Two Different Parties Competing for Two Core Issues?
An Analysis of Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist Values and the Right Ideology in Sweden, 2018-2022

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze whether an ideological resemblance has occurred between the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats during the electoral periods 2018 and 2022. As such, an ideology focused systematic qualitative analysis has been applied with the additional lens of ideal type Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values. The research questions for this study are: (1) What are differences and similarities between the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats in terms of Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values during the two electoral periods? (2) Did an ideological resemblance occur between the two parties in two measuring points? The main findings of the study points to the implication that there is some degree of pathological normalcy when it comes to the Moderate Party’s election manifestos as there is a widespread use of all three ideal type ideologies in the election manifestoes from both chosen years. At the same time one could argue to a lesser extent that the Sweden Democrats have neared the Moderate Party as the ideal type Liberal values can be found abate to a far lesser extent compared to the the ideal type Nationalist and Conservative values in the election manifestos. As such, one can argue that an ideological resemblance between the two parties is apparent to a degree in the chosen measuring points though differences can also be found within the study between the two parties.

Key words

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Yonhyok Choe for all of his shared knowledge and sound advise. I would also like to thank my mom who has kept my spirits up with her unfaltering support, and my sister, Amelie who has been and continues to be my guiding light and inspiration. Finally, I would like to thank my good friends, Naima and Vanessa, I could not have asked for better friends during this time.
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1. Introduction

“Denna projektplan beskriver hur Sverigedemokraterna, Moderaterna, Kristdemokraterna, och Liberalerna i ett samarbetsprojekt kommer att utarbeta och genomföra politiska reformer på området migration och integration” (Tidöavtalet 2022, 29).

Following the 2022 election, the Moderate Party leader, Ulf Kristersson became the Prime Minister of Sweden and formed a government with the help of a coalition consisting of the Moderate Party, the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Party. However, a historical first occurred in the country as the Moderate Party gained ruling power through the cooperation of the now second largest party in Sweden, the Sweden Democrats, who are not a part of the government but still hold influence on the government’s official line of politics. This is a sharp turn from the Moderate Party’s previous national level official party line that actively ostracized the Sweden Democrats when the Sweden Democrats started to gain traction following the 2010 election in which Fredrik Reinfeldt was the Moderate Party leader, and Swedish Prime Minister.

However, the Moderate Party’s reaction after the 2010 election is not all too unusual in European politics, according to Loxbo (2019) in the book Partier och partisystem established political parties in Europe often respond to radical or extremist parties with a cordon sanitaire. Meaning that the established parties exclude or refuse to cooperate with a party that they perceive to hold unacceptable views that deviate from the general establishment. Nonetheless, this ostracization has had limited success in Western Europe as radical right-wing populist parties, such as the Sweden Democrats have continued to gain influence and power following the refugee crisis of 2015.
Furthermore, Van Spanje mentions that if, “by contrast, immigration is massive, generating a large mobilization potential, the other parties will be more inclined to fall back upon ostracism in order to prevent the new rival from exploiting this potential” (van Spanje 2010b, 373). Meaning that the more prominent the issues of for example security and immigration, the more likely the mainstream established political parties are to erect a *cordon sanitaire* against the perceived radical right-wing party. This might be because radical right-wing parties present a possible electoral threat to the more mainstream Western European political standpoint on the issues of security and immigration. Especially, as both topics become more salient to the wider population due to factors such as the increased media focus that often follow radical right-wing parties (Akkerman and Rooduijn 2014, Arzheimer 2009, Bale 2003). However, one could argue that “*cordon sanitaire* are only valid if dissatisfied voters can find an alternative, democratically legitimate way of expressing their dissatisfaction. This requires a genuine effort by other democratic parties to pick up on the legitimate concerns of extremist voters” (Rummens and Abts 2010, 662).

This could be seen as one of the reasons for the rise of radical right-wing parties as both sides of the mainstream political establishment in Western Europe have largely left a political vacuum unfilled regarding the issues of security and immigration as they near the political midpoint to maximize the voter count. As such the established parties might be too removed from the central questions that parts of the population deem to be important (Aylott and Bolin 2015, Bolin, Liden and Nyhlen 2014, Loxbo 2014). Furthermore, if the political establishment fails to address these issues, the dissatisfaction and normalization of the discontent might grow and increase the support for the radical right-wing party in that country. Yet, if the political establishment gives increased relevance to these issues it might instead prove to the
population that the radical right-wing party was right in the initial assessment of the issues which brings about a possible normalization of radical right-wing values in mainstream politics (Abou-Chadi and Krause 2020, Dahlström and Sundell 2012, Krzyżanowski and Ekström 2022).

The phenomena described above could be seen in Sweden following the election in 2010 and later in 2014, as established political parties from both sides of the political spectrum, represented in the Swedish Parliament, openly demonstrated an unwillingness to cooperate with the Sweden Democrats (Norocel 2017). The reason being that the Sweden Democrats were perceived to uphold and advocate for what can be considered radical right-wing party values in their executed political statements and suggested reforms. Furthermore, the suggested reforms often centered on radical right-wing party core issues concerning cultural identity, national unity, traditional morals, multiculturalism and immigration as well as excluding nationalism, authoritarian values and populism. As mentioned earlier there was an initially established *cordon sanitaire* yet as the Sweden Democrats gained a more widespread and vocal support from the general population other parties began to advocate similar rhetoric and reforms, as also seen in other parts of Western Europe (Adams 2004, de Lange 2012, Loxbo 2019, van Spanje 2010a).

Especially, as both the Moderate Party and the Christian Democrats elected to start cooperating in select issues with the Sweden Democrats in 2019 despite stating that the parties would not do so during the election period in 2018. For this paper the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats are of interest as one is the leading party of the government while the other is the second largest party in the parliament. The two parties are also of interest as the Moderate Party is widely considered to be a Liberal Conservative party with acknowledged Nationalist roots (Moderaterna 2022b) while the Sweden
Democrats have been referred to as a radical right-wing party, though it should be noted that the Sweden Democrats themselves state that the party is Social Conservative with a Nationalist outlook (Sverigedemokraterna 2023). The choice is also made as the Moderate Party has gone from a party that was critical and outspoken against the Sweden Democrats to a party that has formed a ruling government due to cooperating and negotiating with the Sweden Democrats as seen with the earlier mentioned Tidöavtalet.

1.1. Aim and Research Questions

As mentioned in the introduction the Moderate Party and Sweden Democrats are the focus of this study as the parties are now either the official leading coalition member of the Swedish government or a main component that supports the government following the 2022 electoral period. This despite how the Moderate Party originally upheld the *cordon sanitaire* against the Sweden Democrats during the previous 2018 election period.

Yet as shown by previous research by Loxbo (2019), established parties such as the Moderate Party may attempt to regain control of political issues that a radical right-wing party has claimed as societal problems to the voting population. One should note that as “any other social and political phenomenon, the rise of far-right and right-wing populism in Europe… must be analyzed in their particular historical and cultural contexts” (Bangstad, Bertelsen & Henkel 2019, 99). This is important as the paper aims to analyze the possible growing ideological resemblance between the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats in the two measuring points, security and immigration. Security in this study concerns Swedish national security in which the two chosen political parties present national issues and possible measures in response to “security from physical violence, from other crimes
against life and property, and from accidents, abuse (including self-abuse, such as via drugs) and neglect” (Gasper & Gómez 2015, 102).

This will also build on previous research as it aims to analyze through the additional lens of ideal type Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values how a Western European country, such as Sweden, with a well established welfare system and reputation for equality has seen such a successful rise of a radical right-wing party and rhetoric. Especially, as the Sweden Democrats, as previously mentioned, is now the second largest party represented in the Swedish Parliament and how other mainstream parties have shown similar rhetoric before and during the recent Swedish election period of 2022. It would also have a social relevance as it might help shed light on the potential growing ideological resemblance, convergence or divergence in the Swedish political discourse regarding the chosen measuring points, security and immigration. Especially as the SNS Democracy Council Report from 2021 notes that while there has been little change in the traditional Swedish Left-Right political spectrum there has been an increased polarization regarding socio-cultural issues and values which could be hinting at the beginning phase of a small increasing polarization trend in Sweden (SNS 2021).

Therefore, the research questions of this study are:

(1) What are differences and similarities between the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats in terms of Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values during the two electoral periods?

(2) Did an ideological resemblance occur between the two parties in two measuring points?
2. Background and Previous Research

2.1. Brief overview of the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats

This section contains a brief overview of the Moderate Party’s attitude towards the Sweden Democrats and the values that are often linked to the later mentioned party, as such it focuses on the Moderate party’s general attitude in order to show the change overtime as it is important later in the discussion when analyzing the differences and similarities of the two parties during the chosen electoral periods as well as whether an ideological resemblance has emerged as analyzed from the parties’ election manifestos from the electoral periods 2018 and 2022.

The Moderate Party is one of eight parties represented in the Swedish Parliament. The party is well established and traces its origin to the start of the 20th century. On the official website, the party is described as Liberal Conservative. It should as previously mentioned be noted that the the party originally had Classic Conservative and Nationalistic leaning roots (Moderaterna 2023b). On the other hand, the Sweden Democrats are also one of the eight parties represented in the Swedish Parliament. The party has in the last three decades gone from its origins as an ostracized extremist party to the second largest party in the Swedish Parliament. On the official website, the party is described as a people’s movement and as the only party that can create a safe and strong Sweden. Furthermore, they state that unlike the other parties, the Sweden Democrats have seen the truth of immigration and the security risk it posed from the beginning. They are also according to the official website the only party that can create the best possibilities for the nation as they focus on Sweden and its citizens first instead of focusing on established organizations and elites (Sverigedemokraterna 2023b).
It should also be noted that this essay is limited to the national level and the Moderate Party’s as well as the Sweden Democrats’ officially published line of politics in the form of the election manifestos from 2018 and 2022.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, the Moderate Party was a part of the mainstream and established Swedish political elite that joined forces and established a *cordon sanitaire* against the Sweden Democrats when the latter passed the percentage barrier for the Swedish Parliament in 2010 (Loxbo 2019). At the time, the Moderate Party leader, Fredrik Rienfeldt expressed a clear dislike for the Sweden Democrats and the values that the party represented (Orrenius 2011). This was reflected in the Moderate Party’s official line of politics concerning migration and integration as the then mainstream Swedish parties reacted seemingly in tandem and continued the country’s generous migration policies (Norocel 2017).

The Moderate Party’s open attitude towards immigrants would remain present during the election year of 2014 when Reinfeldt was still the sitting Prime Minister. In the Dagens Nyheter article *Så tycker partierna i flyktingfrågan*, the Moderate Party expressed the opinion that Sweden should remain open and help those in need as the reception of immigrants had been successful so far in the party’s own opinion (Larsson 2014). The official party line would not change too drastically in 2015, when Anna Kinberg Batra became the party leader. The stance remained, that diversity and multiculturalism strengthened Sweden as a country. However, there was an increased acknowledgement regarding the issue of inadequate integration which was at the time considered a potential growing exclusion that immigrants faced when settling in Sweden (Motion 2015/16:3241).
The current Moderate Party leader, Ulf Kristersson also expressed distance from the Sweden Democrats in 2017 when he emerged as the new party leader. In the Dagens Nyheter article *Ulf Kristersson: ‘Nej, jag tänker inte samtala med Sverigedemokraterna’*, Kristersson stated that he would not negotiate or compromise with the Sweden Democrats. There was however the change in the official party line that immigration should be more restricted as the current levels were untenable (Eriksson 2017). This continued exclusion of the Sweden Democrats by the Moderate Party would be broken after the 2018 election as the Social Democrats remained in power. This can be noted in the Dagens industri article *Kristersson efter historiska mötet: ”SD är ett parti som andra”* in which Kristersson noted to the newspaper after the first meeting with the Sweden Democrats’ party leader, Jimmie Åkesson, that the latter was a party like any other in Sweden and that the Moderate Party would be open to broader negotiations in the future (Öjemar 2019).

Finally, this would culminate in Tidöavtalet, which was mentioned in the introduction. This active cooperation with the Sweden Democrats marked a stark distancing from the initial *cordon sanitaire* which was established in 2010. This as previously mentioned makes the development relevant to the research questions, and also presents social as well as scientific relevance. Especially, as it might highlight an underlying growing ideological resemblance in the Swedish political parties on the right leaning side of the political spectrum when it comes to the chosen measuring points, security and immigration.
2.2. Pathological Normalcy, Converging Policies and Ideological Normalization

Cas Mudde (2010) argues that radical right-wing parties and values are better perceived as a pathological normalcy that is connected to mainstream ideas as well as broadly shared underlying attitudes and policy positions. As such mainstream values and radical right-wing party values are better examined by the measure of degree as “populist radical right attitudes and ideas are not marginal under normal conditions; they are fairly widespread, if often in a more moderate form than expressed by the populist radical right parties” (Mudde 2010, 1178). This is interesting as Demker notes that in the past three decades, the Swedish general population has had a relatively high restrictive view when it comes to refugee reception in Sweden. It should, however, be noted that the refugee restrictive view peaked in the early 1990s during the Balkan War with 65 percent and later declined with some increases as well as decreases until the 2015 refugee crisis in which it sharply increased from 40 percent to over 50 percent and later seemingly stabilised at a higher number in the following years. Demker also emphasises the potential importance of socio-economic conditions, cultural values and national traditions in relation to individual rights when it comes to the more restrictive view on refugee reception in Sweden (Demker 2022).

Furthermore, Loxbo (2014) argues that voters are more likely to favor parties like the Sweden Democrats if the voters believe that there is an increase of political convergence and little policy competition between the mainstream parties. Due to the perceived convergence or ideological resemblance, parties that utilize radical right-wing party values can be seen as purifiers as they use mainstream ideas that are prevalent throughout society such as the immigration issue that have become diluted over time, in a radical manner (Mudde 2007, Canovan 1999). Essentially, the Moderate Party’s official
party line, like the other established political parties following the 2015 refugee crisis ignored what would be a growing portion of the Swedish population that expressed a more restrictive view on the Swedish refugee reception following the increased number of refugees and “By banning extremist parties, for example, a state shuts off a signal of grievances that might only get worse if ignored” (Bale 2007, 155).

As such, it can be argued that “populist parties succeed when voters feel that established parties are unresponsive to their concerns and populist leaders create an effective appeal around new issues” (Riera and Pastor 2022, 890).

As mentioned in the introduction, parties utilizing radical right-wing party values often bring salience to issues of security, immigration and assimilation that might have largely gone ignored by the mainstream political establishment which allows them to gain ownership of these issues when other parties later attempt to broach the issues. (Bale 2008, Bale et al. 2010)

As such “the failure of the mainstream parties .. to track and filter out some of the real underlying concerns of citizens regarding issues of public safety and cultural integration has played a decisive role in the ongoing success” (Rummens and Abts 2010, 662) of radical right-wing parties. Meaning that it opens up potential growth opportunities for parties that advocate radical right-wing party issues as there is a lack of competition from the mainstream political establishment as the parties instead near the midpoint in order to maximize the voting numbers (Ennser 2010, Vrakopoulos 2022).

Furthermore, in the book *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Mudde (2007) argues that Right Populism is a “thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elite,” and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté général” (Mudde 2007, 23).

In other words the will of the nation’s general population. However, it should
be noted that due to the perceived thinnes of Right Populism, parties that utilize radical right-wing party values can often be observed as falling back on more complete ideologies, which in the European context is often the Radical Right as well as elements of Nationalism (Norocel 2017).

Finally, Loxbo (2019) notes that radical right-wing populist parties with extremist roots tend to go through an ideological normalization process in which the party actively distances itself from the party’s more extreme values, party members and historical roots. During the normalization process the party values are often repackaged and made more moderate though the core message often remains. This normalization process is often done in effort to appeal to a wider voting population though as mentioned core issues such as excluding nationalism, authoritarian values and populism remain within the party. This might also be another possible factor in how radical right-wing populist parties utilize other ideologies in order to stand on equal ground with established political parties while maintaining a more loose position on the traditional Left-Right political spectrum compared to other more traditional political party families in Western Europe.

As such, in relation to the research questions, on one hand, one could hypothesize that a potential ideological resemblance between the two parties has grown due to pathological normalcy. In which the Sweden Democrats’ radical right-wing populist party values concerning the chosen measuring points, security and immigration are widespread abate more moderate in established political parties. On the other hand an ideological resemblance between the two parties might have occurred as the Sweden Democrats went through a gradual ideological normalization and repackaged the old party’s more extreme values in order to appeal to the wider public.
3. Theory

This section of the essay will establish and present a brief ideal type of Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values as an additional lens in order to analyze the essay’s research questions (1) What are differences and similarities between the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats in terms of Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values during the two electoral periods? (2) Did an ideological resemblance occur between the two parties in two measuring points?

Furthermore, the three ideal type ideologies were chosen as the Moderate Party is a Liberal Conservative party with Nationalist roots while the Sweden Democrats is a Social Conservative Party with a Nationalist outlook. As such it would be interesting to see whether or not an ideological resemblance has occurred with the Moderate Party leaning more towards Conservative and Nationalist values or whether the Sweden Democrats have started to approach the Moderate Party with more Liberal and Conservative Values. While the three ideal type ideologies share features that overlap they do still present different outpoints which are distinct. This is important as it helps emphasize whether or not there has developed an ideological resemblance during the chosen electoral periods due to the distinctive nature of the ideal type ideologies, it also ensures that any possible gaps are decreased when analyzing the election manifestos in the discussion together with the previous research established in the section above. The theory section will be based on Larsson (2014) and the categories: View on Humanity, The Most Important Unit in Society, and Methods for Social Change. These categories were chosen as they go well with the framework further down in this study and offers a standardized form for all of the chosen ideal type ideologies.
3.1. Ideal Type Liberal Values

As mentioned above, this section will be used to present and establish a short and concise ideal type of Liberal values through the units: View on Humanity, The Most Important Unit in Society and Methods for Social Change.

View on Humanity

According to Larsson (2014) the Liberal view on humanity is a primarily positive one which is based in the belief and demand for universal suffrage and equal opportunity for political competence for all individuals. Liberalism as such view humans as rational beings who can assess different options and the consequences that those choices bring. However, Larsson does also note that prominent thinkers such as John Stuart Mill worried over how the uneducated masses might not be ready for such responsibilities and that additional votes should be given to meritorious individuals. In a way it highlights one view that individuals within Liberalism should be treated equally but that this is not always done as it leads to stagnation as individuals need to be able to work under free will and make their own choices. Individual rights should however be afforded to everyone and decisions should be made in a manner where it does not ignore the weakest members of society.

The Most Important Unit in Society

In Liberalism the most important unit in society is the individual, this as Liberalism emerged as a movement against state oppression in favor of the free individual. Larsson (2014) mentions that this can still be seen in Liberalism through the continued demands for strong guarantees when it comes to individual freedoms and rights. These guarantees are primarily
ensured through a state’s constitution and laws, where any attempts to circumvent it are dealt with through legal means. Larsson also notes that there is a general suspicion against collectives and collective solutions within Liberalism as the expansion of state power is a threat to the individual’s freedom.

Methods for Social Change

Larsson (2014) notes that Liberalists during the 20th century were more inclined to follow the belief that a gradual construction of society was the superior form of development. Furthermore, he states that the best modern formulation of gradual social construction as a theory was made by Karl Popper. Essentially, Popper argued if one were to go for an ideal state instead of gradual change that a political end goal needed to be set in advance and decisions needed to be made in response to whatever means were necessary to achieve the set out goal. This would however have various flaws and consequences as it would eventually be unlikely to lead to an ideal fixed state. Instead, according to Liberal values it would be easier to act rationally and create concrete plans without violence in response to immediate wrongs instead of planning an ideal society that would gradually change regardless.
Table 1. Ideal Type Liberal Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Summarization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>View on Humanity</td>
<td>Humans are rational beings that can assess different options and the consequences that those choices bring. Individuals should be treated equally but that is not always possible as it leads to stagnation as individuals need to be able to work under free will and make their own choices as well as face the consequences for those choices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Most Important Unit in Society</td>
<td>The most important unit in society is the individual. There is a continued demand for strong guarantees when it comes to individual freedoms and rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods for Social Change</td>
<td>Gradual social change is superior as it is easier to act rationally and create concrete plans without violence in response to immediate wrongs instead of planning an ideal society.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2. Ideal Type Conservative Values

This second section will be used to present and establish a short and concise ideal type of Conservative values through the units: View on Humanity, The Most Important Unit in Society and Methods for Social Change.

View on Humanity

Larsson (2014) mentions that although Conservatives values align with the notion of political equality as a prerequisite for universal suffrage and equality before the law it does not have quite as positive a view on humanity as Liberalism. According to Conservative values people are inherently neither good or bad but can be partly both, as humans are flawed creatures. In response to this flawed nature, the collective wisdom of past generations, cultural practices and traditions as well as religious heritage can help stabilize and support the individual when making decisions. Differences between individuals should be accepted and different social classes and monetary means are a result of the individual’s efforts rather than the available societal opportunities available to different citizens depending on their initial circumstances.

The Most Important Unit in Society

According to Conservative values the most important unit in society is the nation and the nuclear family. Larssson (2014) notes that the nation’s independence and defense is a major part of the Conservative ideology where a strong military defense is encouraged. Conservative values as such can sometimes clash as national independence takes priority over other political
goals if other states or organizations are seen as infringing on the national independence of the state. The nuclear family should be responsible for the upbringing and education of the younger generation. He also notes that according to the Conservative tradition, the state should be strong in central areas such as defense and judiciary matters.

Methods for Social Change

The Conservative tradition aligns somewhat with the Liberal one when it comes to methods for social change. This as the Conservative values align with gradual change abate to a stronger degree than the traditional Liberal one. Larsson (2014) states that unlike Liberalism, Conservatism hardliners would be more likely to stand by gradual change even if it meant enduring a dictator if the other option was to use revolutionary and violent means to reach societal change. In that way Conservatism acts in favor of gradual change and reforms to preserve the traditional norms and practices within the state rather than change set by an outside individual, state or organization.
### Table 2. Ideal Type Conservative Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Summarization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>View on Humanity</td>
<td>People are inherently neither good or bad but can be partly both, as humans are flawed creatures. Differences between individuals should be accepted and different social classes and monetary means are a result of the individual’s efforts rather than the initial societal opportunities available to different citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Most Important Unit in Society</td>
<td>The most important unit is the state, with a strong authority in central areas such as defense and judiciary matters. The nuclear family is also elevated as a unit that is responsible for the upbringing and education of the younger generations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods for Social Change</td>
<td>Conservatism acts in favor of gradual change and reforms to preserve the traditional norms and practices within the state rather than change set by an outside individual, state or organization.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3. Ideal Type Nationalist Values

This final section will be used to present and establish a short and concise ideal type of Nationalist values through the units: View on Humanity, The Most Important Unit in Society and Methods for Social Change.

View on Humanity

When it comes to the Nationalist view on humanity it varies depending on the country and factors such as whether or not the individual in question belongs to the national majority or one of the national minorities. The main example that Larsson (2014) utilizes is the Nationalist view on humanity in France in which he brings up Le Pen and the belief that people from third world countries are not as capable of the same progress as Western people. The threat against the nationalist movement is then presented as being twofold as the minority threatens the majority by intermarriages which dilutes the native population as well as the minorities incapability or unwillingness to assimilate due to cultural and or religious differences.

The Most Important Unit in Society

Nationalist values can vary greatly depending on the nation in question, Larsson (2014) uses the example of Russia and France to emphasize this. One on hand the most important unit in society according to the more modern Russian tradition aligns with the Conservative value that was established above. This as it focuses on the state as the most important unit, specifically the national defense and the military. On the other hand, the French nationalist movement also aligns partly with Conservatism as the most important value in society is the state in the form of the nuclear family
unit though Nationalism does take it a step further. Furthermore, Larsson states that Le Pen draws the connection between low birth rates and increased immigration as immigrants fill the spaces in society that should have been filled by native French people. Another important unit is the Church as it supports families and encourages the building of the nuclear family. In turn the Church needs the state’s protection against the intrusion of foreign religions and cultural practices.

*Methods for Social Change*

When it comes to the Nationalist value of methods for social change, Larsson (2014) once again uses the example of France, and Le Pen. Larsson acknowledges that Le Pen and the nationalist movement works within the frame of parliamentary methods though there is likely a strong emphasis on stricter legislations and reforms. The primarily used message being the nation and the French people first. Another societal change that is encouraged, is making it harder for minorities and immigrants to gain citizenship and measures to be made in order to encourage or forcefully remove immigrants from the nation so that they will return to the individual's home country. There is the notion that a strong state needs to be able to clean up society, ensure citizens safety and effectively fight crime.
Table 3. Ideal Type Nationalist Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Summarization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>View on Humanity</td>
<td>There is a distinction between the social majority and minorities within the state. The threat is presented as twofold as the minority threatens the majority by intermarriages which dilutes the native population as well as the minorities incapability or unwillingness to assimilate due to cultural and or religious differences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Most Important Unit in Society</td>
<td>The most important unit in society can vary though a strong focus is put on national defense and military as well as the nuclear family as a counteracting force against immigration. The Church is another important unit as it support the nuclear family yet it needs protection against foreign religions and cultural practices.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 (46)
4. Method

The method that will be utilized in this essay is a systematic qualitative analysis. The chosen method works in tandem with the ideal type Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values that is established in the theoretical section. Furthermore, an ideology focused systematic qualitative analysis helps to further sharpen and limit the scope of the chosen material as the discussion is delimited to the themes of security and immigration. This distinction is made as the research questions aim to analyze (1) What are differences and similarities between the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats in terms of Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values during the two electoral periods? (2) Did an ideological resemblance occur between the two parties in two measuring points?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Summarization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methods for Social Change</td>
<td>The nation and the people first. The encouraged social development is to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>make it harder for minorities and immigrants to gain citizenship as well as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>measures to encourage or forcefully remove immigrants from the nation so that</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they will return to the individual's home country. A strong state needs to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>able to clean up society, ensure citizens safety and effectively fight crime.</td>
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*Summarization*
4.1. Systematic Qualitative Analysis

Esaiasson et al. (2017) argue that systematic qualitative analysis is often utilized to organize content when analyzing material by highlighting the structure and intention thematically and systematically. This is commonly done by organizing the material into more simple categories. In this essay it can be seen in how the possible ideological resemblance is analyzed through the additional lens of ideal type Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values. It is further categorized as the content from the chosen material is taken from sections concerning the theme of security and immigration as those are the two measuring points that the essay aims to analyze.

This means that the Moderate Party’s election manifesto from 2018 and 2022 as well as the Sweden Democrats’ election manifesto from 2018 and 2022, are analyzed separately according to ideology, theme and as shown further down a question framework. This ensures that the framework reflects the research questions, which increases the ability to collect and standardize the material by accumulating the findings according to the chosen values, ideologies and themes in the discussion (George and Bennett 2005).

As mentioned above, the method in this essay also utilizes a question framework that works in tandem with the values, ideologies and themes in the discussion. Bergström and Svärd (2018) mention that ideologies can be seen as having three dimensions: these dimensions being value, descriptive and prescriptive. This action orientated combination of the three dimensions then gives a possible presentation of reality, but it also gives reasons for actions, and it presents actions that could be taken in response to the aforementioned reasons.
These aforementioned dimensions are a suitable way to interpret the material in regards to the research questions of the essay, as it aims to analyze the possible differences and similarities between the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats as well as whether an ideological resemblance occurred between the two parties in the two chosen measuring points. This as the chosen source material is the two parties' officially published statements, and not the interpretation of the parties from another party, organization, corporation or individual.

Therefore, the following translated and adapted framework will be used to analyze the chosen material in the discussion section of this essay (Bergström & Svärd 2018, 145 my translation):

Value statements: normative ideals, goals, preferences and interests.
- What are the norms and values?

Descriptive statements: expresses perceptions on how things are.
- Description of methods that should be used to reach a specific aim or goal.

Prescriptive statements: expresses what is an appropriate action in a given situation.
- What are the proposed actions?

The above framework will be utilized in this specified order in the discussion when analyzing the two parties’ election manifestos from 2018 and 2022. As such the framework will be used to analyze; value, descriptive and prescriptive statements through the lens of ideal type Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values in order interpret (1) What are differences and similarities between the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats in terms of Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values during the two electoral periods? (2) Did an ideological resemblance occur between the two parties in two measuring points?
4.2. **Strengths and limitations**

It should, once again be noted that this essay is delimited to the chosen ideologies, themes and framework in order to answer the research questions in accordance with the two measuring points. Meaning that it does not analyze the possible causal factors and effects that might have led to the presence of an ideological resemblance in the election manifestos from the chosen electoral periods in the discussion. As such, the delimitations, as previously mentioned, serves to sharpen and limit the scope of the study in consideration of its size.

There are some limitations to the study due to the chosen method and material that need to be kept in mind. One being that the essay only draws conclusions from the 2018 and 2022 election manifestos in the discussion. Meaning that other published statements by the Moderate Party and Sweden Democrats are not considered or analyzed in the discussion even though they might support or reject the hypothesis of an ideological resemblance in how the two different parties chose to present the individual party to potential voters when it comes to the measuring points security and immigration. It is however a comparatively small issue as the focus of the research questions concerns the election manifestos from the chosen years, which arguably means that other published statements are not as necessary for the study as it lies outside of the study’s focus though it can be kept in mind for future research if one were to expand the scope of the study.

Another limitation, as previously mentioned, is that the scope of the essay is delimited to sections in the 2018 and 2022 election manifesto that concerns the themes of security and immigration. Meaning that material in other sections of the election manifestos concerning possible ideological resemblance might be present but goes undiscussed as it is not in the sections
that concerns the chosen measuring points. Yet, this is in part counteracted as
the limitation is necessary in regards to the study’s size but also to increase
the reliability and the validity of the study as it ensures that the method is
clearly presented and easy to replicate for other researchers. The limitation
also ensures that the focus remains on what the essay aims to examine as it
does not go into other values than those that concern the chosen measuring
points (Esaiasson et al. 2017).

5. Material

It should be noted that previous research within the field is utilized as a
complement throughout the essay in an effort to ensure that there is a
cumulative effect that increases the reliability and validity of the study.
However, the material in the discussion is primarily the Moderate Party’s
election manifesto from 2018 and 2022, as well as the Sweden Democrats’
election manifesto from 2018 and 2022. This is important as the essay aims
to analyze (1) What are differences and similarities between the Moderate
Party and the Sweden Democrats in terms of Liberal, Conservative and
Nationalist values during the two electoral periods? (2) Did an ideological
resemblance occur between the two parties in two measuring points?

The source evaluation of the 2018 and 2022, Moderate Party and Sweden
Democrat election manifestos were made in accordance with authenticity,
time, dependency and tendency (Esaiasson et al. 2017). This as the election
manifestos were written and published by the two parties during the electoral
periods of 2018 and 2022. As such, one can assume that the material were
written with the intention to convey the two parties outward presenting
values to the voting eligible Swedish population, which is suitable as the
study aims to analyze the possible presence of an ideological resemblance in the election manifestos.

George and Bennett argue that language “is subject to multiple interpretations, but not infinite ones, and sometimes it is fairly unambiguous” (George and Bennett 2005, 130). This study takes into consideration the possible intentions and meaning that might be lost if one were to translate the different election manifesto extracts into English. This is why, as will be seen in the discussion, the material is kept in the original language of Swedish. This choice was taken under the assumption that readers of this paper will either be proficient in the Swedish language or they will have access to a translation engine which will allow them to interpret the meaning of the extracts in their preferred language if they so wish.

Therefore, as stated previously, any translation of the extract will not be made as it risks the loss of potential latent intentions as the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats can be assumed to be using both latent and manifest messages and intentions in the 2018 and 2022 election manifestos. Furthermore, this decision was made as the contrast between latent and manifest intentions are not always readily apparent if one analyzes the material outside of the given context. This also highlights the importance of pre-existing conditions and context that the material was written in and that the research questions aim to analyze. Which is why ideal type Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values, as well as additional previous research in the field is used as a complement in the discussion to clarify the potential latent messages in the 2018 and 2022 election manifesto that otherwise might not be readily apparent or clear (Esaiasson et al. 2017).

Finally, Bergström and Boréus (2018) discuss the importance of context knowledge when assessing research material. Though they do note that while
an all around knowledge of the context is important in order to make educated and reasonable interpretations it should not be seen as decisive for what a text conveys. Instead it acts as a helping tool to establish the framework and limitations in which reasonable interpretations of the material can be made.

As mentioned above in the method section, the research questions aim to analyze how the two parties outwardly portrayed the own party’s values in the election manifestos during the chosen years and to what extent an ideological resemblance can be seen during the chosen electoral periods. As such the material in this essay has also been chosen in accordance with the elements of primary material, a corpus of relevant material regarding the Moderate Party, the Sweden Democrats, previous research regarding ideal type Liberal, Conservative and Nationalist values as well as material on the social and political context that the normalization of those values might occur in (Bergström and Boréus 2018).

6. Discussion

6.1. Security and Immigration

6.1.1. The Moderate Party’s 2018 Election Manifesto

Value statements

In the sections for security and immigration in the Moderate Party’s election manifesto from 2018 we can see that one of the value statements that is presented states that “Tiggeri är inte ett hållbart sätt att försörja sig. Det läser in människor i fattigdom och leder också till att många utsatta människor blir utnyttjade, bland annat för prostitution” (Moderaterna 2018, 13). This value
statement pertains to security as well as immigration as can be seen later in the discussion. The reason why this falls under both security and immigration is that it aligns with the study’s definition of “security from physical violence, from other crimes against life and property, and from accidents, abuse (including self-abuse, such as via drugs) and neglect” (Gasper & Gómez 2015, 102). This as the Moderate Party clearly states the consequences and abuse that the beggars are exposed to while they work. The reason why it falls under immigration is that the statement can be found in the section regarding immigration and immigrants in the Moderate Party election manifesto. This gives the latent message that the beggars are non Swedish citizens who have come to the country in order to beg. One can argue that the statement falls under the Conservative view of human beings as imperfect creatures and the notion that individuals needs authority in order to gain structure and support. Begging is presented as leading to continued poverty as well as prostitution, while the act of prostitution is not illegal it is seen as undesirable as it leads to the consumption of prostitution which is illegal. Human imperfection and the lack of authority is highlighted here as the current security measures that have been in place have been insufficient in stopping the acts from occurring. This in turn can be discussed in connection to Nationalist methods for social change as gradual change suggestions are not implemented, rather an immediate and decisive reform is suggested further down which proposes the banning of begging. This change can arguably not be considered Liberal in nature as it does not consider alternative options for the weaker party, which in the given context is the beggars as it puts them on the same level as the individuals that exploit them.
Descriptive statement

For the descriptive statements we can see that the party writes that “Antalet EU-medborgare som kommer till Sverige för att tigga är fortfarande stort. Fenomenet finns i stora delar av landet” (Moderaterna 2018, 13). This descriptive statement aligns with the value statement above as it pertains to the subject of immigration due to begging. The statement aptly describes how the Moderate Party perceived that a multitude of EU citizens had immigrated to Sweden in order to beg in several vast parts of the country. The first descriptive statement is similar to the above value statement, though one could in a way argue for the Liberal unit of individuality as EU migrants continuously immigration to Sweden in order to beg and ensure that they earn what is likely a bigger income than what they would be able to gain in their home country. On the other hand, it emphasizes the lack of sufficient existing authority that both Conservatism and Nationalism prefer when it comes to methods for social changes which would firmly deter begging as a profitably profession despite the risks that begging entailed at the time the election manifesto was published.

Prescriptive statements

When it comes to prescriptive statements the Moderate Party suggests solutions such as “Polisen menar att det finns flera grupper av tiggare som styrs av kriminella aktörer. Mot denna bakgrund behövs ett nationellt tiggeriförbud” (Moderaterna 2018, 13). This shows that begging was seen as undesirable within the official Moderate Party line of policy during the 2018 election period as a ban on begging was proposed. Due to the mention of criminal actors organizing the begging the prescriptive statement can as previously mentioned be seen as being relevant to both measuring points, security and immigration. This as the latent message implies that begging is
not done for the benefit of the individuals begging but for the criminal gangs that organize the individuals performing the act.

This behavior can also be interpreted as being against the Liberal value of individual rights and freedoms as the individuals begging are exploited by the criminal gangs that seek to profit off the weaker parties in society. It also partly misalign with the Liberal values as the solution proposed does not consider any alternative work or solutions for the beggars, on the other hand it arguably aligns with the Liberal notion of free will and individuals facing the consequences of actions that they take. Similarly to the above statements, the Conservative values of human imperfection and authority can also be applied as the suggested ban on begging would act as a persuasion to deter from the act due to the threat of an enforced law. Likewise it would serve as an additional show of authority which would help guide individuals to better follow Swedish societal rules and expectations.

6.1.2. The Moderate Party’s 2022 Election Manifesto

Value statements

In the section for immigration in the Moderate Party’s election manifesto from 2022 we can see that one of the value statements that is presented states that “En förutsättning för att kunna få ett arbete är ofta att man kan tala begriplig svenska. Moderaterna vill därför göra SFI effektivare” (Moderaterna 2022a, 25). This statement shows the manifest value of the Moderate Party that the official language within the state is expected to be used in order to gain full access to the country’s resources and opportunities. As such one could consider the statement to pertain to all three of the Liberal values as immigrants can be expected to act in their own self interest in order to gain access to all levels in society. It also presents a gradual social change
that would benefit all parties in society as immigrants would profit off of knowing the official language. The statement also shows how there is a desire to strengthen a public institution as well as the expectation that immigrants should follow Swedish customs and practices as language is an integral part in how a system functions. The suggestion would also serve as a way of promoting social security as speaking the language would serve as an additional encouragement to be self reliant as more opportunities are afforded to those who speak the official language fluently.

Descriptive statements

For the first descriptive statements we can see that the party writes that “Näringslivet vittnar om att brottsligheten numera gör det svårt att rekrytera arbetskraft från övriga Norden. Folk från våra grannländer vågar helt enkelt inte flytta hit” (Moderaterna 2022a, 10). This statement is an intriguing one as it describes how the perceived current level of criminality in Sweden is discouraging individuals from neighbouring countries from working and living in Sweden. The reason why this is an intriguing descriptive statement is that it hold a multitude of latent intent. It implies that tradition and cultural customs that bind the neighbouring countries together has a higher weight than language as Nordic workers are a desirable immigration group with no mentioned of the requirement of Swedish language proficiency.

This can be assumed as it is unlikely that all individuals in the neighbouring countries can fully speak and understand intelligible Swedish. Likewise it is unlikely that all Swedish individuals can fully understand intelligible Norwegian, Danish, Finnish and Icelandic as the emphasis was put on Nordic countries and not on Scandinavian countries which even then would make the language barrier a potential issue for long term settlers. This as it is more common for Norwegians to understand Swedish and Danish, than it is for
Swedes to understand Norwegian and Danish as well as vice versa. This also goes for younger generations that might be less accustomed to have been exposed to the other Scandinavian languages and might instead code switch to English instead of keeping the conversation going in the individual Scandinavian languages due to convenience (Gooskens & Heeringa 2014).

Another reason why this interesting is that it can arguably apply to the Liberal values of the individual and gradual social change as one could assume the neighbouring countries would provide skilled labor that helps to build on the cumulative effort of the Swedish population as they can also be assumed to be self reliant instead of benefiting off of Swedish welfare. This is in contrast to the presented criminals in the statement that are deterring Nordic Workers from moving to Sweden. The trend present an undesirable social trend in which Nordic individuals choose to move elsewhere rather than risk being exposed to crime within Sweden. This could arguably also be discussed in relation to the Conservative negative view on humanity as one can assume from the latent message in the statement that the criminal individuals do not adhere to societal customs or the local authority as general national security and citizen well being is threatened by the illegal actions.

Prescriptive statements

When it comes to prescriptive statements the Moderate Party suggests solutions such as “Ställa högre krav på den som deltar i SFI- undervisning – om individuella kunskapsmål inte uppnås ska bidragen kunna minska” (Moderaterna 2022a, 25). The suggested solutions here can be seen as pertaining to both Liberal and Conservative values as there is a direct consequence if one does not meet the social expectation of the language requirement in order to eventually be self reliant. The suggestion also shows
a clear line of authority as negative monetary consequences is suggested if the individual fails to meet the language requirement. Which in turns serves as an additional stabiliser in order to keep the gradual social development in place and limited to what is perceived as engaged and participating individuals.

6.1.3. The Sweden Democrats’ 2018 Election Manifesto

Value statements

In the sections for security and immigration in the Sweden Democrats’ election manifesto from 2018 we can see that one of the value statements that is presented states that “Ett land präglat av lojalitet, solidaritet och tillit gentemot varandra där det allmänna rummet inte är ett privilegium för de som, genom att sprida rädsla, håller andra inomhus” (Sverigedemokraterna 2018). This value statement shows both a manifest and latent message as it can be considered to pertain all three of the ideal type ideologies, this can be argued as one can to an extent discuss the statement from the Liberal value of the individual in which the Swedish population is a part of a country that is rational and good that shows good will to other individuals. On the other hand the statement can also in juxtaposition be discussed from the Conservative view on humanity as the implied criminal minority damages the citizen safety and social security. This aligns more with the negative view on individuals as imperfect being that need authority in order to adhere to society. It can also be discussed from the Nationalist value of proposed social change as it statement depends a change in how the social development has evolved as the implied criminal minority is keeping the Swedish native majority from utilizing society to the fullest. As such the nation and the native citizens are presented as moral superior that is kept away from the social sphere due to fear of the criminal and implied violent other.
Descriptive statements

For the descriptive statements we can see that the party writes that “Till följd av den okontrollerade invandringen går terrorister med krigserfarenhet fritt på gator och torg och utnyttjar vårt välfärds- och asylsystem” (Sverigedemokraterna 2018). This is a strong descriptive statement by the Sweden Democrats that illustrate human imperfection, lack of authority as well as the exploitation of traditional institutions. Immigration is presented as uncontrolled and a lack of effective authority is emphasized as presumed terrorists are described as exploiting Swedish welfare. Conservative values such as stronger laws and Nationalist values such as limited immigration would persuade these individuals to adhere to society and the institution of social welfare would be safer as well as the traditional institutions would instead be focused on what one can assume to be law abiding Swedish citizens. What is interesting here is also that one can assume due the latent message that the law abiding citizens are ethnic Swedes, as terrorists are presented as a symptom of uncontrolled immigration.

Prescriptive statements

When it comes to prescriptive statements the Sweden Democrats suggests solutions such as “Skärpa försörjningskraven vid anhöriginvandring samt kontroller av släktkap för att omöjliggöra utnyttjande av systemet samt ytterligare överbelastning av välfärdsystemet” (Sverigedemokraterna 2018). The suggested solution suggest additional social security measures in order to ensure that the Swedish system and institutions are not exploited and that individuals who immigrate to Sweden will not be a burden on the nation state and the native population as immediate relatives are expected to care for them instead if they are to be welcomed and afforded the opportunity to legally enter. This also showcases that blood ties or legal ties are emphasized
as harsher expectations are suggested in order to be able to enter the country. This can in be attributed to the Nationalist view on humanity as it enforces the prioritization of the nation state and the native population over what is seen as the immigrant other. It can also be discussed in relation to the Conservative view on humanity as there is a more negative perception of the immigrant individuals as harsher regulations and laws are seen as necessary in order for aforementioned individuals to adhere to society and to not take more than is necessary from the public institutions and the national welfare system.

6.1.4. The Sweden Democrats’ 2022 Election Manifesto

Value statements

In the sections for security and immigration in the Sweden Democrats’ election manifesto from 2022 we can see that one of the value statements that is presented states that “Kriminaliteten har snabbt utvecklats till det mest påträngande samhällsproblemet. Att vända trenden och återbygga ett tryggt samhälle kommer vara en överordnad prioritering för Sverigedemokraterna” (Sverigedemokraterna 2022a). This value statement can discussed from both a manifest and latent standpoint, the reason being that there is a clear manifest message pertaining security that presents the official Sweden Democrat opinion that criminality has rapidly developed into an intrusive societal issue within the country that threatens Swedish traditions, society and authority. On the other hand it also presents the latent message that this is more of a recent issue which one can assume to assign as a consequence of immigration. One can also argue due to the above statement that immigration and criminality is frowned upon as it does not align with what is assumed to be a more Swedish adherence to lawful behavior due to tradition and social expectations of consequences if one were to go against the local authority.
This aligns with the Nationalist view on humanity as it shows the implication that immigrants are unable to adapt to the social and cultural traditions of the nation and the local civil society.

Descriptive statement

For the descriptive statements we can see that the party writes that

“Förväntningar som ställs i mottagarlandet- vilken service som erbjuds och på vilka språk, vilken diaspora som redan finns från ursprungslandet, kulturella normer, frikostigheten med välfärd och ekonomiska villkor - är avgörande för Sveriges attraktivitet som destinationsland för invandring” (Sverigedemokraterna 2022a). This descriptive statement implies that the social conditions that Sweden has afforded immigrants has served as a strong incentive to immigrate to the country while the authority and lawful repercussions of not abiding by the law and social customs have not been as strong. In a way this goes against the Liberal view on humanity as instead of acting rationally and adding to the betterment of the receiving nation the immigrants instead exploit the system to its detriment.

Another way one could analyze the latent message of the descriptive statement is that tradition has been weakened within the state. One could assume this as the services offered, the language that those services are provided in as well as the cultural norms of the host country is not presented as firmly aligned with Swedish traditions or institutions. It also brings to question who the main receptors of a welcoming society is and who gets to partake in property while contribution to a varying degree. One could assume that human imperfection and expectations from authority had previously guided society according to a more Conservative view and standard yet the lack of authority provided to newly arrived immigrants failed to set the expectations correctly for those who at some point entered Sweden.
**Prescriptive statement**

When it comes to prescriptive statements the Sweden Democrats suggests solutions such as “Den organiserade brottsligheten ska bekämpas. Deltagande i, och samröre med dessa organisationer, ska förbjudas. Den som begår brott relaterade till gängkriminalitet ska dömas till dubbla strafftiden” (Sverigedemokraterna 2022a). This prescriptive statement presents the solution as being harsher punishments from the local authority if one were to be a part of a criminal gang or engage in criminal behavior. This prescriptive statement can in a way be attributed to the measuring point of immigration as well as security as a continuing latent message in the election manifesto is that criminal behavior and criminal gangs are primarily formed out of immigrant individuals. The suggested solution can also be seen as pertaining to the Conservative values of human imperfection and need for a strengthened authority and judiciary system as harsher laws that would punish gang criminals with double the prison time would serve as a far stronger deterrent to not commit crimes as the local laws of the country would be more strictly enforced within the system. This further highlights the negative Conservative view on humans as stronger authority is perceived as necessary in order for individuals to better follow and adhere to society’s rules and expectations.
7. Conclusion

7.1. The Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats, Differences and Similarities During the Electoral Periods 2018 and 2022, as well as Ideological Resemblance Between the Two Parties

The discussion in combination with the background and previous research points to the implication that there is some degree of pathological normalcy when it comes to the Moderate Party’s election manifestos as there is a widespread use of all three ideal type ideologies in the election manifestoes. At the same time one could argue to a lesser extent that the Sweden Democrats have neared the Moderate Party as the ideal type Liberal values can be found abate to a far lesser extent compared to the the ideal type Nationalist and Conservative values.

As such the study shows that there is to some extent similarities in the two parties when it comes to the two measuring points and issues of security and immigration. Especially, has the Moderate Party shows a growing tendency to utilise all three ideal type ideologies in the election manifestos. Though in relation to pathological normalcy and the party’s historical roots of Nationalism it is not too unexpected. Like wise it is not too surprising to see more use of Conservative values and too a lesser extent Liberal values in the Sweden Democrats election manifestos as the party has in the past 30 years gone through an ideological normalization though Nationalist values are still strongly evident in the election manifestos. As such one can argue that there is to an extent a growing ideological resemblance between the two parties from both sides due to probate factors such as pathological normalcy and ideological normalization in the election manifestos from both parties and chosen election periods.
8. Future Research

Future research concerning the essay’s research questions would be of interest and a possibility as the framework could be expanded to include other election periods as well as other statements published by the Moderate Party and the Sweden Democrats. The framework and research questions could also be generalized further to observe other measuring points such as: if there has been a gradual increase over time in the presence of ideological resemblance in other mainstream established Swedish parties and to what degree that increase of similarities and differences is present. This could give possible implications concerning shifting tendencies in the official Swedish political discourse, ideological presentation and convergence or divergence on the national level. On the other hand, one could also utilize a motive analysis to observe what combination of factors have been the potential leading cause for the possible gradual normalization of ideological resemblance in the established mainstream political Swedish parties, such factors to be considered could be office-seeking, policy-seeking, vote-seeking and intraparty cohesion.
9. References

9.1 Primary Sources


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9.2 Secondary Sources


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