SD appears present.

*Figure 7 Voter participation in Riksdag elections*
Conclusion

The initial idea for this thesis questioned why a known far-right, fascist party suddenly became the third largest party in the Riksdag. This question later evolved to ask how—and also why. An examination of the literature showed the initial entrance of the SD before the news of their third-largest ranking, and the questions about their rise in popularity grew. The answer became obvious long before the actual question. The SD became the third largest party in the Riksdag not because of a single factor, but a combination of circumstances, timing, and attitudes.

This thesis approached these problems with a mixed-methods approach, first with an analysis of the available literature, then with a historiography of the nationalist and fascist groups and political parties existent in Sweden since around 1900. A discussion of immigration to Sweden which showcased the changes in number, country of origin, and government programs during each wave of migration. The second half of this thesis examined the elections to the Riksdag in which the SD played a role. First with an explanation of the election system in Sweden which included a discussion of the role of the Speaker of the Riksdag, the Prime Minister, and the role of coalitions, and then with a quantitative analysis of elections data provided by the European Social Survey and datasets from researchers working with the Central Statistics Bureau in Sweden.

Nearly a century of social democracy in Sweden created not only a model welfare state, but a moderating force known simply as lagom, the Goldilocks effect. The definition of lagom is difficult, but according to Slate magazine,

This untranslatable ethos is called lagom (pronounced: law-gum) and it permeates all facets of the Swedish psyche. The word lagom itself comes from a shortening of the phrase “laget om,” which literally means “around the team” and dates back to the Viking era between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Communal horns filled with mjöd [mead] (fermented honey wine) would be passed around and
everyone had to sip their share and not a bit more. Sweden today might be known for cutting-edge design and fierce modernism, yet this Viking code of conduct remains ingrained in their mindset. With *lagom* imbued throughout Swedish culture and society, the presence of any sort of extremism becomes superannuated. When applied to politics, this meant the quick life and death cycle of small parties which tried to buck the status quo.

The entrance of Sweden into the European Union brought the same tensions found throughout the rest of the EU, fear of identity loss and a strengthened reification of the other. As the Swedes worked to fit into the new Europe and find a way to apply *lagom* to these new challenges, the horror of war and conflict appeared from the Arab Spring and the Syrian civil war. The influx of thousands of people of different ethnicities, cultures, languages, and religions strained the resources existent at the time and became further strained with the government decision to throw the borders open to all those fleeing persecution in Syria. This occurred not before and therefore a causation of, but after the appearance of an aggressive, anti-immigrant party with nationalist and fascist roots.

The SD advocated stringent immigration controls, the deportation of some existing immigrants, and even sought additional government spending to fund the UNHCR, not to house, feed, clothe, or relocate refugees, but to keep them out of Sweden. The other parties in the Riksdag, repulsed by the blatant racism of the SD, created new policies to reduce the flow of refugees and immigrants into Sweden, but not before the SD made tremendous gains in parliamentary elections, and eventually became the third largest party. The SD remain a threat to the status quo, and while *lagom* appears to bring balance to Swedish politics, the potential effects of this

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populist movement cum political party on Swedish politics remains unknown. The SD continue as a single-issue party, siding with the ruling socialist coalition on all issues besides immigration. While this appears to show willingness to cooperate, the potential for disaster is great. At the time of this writing, the SD present as a short-lived populist movement and risk absorption by one of the larger parties, particularly the Moderates. The leftist voting patterns of the SD prevent them from becoming ideologically right enough to merge with the Moderates. Party growth remains constrained by their insistence on a single-issue platform, but as the Swedish people see them as center-right and not far-right, there is no perceived threat to Swedish society.

The Swedish people do not see the SD as being ‘far-right,’ instead placing the Moderates in that position. Should the Moderates or Centre party lose enough seats and the SD continue to make gains, the SD would become the second largest party and capable of forming a ruling coalition, without the Social Democrats. This is reminiscent of how a populist movement in the United States cooped the Republican party, resulting in the election of a far-right candidate with ties to nationalism. The after-effects of the US election have the potential to affect the outcome of the next Riksdag election, but there remain key European elections before that time, such as the French presidential race and the German chancellor’s race.

The terrorist attack at the Åhlén’s department store on Drottninggatan in Stockholm on April 7, 2017 can boost support for the SD. The next general election is scheduled for September 9, 2018, and after that election the effects of lagom may prove enlightening.
Appendix A

Figure 8 shows the statistical significance of men being more likely to vote for the SD party than women, with a \( z \) value of 0.0092 (Male \( N = 5050 \), Female \( N = 4967 \)). The gender variable was coded with 0 for Male and 1 for Female. The partyvote variable was coded by party according to the chart in Figure 9.\(^{97}\) While this shows a 3:1 ration of men versus women voting for the SD, the low \( N \) (28) makes the data and any interpretation questionable, despite the resultes of the two-sample test being statistically significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two-sample test of proportions</th>
<th>( x: ) Number of obs = 5050</th>
<th>( y: ) Number of obs = 4967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Std. Err.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.0041584</td>
<td>0.0009056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.0014093</td>
<td>0.0005323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diff</td>
<td>0.0027491</td>
<td>0.0010504</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{diff} = \text{prop}(x) - \text{prop}(y) \]
\( \text{under Ho: } 0.0010551 \quad 2.61 \quad 0.009 \]
\( \text{Ha: diff} < 0 \quad \text{Ha: diff} = 0 \quad \text{Ha: diff} > 0 \)
\( \Pr(Z < z) = 0.9954 \quad \Pr(Z > z) = 0.0092 \quad \Pr(Z > z) = 0.0046 \)

\( z = 2.6056 \)

Figure 8 Two-sample test of proportions to determine if gender is statistically significant to votes for the SD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Votes by gender by party, ESS survey Rounds 1-7 (2002-2014)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9 Votes by gender by party, ESS survey

\(^{97}\) ESS Round 7 (2014); ESS Round 6 (2012); ESS Round 5 (2010); ESS Round 4; (2008); ESS Round 3 (2006); ESS Round 2 (2004); ESS Round 1 (2002).
Appendix B

Two-sample t test with equal variances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Obs</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Err.</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>[95% Conf. Interval]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6,204</td>
<td>5.265474</td>
<td>0.0293151</td>
<td>2.309021</td>
<td>5.208006 - 5.322942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6,054</td>
<td>5.094483</td>
<td>0.0294304</td>
<td>2.289907</td>
<td>5.036789 - 5.152177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined</td>
<td>12,258</td>
<td>5.181025</td>
<td>0.0207838</td>
<td>2.301095</td>
<td>5.140285 - 5.221764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diff</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1709909</td>
<td>0.0415437</td>
<td>0.0895587</td>
<td>0.2524231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

diff = mean(Male) - mean(Female)

Ho: diff = 0
Ha: diff < 0
Ha: diff != 0
Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 1.0000
Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000
Pr(T > t) = 0.0000

degrees of freedom = 12,256

Figure 10 Two-sample t test to determine if gender is statistically significant to L to R placement on political spectrum

Mean of self-reported placement on L to R scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>ESS Data*</th>
<th>SCB Data**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>4.946033 (0.0581623)**</td>
<td>4.984709 (0.0694631)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>5.325871 (0.0572872)</td>
<td>5.256153 (0.0682535)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>5.236963 (0.0557338)</td>
<td>5.256153 (0.0682535)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>5.109711 (0.0545128)</td>
<td>5.256153 (0.0682535)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>5.559212 (0.0619606)</td>
<td>5.255814 (0.0515891)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>5.291795 (0.0558288)</td>
<td>5.255814 (0.0515891)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>5.030098 (0.0594838)</td>
<td>5.054209 (0.0573751)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* ESS (European Social Survey) data recorded every even year
** SCB (Statistiska centralbyrån) data recorded each election year
*** Standard deviation

Sources: European Social Surveys 2002-2014 (N=12,258); Statistics Sweden (Statistiska centralbyrån) (N between 1,649 to 3,999)

Figure 11 Mean of self-reported placement on L to R scale

Figure 10 shows the statistical significance of men placing themselves further to the right on a left to right political scale. The two-tail t value is statistically significant at 0.0000 (Male \( N = 6204 \), Female \( N = 6054 \)), and 99 two percent confidence intervals. The gender variable was coded with 0 for Male and 1 for Female and the lrscale variable coded 1 through 10. Figure 11 shows the mean and statistical significance of the combined L to R placement by year for both the ESS and SCB surveys.98

Appendix C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of respondent</th>
<th>Votes for SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 28

* Only includes those respondents who voted for SD

Figure 12 shows the number of respondents to the ESS survey who reported voting for the SD, by age.\(^99\) The total number of respondents voting for the SD across all seven rounds of the survey is only 28, so these data are unreliable and excluded from the data description in Chapter 4.

Figure 13 (Appendix D, following page) shows the raw elections data obtained from the SCB website.\(^{100}\)

\(^{99}\) ESS Round 7 (2014); ESS Round 6 (2012); ESS Round 5 (2010); ESS Round 4; (2008); ESS Round 3 (2006); ESS Round 2 (2004); ESS Round 1 (2002).

Figure 14 ESS Survey votes for SD by age

Figure 15 Raw elections data from SCB

Figure 16 ESS Survey votes for SD by age
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Participation of in (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>30.8 40.1 42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>31.2 40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>46.0 42.4 35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>46.8 37.7 42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>36.0 36.5 26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>56 40.1 29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>35.5 24.7 21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>54.5 30.4 20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>63.4 24.9 14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>55.3 27.9 14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>54.2 25.8 11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>38.2 21.8 10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>55 26.1 10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>67.4 29.4 11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>58.2 28.4 13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>67.6 23.5 13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>63.6 24.2 13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>74.5 17.6 14.3 12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>65.3 17.8 12.6 12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>70.3 18 12 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>66 17.6 14.2 12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>79 17.6 14.2 12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>72 14.8 13.6 15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>87.7 11.3 11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>80.5 12.3 21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>79 14.4 10.7 24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>79.1 15.7 10.3 21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>79.8 17.1 9.4 23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>77.4 15.5 12.7 18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>79 20.1 13.1 15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>80 31.5 12.7 18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>81 15.5 13.1 17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>82.8 13.7 13.1 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>80.1 12.9 14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>88.4 11.5 19.9 18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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*Note: The data was compiled from the Swedish Central Population Register (SCB)."
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