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Gender, Equality and Ambiguity

A study of the Scandinavian radical-right populist parties' views on gender equality

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Abstract

This study aims at descriptively analyzing the views on gender equality of the Scandinavian radical-right populist (RRP) parties; the Sweden Democrats, the Norwegian Progress party and the Danish People's party, by studying how these views are manifested in a selection of official party documents. More specifically, the study focuses on possibly outlining common patterns in the Scandinavian RRP parties' views on gender equality, even though these parties stem from different political backgrounds. The study shows that gender equality seems to have a strong cultural reference according to the Scandinavian RRP parties. While claiming support for gender equality in order to promote an anti-immigration agenda, the Scandinavian RRP parties are able to distance non-Western cultures from their own by referring to gender equality as a part of Western culture and identity. By doing that, other cultures are systematically portrayed as the gender unequal 'Other'. At the same time they are not challenging gender equality issues on their home grounds. On the contrary, they are emphasizing traditional heteronormative gender roles as the foundation of the Scandinavian societies. In other words, Scandinavian RRP parties support gender equality when discussing other cultures, but are the first ones to critique gender equality in other contexts.

Keywords: Sweden Democrats, Norwegian Progress party, Danish People's party, gender equality, radical right populism, gender and nation, the Other

Nyckelord: Sverigedemokraterna, Fremskrittspartiet, Dansk Folkeparti, jämställdhet, radikal högerpopulism, genus och nation, den Andre

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1 Introduction

The Scandinavian radical-right populist (RRP) parties; the Swedish Sverigedemokraterna (SD; the Sweden Democrats); the Norwegian Fremskrittspartiet (FrP; the Progress party); and the Danish Dansk Folkeparti (DF; the People's party), are all anti-immigration parties. Recently, the FrP won seats in the Norwegian government, and at the moment the DF and the SD are mobilizing for the upcoming European Parliament election in May 2014. In Sweden, the SD are also facing the national elections in September 2014, and the polls, at the time of writing, show that the SD is the third largest party in Sweden (SCB 2013).

The Scandinavian RRP parties fit well into the wide range of European RRP parties, promoting anti-immigration, monoculturalism and the desire to uphold traditional and conservative values. The European RRP parties are continuing to break ground all throughout Europe, gaining seats in national parliaments across the continent. However, they are not only increasing their electoral support in many European states, they are also gaining significant ideological influence across the political spectrum (Gullestad 2006: 70). Denmark, Austria, France, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands are all examples of European countries where RRP parties have impinged on the governmental politics (Hellström and Nilsson 2010: 59). Thus, the politics of the radical-right is gradually becoming an accepted part of the political sphere all over Europe. The Scandinavian RRP parties are not exceptions, although they are not considered as 'extreme' as other European RRP parties (Kitschelt 1998: 121; Mudde 2000: 9).

The Scandinavian RRP parties, as with other European RRP parties, see themselves as defenders of liberal, democratic values (Betz and Johnson 2004: 312; Hellström and Nilsson 2010), in which gender equality is included. They often refer to the impossible task of combining immigration and upholding their own national identity and cultural heritage. While promoting anti-immigration policies, the Scandinavian RRP parties have realized the reward in claiming support of gender equality.

> "Radical-right populist parties that seek electoral success and political influence increasingly seem to build their case on a defence of liberal values such as freedom of

expression (…) and gender equality, a defence often raised against the threat of an 'Islamicization' of Western culture. In this context, radical-right populist parties have discovered that women's rights are an important issue" (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007: 200).

The Scandinavian RRP parties also promote policies underpinning traditional heteronormative gender roles, as in male superiority and female subordination. Undeniably, there is a clear conflict between the aspiration of preserving traditional heteronormative gender roles, and the claimed support of gender equality. This conflict becomes even more obvious when it is put in a national versus international context. The Scandinavian RRP parties emphasize gender equality issues of foreign, often non-Western, cultures and religions, portraying 'Their' values as fundamentally different from the values of the Western world.

Similar to all the European RRP parties, the Scandinavian RRP parties do not share the same political background. The SD spring mainly from racist and nazi-movements, while the FrP and the DF stem from populist and neo-liberal ideas invoking tax-reductions and practically non-existent interference by the government (Betz 1994: 5; Hellström and Nilsson 2010: 56; Kitschelt 1998: 128). The SD "combines classic neo-right rhetoric with a strong defence of the social democratic welfare model, which distinguishes it from other more neo-liberal oriented neo-right parties, such as the Progress Party in Norway" (Hellström and Nilsson 2010: 59).

Despite their different political backgrounds, this thesis may outline common patterns in the Scandinavian RRP parties' views on gender equality. Thus, one of the purposes of this study is to analyze if the Scandinavian RRP parties, in their struggle to decrease immigration and hinder multiculturalism, merge in their claimed support of gender equality. Furthermore, this study aims at descriptively analyzing how the conflict – constituted by supporting traditional heteronormative gender roles while simultaneously claiming to promote gender equality – is expressed in a selection of the Scandinavian RRP parties' official documents.

2 Previous research and theoretical framework

This study will focus on theories of the *ideology of radical-right populism* and *gender and nation.* The following two parts will clarify the theoretical background and offer a brief review of previous research.

2.1 The ideology of radical-right populism

The emergence of radical-right populism has generated an enormous academic interest over the last few years, which has contributed to the growing volume of literature, namely focusing on ideology, voting and policy impact (Rydgren 2013: 1). The party family of radical-right populism is the most studied and analyzed party family ever (Mudde 2007: 2–3, Mudde 2000: 6). Nevertheless, the gender perspective is usually disregarded when theorizing radical right-populism, except from acknowledging that men tend to be overrepresented in regards of the RRP parties electoral support and the rank and file of the parties (Norocel 2013: 6; Coffé 2013: 138–53).

Jens Rydgren argues that although the scope of research on radical-right populism has been increasingly improved, it is still mainly concerned with "macro structural explanations of voters' behaviour" (Rydgren 2013: 2). Scholars have pointed to the fact that "the centrality of ideology in party politics is undeniable" (Ware 1996: 17 cited in Mudde 2007: 5), yet there is a marked lack of previous studies of party ideology, especially regarding party ideology in studies of the radical-right populist parties (Mudde 2007: 5). Additionally, there is an extremely wide range of terms used within the field of studying radical-right populism.

Cas Mudde (2000) discusses the non-existing consensus around the term 'right-wing extremism', which in this thesis is the same as 'radical-right populism'. Mudde concludes that there are twenty-six definitions of 'right-wing extremism', and fifty-eight characteristics are mentioned at least one time (Mudde 2000: 11). This bears witness to the problematic task of trying to define this ideology. This study will however not use the same term as Mudde, since nearly all of the preparatory research

of this thesis used the term 'radical-right populism' and subsequently so will this study.

Rydgren describes the ideological core of the radical-right populist parties in terms of 'ethno-nationalist xenophobia' and 'anti-establishment populism', with anti-immigration as the most central message (Rydgren 2013: 2–4). He also emphasizes the fact that "in their political platforms this ideological core is often embedded in a general socio-cultural authoritarianism that stresses themes such as law and order and family values" (Rydgren 2013: 2).

Hans-Georg Betz and Carole Johnson (2004) point out that the 'new', as they are often called (e.g. Rydgren 2013: 3), radical-right populist parties answer the central political questions: what went wrong; who is to blame; and what is to be done to reverse the situation, with referring to "the erosion of the system of 'ethno-national dominance', which characterised much of the history of modern nation states" (Betz and Johnson 2004: 323).

Another influential scholar within the field, Roger Griffin, throws a light upon the differences between the 'old' and the 'new' radical-right populism. Griffin stresses the fact that the new radical-right, in contrast to the old, embraces the liberal system and plays by the rules of democracy (Griffin 2000: 173). Hans-Georg Betz and Carole Johnson agree and state that:

> "Under the circumstances, traditional approaches to deal with the radical right—such as proscription, marginalisation and shunning (…) no longer seem to work. To the contrary: radical right-wing parties and movements have been increasingly successful in marketing themselves as champions of 'true' democracy and defenders of the values and interests of ordinary people, too often ignored if not dismissed by the political establishment. In the process, the radical right has defined the public debate on a number of important issues, ranging from immigration and citizenship to questions of security and law and order" (Betz and Johnson 2004: 312).

Radical-right populist parties have in one way become symbols of the authoritarianism that stands in opposition to liberalism and multiculturalism (Coffé 2013: 138). The Scandinavian RRP parties are, as the other European RRP parties, opposing multiculturalism, while promoting the aspiration for ethno-pluralism. Ethno-

pluralism is best described as a non-hierarchical ideology, in which cultures and national identities solely can be saved from extinction by separating them from one another (Rydgren 2013: 3-4, see also Griffin 2000, Minkenberg 1997, Taguieff 1988).

Although ethno-pluralism is ideally characterized by an absence of hierarchical structures that subordinate certain cultures, there are some threats to the national identity and culture that are more dangerous than others. The most alarming threat is the perceived 'Islamization'. However, supranational entities, such as the European Union, and economic globalization also pose a threat against the national identity and culture (Rydgren 2013: 4). Non-Western cultures and religions, namely Islam, are portrayed in contrast to the national identities and cultures of the Western world. A distance is created between 'Us' and 'Them', by identifying the 'Self' in terms of what the 'Other' is not. The notion of the other, or otherness, is broadly built on the concept of belonging and will serve as a recurrent theme in this thesis.

2.2 Gender and nation

In order to understand the gender and nation approach in this study, it is necessary to briefly go through the academic debate on nationalism. The academic discussion on nationalism has ignored, for some time, gender relations (Yuval-Davis 1997: 1), mainly since nationalism was considered a male phenomenon in regards to masculinized memories, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope (Enloe 1989: 44 in Özkırımlı 2010: 175).

During the 1960s and 1970s, a large number of new states, in particularly Africa and Asia, saw the light of day, and the academic debate on nationalism had an upsurge. Nationalism was at that time seen as an accompanying factor of the transition from a 'traditional' to 'modern' society (Özkırımlı 2010: 3). However, during the 1980s the debate took a new turn and developed more thoroughly with an impressive amount of research, which included completely new perspective and theories. *Nations Before Nationalism* (Armstrong 1982), *Nationalism and the State* (Breuilly 1982), *Imagined Communities* (Anderson 1983), *Nations and Nationalism* (Gellner 1983), *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983) and *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Smith 1986) are considered some of the most influential pieces of the early work within the field (Özkırımlı 2010: 3). The early body of work of nations and

nationalism includes inter alia class analysis, analysis of the education level of the ones participating in the nationalist project concerned, and analysis of common patterns in the, sometimes enormously different, nationalist movements found across the globe (Özkırımlı 2010: 175).

It is namely George L. Mosse (1985), Kumari Jayawardena (1986), Carole Pateman (1988), Cynthia Enloe (1989), Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (1989; Yuval-Davis 1997), Partha Chatterjee (1990), Deniz Kandiyoti (1991), Sylvia Walby (1996), and Anne McClintock (1996) who have contributed to the important understanding of gender relations in theories of nations and nationalism (Özkırımlı 2010: 176; Yuval-Davis 1997: 3). It is argued that the gender perspective should be integrated into all nationalist theories since it is not just another dimension of nationalism, but a crucial point that cannot be ignored (McClintock 1996: 261; Özkırımlı 2010: 175).

Nira Yuval-Davis, together with Floya Anthias, are the editors of the book *Women – State – Nation* (1989), which provided a gendered approach to nationalism and is considered an enormously important work. It introduced the idea of how men and women are constructed differently by the state, emphasizing the weight of gender divisions when constructing ethnic and racial divisions. This is further developed in another significant piece: *Gender and Nation* by Yuval-Davis (1997), which will serve as one of the two principal theoretical frameworks of this thesis. Her main point includes how gender relations are crucial in the understanding of nationalism, and how these relations affect and are affected by national projects and processes (Yuval-Davis 1997: 1).

Yuval-Davis' book is structured around five chapters, all in one way or another related to women's roles in nationalist projects; (1) women as biological reproducers of the nation, (2) women as cultural reproducers of the nation, (3) the dual nature of women's citizenships, (4) gendered militaries and gendered wars, and (5) the politics of women's empowerment (Yuval Davis 1997: 22–5). This thesis will however exclusively focus on the symbolic and ideological expressions of women as biological and cultural reproducers of the nation. Women give birth to and raise their children into the nationalist project, whose future is dependent upon a population learning the traditions and ideology of the nation in order to convey it to the next generation, and the next, and the next. Thus, the woman as the biological and cultural reproducer of

an ethnic group is central in the understanding of nationalist projects and this provides an efficient tool of analyzing the views on gender equality possibly found in the official documents of the Scandinavian RRP parties.

It is certainly possible, as in the case of the ideology of radical-right populism, to link the theory of gender and nation to otherness. In the theoretical context of gender and nation, otherness is associated to the notion of 'womanhood'. Otherness is not solely used in terms of its distance to other collectivities, but also between men and women within a certain group. The twofold position women possess within a collectivity is manifested by, on the one hand, the symbolism women represent in terms of collective unity, and on the other, women are "often excluded from the collective 'We' of the body politic" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 47). Yuval-Davis furthermore states: "any culturally perceived sign could become a boundary signifier to divide the world into 'Us' and 'Them'" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 47).

In order to provide some concluding remarks to this section presenting the theoretical frameworks, I would argue that theories of gendered nationalism and the gendered approach of the ideology of radical-right populism could constructively be applied to the Scandinavian RRP parties' views on gender equality. It is quite rewarding to analyze the SD through a gender and nation perspective, since it is an explicitly nationalistic and social conservative party (SD – Program of principles 2011). It is however a bit more challenging to apply the same approach when analyzing the FrP and the DF, since they are neither explicitly nationalistic nor explicitly social conservative (FrP – Program of principles 2013 – 2017; DF – Program of principles 2002). On the other hand it is possible, which will be shown further down in section 5.3, to assume that the FrP and the DF have nationalistic and social conservative traits to some extent and that, in its turn, could act as a foundation of analysis. The common feature of otherness found in the two theories presented above will play a central role in developing the analytical frameworks that will be used in order to systematically approach the selected material of analysis. This will be further discussed and motivated in section 4.1.

2.3 Previous research

Prior to the time of writing this paper, there has been some research into how RRP parties integrate gender equality as a policy measure in order to decrease immigration and hinder multiculturalism (Towns et al. 2013). It is common to study the Scandinavian countries together, due to the fact that their political cultures are generally seen as similar – they all have proportional representation, stable democracies and a social democratic welfare state (Demker 2012: 239). However, the comparative approach in regards of the Scandinavian RRP parties views on gender equality is largely undiscovered, which motivates the contribution of this thesis.

The important comparative work done by Tjitske Akkerman and Anniken Hagelund (2007) studies both the Norwegian Progress party and the Dutch RRP party Lijst Pim Fortuyn. They point to the fact that anti-immigration parties, such as the RRP parties, have adopted gender equality issues in order to condemn other cultures, which are, in their words, misogynistic. The leader of the Lijst Pim Fortuyn stressed that "emancipation of immigrant women was one of the keys to successful integration" (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007: 200). However, their main point seems to be that the RRP parties in Norway and the Netherlands are shifting towards the centre by defending inter alia gender equality (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007: 197). Akkerman and Hagelund conclude that: "All in all, although the radical right has certainly not become mainstream, some space for the left and the right to act in common seems to have opened up in the often polarized field of immigration politics" (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007: 214).

In the case of the SD, there is some research connected to gender equality. The recently written article by Ann Towns, Erika Karlsson and Joshua Eyre; *The Equality Conundrum: Gender and Nation in the Ideology of the Sweden Democrats* (2013), focuses on how the ideology of the SD can be understood in the light of women being the biological and cultural reproducers of the nation. Towns, Karlsson and Eyre show that the SD is facing a problematic situation when trying to integrate the old nationalist ideas of traditional heteronormative gender roles with the new nationalist narrative of Sweden as the most gender equal country in the world.

Furthermore, Christian Ov Norocel has contributed to the feminist perspective of the scholarship of radical-right populism with his article *"Give Us Back Sweden!" A*

Feminist Reading of the (Re)Interpretations of the Folkhem Conceptual Metaphor in Swedish Radical Right Populist Discourse (2013). Norocel analyzes the SD's new interpretation of the Swedish Folkhem (People's home) from a feminist perspective focusing on the current SD leader, Jimmie Åkesson, and his use of this metaphor over time. The metaphor can be understood by the norms intrinsic to heterosexuality and masculinity, and by the notion of the other, both in regards of the ethnically different other and the sexually diverse other (Norocel 2013: 16). Although Norocel's work is mainly discourse oriented, which this thesis is not, it serves as an inspiration to this study.

Both the SD and the FrP have been subjects of research with a gendered approach (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007; Towns et al. 2013; Norocel 2013), even if the research of the two has been angled from different points of view. However, within the scope of my knowledge, there has been no research done on the DF's views on gender equality, nor a comparative study including all the Scandinavian RRP parties' views on gender equality. Therefore, I want to call attention to the need of a comparative study of the Scandinavian RRP parties' ideological and political standpoints from a gender equality perspective.

3 Problem definition and objective

The main objective of this study is to provide a deeper understanding of the views on gender equality of the Scandinavian RRP parties; the Sweden Democrats, the Norwegian Progress party and the Danish People's party. The ambition is to *describe* and *analyze* how the conflict, constituted by supporting traditional heteronormative gender roles while simultaneously claiming to promote gender equality, is manifested in a selection of official documents of the Scandinavian RRP parties. Although these parties derive from different national contexts and political backgrounds, it may be possible to outline common patterns regarding the views on gender equality. It is self-evident that this study also aims to outline possible differences between the parties, in regards to views on gender equality.

This thesis will serve the purpose of challenging previous research, which argues that the RRP parties, at least in Norway and the Netherlands, turn to the centre of the political spectrum when including inter alia gender equality issues in their rhetoric (see Akkerman and Hagelund 2007). It will provide comparative research between the Scandinavian RRP parties hitherto never done before, offering a new approach to the Scandinavian radical-right populist agenda. I would argue this study to be much needed, since the gender approach throws a light on issues usually neglected by scholarship on radical-right populism. Furthermore, a gender approach to the ideology of the Danish People's party has never been done before, subsequently providing an additional reason why this study is relevant.

The study will focus on the present views on gender equality of the Scandinavian RRP parties, analyzing some of the political documents and the members' bulletins of the respective parties. The scope of this thesis solely allows a very limited analysis, hence the rather narrow selection of official documents. However, since the selection is of some of the core documents of the respective parties, it is considered representative for the parties' political and ideological standpoints. The study's choice of material will be further discussed in section 4.3.

Motivated by the double standard of defending traditional heteronormative gender roles while simultaneously claiming to promote gender equality, this study will

attempt to outline possible common patterns regarding the Scandinavian RRP parties' different views on gender equality, linking possible findings to theories of gender and nation and the ideology of radical-right populism. The overall research question is formed in accordance with the objective of this study, and suggests an existing difference in the views of gender equality, motivated by the findings of previous research (Towns et al. 2013; Akkerman and Hagelund 2007; Norocel 2013). The research question this study will attempt to answer reads as follows:

> How are the different views on gender equality manifested in a selection of the official documents of the Sweden Democrats, the Norwegian Progress party and the Danish People's party?

4 Methodology and material

The following section will include a discussion of the methodological choices, the selected material, together with a discussion of operationalization, validity and demarcations.

4.1 Methodological choice

In order to seek the answer to the research question presented in the previous section and consequently *analyze descriptively* how the different views on gender equality are expressed in some of the official documents of the Scandinavian RRP parties respectively, this study will apply a qualitative text analysis, with certain influences of quantitative method, on the chosen material.

This study's choice of using both a qualitative and a quantitative approach is motivated by the fact that both can equally contribute with interesting and significant inputs from different perspectives, since they act as a complement to each other. The qualitative text analysis aims at capturing the totality of the text, not only certain parts, which is the quantitative analysis' general objective (Esaiasson et al. 2012: 210). Seeing that there is a need to both focus on the totality of the texts as well as certain parts, the combination of using both is suited for the purpose of this study, bearing in mind the scope and objective.

The execution of the analysis could roughly be divided into two parts. The methodological focus will initially be of quantitative nature and concentrate on how often different search words occur in the chosen material, mainly inspired by the methodological approach *content analysis*. Subsequently, an analytical framework has been developed to systematically outline and illustrate the occurrence of a selection of search words in the official documents. However, the quantitative analysis will mainly serve the purpose of being the foundation for the process of selection of the material.

Later on, the study will take on a qualitative approach and consequently shift focus. The qualitative text analysis will be of an ideological analytic nature to some extent, since the subject of the analysis will be the ideological and political standpoints of the

parties, expressed in the official documents. The qualitative text analysis will be executed by applying a second analytical framework on the material selected by the content analysis and this will be considered the main analyzing part of the study.

The general purpose of using an analytical framework, when analyzing material descriptively, is to facilitate the analysis by constructing a framework, which enables the researcher to capture important aspects of the societal phenomenon in question (Esaiasson et al. 2012: 137). It is moreover central for the choice of analytical framework to distinguish if the research problem aims at studying ideological *change* or only to *describe* an ideology (Demker 1993: 52). Since this analysis does not fall within the scope of studying if there has been an ideological change within the parties, the general methodological aim of this thesis is to *analyze descriptively* the different expressions possibly found in the selected material.

4.1.1 Part I – Content analysis

This two-step analysis begins, as mentioned above, with a quantitative approach namely inspired by *content analysis*. Content analysis is to a large extent influenced by quantitative method, since its focus is on quantified comparison of the occurrence of certain elements in a text (Bergström and Boréus 2011: 18). The elements focused on in this study, concerning this first step in the analysis, will be certain carefully selected search words. The search words will be related to gender equality as such, but also to gender equality in regards to the theories of *gender and nation* and *radical-right populism* (e.g. related to *immigration, the other, multiculturalism, sexual violence*).

This first step of the overall analysis will primarily serve as a method of selection, as it is considered the most fruitful method for narrowing down the scope of the material. The foundation for the second step in the analysis, as will be shown further down, will consequently rest upon the results of the first step. However, it is of significance to bear in mind that this first step also will concentrate on the occurrence of the selected search words in the material.

The search words are inspired and motivated by previous research, the theoretical frameworks used, and of course, the objective of this study. As mentioned before, previous research has pointed to the fact that RRP parties tend to integrate gender

equality as a policy measure in order to decrease immigration and hinder multiculturalism (Towns et al. 2013). Thus, I found it highly relevant not only to include search words directly connected to views on gender equality, such as *gender equality* and *woman*, but also to include words such as *multiculturalism, immigration/immigrant* and *Islam*. The latter is motivated by the fact that European RRP parties, Scandinavian RRP parties included, regard the, by them perceived, 'Islamization' of the Western world as the most worrying threat of our times, referring to the future extinction of their own national cultural identity if nothing is soon done (Rydgren 2013: 4). Moreover, the decision of including *family* as a search word is two-fold. Not only is it important since the RRP parties often refer to the family as the core of society (SD – Program of principles 2011; FrP – Program of principles 2013 – 2017; DF – Action program 2009), but also because it is in the family the traditional heteronormative gender roles are the strongest.

It is commonly known that Scandinavian RRP parties usually refer to the *hijab, niqab, burqa* or *headscarf,* as the symbol of women's oppression within Islam (FrP – Program of principles 2013–2017; DF – Action Program 2009; Motion 2011/12:K258), and subsequently I saw the necessity of considering these words in the analysis. The choice to include *honour-based violence, honour killing, forced marriage* and *genital mutilation* in the analytical framework is motivated by the fact that RRP parties raise these issues as part of their anti-immigration policies, condemning them by referring to women's rights (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007: 200). The RRP parties portray these issues as cultural issues and they are used in rhetoric measures in order to distance other cultures, namely Islam, from the own.

Furthermore, in order to link the selection of search words to the theoretical framework, constituted by theories of *gender and nation* and the *ideology of radical-right populism*, the words *Swedishness / Norwegianness / Danishness* were chosen. This is related to the previous discussion of the strong nationalist traits found in the ideology of radical-right populism, the woman as the biological and cultural reproducer of the nation and the notion of the 'Other'. It is not unusual for the Scandinavian RRP parties to discuss issues of sexual violence in combination with the perceived issues of immigration (e.g. Sverigedemokraterna – 'The rape report' 2010; Fremskritt 2012), which is closely related to the symbolic image of the woman.

Sexual violence will therefore serve as the tenth and last search word in the construction of the first analytical framework. The matrix in table 1 illustrates the analytic framework.

Table 1 - Analytical framework of part I

	SD				FrP				DF			
Search words	PP	AP	MB	Total	PP	AP	MB	Total	PP	AP	MB	Total
1. Gender equality												
2. Woman (Women)												
3. Family												
4. Multicultural-ism (Multicultural)												
5. Immigration, Immigrant (Refugee, Asylum)												
6. Islam (Muslim, 'Islamization')												
7. Hijab, Niqab, Burqa, Headscarf												
8. Honour-based violence, Honour killing, Forced marriage, Genital mutilation												
9. Swedishness/ Norwegianness/ Danishness												
10. Sexual violence (Rape)												

As seen in table 1, the ten search words constitute the ten rows, while the SD, the FrP and the DF form the three larger columns. The three columns are in their turn divided into four sub-columns each; three that represent each parties' program of principles (PP), action program (AP) and members' bulletin (MB), and one that represents the total amount of times each search word is mentioned in each parties' three documents, respectively. During the course of the analysis the matrix will be filled with digits, representing how many times the search words occur in the chosen material of the respective parties. As also seen in table 1, five of the ten search words are complemented with additional search words placed within parentheses. *Woman* is complemented by *women*, *multiculturalism* by *multicultural*, *immigration/immigrant* by *refugee* and *asylum*, *Islam* by *Muslim* and *'Islamization'*, and *sexual violence* by *rape*. The decision to include complementing search words is motivated on the basis of additionally widening the coverage of the chosen material.

The analysis will consider all grammatical forms of the search words and in addition to that words, which have one of the search words, or complementing search words, listed above integrated into the word. This is mainly due to the construction of the Scandinavian languages, which will be discussed further down. If a search word appears in the tables of contents, headings or subheadings, or in the captions, it will however not be counted. Neither will *sexual violence* against children or animals, nor *woman* or *women* when it occurs in *SD-kvinnor*, the SDs women's association.

4.1.2 Part II – Ideology analysis

In previous studies of ideologies in general, it has been common to analyze ideology concentrating on different abstraction levels (Demker 1993: 64). Marie Demker used in her doctor's thesis another approach; a formula inspired by Jörgen Hermansson (1984) that is composed by three levels; 'Is-Do-Should', which are constituted by the response of three questions. (Demker 1993:64-78). The first question concerns how it *is*, the second how it *should* be, and the third what to *do* in order to reach the 'should'. To simplify, the order of the questions has been rearranged (Demker 1993: 68). The framework Demker used was however designed to analyze the French Gaullist party's ideological *change* based on ideal types (Demker 1993: 64-78, Esaiasson et al. 2012: 142). This study does not aim at analyzing ideological change, since the analysis only serves the purpose of being descriptive; thus the analytical framework has been modified to suit this study, although the basic idea is the same. The matrix in table 2 illustrates the second analytical framework, used for the qualitative approach in this study.

Based on the theoretical framework of this study, the matrix in table 2 shows the Scandinavian RRP parties' views on gender equality in relation to what is perceived as their respective 'Us', and views on gender equality in relation to what is perceived as their respective 'Them'. The columns represent each party; (1) the SD, (2) the FrP, and (3) the DF, and the rows represent how each party's views on gender equality is expressed in the official documents using three levels; (1) picture of reality, (2) strategy and (3) utopia. The first level (row) answers the question; *According to each party, what do the respective realities regarding gender equality look like?,* the second level; *According to each party, what measures are considered in order to achieve their respective utopias regarding gender equality?,* and the third; *According*

to each party, what do the respective gender equality utopias look like? To illustrate the possible distinction the Scandinavian RRP parties may do between gender equality in relation to 'Us' and in relation to 'Them', all three columns are respectively divided into two sub-columns, one for 'Us' and one for 'Them', forming a total of six sub-columns.

Table 2 - Analytical framework of part II

	SD		FrP		DF	
	'Us'	'Them'	'Us'	'Them'	'Us'	'Them'
Picture of reality						
Strategy						
Utopia						

The answers of the three questions will constitute the content of the matrix. The sub-columns require each question to be posed in two different manners; firstly in relation to what is perceived as 'Us' and secondly in relation to what is perceived as 'Them'. The perceived 'Us' will be considered the group that the Scandinavian RRP parties respectively identify themselves with, generally related to the white, Western, Christian norm. The perceived 'Them' will be considered the group, or groups, that stand in contrast to the perceived 'Us'. 'Them', or the 'Others', are, in an attempt to distance the 'Self' from the 'Other', portrayed as a homogenous group that should be avoided since 'They' are perceived as culturally, politically, and socially different. In the case of the Scandinavian RRP parties, the perceived 'Them' is often closely linked with Islam, both as a culture and religion.

The term 'gender equality' could imply various definitions, ranging from solely emphasizing equality between women and men in 'judicial' or 'formal' terms, to equality between women and men in regards to fundamental equality within all spheres of life, including equal opportunities, obligations and outcomes. It is possible

to discern that gender equality can be seen both through a qualitative and a quantitative perspective (Roth 2007: 12). The quantitative aspect of gender equality focuses on even distribution – the fifty-fifty approach – while the qualitative concentrates on the importance of considering experiences and knowledge of both women and men equally, as well as providing the same possibilities in regards to power and influence (Roth 2007: 12). As for this study, an all-encompassing definition of gender equality will be used, i.e. equality between women and men in regards of equal opportunities, obligations and outcomes. Bearing in mind the objective of the study, the analysis will consider how the Scandinavian RRP parties' portray and express *their* opinions on gender equality – not stating their definition of gender equality is the same as this study's.

4.2 Validity and intersubjectivity

It is crucial to discuss and comment on the validity of this comparative study. Validity concerns if we analyze what we intend to analyze (Bergström and Boréus 2011: 34) and is also defined as absence of systematical errors (Esaiasson et al. 2012: 57). Validity could be seen through a perspective of distance, in which the validity can vary depending on how far the distance is between the theoretical level and the operational level. The operationalization of terminology is thus a crucial point, which could result in misleading research. In this case, lack of validity could be traced back to the non-existing consensus regarding the definition of gender equality. Hence, it is important to remember that the study aims at analyzing the views on gender equality as the Scandinavian parties express them. It is beneficial that this study applies an already established analytical framework that aspires to analyze party ideology. Although the analytical framework has primarily been used when studying ideological change, its advantages are considered valuable in this study as well.

The discussion of validity is also closely linked to the discussion of reliability. Reliability can also be defined as absence of unsystematical errors in a study. It is significant to maintain good validity and reliability in order to uphold the study's validity of result (Esaiasson et al. 2012: 57), which is vital for the credibility and quality of a study. Additionally, achieving and maintaining credibility of a study is related to the notion of intersubjectivity. Intersubjectivity is achieved if two or more analyzes, independent from each other, use the same analytical framework and

operationalization of terminology, on the same material, and draw the same conclusions (Bergström and Boréus 2011: 36). Thus, in order to maintain good intersubjectivity it is necessary for future studies to critically scrutinize the procedure, as well as the results, of this analysis. This study does not allow for any major conclusions to be drawn. However, this study may, on the foundation of its carefully selected methodological and material choices, utter potential descriptions of how the Scandinavian RRP parties express their views on gender equality in some of the official documents.

4.3 Choice of material

Indeed it is important to study the course of politics over time, and also to assess the parties' total spectra, including their members, electoral support, off – the – record forums, and so on. However, while waiting for someone with more time and resources to take on that extensive, but enormously significant, task, this study will only focus on analyzing the material found in the Scandinavian RRP parties' latest programs of principles, some of the parts of the newest action programs and the last year's, 2013, articles of the respective parties' members' bulletins; *SD-Kuriren*, *Fremskritt* and *Dansk Folkeblad*.

4.3.1 Programs of principles, action programs and members' bulletins

The thesis focus of analysis is on the Scandinavian RRP parties' respective programs of principles, action programs and members' bulletins, which all are considered official documents of each party. The program of principles is regarded as the ideological foundation of the respective parties and expresses generally the views on the society they wish to construct. The action programs are each considerable pieces of work, which presents the political standpoints of the respective parties from a more practical point of view.

Furthermore each party has their own members' bulletin, which is an official party organ and can thus be regarded as official documents. The bulletins are written by active members and the person responsible for the publication is in all three cases a person from the top layer of the parties; Richard Jomshof (SD), Finn Egil Holm (FrP), and Søren Søndergaard (DF). The members' bulletins will in this study be regarded as suitable complements to the otherwise quite formal texts found in the programs of

principles and the action programs. The bulletins are sent out to the three parties' respective members and can be found, with an exception of the five first numbers of 2013 of SD-Kuriren, on the parties' respective home pages, where the programs of principles and the action programs can also be found. The numbers of SD-Kuriren that are not uploaded on the SD's webpage can be found in the archives of magazines at the Gothenburg University Library.

The choice of material is primarily motivated by the fact that the aim of the study is to analyze official documents, all of which are "the most polished and core textual expressions of the party, expressions which cannot be dismissed as fringe exceptions" in order to cite the motivation of material choices of Towns, Karlsson and Eyre (2013: 5) when they analyze the ideology of the SD.

4.3.2 Demarcations

The following part discusses and comments on the demarcations, scope, timeframe, and language limitations of the study.

Due to the vast volume of pages, it is not possible for the ideology analysis – the second and main part of this study – to consider the entire action programs of the respective parties and all the articles of 2013 from the different bulletins, together with the programs of principles. The ideology analysis will therefore solely focus on the material that is selected through the selection process of the analysis' first step; the content analysis.

It is important for the quality of the comparative approach of this study to analyze the same type of official documents of the Scandinavian RRP parties. Choosing the programs of principles as material of analysis led me to choose the action programs as well. This was the result of finding out that the program of principles of the DF is constituted by only three pages, which is comparable to the 14 pages of the FrP and the 36 pages of the SD, and subsequently the need to consider additional documents in the study was inevitable.

The action programs are considerably longer, regarding the FrP and the DF, but significantly shorter regarding the one of the SD. The SD does not even have an explicit action program. However, it is possible to find their political standpoints on

their webpage below what is called *Våra viktigaste frågor* (Our most important questions), *Vi är hela Sveriges parti* (We are the party of the whole of Sweden) and *Vår politik A-Ö* (Our politics A-Ö). These three sources of material are complemented by four other documents, found below *Åsiktsdokument* (Documents of opinion), which express the SDs opinions regarding criminal policy, educational policy, energy policy and labor market policy. Together, all these texts and documents together are considered a reasonable alternative for an explicit action program. The texts are sometimes, however, exact copies of each other and in order not to count the search words twice, the copies are not considered in the study. Moreover, the FrP's bulletin, *Fremskritt*, has a notable larger amount of numbers given out during 2013. A total of eighteen numbers will represent *Fremskritt*, while only seven numbers of *Dansk Folkeblad* and six numbers of *SD-Kuriren* will serve as the basis of the analysis of these members' bulletins.

Although the material of analysis of the parties might be slightly disproportionate, I would argue that the material selected for this study is representative for the Scandinavian RRP parties' respective ideological and political standpoints. Since the first part of the overall analysis will narrow down the scope, I am convinced that the material will be adequate for the second part of the overall analysis; the ideology analysis.

An initial thought was to include articles written by the SD's women's association, *SD-kvinnor*. Nevertheless, when I realized there were no equivalent associations of the FrP or the DF, I decided to exclude *SD-kvinnor* as a subject of analysis, due to the desired comparative approach. It is however important to bear in mind that some of the active members of the *SD-kvinnor* association often occur as writers of articles in *SD-Kuriren*. Another early thought was to analyze parliamentary bills presented by the respective parties' elected representatives. This was however shown to be more difficult than anticipated, as the search functions on the Norwegian and Danish parliaments' respective webpages are, in my opinion, deficient.

Finally, I would like to comment on the language and the timeframe of the chosen material. The language will not pose a problem for the analysis, since Swedish, Norwegian and Danish are quite similar and relatively easy to understand for anyone being skilled in one of the languages. The search words are translated into Swedish,

Norwegian or Danish, depending on the language of the subject of analysis (see appendix 2). Another important language aspect to bear in mind is the construction of the Scandinavian languages that sometimes results in the merging of two of the different search words used in this study. For instance; 'immigrant woman', in Swedish, Norwegian and Danish would be merged into one word. In order to be consistent throughout the analysis, and in order to avoid misleading findings, I have decided to count these kinds of words only once.

Bearing in mind the objective with this study, the choice of material has been solely based on the ambition to analyze the most recent material:

1. The program of principles of the Sweden Democrats (2011)
2. The program of principles of the Norwegian Progress party (2013 – 2017)
3. The program of principles of the Danish People's party (2002)
4. The alternative 'action program' of the Sweden Democrats:
    a. *Our most important questions*
    b. *We are the party of the whole of Sweden*
    c. *Our politics A-Ö*
    d. Documents of opinion:
        i. Criminal policy
        ii. Educational policy
        iii. Energy policy
        iv. Labor market policy
5. The action program of the Norwegian Progress party (2013 – 2017)
6. The action program of the Danish People's party (2009)
7. *SD-Kuriren*, *Fremskritt* and *Dansk Folkeblad* – all numbers from 2013

5 Analysis

In order to conduct the overall analysis, the content analysis is carried out as a first step. The second step of the overall analysis, the ideology analysis, is intended to be the most central part, however, resting on the foundation provided by the results found in the first step.

5.1 Part I – Content analysis

There are many ways in which the result of the content analysis can be understood, which are clearly both to its advantage and its disadvantage. The most obvious disadvantage with the content analysis is that it does not consider in which manners or in which context the search words are used. I will therefore not concentrate on the actual results of the content analysis to the exclusion of considering the objective of the overall analysis. It is of great significance to bear in mind that the key aim with this first step is to lay the foundation for the second step by letting it operate as a process of selection. The results per se will not serve as a basis of comparison between the Scandinavian RRP parties, due to the lack of proportionality regarding the amount of the material that represent each party's ideological and political standpoints – although the material is considered adequate for the ideology analysis. Nevertheless, this following part will to a certain extent comment on the findings of the content analysis, since it is possible to discuss the findings in terms of how often each word occurs in relation to the other words found in the material of each party respectively. The matrix in table 3 represents the result.

The search word topping the lists is *immigration/immigrant (refugee, asylum)*, showing that all the Scandinavian RRP parties undeniably give the immigration question the most space, in relation to the other search words. This search word stands for 41 per cent (SD), 43 per cent (DF), and 46 per cent (FrP) of the total amount of words fulfilling the search criteria of each party respectively. It makes it one of the main questions, if not *the* main question, out of the ten search words. The result, however, does not show in what way the word is mentioned. *Islam (Muslim, 'Islamization')* also gets relatively much space in the material, of at least the SD (17 per cent) and the DF (19 per cent). In the case of the FrP, the same search word only

appears 3 per cent of the times the total amount of search words appear. However it is worth noting that, regarding the SD and the DF, *Islam (Muslim, 'Islamization')* gets a lot more space in the members' bulletins, than in the more formal programs of principles and action programs.

Gender equality is one of the search words mentioned the least times. Of the total amount of search words occurring in the material of the SD, the FrP and the DF, *gender equality* only stands for 2 per cent of the times. This result was rather expected and was one of the reasons behind the decision of including more search words and complementing search words in the analysis. There are additionally five search words that score very low on the percentage scale; (1) *multiculturalism (multicultural)*, (2) *hijab, niqab, burqa, headscarf*, (3) *honour-based violence, honour killing, forced marriage, genital mutilation*, (4) *Swedishness, Norwegianness, Danishness*, and (5) *sexual violence (rape)*. In FrP's case, the words *multiculturalism (multicultural)* and *Norwegianness* are not mentioned even once.

Table 3 - How many times the search words occur in the programs of principles (PP), the action programs (AP), the members' bulletins (MB), and in total of each party respectively.

Search words	SD				FrP				DF			
	PP	AP	MB	Total	PP	AP	MB	Total	PP	AP	MB	Total
1. Gender equality	2	1	5	8	-	2	7	9	-	16	2	18
2. Woman (Women)	13	3	74	90	1	1	29	31	1	66	41	108
3. Family	18	3	34	55	7	40	141	188	2	82	67	151
4. Multicultural-ism (Multicultural)	8	3	14	25	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	10
5. Immigration, Immigrant (Refugee,Asylum)	22	56	110	188	9	61	164	234	1	215	130	346
6. Islam (Muslim, 'Islamization')	3	-	76	79	-	-	14	14	-	24	129	153
7. Hijab, Niqab, Burka, Headscarf	-	-	11	11	3	3	4	10	-	3	3	6
8. Honour-based violence, Honour killing, Forced marriage, Genital mutilation	1	2	5	8	-	4	11	15	-	2	3	5
9. Swedishness/ Norwegianness/ Danishness	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	3
10. Sexual violence (Rape)	-	8	6	14	-	-	6	6	-	3	7	10

Woman (women) appears 20 per cent of the times regarding the material of the SD, 13 per cent in the case of the DF, and only 6 per cent in FrP's material. Although it is interesting that the search word *woman (women)* places second (SD), third (DF) and fourth (FrP) of the most occurring words of the material, it is more noteworthy that in the case of the SD *woman (women)* is used much more frequently in SD-Kuriren, than in the program of principles and the action program. This could perhaps be explained by that the SD lately has shouldered the task of profiling itself as a party not only for men, but also for women, by making the right to full time employment in the public sector an important political question in the presence of the upcoming national elections (Åkesson 2013). Previous research has found that men tend to be overrepresented in the electoral support of RRP parties (see e.g. Coffé 2013: 138–53), and the strategy presented by the SD may be rewarding in the upcoming elections.

It could be expected that *Swedishness, Norwegianness* and *Danishness* should be more frequently occurring than the result is indicating. This however demonstrates one of the disadvantages with the content analysis when strictly counting words; the rigorous focus on certain parts, and not the totality, may affect the results misleadingly. In the aftermaths of the content analysis, it would have been more fruitful to use the search words; *Swedish culture*, *Norwegian culture* and *Danish culture*, instead of the ones mentioned above, since these are not the same words but refer to almost the same phenomena and would probably have had a different impact on the result. Although it would be possible to continue to discuss and comment the content analysis, the aim with the first part is mainly to operate as the process of selection.

5.2 Part II – Ideology analysis

There are some parts of the programs of principles, the action programs, as well as some articles of the members' bulletins, which have, through the content analysis, turned out to be of special interest to the second step of the analysis. These parts and articles are listed in appendix 1 and will serve as the foundation for the next part of the overall analysis; the ideology analysis.

In order to fruitfully study the views on gender equality expressed in some of the official documents of the Scandinavian RRP parties, it can be rewarding to study how

these parties themselves (1) perceive the gender equality *reality*, (2) what *strategy* they consider in order to improve the situation, and (3) how their respective gender equality *utopias* look like. This approach is, for the sake of simplicity, divided into three sections – Picture of reality, Strategy and Utopia. Each section answers one of the following questions (1) *According to each party, what do the respective realities regarding gender equality look like?*, (2) *According to each party, what measures are considered in order to achieve their respective utopias regarding gender equality?*, and (3) *According to each party, what do the respective gender equality utopias look like?* The answers of these three questions constitute the content of the matrixes in table 4, 5 and 6, and are sorted in accordance of the views on gender equality in relation to 'Us' and in relation to 'Them'.

5.2.1 Picture of reality

According to the SD, Sweden has come a long way in achieving gender equality (SD – Program of principles 2011), but there are still some necessary changes to be done within this particular area. The SD implies that current legislation wrongly concentrates on giving women special privileges and priorities, when it should focus on achieving judicial gender equality (Dagerlind 2013(104): 3). Comparably, Sweden is indeed at a fairly advanced stage striving for gender equality. The SD makes it clear that gender equality is somehow culturally based while stating that certain cultures have some destructive aspects, such as misogynistic attitudes namely referring to female genital mutilation (SD – Program of principles 2011).

In contrary to the SD the DF states, as the first sentence of the gender equality chapter of their action program (2009), "The Danish People's party is of the opinion that Denmark has actual equality between the sexes" (DF – Action program 2009). This kind of statement could be considered quite controversial, which may be slightly toned down by the fact that the following sentence declares that Denmark still has work to be done regarding equal pay for equal work, women's career opportunities, paternity leave and the equal sharing of the household (DF – Action program 2009). As this analysis will, it is possible to interpret the cited statement above as that the DF consider Denmark be somewhat judicially gender equal. However, the paradox to, on the one hand, state that Denmark is gender equal, while simultaneously claiming that

Denmark still has to work on achieving gender equality, is a telling argument for the ambiguousness and confusion surrounding this field.

It is noteworthy that the FrP succeeds in not mentioning 'gender equality' once in their program of principles, except for in the table of contents and in one subheading. Instead the FrP shortly declares itself to consider "all human beings as equals" (FrP – Program of principles 2013–2017: 6). In the action program, the FrP still does not use the term 'gender equality', but instead refers to that "the Progress party will not accept discrimination" (FrP – Action program 2013–2017: 4). The FrP does not further state their opinion on gender equality as such in relation to what is perceived as 'Us', and it is not possible to further outline how the party consider the gender equality reality of Norway today, except from that discrimination is not acceptable – and therefore implicitly referring to the fact that discrimination does occur from time to time.

The FrP declares that "it is in certain immigrant communities gender equality has made the least progress" (FrP – Action program 2013–2017: 4). Although this statement could be considered true, it is problematic in the sense that immigrants are throughout the action program and the members' bulletin portrayed as the 'Others'. This statement confirms the picture of 'certain immigrant communities' as not gender equal if compared to 'Us'. The FrP declares this in a quite discreet manner, while the DF is more specific:

> "The immigration to Denmark from especially Islamic countries has brought other and more feudal family patterns with it. These do not pair up well with the views on gender roles, women and gender equality that are the norms in Denmark" (DF – Action program 2009).

The DF defines what they understand as the 'Nordic values', which by its own name includes both Sweden and Norway – but also Finland and Iceland for that matter. "The Nordic values are individualism, respect for the individual, individual responsibility combined with a high sense of duty towards the society and not least the woman's free position, which goes very far back in history" (DF – Action program 2009). The SD says it to be self-evident to stand up for "the Western world's views on democracy, gender equality (…)" (SD – 'Our politics A-Ö').

The Nordic, or Western, or sometimes European, values are considered 'Our' values, while non-Western, immigrant values are considered to belong to 'Them' – 'Them' being a homogenous group, often only referred to as 'immigrants'. But since 'immigrants' sometimes are lumped together with 'Islam' and 'Muslims', the two quickly become inseparable. This is upheld by the fact that while going through the members' bulletins, immigration is often mentioned in terms of economical issues, criminality and oppression of women and the numerous pictures of Islam related motives – i.e. women in headscarves, mosques, etcetera – appearing in relation to these articles, forces the reader to connect 'immigrant' and 'problem' with 'Islam'/'Muslim' (see e.g. Hansson 2013(105): 11; Karlsson 2013(106); Kristensen Berth 2013(1): 24–25; Kristensen Berth 2013(6): 12–13; Steiro 2013(11): 12; Sandnes 2013(16): 9).

In order to summarize the Scandinavian RRP parties' views on gender equality of the first level – picture of reality – the matrix in table 4 illustrates how the difference between 'Us' and 'Them' is manifested in the selection of the official documents.

Table 4 - According to each party, what do the respective realities regarding gender equality look like?

	SD		FrP		DF	
	'Us'	'Them'	'Us'	'Them'	'Us'	'Them'
Picture of reality	Almost gender equal – however legislating today focuses wrongly in favor for women	No gender equality – referring mainly to the oppression of women	Almost gender equal – however discrimination occurs	No gender equality – referring to 'immigrant communities'	Almost gender equal – already achieved 'actual' (judicial) gender equality	No gender equality – referring mainly to the oppression of women

5.2.2 Strategy

Although the FrP hardly mention 'gender equality' while talking about the picture of reality, or while taking about their desired gender equality utopia (see section 5.2.3), it is clearly declared that the FrP would like to change current legislation by opening up for voluntary separate taxation and a more gender equal childcare (FrP – Action program 2013–2017: 4). The FrP wants to facilitate the combination between family life, childcare, care of ill and elderly family members, and work. This would be done by tax reductions and more flexible working time regulations. Furthermore, the FrP

also aims at privatizing after-school recreation centres (FrP – Action program 2013–2017: 44–45).

Although the SD, the FrP and the DF strive for different gender equality utopias (see section 5.2.3), they all consider legislation the most suitable strategy in getting there. As mentioned above, the FrP is quite detailed in explaining which strategy they intend to use. This can be compared to the more general and visionary strategy of the DF.

> "Denmark has come a long way regarding gender equality, but the Danish People's party wants to continue the work of increasing and consolidating gender equality, especially in order to achieve equal pay for equal work for women and men" (DF – Action program 2009).

The SD does not mention a well-planned strategy towards achieving their gender equality utopia. Nevertheless, since this utopia is constructed on the basis of men and women being equal before the law (SD – Program of principles 2011), it is possible to claim that the SD would advocate legislation in order to reach there.

The Scandinavian RRP parties are, on the other hand, perfectly clear in regards of what they do not accept; positive action or allocation of quotas (SD – 'Our politics A-Ö'; DF – Action program 2009; FrP – Action program 2013–2017: 4). The FrP also emphasizes in regards of discrimination on the labor market that free competition is the best strategy to combat discrimination of all forms.

> "Competition makes companies interested in securing the best employees as possible, irrespective of sex (…). Competition within the frames of a free system of market economy is therefore the best guarantee against discrimination" (FrP – Program of principles 2013–2017: 6).

The SD portrays multiculturalism as the antagonist of the liberal, democratic and gender equal society, since it solely causes harm and disruption to the common national identity and culture (SD – 'Our politics A-Ö'). The DF joins in by stating, somewhat more harshly that a "multicultural Europe without identity will lay open to anti-democratic and violent movements" and "an increased immigration can lead to a devastating Islamization of Europe" (DF – Action program 2009).

The SD and the DF paint a picture of the multicultural society as an uncontrollable and dangerous society on the brink of collapse. In the case of the DF the whole of Europe is risking this kind of development if the Western world allows other cultures to establish within the European boundaries. The FrP is the only one of the three that does not mention 'multiculturalism' in either of the documents analyzed. However 'multiethnical extreme environments' as a place where potential violence can increase in Norway is mentioned in an article discussing terrorism and Islam in *Fremskritt* (Fremskritt 2013(3): 3). According to the SD, non-Western cultures, namely Islam, have shown great difficulties coexisting with the Swedish and Western culture (SD – Program of principles 2011: 21).

> "The more an immigrant's original identity and culture is different from the one of the Swedish nation and the greater the group of immigrants is, the more difficult will the process of assimilation be" (SD – Program of principles 2011:12).

The DF claims that violence against women is related to cultural and religious norms (DF – Action program 2009). The DF also points at the importance of "actively working with immigration and integration policies in order to secure that Demark does not develop a 'proletariat' of immigrated women, who are not allowed to enjoy the many rights and opportunities Denmark has developed over centuries" (DF – Action program 2009). Furthermore, the DF irrelevantly points at "the wearing of a burqa or headscarf all day long is not good for the health as the skin and body benefit from light and air" (DF – Action program 2009).

The FrP also joins in on the assimilation strategy, seeing encouragement of increasing gender equality in immigration communities as a condition for a successful integration (FrP – Action program 2013–2017). The SD advocates increased support to women who live under honour-related and religious oppression in Sweden (SD – 'We are the party of the whole of Sweden'). However, all the Scandinavian RRP parties agree that the absolute best option to promote democratic, liberal and gender equal values is in the countries where gender equality issues are found. This is on the other hand not a responsibility ascribed to the Scandinavian RRP parties (e.g. DF – Action program 2009).

In order to summarize the past section, table 5 illustrates the different gender equality strategies divided into 'Us' and 'Them'. Noteworthy is that the solution to the gender equality issues for 'Them' is assimilation while for 'Us' the strategy is spelled legislation.

Table 5 - According to each party, what measures are considered in order to achieve their respective utopias regarding gender equality?

	SD		FrP		DF	
	'Us'	'Them'	'Us'	'Them'	'Us'	'Them'
Strategy	Legislate in order to achieve judicial gender equality – no positive action nor allocation of quotas	Assimilation and increased support to religiously oppressed women living in Sweden	Legislation – voluntary separate taxation, child care, competition – no positive action nor allocation of quotas	Assimilation and encourage immigration communities to increase gender equality	Legislation – continue the work striving for gender equality – no positive action nor allocation of quotas	Assimilation and actively work with immigration and integration policies

5.2.3 Utopia

The FrP claims to consider all human beings as equals and they strive for a society characterized by non-discrimination, which will be upheld and achieved by market competition with as little governmental interference as possible (FrP –Action program 2013–2017: 4–6). The gender equality utopia is not further developed, which can be interpreted as that the FrP may not consider gender equality as a major political goal.

In contrast to the FrP, the SD paints a more distinct picture of the society they prefer. The SD does recognize the existence of socially constructed differences between men and women, but the SD also claim that there are "biological differences" that reaches "beyond what is visible to the naked eye" (SD – Program of principles 2011: 7). According to the SD, both the biological and the socially constructed differences therefore sometimes lead to men and women making different life choices, which is regarded as unproblematic and not necessarily a result of discrimination or of an oppressive 'gender system' (SD – Program of principles 2011: 7).

> "We advocate a formal gender equality, in which neither women nor men shall be
> discriminated on the basis of their sex. If this later on would lead to that men and

women are not doing everything in the same manners, to the exact same extent, then we do not regard that as problematic" (SD – Program of principles 2011: 19).

Moreover, the chairperson for the SDs women's association, *SD-kvinnor*, states that "[w]omen and men are different - they reflect, think, and act differently many times" (Herrstedt 2013(106): 10).

The idea of the nuclear family plays a crucial role in the understanding of judicial gender equality, which is underpinned by traditional heteronormative gender roles and not conflicting as much with the conventional nationalistic narrative. "The family with its caring, cultural intermediary and educational role is the most important and fundamental community of the society. Strong and safe families are essential to the conditions for a harmonic society." (SD – Program of principles 2011).

The Scandinavian RRP parties do all agree on family being one of the most important components in society, if not *the* most important (SD – Program of principles 2011; DF – Action program 2009; FrP – Program of principles 2013–2017), which is a common nationalistic trait. The conservative views on traditional heteronormative gender roles are especially obvious in regards of family policies in general and in policies of parental leave in particular – even if they are expressed in terms of the importance of voluntariness.

> "The Danish People's party applauds the principle of voluntariness and does not in any way want to deprive the woman of the maternal leave by legislating to transfer a number of weeks to the man" (DF – Actions program 2009).

> "We want the parents to have complete freedom to determine how the parents' insurance will be used" (SD – 'Our politics A-Ö').

> "The parents do decide themselves who is to be at home with the child and for how long" (FrP – Action program 2013–2017: 44).

The traditional nuclear family is undoubtedly considered having the best conditions to succeed, both in regards of child raising and of being a transmitter of culture, traditions and values (SD – Program of principles 2011; Hansson 2013(104): 2; DF – Action program 2009; FrP – Action program 2013–2017: 44–46). Transmitting culture, traditions and values is fundamental regarding the future of the nation. The

SD states to be opponents of culture relativism by declaring it to be "obvious that certain cultures are better than others when it comes to safeguarding basic human rights, creating democracy and prosperity, good healthcare, high educational level and equality before the law" (SD – Program of principles 2011: 15).

The DF is leaning in the same direction by stating that the "populations of the developing countries can see, by watching TV, how life is in the Western world, and refugees and immigrants can let their fellow countrymen know that it is immensely better to live in the Western world" (DF – Action program 2009). The cited sentence above could be interpreted as that the DF not only want to keep cultures separate – due to the presumed societal harms caused by multiculturalism – but also that the DF considers other cultures to be inferior to the Western culture. The FrP does not express their opinion on the matter; instead they are more moderate while declaring the failure of immigration policy and the need for immigrants to "respect the basic freedom values Norway is built upon" (FrP – Program of principles 2013–2017).

It is possible to assume that the Scandinavian RRP parties consider gender equality, alongside with democratic and liberal values they claim to be defenders of, as the utopia worth striving for, irrespective of the division of 'Us' and 'Them'. This analysis will therefore assume that the Scandinavian RRP parties probably would place gender equality on the top of the list of 'Other' cultures' presumed gender equality utopias, since the Western culture is – in their words – superior. Table 6 clarifies and summarizes the gender equality utopias according to each Scandinavian RRP party.

Table 6 - According to each party, what do the respective gender equality utopias look like?

	SD		FrP		DF	
	'Us'	'Them'	'Us'	'Them'	'Us'	'Them'
Utopia	Judicial gender equality – not problematic if men and women choose differently	Gender equality – as a part of 'our' values	Non-discrimination – achieved and controlled by market competition	Gender equality – as a part of 'our' values	Judicial gender equality – but also equal pay for equal work, etc.	Gender equality – as a part of 'our' values

5.3 Theoretical implications

In order to reconnect to the theoretical frameworks presented earlier in the study, a discussion with some theoretical remarks of the material analyzed are presented in this section.

Although the DF and the FrP are not explicitly nationalistic parties, it is possible to outline nationalistic traits in their ideological and political standpoints. The national identity and the cultural heritage of Norway and Denmark respectively are repeatedly mentioned in the documents analyzed, which makes it relevant to apply the theory of gender and nation on the cases of the DF and FrP, as well as on the SD.

The Scandinavian RRP parties see the family as the core of society (SD – Program of principles 2011; DF – Action Program 2009; FrP – Action Program 2013–2017), and it is crucial for the well being of the nation to uphold stable family structures. The traditional heteronormative gender roles, underpinning the nuclear family pattern, constitute a fundamental aspect of the "struggle for national purity" (Towns et al. 2013: 2). In order to call for decreased immigration and a division between 'Us' and 'Them', the Scandinavian RRP parties have indeed seen the reward in claiming to be advocates of women's rights regarding other cultures, condemning traditional family patterns of the superior male and the inferior female in other cultures. At the same time, they are not challenging the gender equality issues on their home grounds. On the contrary, they are emphasizing the importance of traditional heteronormative gender roles as the foundation for the well being of the Scandinavian societies. This supports the findings of Towns, Karlsson and Eyre (2013: 7), "Whereas sexual hierarchy is naturalized in some instances, gender equality is promoted in other."

The position of the women is central in the understanding of emphasizing that the heteronormative gender roles within the family are "natural" and at the core of a stable society. The woman is the one giving birth to the children and raising them into the society – the nationalist project – whose future depends upon a new generation learning the language, culture, traditions and customs of the nation (Yuval-Davis 1997). The man also has an important part to play in the nationalist project that reinforces the traditional heteronormative gender roles.

> "The ideal man in the conventional nationalist narrative not only masters and protects his own home, but he is also characterized by a martial spirit and a willingness to sacrifice himself for the nation. Such ideas about sexual difference and hierarchy are difficult to reconcile with ideals of gender equality" (Towns et al. 2013: 2).

The woman is not only the biological and cultural reproducer of the nation; she also serves as symbol of the nation. This becomes obvious when reading about how for instance the SD talks about rapes, not in terms of men's sexual violence against women, but in terms of the "Sweden hostile sexual violence" (Karlsson 2013(106): 3). Relating increased numbers of reported rapes with increased immigration, claiming that the immigrants are overrepresented in the rape statistics (see Sverigedemokraterna – 'The rape report' 2010; Fremskritt 2012(7): 6–7), is a common "myth of the 'other' as a rapist", which is "structured around the common stereotype of the male stranger harassing, threatening or actually raping 'our women'" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 51).

Yuval-Davis further concludes "any culturally perceived sign could become a boundary signifier to divide the world into 'Us' and 'Them'" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 47). Non-Western cultures and religions – namely Islam – are portrayed in misogynistic terms in contrast to the national identities and claimed gender equal cultures of the Western world. It is therefore possible to argue that the Scandinavian RRP parties consider gender equality to be a value strongly connected to the Western culture. Other cultures are at the same time characterized by gender inequality. In other words, gender equality has a marked cultural reference and is only achievable for other cultures by cultural change.

The Scandinavian RRP parties illustrate the contradiction of reconciling nationalist ideas with ideas of gender equality by arguing the importance of gender equality in other cultures, while at the same time proclaiming gender equality only to be relevant in judicial manners in others. It is possible to argue that the Scandinavian RRP parties are trying to construct a cultural division between 'Us' and 'Them' by using different explanatory models for different groups of people and in the end suggesting gender equality to be a culturally marked reference.

6 Discussion and concluding remarks

6.1 Conclusions

The main objective with this study has been to descriptively analyze the different views on gender equality of the Scandinavian RRP parties. Two analytical tools were designed to carry out the content analysis as the first step and the more comprehensive ideology analysis as the second one. Analyzing the parties' programs of principles, action programs and members' bulletins from a selected time period, the content analysis primarily served the purpose of being the process of selection for the ideology analysis.

The Scandinavian RRP parties do not share the same political background, nor do they derive from the same national context, but it is noteworthy that these parties meet in their claimed support for gender equality and desire to decrease immigration. The scope of the material analyzed does not allow for any greater conclusions to be drawn. It is however possible to observe some patterns of the Scandinavian RRP parties' different views on gender equality. They all tend to profit on that gender equality has come far in the Scandinavian countries, portraying non-Western values as misogynistic and not possible to integrate with the gender equal Western values. The Scandinavian RRP parties draw a picture of the 'Other' as an opponent to Western values, including gender equality, arguing the need for assimilation and anti-immigration policies.

While studying the material, the reader is hit by the picture that gender inequality will prosper in a multicultural, instable society lacking a strong Scandinavian, gender equal identity. Thus the Scandinavian RRP parties emphasize the importance of women's rights and gender equality regarding other, in their words, misogynistic cultures. Simultaneously, they reinforce ideas of traditional heteronormative gender roles at their home grounds, arguing that they are encouraging a stable, harmonic society.

The Scandinavian RRP parties have pinched the traditional left arguments of gender equality, however without modifying or compromising with their fundamental principles. This puts the Scandinavian RRP parties in a peculiar situation, since their

fundamental principles of traditional heteronormative gender roles do not comply with gender equality. It boils down to the mere definition of gender equality. The Scandinavian RRP parties' definition has to be considered extremely narrow, since it only includes judicial, or formal, gender equality. Gender equality in their point of view is more about 'voluntariness' in a system, which socially, economically and politically favors traditional heteronormative gender roles. The non-existing consensus regarding the definition poses problems to both the credibility of the parties, and also to this study. They are able to express support for gender equality as part of the national identity, but at the same time they are promoting traditional heteronormative gender roles as one of the core foundations of a stable society.

One of the main findings is that gender equality seems to have a strong cultural reference according to the Scandinavian RRP parties. While claiming support for gender equality in order to promote an anti-immigration agenda, the Scandinavian RRP parties are able to distance non-Western cultures from their own. The findings however indicate that there is a possibility for other non-Western cultures to achieve gender equality and the formula is spelled assimilation to Western culture and values. The road towards achieving gender equality in the Scandinavian countries seems, on the other hand, to be mainly through legislation and market competition.

6.2 Future research

There is an enormous need of scrutinizing RRP parties' political and ideological standpoints through a critical perspective in general, and through a gender perspective in particular. I am of the opinion that one of the major concerns for achieving actual gender equality, not only judicial gender equality, is the up swing of radical-right and extreme right parties and movements promoting traditional heteronormative gender roles. This thesis has mainly been focusing on visionary and ideological views on gender equality of the Scandinavian RRP parties. I would like to call attention to the need for further comparative studies in this field, especially more extensive studies including several other European RRP parties. Future research could also concentrate on the RRP parties' policy making through a gender perspective, since this particular field has not gotten much attention previously.

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8 Appendix 1 – List of material analyzed in Part II

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9 Appendix 2 – Translations of search words

Search words	Swedish	Norwegian	Danish
1. Gender equality	Jämställdhet	Likestilling	Ligestilling
2. Woman (Women)	Kvinna (Kvinnor)	Kvinne (Kvinner)	Kvinde (Kvinder)
3. Family	Familj	Familie	Familie
4.Multiculturalism (Multicultural)	Mångkulturalism (Mångkulturell)	Multikulturalisme (Multikulturell)	Multikulturalisme (Multikulturel)
5. Immigration, Immigrant (Refugee, Asylum)	Invandring, Invandrare, Immigration (Flykting, Asyl)	Innvandring, Innvandrere, Immigrasjon (Flyktning, Asyl)	Indvandring, Indvandrere, Immigration (Flygtning, Asyl)
6. Islam (Muslim, 'Islamization')	Islam (Muslim, 'Islamisering')	Islam (Muslim, 'Islamisering')	Islam (Muslim, 'Islamisering')
7. Hijab, Niqab, Burqa, Headscarf	Hijab, Niqab, Burka, Slöja	Hijab, Niqab, Burka, Hodetørkle	Hijab, Niqab, Burka, Tørklæde
7. Honour-based violence, Honour killing, Forced marriage, Genital mutilation	Hedersrelaterat våld, Hedersmord, Tvångsäktenskap, Könsstympning	Æresrelatert vold, Æresdrap, Tvangsekteskap, Kjønnslemlestelse	Æresvold, Æresdrab, Tvangsægteskab, Omskæring
8. Swedishness/ Norwegianness/ Danishness	Svenskhet	Norskhet	Danskhed
9. Sexual violence (Rape)	Sexuellt våld (Våldtäkt)	Seksuell vold (Voldtekt)	Seksuel vold (Voldtægt)