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Success at last for a Radical Right-Wing Party in Sweden?

A case study of voter support for the Sweden Democrats in the city of Malmö

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Abstract

This paper consists of a case study of voter support for the populist radical right-wing party, the Sweden Democrats, in the municipality of Malmo in the southern region of Scania in Sweden. Seven explanatory factors behind radical right-wing party success in Western Europe were selected to be analyzed as they applied to this case. The chosen economic explanatory factors were; post-industrial economy; and economic crisis and unemployment. The chosen sociocultural explanatory factors were; fragmentation of the culture and multiculturalization; popular xenophobia and racism; widespread political discontentment and disenchantment; opposition to European Union membership; and shifting salience of issues. These are mainly analyzed via voters' individual perceptions of their local environments and situations, in contrast to a more standard system-level analysis. The study was carried out through some qualitative theoretical analysis but mainly quantitative data analysis of the data collected through the Southern SOM (Society, Opinion Mass Media) survey of inhabitants of the Scanian region to see whether or not these explanatory factors applied to the Malmo case. The findings for this case strongly supported the hypotheses behind these seven explanatory factors that were provided in the literature.

Key Words: Malmo, radical right-wing populist parties, right-wing extremism, Sweden, Sweden Democrats, xenophobia

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Executive Summary

In modern, post-industrial democracies, radical right-wing populist (RRP) parties have played important roles in shaping political policy and setting the tone in the political debate. The beginning of the 21st century has found radical right-wing parties stronger than ever in Western European nations. Parties to the extreme right of the political spectrum can be found in most if not all of the Western European democracies. In Sweden, a radical right-wing party has yet to participate at the national level since the disintegration of New Democracy (Ny Demokrati) following the 1994 elections. However, a party that has been relatively successful at the local and regional levels in Sweden and that seems to be moving up in the ranks towards possible success in the next national election is the Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna). I am interested in the reasons behind this party's local success in the city of Malmo, Sweden.

The research question is: *How can the voter support for the Sweden Democrats in the city of Malmo in the 2006 election be explained?*

This study provides a theoretical framework combined with empirical analysis in order to answer this question. I utilize *individual voter-centered statistical analysis*, as opposed to a broader, system-level analysis, of social, cultural and political attitudes combined with text analysis from the field of literature on RRP parties in Western Europe. This study is limited to the city of Malmo, Sweden. Malmo is Sweden's third largest city, with a population of 270,000 who speak some 100 languages and come from 164 nations (*Malmö Stad* 2008). The reason why Malmo was chosen as an area of study over other cities in southern Sweden where the Sweden Democrats have been successful as well is because of its size, importance and particularly richly multicultural population.

The theory section introduces explanatory factors behind the success of RRP parties in Western Europe. The seven explanatory factors that I cover are given by authors that I believe give the most all-inclusive and cohesive coverage of the field of study. The methodology section establishes this study as a local case study at the individual level. The case study is analyzed through some qualitative analysis and a great deal of quantitative analysis of the data from a large survey of the southern Swedish region of Scania. I then go on to show how I have operationalized

the analysis of each of my chosen explanatory factors for my case study of the local support for the Sweden Democrats in the municipality of Malmo, Sweden. The rest of the paper consists of my empirical analysis of my chosen factors, with a large amount of data analysis.

My chosen seven factors, the hypotheses associated with them and my conclusions are the following:

Economic Factors

1. *A post-industrial economy*: The hypothesis is that a post-industrial economy makes the situation more disposed to greater voter support of RRP parties. According to the characteristics of how a post-industrial economy is represented in the literature, Malmo is classified as such, and the hypothesis would apply to the case of SD voters in Malmo. Additionally, the demographics of Malmo SD voters as provided by the survey data correspond with the typical RRP party voter.

2. *Economic crisis and unemployment*: Since Malmo has comparatively high unemployment figures in Sweden, the hypothesis that an increase in unemployment is positively correlated with an increase in support for RRP parties is supported. Additionally, the data results are in line with the hypotheses behind the relationship between economic crisis and unemployment and support for RRP parties – when economic crisis exists, there is an increase in support for RRP parties; when unemployment increases, there is an increase in support for RRP parties. Malmo Sweden Democrat voters have comparatively the most negative perception of their municipal economy. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a considerable positive relationship in this case between support for RRP parties and at least perceptions of economic problems.

Sociocultural Factors

1. *Fragmentation of the culture and multiculturalization*: The hypothesis attached to this explanatory factor is that increases in the fragmentation of the culture and in multiculturalization lead to an increase in support for RRP parties. We observed that where the immigrants live and where the Swedish families live represents a geographical fragmentation of the local culture. The survey data findings neither prove nor disprove an increase in multiculturalization in Malmo, but there clearly exists the *perception* of multiculturalization as existent, and by Malmo SD voters, as

particularly negative. Accordingly, there is a strong correlation between the perception of increased multiculturalization and support for RRP parties in this case.

2. *Popular xenophobia and racism*: According to this hypothesis, a greater presence of xenophobia and racism is positively correlated with greater support for RRP parties. From the data, there was an observed very negative attitude towards immigrants among Malmo SD voters. As a result, we are able to quantify a strong correlation between xenophobia and support for RRP parties. I am however unable to quantify racist attitudes, although I recognize there being the possibility for a positive relationship between racism and support for RRP parties as well.

3. *Widespread political discontentment and disenchantment*: The hypothesis associated with this explanatory factor is that those that vote for RRP parties tend to be especially discontent and disenchant with the current government and mainstream political parties. We can observe a strong positive correlation between political discontentment and disenchantment and support for RRP parties in the Malmo case.

4. *Opposition to European Union membership*: According to the hypothesis found in the literature, an anti-EU stance is positively correlated with support for RRP parties. We in fact do see a positive correlation at least between *individual dissatisfaction* with the EU and RRP party support, although the correlation is not particularly strong. After observing a slightly higher comparative opposition to EU membership among Malmo SD voters, a deeper look into questions about how democracy works in the EU, possibility to influence political decisions in the EU and trust for EU-parliamentarians reveals a distinct suggestion of dissatisfaction with the EU among Malmo SD voters, giving more strength to the hypothesis in the Malmo case as it applies to individual voters.

5. *Shifting Salience of issues*: The hypothesis behind this explanatory factor is that as certain issues become more salient (particularly the immigration issue), there is an increase in support for RRP parties. We find that immigration as an issue is strongly positively correlated with support for RRP parties in the Malmo case, although neoliberal economic issues do not seem to be as decisive of factors for RRP party support in this case as would be expected.

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1. Introduction

The policies of governments can affect the attitudes of their populations, leading to consequences in politics, the labor market and increased social tensions. Organized, anti-immigrant forces now exert at least a modest degree of influence over the public policy agenda (Messina and Lahav 2006, 374). The beginning of the 21st century has found radical right-wing parties stronger than ever in Western European nations. Parties to the extreme right of the political spectrum can be found in most if not all of the Western European democracies: in France, there is the Front National (FN); in Austria, the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ); in Denmark, the Progress Party; Italy has the Italian Social Movement-National Right (MSI); in Germany, there is the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDP) along with six other radical-right wing parties; in Greece, there is the Patriotic Alliance; in Norway, there is Demokratene; in Portugal we find the National Renewal Party; the list continues. In Sweden, a radical right-wing party has yet to participate at the national level since the disintegration of New Democracy (Ny Demokrati) following the 1994 elections. However, a party that has been relatively successful at the local and regional levels in Sweden and that seems to be moving up in the ranks towards possible success in the next national election is the Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna). I am interested in the individual, voter-centered perceptions of Malmo Sweden Democrat voters' own situations that provide the reasons behind voter support of the party in the city of Malmo, Sweden.

This paper attempts to answer the following research question by looking more closely at some of the hypotheses provided by the field of research explaining the success of such radical right-wing populist parties (hereon referred to as RRP parties). The analytical framework is based in the theories provided in the literature. Although these theories focus mainly on the systemic explanations that make the situation riper for the emergence of and increase in support for RRP parties in Western Europe, I look more closely at the individual level, that is, the voters' individual perceptions of their environments and situations. The methodological framework tests these hypotheses as applied to a local case study of Malmo, Sweden through some system-level qualitative analysis and mainly individual-level quantitative data analysis.

1.1 Research Question

How can the voter support for the Sweden Democrats in the city of Malmö in the 2006 election be explained?

This study provides a theoretical framework combined with empirical analysis in order to answer this question. I utilize mainly statistical analysis of social, cultural and political attitudes combined with text analysis from the field of literature on RRP parties in Western Europe.

1.2 Purpose

The aim of this study is to test the validity of the hypotheses provided in the literature, and also to understand and explain the support for the radical right-wing populist party, the Sweden Democrats, focusing on the city of Malmö, Sweden through a limited investigation of some of the explanatory factors behind this support. The knowledge of the explanatory factors behind what makes this type of political party successful in Swedish cities may provide a better understanding and catalyst for further research of how such a party could be represented in local municipal governments and perhaps the Swedish parliament.

1.3 Delimitation of the Study

This study is limited to the city of Malmö, Sweden. Malmö is Sweden's third largest city, with a population of 270,000 who speak some 100 languages and come from 164 nations (*Malmö Stad* 2008). The reason why Malmö was chosen as an area of study over other cities in southern Sweden where the Sweden Democrats have been successful as well is because of its size and particularly richly multicultural population. The literature supports the assumption that those voting for RRP parties generally consider immigration one of the major issues behind their voting decisions (Kessler and Freeman 2004); thus, a city with a large immigrant population would logically make a RRP party more successful. Finally, I find a shortage in the literature regarding local (as opposed to national) studies of RRP party success. A more limited, local study makes it possible for further comparative studies. My aim is to contribute to the field of research by providing a deeper understanding of local explanations behind why such parties rise to local and perhaps subsequently to national power.

1.4 Outline of the Paper

The theory section introduces explanatory factors behind the success of RRP parties in Western Europe. The seven explanatory factors that I cover are given by authors that I believe give the most all-inclusive and cohesive coverage of the field of study. However, most of these explanations are from the broader system level of analysis, and I aim to test these from the individual voter-centered perspective. The methodology section establishes this study as a local case study at the individual level. The case study is analyzed through some qualitative analysis and a great deal of quantitative analysis of the data from a large survey of the southern Swedish region of Scania. I then go on to show how I have operationalized the analysis of each of my chosen explanatory factors for my case study of the local support for the Sweden Democrats in the municipality of Malmö, Sweden. The rest of the paper consists of my empirical analysis of my chosen factors, with a large amount of data analysis. I conclude with a review of my findings through the qualitative theoretical analysis and quantitative data analysis, and state the need for and productivity of further research into this case, with possible further comparative analyses as fruitful additions to the field of study.

2. Problem Background

2.1 Western European RRP Parties

In modern, post-industrial democracies, radical right-wing populist parties have played important roles in shaping political policy and setting the tone in the political debate. The extent to which far-right parties exercise significant political influence in Western European nations differ, but it is clear that this contemporary movement has had substantial impacts. Welfare states are increasingly strained by growing global migration, intensified global economic competition and threats to national security. As the governments of Western Europe have attempted to cope with these issues, niches have been opened for the radical right. During the past several years, RRP parties have benefited from times of turbulence and change to make a remarkable comeback in Western Europe. For example, in Austria, the Freedom Party is an established political party, even though it can be classified as part of the extreme right. By appearing populist and anti-statist, this party is able to have strong appeal and support (Kitschelt 1995, 25). Other parties, such as the National Front in France, endorse paternalism in the family and state authority plus support of neoliberal capitalism in order to garner voter support. As a result, the French National Front has been seen as a prototype of the contemporary RRP parties. In Scandinavia, the radical right may be perceived as milder than their continental counterparts, but they represent extreme positions within their own party systems.

2.2 The State of Politics in Sweden

Political parties and the people's impressions of them have changed in recent years in Sweden. There is less party identification, fewer members of parties, a decline in class voting, a splitting of votes in favor of different parties in the three different levels of government - national, regional, and local and people are deciding much later in elections whom to vote for, making the electoral system much less predictable than it has historically been (Aylott 2002). Additionally, issues relating to immigration and integration were historically characterized by a high level of cross-party consensus up until the 1990s. This can be explained by relatively low levels of immigration, high levels of labor market participation and the strength of the Social Democrats (Green-Pedersen and Odmalm 2008, 371). The salience of immigration issues significantly increased in the early 1990s after the war in the Balkans led to a dramatic increase in asylum

applications during the time that the Swedish economy was attempting to recover from recession. Questions of whether or not to restrict asylum and refugee migration became a part of the political debate. The radical right-wing populist party, New Democracy, received 6.7 percent of votes in the 1991 parliamentary election, establishing them as a party of national significance (Rydgren 2002, 33). Nonetheless, their success was short-lived; they received 1.2 percent of votes in the 1994 election and then all but vanished since then (*Ibid*, p. 34).

The leading radical-right wing populist party in Sweden today is the Sweden Democrats. The 2006 elections also declared victory for smaller political parties on the local and regional levels. The Sweden Democrats gained seats in regional councils in the 2006 election (Green-Pedersen and Odmalm 2008, 375). Founded in 1988 as a continuation of the Sweden Party (Sverigepartiet), the Sweden Democrats have striven to present themselves as a respectable political party and as champions of “true democracy” (Widfeldt 2000, 496). However, they had not been so successful because of an obscure prehistory and with several party members being repeatedly associated with Nazi or racist organizations in the press (*Ibid*). The Sweden Democrats re-launched their image by discarding connections with neo-Nazi and other far-right groups in order to increase their electoral support. They eventually carved out a clear party profile and had the previously named relative local success in the 2006 election. Although they are not yet represented in the national parliament, the party has succeeded locally in the region of Scania and particularly in the city of Malmo. Now tied with the Liberal Party (Folkpartiet) as the third largest party represented in Malmo, they received five seats in the municipal council in the 2006 election (*Malmo.se*). According to the Sweden Democrats’ website,

“Our party, [Sweden Democrats] (SD), is the leading nationalist party in Sweden, and has since its foundation in 1988 received an ever-increasing voter support. The party received approximately 3 % of the votes to the national assembly, 16 regional seats and 280 municipal seats in the general elections of September 2006. This was a result sufficient to make [Sweden Democrats] recognized as by far the leading contestant for seats in the national assembly in next general elections in 2010.” (*Sverigedemokraterna.se*)

How can the local support for the Sweden Democrats in the 2006 election be explained? Single case studies help to answer questions about why certain radical right-wing populist parties have

succeeded. Furthermore, the literature provides numerous explanations to account for radical right-wing populist party emergence and success.

2.3 Why Malmö?

A city of major industrial, economic and social importance in Sweden, it is also an area of great diversity. A large proportion (27% or 28%, based on different estimates) of the population has been born abroad, with the five largest groups coming from Denmark, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Poland and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Figure 1 illustrates the statistics as of January 2008:

Immigrants in Malmö		
		1 January 2008
Country (The five largest groups)	Born abroad	Born in Sweden*
Denmark	8 857	1 033
Yugoslavia	8 658	4 366
Iraq	7 975	2 270
Poland	6 314	1 832
Bosnia-Herzegovina	5 725	1 279
TOTAL	79 389	25 244
Proportion of population	28%	9%
*both parents born abroad		

Figure 1, Source: Strategic development, Malmö city

Perhaps as a result of Malmö's recent economic turmoil, comparatively high unemployment and a high proportion of immigration, more and more voters are supporting the RRP party, the Sweden Democrats, as illustrated by the following graph:

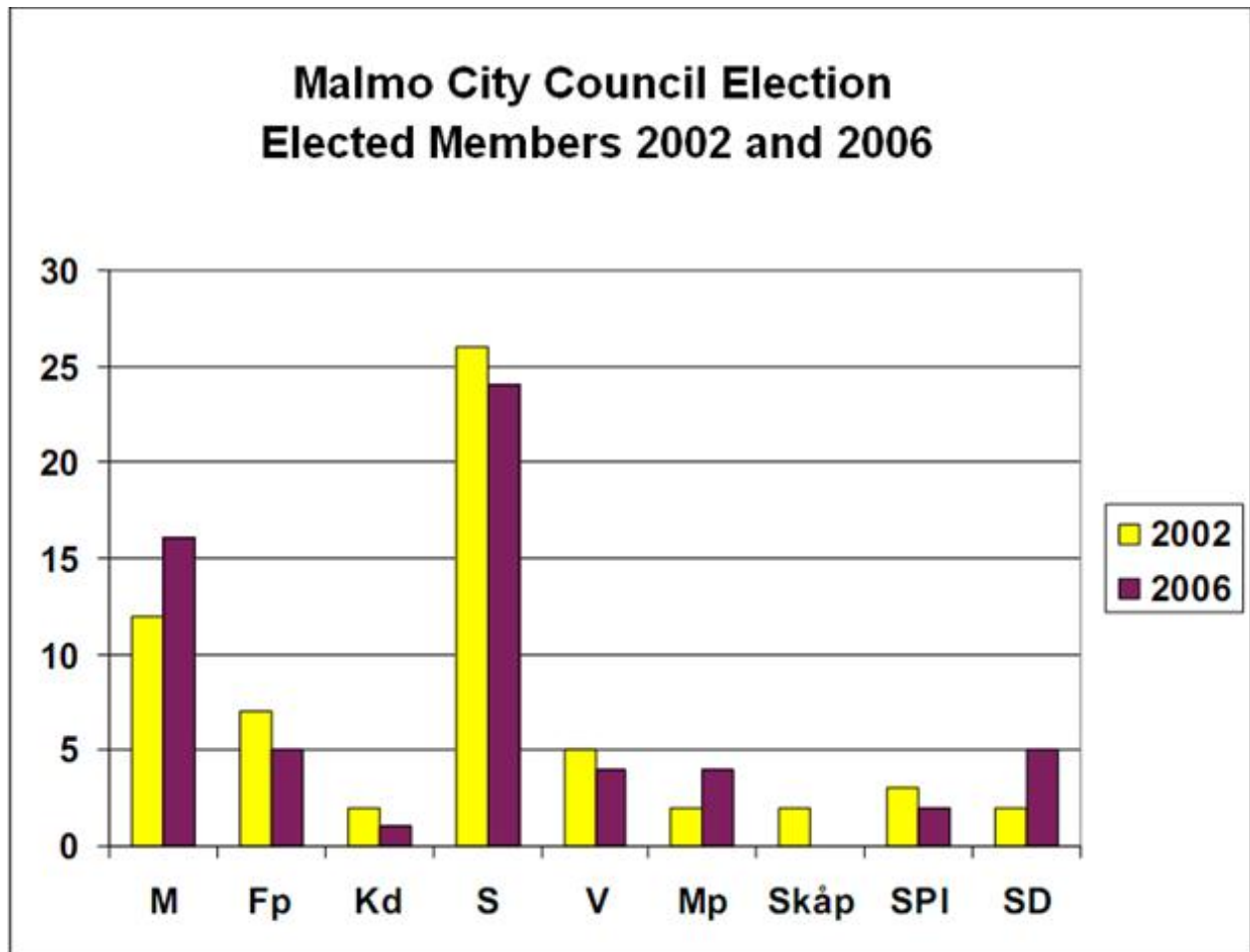


Figure 2, Source: Strategic development, Malmö city

Political Parties

M: Moderaterna (the Moderates)

Fp: Folkpartiet Liberalerna (the Liberal People's Party)

Kd: Kristdemokraterna (the Christian Democrats)

S: Socialdemokraterna (the Social Democrats)

V: Vänsterpartiet (the Left Party)

Mp: Miljöpartiet (the Green Party)

Skåp: Skånepartiet (the Scania Party)

SPI: Sveriges Pensionärers Intresseparti (Swedish Senior Citizen Interest Party)

SD: Sverigedemokraterna (the Sweden Democrats)

Thus, Malmö's importance as an economic and culturally diverse center in Sweden combined with this ideological shift toward the extreme right make it particularly interesting to look at more closely and relevant as a case for local increasing support for a RRP party.

3. Theory

3.1 Defining Terms

3.1.1 Radical Right-Wing Populist Party

A major presence in the literature, H.G. Betz attempts to categorize the different parties to the right of the political spectrum. He distinguishes between neo-fascist parties (which are anti-system, anti-democratic and anti-capitalist) and orthodox conservatism, with the radical right-wing populist parties in the middle (Betz 1994). RRP parties combine neoliberal economic positions, opposition to immigration, social conservatism, a high deference for law and order with a basic acceptance of democratic values, which classifies them as a clear shift from mainstream conservatism on the political spectrum.

3.1.2 Populism

Populism is characterized by anti-establishment movements that appeal to the common people and oppose the “political elite” (that is to say, the established political parties, the government and the anti-incumbent opposition) (Rydgren 2007, 245). RRP parties use the populist anti-establishment strategy in order to present themselves as the real supporters of democracy that take the interests of the common people into account. However, with RRP parties, the common people exclude not only the elites, but immigrants and ethnic minorities. Although populism is characteristic of these parties, it is certainly not a new feature of political parties in general. Many political parties have historically used the anti-establishment strategy in order to create distance between themselves and the “corrupt” elite. What separates RRP party populism is that part of the strategy is to criticize the established parties for ignoring the pressing political issues with the “real conflict between national identity and multiculturalism” (*Ibid*).

3.2 Explaining the Emergence and Success of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe

Major theoretical influences in the literature are Kitschelt (1995) and Betz (1994). These authors conclude through mainly systemic-level analyses that the emergence and success of RRP parties can be explained by the transition from an industrial economy to a post-industrial economy

(Kitschelt 1995, Betz 1994). This transition has led to changes in political preferences for groups of voters and/or increases in frustration and discontentment in these transformation processes. Kitschelt argues that although xenophobia and racism are partial causes of the emergence of RRP parties, they are not sufficient causes (1995). Support for RRP parties comes mostly from those that have less in contemporary Western European societies (that is to say, those with little cultural capital, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and so on). The protest dimension that leads to the emergence of RRP parties only becomes salient depending on the degree of convergence between the established political parties within the political space. Issues such as political party convergence fall under the category of supply-side factors, or those that focus on political opportunity structures and party organizational factors, of RRP party emergence; a great deal of explanations within the literature, however, focus on demand-centered explanations, or those that focus on changing preferences, beliefs and attitudes among voters.

The explanatory factors aiding the emergence and success of RRP parties according to the literature are the following:

Economic Factors

1. A post-industrial economy
2. Economic crisis and unemployment

Sociocultural Factors

1. Dissolution of established identities
2. Fragmentation of the culture, multiculturalization
3. Widespread political discontentment and disenchantment
4. Popular xenophobia and racism
5. Reaction against the emergence of New Left and/or Green parties and movements
6. The level of convergence between established parties in political space
7. The shifting salience of issues (such as the immigration issue)
8. Electoral systems and thresholds (for example, a proportional voting system)
9. Experience of a referendum that cuts across the old party cleavages
10. The presence of elite allies
11. Opposition to EU membership
12. The mass media

Rydgren argues that “politicized xenophobia and ethno-nationalism are the most important of the ‘positive’ demand-related factors,” while “political discontentment is the most important ‘negative’ demand-related factors” (Rydgren 2002, 50). A combination of these demand-centered explanations may make the situation mature for the success of a RRP party; still, the RRP party needs to meet certain supply-side explanations. For example, a RRP party should present the proper populist (that is to say, democratic, but still in opposition to the political status quo) image, and of course a certain amount of resources, strategic skill and ideological sophistication.

3.3 The Chosen Factors for Analysis

In addition to the list provided above, explanatory factors behind the success of RRP parties abound. Thus, for the purpose of constraint and focus, in addition to limitations presented by my methodological choices, I will limit this study to seven explanatory factors. The following is my list of chosen factors, with a subsequent short explanation of each. Naturally, each factor will be looked at more closely in the empirical section of this paper.

Economic Factors

1. A post-industrial economy
2. Economic crisis and unemployment

Sociocultural Factors

1. Fragmentation of the culture and multiculturalization
2. Popular xenophobia and racism
3. Widespread political discontentment and disenchantment
4. Opposition to European Union membership
5. Shifting salience of issues

A post-industrial economy

A post-industrial economy is characterized by a sizeable middle-class, centralized, large-scale industry and increased status and power of organized labor. These developments can be seen in the postwar period in most Western-style democracies. According to Lipset (1981, 489), both

fascism and right-wing radicalism are represented by extreme responses from those displaced or threatened by the post-industrial economic developments. These oppressed individuals, such as farmers or small entrepreneurs, are subject to fascist and radical right-wing movements as a revolt against modernity. This can be seen in the French case when the government attempted to modernize the country in the postwar period, exposing opportunities for RRP parties to exploit the social pressures on the middle class and creating success for the Poujadists in the 1950s (Betz 1994, 24).

Economic Crisis and Unemployment

The radical right may be successful in exploiting the middle class's immediate fears of re-joining the ranks of the lower classes from economic crisis. It may also manage to utilize the familiar fear of the threat of a lower-class, socialist revolution (Betz 1994, 24). Situations of economic crisis and unemployment are largely characterized by frustration and uncertainty for the future. These frustrations can be manifested in increased xenophobia and the call for greater law and order.

Fragmentation of the culture and multiculturalization

Logically, economic transformations are closely linked to social and cultural developments. These features are characterized by increased individualization, leading to identity crises and disintegration and divisiveness within national and local cultures. The breakdown of traditional class distinctions and identities is pronounced within the educational and neoliberal market spheres, encouraging individual effort and merit (*Ibid*, pp. 28-29). Consequently, traditional support bases for collective identities, such as subcultures and institutions, are broken down. The combination of the emergence of a mass culture from the post-industrial economy and the promotion of individualization of lifestyles may lead to a longing for the past and traditions by members of the society, especially those marginalized by such changes. Fragmentation of the culture can be understood as a disintegration of social relationships, manifested socially in breakups of lifestyles and socio-economic inequality, and physically in geographical divisions.

Popular xenophobia and racism

Xenophobia can be defined as fear of the other; the other being other foreign customs, practices and behaviors. In contrast, racism can be defined strictly as a belief that there is an inherent struggle between races as opposed to nations or classes (*Ibid*, pp. 172-173). A common thread connecting the RRP parties of Western Europe is their marked hostility towards immigrants and refugees. The immigration issue appeals to a larger proportion of the population than those voters merely on the extreme right of the political spectrum. The increased multiculturalization in Western Europe presents a major challenge to their respective democracies. This makes immigrants and refugees easy targets for blame for economic hardships, issues of law and order, and the breakdown of the national cultural identity and so on.

Widespread political discontentment and disenchantment

Nationalist or xenophobic sentiments are not the only issues on the RRP party agenda. A decline in the people's confidence in their political parties and in the democratic system itself sets up opportunities for these parties (Ignazi 2003, 150). The utilization of a populist, anti-system attitude on the part of RRP parties highlights citizens' dissatisfaction with their elected representatives. Furthermore, according to Ignazi (*Ibid*, pp. 150-151), those that are politically alienated are concentrated on the right and in the extreme right parties. This has been shown empirically in a number of the Western European countries, including Sweden.

Opposition to European Union membership

Most modern RRP parties are committed opponents of the European Union (EU). Opposition of the EU may be based upon or shared with xenophobic attitudes. As the left typically dominates the anti-EU position, those not sharing the core values of those parties may look elsewhere for their party preference. Emerging RRP parties are able to exploit anti-EU sentiments to encourage more voter support. EU member states have liberalized their immigrant policies so as to integrate immigrants into the body politic. Nationality laws and refugee and asylum policies are becoming all the more common among member states (Cornelius and Rosenblum 2005, 111). It is also logical to assume the European integration process has challenged national identity. Citizens are challenged to create a new European identity, with some struggling to maintain or emphasize their national identity. With the portrayal of themselves as protecting national identity and sovereignty, RRP parties are both able to attract those who fear losing their national identity and

sovereignty while additionally distinguishing themselves from the mainstream parties. As an example, the Danish People's Party uses politics of identity in its anti-immigrant language and is a firm opponent of the EU.

The shifting salience of issues (such as the immigration issue)

Certainly the immigration issue is a key component of the rhetoric of the extreme right. However, these parties are not single issue-dependent. Economic, political, structural and social issues have also led to discontentment with the system and the established parties. Other issues can act as catalysts for the emergence and support of RRP parties. For example, the Flemish Bloc in Belgium and the Northern League in Italy have utilized the salience of regional independence for support, while taxation in the Norwegian and Danish Progress Parties have sometimes been the exploited issue of choice.

Those marginalized individuals seeking anti-system parties but that do not find themselves to the left of the political spectrum might consider voting for a party that is closer to sharing their basic values. The emergence of new, salient issues that may be dominated by the New Left or the Green parties (such as anti-EU sentiments) may be picked up by the RRP parties and used to recruit those that do not share the core values of such parties to the left of the political spectrum. Differing catalysts of discontentment encourage voters to break away from support of other smaller or mainstream parties and support those parties that appeal to their issue stances.

Accordingly, the questions emerge: Are these explanations still valid when applied to the case of the Sweden Democrats in Malmo, Sweden? If so, which apply?

3.4 Limitations

As a researcher, I should be alert to the drawbacks of using these explanatory factors in a deterministic way. According to Rydgren, several of the explanatory factors are equally valid in negative cases (as in Sweden) and some have been shown to be poor predicting instruments (such as unemployment rates) (2002, 49). Discovering the combination of factors that make the situation ripe for RRP party emerging support seems more viable than looking for a single

sufficient explanatory factor. Moreover, these explanations have not been shown to be sufficient determinants of RRP emergence and success; rather, they have been shown to be necessary.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Given the nature of this study, I have come to the conclusion that my research question is best answered through deductive research. Quantitative analysis gives the numerical data that is the foundation for looking deeper into the meaning behind these numbers. Triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods in my opinion has its merits in any study, but if the research study is after the reasons behind numerical data, qualitative analysis is more fruitful in trying to find the explanations behind why people are motivated to vote for a radical right-wing populist part. I found this was very relevant to my research question. The raw, numerical data that confirms the Sweden Democrats' popularity is on the rise in Malmo is empty until it is filled with meaning.

4.2 Research Design – Case study

The strength of the case study method is that it allows a combination of various different data collection techniques, such as archival records, interviews, focus groups, observations and so forth (Yin 2003, *Case study research. Design and methods*). The use of multiple sources of evidence can further increase the quality of the study (Bryman 2002). However, one has to be aware of which techniques can be valuable in terms of answering the research question and not simply use several techniques haphazardly.

According to Seale et al. (2004), the case study method produces context-dependant knowledge, which I believe suits the nature of my research question. I believe that to neglect the importance of context would negatively affect the study's contribution to the field, since a significant analytical dimension would be disregarded.

4.2.1 Local vs. National study

Due to the scope of the research question, the research will focus on the Sweden Democrat party in the city of Malmo, Sweden. However, the quantitative data that will be used will include a sample from the entire population in the Scanian region in southern Sweden.

According to Yin, the case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon is not easily evident from its context (2003, *Applications of Case Study Research*, 4). Certainly, Malmo's immigration numbers are noteworthy, but they are not remarkable for the country. According to the Stockholm Data Guide, 21% of the population is foreign-born (166,746 of 795,463 persons as of 1 January 2008) (www.stockholm.se/usk). However, the Sweden Democrats have not been

successful there. I am conducting an explanatory single-case study locally so as to focus the study on the specific data that explains how the event of this party's success can be explained in Malmo. A larger, national study would not permit an in-depth examination of the factors; themselves; rather, it would focus mainly on the outcome of the causal relationships. Thus, in this way, I am able to examine the explanatory factors more closely and limit the complexity of the study.

Of course, by limiting the study to a local case, I may be restricting myself to a much more narrow view of the reasons behind support for RRP parties in general. On the contrary, it will be productive to have theoretical boundaries since the phenomenon is not a national one, and I do not want to take away from the essential purpose of analyzing these factors more deeply. Additionally, there is always room to address other applicable cases within the field in further studies. The results of this study will hopefully provide useful in comparative studies and wider, national studies.

4.3 Use of mainly quantitative analysis

My research approach within mainly quantitative but with some qualitative methodology allows me to go beyond the generalized understanding of the research problem that a single study area would produce. The case study design is filled with both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques. Flick (2006) argues that anything that is qualitatively found can be coded quantitatively or in other words given a numerical value that enables a deeper insight into the data and a strong base in exploring the research question in a less general manner. Numbers can be explained by data that is gathered through verbal, written text, live context, archival data and so forth (Flick 2006; www.socialresearchmethod.net).

4.4 Operationalization of the chosen factors for the case

My field of study encompasses an investigation of each of the below factors through some system-level qualitative analysis but mainly individual-level quantitative analysis. I have chosen these factors based on my interpretation of their capacities to be quantified, as well as their general importance to the rise of RRP parties as posited in the field of literature, and their applicability to my chosen case study. Since the majority of my data comes from a survey, I lack the system-wide data to analyze most of these factors at the systemic level. As follows, my

analysis and the conclusions drawn from it are mostly based on the individual level. The following lists the chosen explanatory factors and how they are operationalized:

Economic Factors

1. *A post-industrial economy* is analyzed at the systemic-level through theory, that is, how we define a post-industrial economy and how Malmo fits that frame.
2. *Economic crisis and unemployment* are analyzed at the systemic-level through statistics for unemployment plus individual-level statistical analysis of responses to applicable survey questions. I also use statistics for the city of Malmo and other cities in the Scanian region and Sweden.

Sociocultural Factors

1. *Fragmentation of the culture and multiculturalization* are analyzed through individual-level statistical analysis of responses to applicable survey questions in order to examine Malmo Sweden Democrat voters' perceptions of the situation in comparison with voters for the other parties. I also touch upon the systemic level through the use of a map of the city districts of Malmo that shows where immigrants live versus where Swedish families live.
2. *Popular xenophobia and racism* are analyzed through individual-level statistical analysis of responses to applicable survey questions in order to examine Malmo Sweden Democrat voters' perceptions of the situation in comparison with voters for the other parties.
3. *Widespread political discontentment and disenchantment* are analyzed through individual-level statistical analysis of responses to applicable survey questions in order to examine Malmo Sweden Democrat voters' perceptions of the situation in comparison with voters for the other parties.
4. *Opposition to European Union membership* is analyzed through individual-level statistical analysis of responses to applicable survey questions in order to examine Malmo Sweden Democrat voters' perceptions of the situation in comparison with voters for the other parties.
5. *The shifting salience of issues* is analyzed through individual-level statistical analysis of responses to applicable survey questions, particularly the immigration issue, in order to examine Malmo Sweden Democrat voters' perceptions of the situation in comparison with voters for the other parties.

4.5 Applicable methods for the case

In this study, I conduct both theory-testing and statistical data analysis of survey results. As asserted by Yin (2003, *Case study research. Design and methods*), I as the researcher have to consider the types of questions I want answered in order to differentiate among different research techniques. The case I am studying and the explanations behind the Sweden Democrat party's support in Malmo cannot be directly observed; therefore, I utilize theory-testing and statistical data analysis in order to infer the different reasons behind this phenomenon. According to Yin (*Ibid*), it is then the researcher's task to check and re-check rival explanations so as to maintain an "internal validity" of the causal explanations derived from the data. "External validity" involves finding whether the results of a case study are generalizable. Generalization is certainly not automatic, and theories must be tested beyond the immediate case study in order to find replications in findings. My research study's goal, however, is not to find generalization; I am only interested in the explanations behind my specific case. Thus, the method of statistical data analysis is very useful regarding the logic of internal validity, and the notion of external validity becomes less significant. The concepts of reliability of validity will be discussed further in the following chapter.

4.6 Quality in qualitative and quantitative research

The concepts of validity and reliability will be utilized in this study. However, I am aware of the critique towards using these concepts within research, and they will therefore be defined in slightly different manners in order to better suit the research design.

4.6.1 Reliability

"Reliability refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions"
(Hammersley in Silverman 1995, 145).

There are different kinds of reliability discussed in the literature (Bryman 2002; Flick 2006; Silverman, 1995). The aspects that can be considered relevant for this study will be treated in the following section. In texts, such as archival data and so forth, issues of reliability arise through the categories of analysis that are chosen (Silverman 1995). The categories used in this study are relatively standardized, enabling other researchers to categorize in the same way. I settled upon a set of categories as a point of departure for analysis in able to ensure that these were interpreted in the same manner.

Internal reliability refers to how the data is interpreted and analyzed (Bryman, 2002). Flick (2006) states that high quality when documenting data is of great importance to achieve reliability. One way of achieving internal reliability in the documentation of data is to standardize the data input during, for example, the examination of survey results.

4.6.2 Validity

“By validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers” (Hammersely in Silverman, 1995, 149).

According to Flick (2006), validity in research can be understood as a question of whether the researcher sees what he or she thinks he or she sees. However, I would like to extend this definition by applying internal and external validity (Bryman 2002). Internal validity involves a satisfactory correspondence between the empirical results and the theoretical ideas that are developed. This can be ensured through the varied data collection sources that are used in this study. External validity involves to what extent the results can be generalized to other social environments and situations (Bryman 2002). This criterion is difficult to fulfill in research because of the strong connection to context. However, I believe my case study will provide a basis for further investigation. Still, it is important to remember that the results from the qualitative part of the investigation can only be generalized in a restrictive manner.

To ensure validity in research, two forms of validation are suggested by Silverman (1995): triangulation and respondent validation. Triangulation is not used in this case study, but could be useful in further studies of RRP party support in Malmö and other areas in Sweden. Respondent validation implies that the researcher takes the findings back to the subjects being studied and verifies them. Bringing back a tentative report to the participants can, in my opinion, indeed be valuable, but more to clarify aspects that are not understood and to find more paths for further analysis than as a source of validation. There are a number of implications with this type of validation. If a result is very critical or negative, individuals may react negatively and deny the results even though they may be correct in order to “save face.” Individuals may further have difficulties following an analysis written for an academic audience. To further increase the validity in this study, I have sought feedback on my findings from other colleagues.

4.7 The Survey: *Southern SOM*

Southern SOM (Society Opinion Mass Media) was a survey carried out in 2006 by the SOM Institute at Gothenburg University in the whole region of Scania, Sweden. The SOM Institute is a

research and conference center studying the opinions, habits and values of Swedish inhabitants, and it is jointly managed by the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication (JMG), the Department of Political Science, and the Research Center for the Public Sector (CEFOS) (<http://www.som.gu.se/english.htm>). The geographic coverage for the survey included the municipalities of Båstad, Landskrona, Helsingborg, Höganäs, Ängelholm, Svalöv, Staffanstorp, Burlöv, Vellinge, Kävlinge, Lomma, Svedala, Höör, Malmö, Lund, Eslöv, Trelleborg, Östra Göinge, Hörby, Bromölla, Osby, Perstorp, Kristianstad, Hässleholm, Skurup, Sjöbo, Tomelilla, Ystad and Simrishamn. The unit of analysis was individual. The universe was inhabitants of the Scanian region aged 15-85 years. The survey data consists of a cross-sectional regular study, collected between 3 October 2006 and 20 February 2007. The sampling procedure was random, and data was collected through postal surveys. The dataset was released 2 April 2008, with 605 variables and 3142 cases (<http://www.ssd.gu.se/en/catalogue/study/495>).

The questionnaire, which was written in the Swedish language, consisted of nine coherent parts, including news and daily papers; politics and society; society and service; media and society; holdings of technology and internet; traffic; activities and leisure habits; working life; and background (<http://www.ssd.gu.se/en/catalogue/study/495>). My analysis particularly concerned the sections politics and society, society and service and background. My cross-tabulations were of question numbers 13, 19-22, 26, 29, 30, 36, 65, 66, 92, 98 and 99. These questions translated into English by myself can be found in Appendix 1. Those wishing to see the original questions in Swedish should refer to the original survey found in *Medborgarna, regionen och flernivå-demokratin* edited by Lennart Nilsson and Rudolf Antoni.

4.8 Limitations, strengths and weaknesses of my methodological choices

This research project has worthwhile goals, but it is important that the pursuit of these goals is moderated by the utilization of only valid, representative data with proper references to data sources (Kimmel 1988). As a researcher, I understand the ethical guidelines and limitations present, and I endeavor to proceed ethically while also bearing in mind that the validity and reliability of my results are crucial. Moreover, quantitative data analysis provides a limited account of the effects of different processes, and there is the basic problem of availability and reliability of data. Qualitative individual-level analysis could help to overcome these problems

and help to gain greater insight into voter experiences and understandings. However, I utilize a substantial amount of quantitative analysis in order to give a larger picture of the voters' perceptions of conditions and processes. I believe that this helps to gain a more general understanding of why different parties' voters vote the way they do, in addition to demonstrating the validity of the more systemic-level explanatory factors provided by the literature through a broader picture of voter attitudes and perceptions and in a more succinct way.

5. The Empirical Study

5.1 Description of Case

The focus is on the municipality of Malmo, and those voters who voted for the Sweden Democrats in particular. I have gained access to relevant survey data from the survey “Society Opinion Mass Media: Scania 2006” that was conducted by the SOM-Institute at Gothenburg University. Unfortunately, the number of cases that I have to look at in the statistical data is relatively small, given my focus, but I feel that these numbers nonetheless give a greater and deeper picture of the feelings, beliefs, understandings and values of the Sweden Democrat voter in Malmo. In my analysis of the factors provided earlier, I am looking mostly at the individual level, utilizing voter-centered explanations to analyze the case rather than structural level explanations because I am trying to explain the voters’ attitudes.

The literature tends to focus on structural changes or the RRP parties themselves, neglecting the individual voter attitudes that have caused people to vote for this type of political party. My empirical analysis attempts to add to the conceptual debate by providing individual level explanations in addition to the theoretical discussion. This notion is associated with liberalism, where the individual is the most important actor in both politics and economics. This approach involves the complex process of human decision-making, which includes collecting information, studying and analyzing that information, creating goals, considering the options and making decisions (that is to say, voting). Because the individual voter lacks complete information and thus cannot achieve complete rationality, the voter is limited to a concept called bounded rationality. This is where the voter decides which information is most important, based on factors such as personality, emotions, cognition and social identity, and disregards other information in order to make choices. Of course, individual-level analysis has limitations. I can learn certain things from the voters, but I am missing out on the larger system- and state-level analyses, which certainly are substantially important. However, considering the nature of the survey data, voter-centered analysis is most fruitful.

The following are the criteria of how I have chosen my cases:

Municipality is one of my main two criteria since the focus of the study is on the municipality of Malmo, Sweden. It is important that the chosen cases represent *residents of Malmo* since I am interested in learning more about the economic and sociocultural views of these residents.

Municipality Election Vote Choice in 2006 is my other criterion when selecting cases since the focus of the research question is why people vote for the Sweden Democrats.

Demographics are important to take into consideration since I believe that each voter's personal background and experiences influence the individuals' thoughts and responses to questions about politics and policies. However, these are not determining factors in regards to the research question. Nevertheless, this data is not disregarded in order to add to the picture of what the Sweden Democrat voter looks like, and is included in Appendix 3.

5.2 Quantitative data analysis

The quantitative data functions as the basis for my analysis of the case. I began my quantitative analysis through analyzing a crosstabulation of which party voters voted for in the municipality of Malmo and in all other municipalities in the region of Scania (represented in Appendix 2). I conducted a variety of tests to check the strength and significance of the relationship between the variables. From there, I was interested in how the values would look if I layered the municipality of Malmo with Municipality Election Vote 2006, and then crosstabulated these with other variables that asked about the voters' views on a range of relevant issues.

5.3 Bivariate analysis

Table 1

5. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Municipality Crosstabulation					
			Municipality		Total
			Malmö	All municipalities other in Scania	
95. Municipality Election Vote 2006	Left Party	Count	32	73	105
		%	6,3%	3,6%	4,1%
	Social Democrats	Count	181	618	799
		%	35,7%	30,4%	31,5%
	Center Party	Count	10	140	150
		%	2,0%	6,9%	5,9%
	People's Party	Count	48	189	237
		%	9,5%	9,3%	9,3%
	Moderates	Count	108	564	672
		%	21,3%	27,8%	26,5%
	Christian Democrats	Count	17	86	103
		%	3,4%	4,2%	4,1%
	Green Party	Count	36	92	128
		%	7,1%	4,5%	5,0%
	Sweden Democrats	Count	36	115	151
		%	7,1%	5,7%	6,0%
	Other Party	Count	28	93	121
		%	5,5%	4,6%	4,8%
Blank Vote	Count	11	60	71	
	%	2,2%	3,0%	2,8%	
Total	Count	507	2030	2537	
	%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Because where the voters lived (Municipality) and how the voters voted (Municipality Election Vote 2006) are both nominal variables, I conducted a Cramer's V test to test the strength of the relationship, and a Chi-square test to test the significance of the correlation between the variables. From these tests, I learned that the Cramer's V value was 0.131, and the closer this value is to 1, the stronger the correlation (Best, 2001). Thus, this appears to be a relatively satisfactory correlation. The P-value is greater than 99.9%, indicating that the relationship is extremely significant. This implies that the relationship can, with 99.9% certainty, be generalized to the larger population. The reason behind why I chose to analyze the variables Municipality and Municipality Election Vote 2006 was to gain knowledge of the correlation between how Malmö voters' preferences differed from those in the greater region of Scania. From this crosstabulation

table, we learn that voters in Malmo voted for the Sweden Democrats in larger numbers than voters did in the other municipalities in Scania (7.1% versus 5.7%).

5.4 Multivariate analysis

5.4.1 Economic Factors – A post-industrial economy

Although most of my analysis in this paper is done on the individual, voter-centered level, I will look at the structural level when analyzing whether or not a post-industrial economy is applicable as an explanatory factor in this case study. The hypothesis here is that the presence of a post-industrial economy makes the situation ripe for the emergence of and support for a RRP party. There has occurred a structural change of society from a Keynesian Welfare State following the Second World War and that peaked in the 1960s to a post-industrial economy where the political preferences and salient issues of citizens are different (Kitschelt 1995, 2). Widespread technical and institutional processes have resulted in an interdependent collection of market and work experiences in advanced post-industrial capitalism. In this economy, the individual is exposed. The working class individual is especially vulnerable, as the introduction of knowledge-intensive and specialized production systems, the expansion of the welfare state and the intensification of the global market have led to a decrease in unskilled work and workers (*Ibid*, p. 9). The more skilled workers are represented in the middle-of-the-road economic and political views of the mainstream parties, while those at the sidelines appeal to more authoritarian political parties. Additionally, the inflexibility of Western European welfare states' labor markets make it particularly difficult for young, unskilled workers without organizational ties to turn to market liberalism, as a response to those institutions that weaken their positions.

Malmo's economy was founded on shipbuilding, concrete factories and other construction-related industrial sectors. It did not get a university college until 1998, and the high-tech and educational centers were located elsewhere in the region of Scania, such as in Lund. Therefore, Malmo has struggled a great deal with the transition toward a post-industrial economy since the 1970s. Although membership in and integration into the European Union and a recently increasing economic integration with Copenhagen and Denmark in general have helped to revive the economy, there is still comparatively high unemployment in Malmo. The working class in Malmo has especially struggled in the post-industrial economy. This group is typically

dominantly male and prefers authoritarian management. This group also tends to have ethnocentric attitudes and market-liberal positioning. According to the demographics from the survey data found in Appendix 3, 72.2% of Malmo SD voters were male, as opposed to a more equal division of the genders among the other party voters in Malmo, and SD voters and other party voters in the rest of Scania. Also, Malmo SD voters tend to be younger than the Malmo voters for the other parties. The Malmo SD voters have a comparatively lower education background, the mode being middle to low education background among Malmo SD voters, and the mode being high among other party voters in Malmo, making Malmo SD voters more likely to be unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

Thus, the marginalized working class in Malmo may share the core values of RRP parties and would be more likely to support the Sweden Democrats. Therefore, according to the hypothesis that a post-industrial economy makes the situation riper for RRP party support may indeed apply to the case of SD voters in Malmo.

5.4.2 Economic Factors – Economic crisis and unemployment

In line with the hypotheses behind the relationship between economic crisis and unemployment and support for RRP parties, when economic crisis exists, there is an increase in support for RRP parties; when unemployment increases, there is an increase in support for RRP parties.

For the entire population of Sweden, the percentage of gainfully employed individuals was at 75.6%. The number of gainfully employed individuals in Malmo was 62.8%, as opposed to 70.7% in Gothenburg and 73.7% in Stockholm (Sweden's two larger cities). In Helsingborg, which is also located in the region of Scania, this number is at 71.6%. Therefore, Malmo has comparatively high unemployment figures, with numbers particularly high amongst its non-Swedish populations in the southern and eastern areas of the city (Strategic development, Malmo city), supporting the hypothesis that an increase in unemployment is positively correlated with an increase in support for RRP parties.

According to the individual perception of the Malmo municipal economy, responses to the question below were as follows:

Table 2

36a. What do you think of the economy – <u>in the municipality where you live?</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmö														
				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	
Municipality														
Malmö	36a. What do you think of the economy – <u>in the municipality where you live?</u>	Good	Count	8	67	1	13	17	2	8	3	7	1	127
			%	25,0%	37,7%	11,1%	27,1%	16,7%	12,5%	22,9%	8,8%	25,0%	9,1%	25,7%
	Neither	Count	7	43	1	6	20	7	7	9	8	1	109	
		%	21,9%	24,2%	11,1%	12,5%	19,6%	43,8%	20,0%	26,5%	28,6%	9,1%	22,1%	
	Bad	Count	7	21	2	9	23	3	3	13	7	0	88	
		%	21,9%	11,8%	22,2%	18,8%	22,5%	18,8%	8,6%	38,2%	25,0%	,0%	17,9%	
	No idea	Count	10	47	5	20	42	4	17	9	6	9	169	
		%	31,3%	26,4%	55,6%	41,7%	41,2%	25,0%	48,6%	26,5%	21,4%	81,8%	34,3%	
	Total		Count	32	178	9	48	102	16	35	34	28	11	493
			%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

From this table, we find that a good deal of Malmö SD voter respondents answer Pretty bad (35.3%), Neither good nor bad (26.5%), or No idea (26.5%). This is as compared to the Malmö Social Democrat voters who have the majority of their responses as Pretty good (32.6%), No idea (26.4%), or Neither good nor bad (24.2%); and Malmö Moderate voters with a majority of either No idea responses (41.2%) or responses in the middle of the spectrum (14.7% Pretty good, 19.6% Neither good nor bad, 17.6% Pretty bad). Therefore, Malmö SD voters have a comparatively negative perception of their municipal economy; in fact, this perception is comparatively the most negative of all the Malmö voter respondents.

These results are in line with the hypothesis that support for a RRP party increases when economic problems increase. However, it is important to note that a large number of respondents answered No idea on this question, implying that many of them were unsure of the condition their municipality's economy.

Table 3

92aa. Development in Sweden in the last 5 years within – <u>the economy</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmö															
Crosstabulation															
Municipality				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total	
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Malmö	92aa. Development in Sweden in the last 5 years within – <u>the economy</u>	Positive	Count	15	114	6	29	65	6	18	18	17	3	291	
			%	46,9%	64,4%	60,0%	60,5%	60,2%	35,3%	50,0%	50,0%	60,7%	27,3%	57,8%	
		Neither	Count	4	38	4	8	15	9	6	10	5	5	104	
			%	12,5%	21,5%	40,0%	16,7%	13,9%	52,9%	16,7%	27,8%	17,9%	45,5%	20,7%	
		Negative	Count	12	14	0	8	23	2	10	5	5	2	81	
			%	37,6%	7,9%	,0%	16,7%	21,3%	11,8%	27,8%	13,9%	17,9%	18,2%	16,1 %	
	No idea	Count	1	11	0	3	5	0	2	3	1	1	27		
		%	3,1%	6,2%	,0%	6,3%	4,6%	,0%	5,6%	8,3%	3,6%	9,1%	5,4%		
	Total			Count	32	177	10	48	108	17	36	36	28	11	503
				%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The above table is in contrast to the perceptions of the municipal economy table. Here, we see a more positive perception of the Swedish economy's development in the last five years by Malmö SD voters, with Pretty positive (36.1%), Neither positive nor negative (27.8%), and Very positive (13.9%) as the most common responses. Still, with a more positive perception of the Swedish economy's recent development, the Malmö SD voters have fewer positive responses than the majority of the other parties' voters, with the exception of Malmö Left Party voters and those who voted blank.

Table 4

92ac. Development in Sweden in the last 5 years within – <u>people’s living conditions</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 *															
Malmö Crosstabulation															
Municipality				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total	
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People’s Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Malmö	92ac. Development in Sweden in the last 5 years within – <u>people’s living conditions</u>	Positive	Count	11	71	5	20	45	3	13	12	11	3	194	
			%	34,4%	39,9%	50,0%	41,7%	41,6%	18,8%	36,1%	33,4%	39,3%	27,3%	38,6%	
	Neither	Count	9	73	2	17	37	11	11	11	9	11	2	182	
		%	28,1%	41,0%	20,0%	35,4%	34,3%	68,8%	30,6%	25,0%	39,3%	18,2%	36,2%		
	Negative	Count	11	23	3	8	22	2	10	13	4	5	101		
		%	34,4%	12,9%	30,0%	16,7%	20,4%	12,6%	27,8%	36,1%	14,3%	45,5%	20,1%		
	No idea	Count	1	11	0	3	4	0	2	2	2	1	26		
		%	3,1%	6,2%	,0%	6,3%	3,7%	,0%	5,6%	5,6%	7,1%	9,1%	5,2%		
	Total			Count	32	178	10	48	108	16	36	36	28	11	503
				%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Responses to the question about people’s living conditions by the Malmö SD voters are more around the middle of the spectrum, although there remain a larger number of negative responses by these voters than those voting for other parties in Malmö. This seems to be partially in line with the original hypothesis.

Interestingly enough, if we look at the Malmö SD voters’ perceptions of economic development in Denmark in the last five years in Appendix 2, we see a significantly more positive perception of the situation, with a majority (57.2%) responding with either a Very positive or Pretty positive perception of Denmark’s economic development. Additionally, a majority of Malmö SD voters’ responses (51.4%) are either Very Positive or Pretty positive regarding development in Danish people’s living conditions in the last five years. These numbers are noticeably higher than the perceptions of other parties’ voters in Malmö. This may be because the Danish government is led by a more conservative party – Venstre, a center-right party – than that in Sweden. It should be pointed out that a large number of respondents answered No idea about the Danish economic and living conditions questions.

Table 5

98aa. In your opinion, has the economic condition changed in the last 12 months in – <u>your own economic situation?</u> * 95.														
Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total	
		Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote			
Malmo	98aa. In your opinion, has the economic condition changed in the last 12 months in – <u>your own economic situation?</u>	Become better	Count	7	39	3	12	41	4	11	15	3	3	138
			%	21,9%	21,8%	30,0%	25,0%	38,0%	25,0%	30,6%	41,7%	10,7%	27,3%	27,4%
	Remained about the same	Count	17	111	4	32	56	7	15	16	19	5	282	
		%	53,1%	62,0%	40,0%	66,7%	51,9%	43,8%	41,7%	44,4%	67,9%	45,5%	56,0%	
	Gotten worse	Count	8	29	3	4	11	5	10	5	6	3	84	
		%	25,0%	16,2%	30,0%	8,3%	10,2%	31,3%	27,8%	13,9%	21,4%	27,3%	16,7%	
Total		Count	32	179	10	48	108	16	36	36	28	11	504	
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Responses to this question about perceptions of one’s own economic situation by Malmo SD voters are appreciably more positive than questions about the municipal and Swedish economies, with a vast majority (86.1%) perceiving their own economic situation as either better or about the same as in the last 12 months. This is comparable to other Malmo voters’ perceptions.

Table 6

98ab. In your opinion, has the economic condition changed in the last 12 months in – <u>the economy in your municipality?</u> *														
95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total	
		Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote			
Malmo	98ab. In your opinion, has the economic condition changed in the last 12 months in – <u>the economy in your municipality?</u>	Become better	Count	3	27	0	9	5	0	4	0	0	2	50
			%	9,4%	15,7%	,0%	19,1%	4,8%	,0%	11,4%	,0%	,0%	18,2%	10,2%
	Remained about the same	Count	25	128	9	35	86	13	25	28	23	5	377	
		%	78,1%	74,4%	100,0%	74,5%	81,9%	81,3%	71,4%	77,8%	82,1%	45,5%	76,8%	
	Gotten worse	Count	4	17	0	3	14	3	6	8	5	4	64	
		%	12,5%	9,9%	,0%	6,4%	13,3%	18,8%	17,1%	22,2%	17,9%	36,4%	13,0%	
Total		Count	32	172	9	47	105	16	35	36	28	11	491	
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Contrastingly, we see a clear shift toward the negative with Malmo SD voters' responses to the question regarding perceptions of the municipal economy in the last 12 months. Now, all responses are either remained the same (77.8%) or gotten worse (22.2%), with no responses become better. This stands out against the parties more towards the left of the political spectrum (Left Party, Social Democrats, Green Party), but is in line with those towards the right of the political spectrum (Center Party and Christian Democrats).

Table 7

98bb. How do you think the economic condition will change in the coming 12 months in – the economy in your municipality? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total	
			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Malmo	98bb. How do you think the economic condition will change in the coming 12 months in – the economy in your municipality?	Become better	Count	2	14	2	12	26	3	4	4	2	2	71
			%	6,3%	8,3%	20,0%	25,0%	24,5%	17,6%	11,4%	11,1%	7,7%	18,2%	14,5%
	Remain about the same	Count	14	118	8	30	69	13	22	21	18	7	320	
		%	43,8%	69,8%	80,0%	62,5%	65,1%	76,5%	62,9%	58,3%	69,2%	63,6%	65,3%	
	Get worse	Count	16	37	0	6	11	1	9	11	6	2	99	
		%	50,0%	21,9%	,0%	12,5%	10,4%	5,9%	25,7%	30,6%	23,1%	18,2%	20,2%	
	Total	Count	32	169	10	48	106	17	35	36	26	11	490	
%		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%		

Moreover, if we look at results from Malmo SD voters' perceptions of the municipal economy's prospects for the future, we see a more or less equally negative picture. In contrast, Malmo voters for other parties tend to have a more positive or neutral perception of the municipal economy's prospects for the future.

99. How would you judge the possibility for today's children and youth to be able to get in the future?:

Very good possibility, Pretty good possibility, Neither good nor bad possibility,

Pretty bad possibility, Very bad possibility

- a. A good education
- b. A good job
- d. The same welfare as today

Responses to question 99 by Malmo SD voters about perceptions for the prospect for the future for today's children and youth in the areas of getting a good job and receiving the same welfare as today also tend to fall towards the negative end of the spectrum. The results can be found in Appendix 2. This would tend to be in line with the overall somewhat negative picture of Malmo

SD voters' perceptions of both the Malmo municipal and Swedish economies. Thus, it can be concluded that there is a considerable positive relationship in this case between support for RRP parties and at least *perceptions* of economic problems.

5.4.3 Sociocultural Factors – Fragmentation of the culture and multiculturalization

The hypothesis attached to these explanatory factors is that an increase in the fragmentation of the culture and an increase in multiculturalization lead to an increase in support for RRP parties. In the following map of Malmo and corresponding table, we are able to determine whether or not there is a geographical fragmentation of the culture in the municipality of Malmo.



Figure 3, Source: Strategic development, Malmo city

Table 8

Malmö Municipality Inhabitants as of 1 January 2006			
City District	Total # of Inhabitants	# of Foreign-Born Inhabitants	% of Foreign-Born
Oxie	10846	2614	24.1%
Limhamn-Bunkeflo	33737	5570	16.5%
Rosengård	21447	13381	62.4%
Kirseberg	13869	4037	29.1%
Husie	18236	3434	18.8%
Fosie	39614	18482	46.7%
Hyllie	30711	9476	30.9%
Södra Innerstaden	32089	11036	34.4%
Västra Innerstaden	31210	3896	12.5%
Centrum	38233	10284	26.9%

Source: Strategic development, Malmö city

In all of Malmö, the total number of foreign-born inhabitants is 83,209, or 27% of the population in the municipality. The city districts of Rosengård, Fosie and Södra Innerstaden have the largest proportion of foreign-born residents with 62.4%, 46.7% and 34.4% foreign-born residents respectively. Swedish families living in houses tend to live in Limhamn-Bunkeflo and Oxie.

Thus, we can see that where the immigrants live and where the Swedish families live represents a geographical fragmentation of the local culture.

Table 9

65e. People sometimes talk about Sweden having become a multicultural society. Do you think that this development has been positive or negative in the area of <u>languages</u> ? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation															
				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total	
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Municipality															
Malmo	65e. People sometimes talk about Sweden having become a multicultural society. Do you think that this development has been positive or negative in the area of <u>languages</u> ?	Positive	Count	18	77	6	21	38	5	18	4	5	2	194	
			%	58,0%	43,7%	60,0%	44,7 %	35,8%	33,4%	51,4%	11,4%	18,5%	18,2%	39,3%	
	Neither	Count	6	51	2	17	31	5	7	7	8	4	138		
		%	19,4%	29,0%	20,0%	36,2%	29,2%	33,3%	20,0%	20,0%	28,6%	36,4%	27,9%		
	Negative	Count	4	26	2	6	32	5	7	24	12	4	132		
		%	13,0%	20,5%	20,0%	12,8%	30,2%	33,4%	20,0%	68,6%	40,7%	36,4%	26,7%		
	No idea	Count	3	12	0	3	5	0	3	0	3	1	30		
		%	9,7%	6,8%	,0%	6,4%	4,7%	,0%	8,6%	,0%	10,7%	9,1%	6,1%		
	Total			Count	31	176	10	47	106	15	35	35	28	11	494
				%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

A clear majority of Malmo SD voters (68.6%) perceive the development of Sweden as a multicultural society in the area of languages as negative. This is a notably more negative perception of this development than that given by other party voters in Malmo.

Table 10

65f. People sometimes talk about Sweden having become a multicultural society. Do you think that this development has been positive or negative in the area of <u>religion</u> ? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation															
				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total	
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Municipality															
Malmo	65f. People sometimes talk about Sweden having become a multicultural society. Do you think that this development has been positive or negative in the area of <u>religion</u> ?	Positive	Count	11	41	3	10	18	1	13	0	1	1	99	
			%	35,5%	23,3%	30,0%	20,9%	17,0%	6,7%	37,2%	,0%	3,6%	9,1%	20,0%	
	Neither	Count	6	58	3	13	25	5	6	2	5	3	126		
		%	19,4%	33,0%	30,0%	27,1%	23,6%	33,3%	17,1%	5,7%	17,9%	27,3%	25,5%		
	Negative	Count	10	65	3	24	60	8	11	33	18	7	239		
		%	32,2%	37,0%	30,0%	50,0%	56,6%	53,3%	31,4%	94,2%	64,2%	63,7%	48,3%		
	No idea	Count	4	12	1	1	3	1	5	0	4	0	31		
		%	12,9%	6,8%	10,0%	2,1%	2,8%	6,7%	14,3%	,0%	14,3%	,0%	6,3%		
	Total			Count	31	176	10	48	106	15	35	35	28	11	495
				%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Again, the overwhelming majority of Malmo SD voters (94.2%) consider the development of Sweden as a multicultural society in the area of religion as negative. This is considerably higher than those perceptions stated by all other party voters in Malmo. The area of religion is especially interesting, as there are a large number of Muslim immigrants to the city of Malmo, which may be perceived as a threat to religious or cultural values by Malmo SD voters. This particularly negative perception of multicultural developments is continued in the results within the areas of the economy (80% negative responses), politics (74.2% negative responses) and crime (100% negative responses), which can be found in Appendix 2. These negative perceptions of multiculturalization are all considerably more prevalent among Malmo SD voters than among other party voters in Malmo, with single exceptions among those who voted blank.

Although these findings neither prove nor disprove an increase in multiculturalization in Malmo, there clearly exists the *perception* of multiculturalization as existent, and by Malmo SD voters, as particularly negative. Thus, there is a strong correlation between the perception of increased multiculturalization and support for RRP parties in this case.

5.4.4 Sociocultural Factors – Popular xenophobia and racism

The most common explanatory factor behind the emergence, support for and success of RRP parties in Western Europe is popular xenophobia and racism. According to this hypothesis, a greater presence of xenophobia and racism is positively correlated with greater support for RRP parties.

Table 11

30b. Opinion of suggestions in the political debate- <u>Take in fewer refugees in Sweden</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 *														
Malmö Crosstabulation														
Municipality				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	
Malmö	30b. Suggestions in the political debate- <u>Take in fewer refugees in Sweden</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmö Crosstabulation	Good suggestion	Count	9	87	3	29	70	9	7	34	24	6	278
			%	29,0%	49,2%	30,0%	60,4%	65,5%	56,3%	19,4%	97,1%	85,7%	60,0%	55,8%
	Neither	Count	3	46	1	13	22	4	10	0	2	2	103	
		%	9,7%	26,0%	10,0%	27,1%	20,6%	25,0%	27,8%	,0%	7,1%	20,0%	20,7%	
	Bad suggestion	Count	19	44	6	6	15	3	19	1	2	2	117	
		%	61,3%	24,9%	60,0%	12,6%	14,0%	18,8%	52,8%	2,9%	7,1%	20,0%	23,5%	
Total			Count	31	177	10	48	107	16	36	35	28	10	498
			%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The above table demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of Malmö SD voters (91.4%) think that taking in fewer refugees in Sweden is a very good suggestion, a number plainly higher than that of the other party voters in Malmö. The definitions used in this paper for racism and xenophobia were given in the theory chapter. Racism was defined as an inherent struggle between the races, and xenophobia was defined as a fear of the other and the foreign. As these results would not fall under the category of racism, they would be associated with xenophobia. Therefore, there is an observed strong correlation between increased xenophobia and support for a RRP party in this case.

If we look at responses to question 66a in Appendix 2 regarding whether or not immigrants' poor knowledge of the Swedish language is the crucial obstacle for integration, interestingly enough, most Malmö voters for other parties tend to agree with the statement that immigrants' poor

knowledge of the Swedish language is the crucial obstacle for integration in the above table. The mode response is 10, or that this is a completely correct statement. This is no different among Malmo SD voters, with 82.9% giving a score of 7 or higher in agreement with this statement. However, Malmo SD voters do tend to agree with this statement more often and more strongly than the Malmo voters for other parties.

Again, if we look at responses to question 66d in Appendix 2 regarding whether or not a lack of interest among the immigrants themselves prevents integration, the mode response is 10, or a completely correct statement, given by all Malmo voters to the statement that a lack of interest among the immigrants themselves prevents integration. Still, the Malmo SD voters tend to agree more often and more strongly with this statement, as correspondingly observed in the previous table. We can observe a similarly although slightly less critical view of immigrants and their obstacles for integration in Appendix 2 regarding discrimination in the labor market as an obstacle and the Swedes' negative attitudes towards immigrants as an obstacle.

It is additionally worthy to refer above to the tables for questions 65e and 65f (under the headline *Fragmentation of the culture and multiculturalization*). Yet again, we find the particularly negative attitudes and perceptions of Malmo SD voters as compared to the voters for other parties in Malmo regarding questions about multiculturalization.

It is extremely difficult to classify any of these attitudes as racist. In fact, I find it impossible to quantify racism in this case – particularly with a survey – at all. A researcher would need to look much deeper into the attitudes behind these responses, perhaps through the method of interview. Nonetheless, these attitudes are almost certainly at least xenophobic. Thus, we are able to quantify a strong positive correlation between xenophobia and support for RRP parties, with there being the possibility for a positive relationship between racism and support for RRP parties as well.

5.4.5 Sociocultural Factors – Widespread political discontent and disenchantment

The hypothesis associated with this explanatory factor is that those that vote for RRP parties tend to be especially discontent and disenchanting with the current government and mainstream political parties.

Table 12

19. How do you think the government manages its tasks? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006												
		Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	Total		
Malmo	19. How do you think the government manages its tasks?	Well	Count	5	75	6	12	34	6	6	2	3	0	149
			%	15,6%	43,4%	66,7%	25,6%	34,0%	37,6%	16,7%	5,9%	10,7%	,0%	30,7%
		Neither	Count	12	67	2	20	38	5	19	14	4	195	
			%	37,5%	38,7%	22,2%	42,6%	38,0%	31,3%	52,8%	41,2%	50,0%	36,4%	40,1%
		Poorly	Count	15	31	1	15	28	5	11	18	11	7	142
			%	46,9%	17,9%	11,1%	31,9%	28,0%	31,3%	30,5%	52,9%	39,3%	63,6%	29,2%
Total		Count	32	173	9	47	100	16	36	34	28	11	486	
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

According to responses by Malmo SD voters to the question of how well the government manages its tasks, there is an apparent leaning towards a negative perception of this management. A majority of Malmo SD voters (52.9%) consider the government's management as either pretty poor or very poor, with a large number (41.2%) in the middle, and very few (5.9%) considering this management good. This rather negative perception is comparatively more common among Malmo SD voters than every other party's voters, with the exception of those who voted blank. This seems to show a relatively strong correlation between dissatisfaction with the government and RRP party support in this case.

Table 13

26a. How do you think that the municipal council in the municipality where you live manages its tasks? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total	
		Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote			
Malmo	26a. How do you think that the municipal council in the municipality where you live manages its tasks?	Well	Count	9	91	4	17	23	4	9	5	9	0	171
			%	29,0%	51,4%	40,0%	35,4%	21,7%	25,1%	25,8%	14,3%	32,1%	,0%	34,4%
		Neither	Count	6	42	1	13	32	6	10	8	11	4	133
			%	19,4%	23,7%	10,0%	27,1%	30,2%	37,5%	28,6%	22,9%	39,3%	40,0%	26,8%
		Poorly	Count	7	13	1	5	22	2	4	16	5	2	77
			%	22,6%	7,3%	10,0%	10,5%	20,7%	12,5%	11,4%	45,8%	17,8%	20,0%	15,5%
		No idea	Count	9	31	4	13	29	4	12	6	7	4	115
			%	29,0%	17,5%	40,0%	27,1%	27,4%	25,0%	34,3%	17,1%	25,0%	40,0%	23,2%
	Total		Count	31	177	10	48	106	16	35	35	28	10	496
			%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Similarly, a plurality of Malmo SD voters (45.8%) considers the management of tasks by the Malmo municipal council as either pretty poor or very poor. This is also a notably more negative perception of municipal council management than that of Malmo voters for other parties.

Table 14

20d. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way in which democracy works in the municipality where you live? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total	
		Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote			
Malmo	20d. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way in which democracy works in the municipality where you live?	Satisfied	Count	24	137	8	38	72	11	26	11	16	7	350
			%	75,0%	78,7%	88,9%	80,9%	72,8%	68,8%	74,3%	34,4%	61,6%	70,0%	72,9%
		Not satisfied	Count	8	37	1	9	27	5	9	21	10	3	130
			%	25,0%	21,3%	11,1%	19,2%	27,3%	31,3%	25,8%	65,6%	38,5%	30,0%	27,1%
	Total		Count	32	174	9	47	99	16	35	32	26	10	480
			%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Here again, we find a dissatisfied perception among Malmo SD voters with the way in which democracy works in Malmo. 65.6% are dissatisfied with democracy's function in Malmo, while 34.4% are satisfied with its functioning. These numbers are also noticeably higher among Malmo SD voters than Malmo voters for every other party, demonstrating support for the hypothesis.

Table 15

21d. What possibility do you think you have to influence political decisions in the municipality where you live? * 95.														
Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	
Malmo	21d. What possibility do you think you have to influence political decisions in the municipality where you live?	Good possibility	Count	6	27	5	15	18	3	6	4	1	1	86
			%	18,7%	15,8%	50,0%	32,0%	17,9%	18,8%	17,2%	11,8%	3,7%	9,1%	17,8%
		Neither	Count	6	49	2	18	40	4	14	7	11	2	153
			%	18,8%	28,7%	20,0%	38,3%	39,6%	25,0%	40,0%	20,6%	40,7%	18,2%	31,6%
		Bad possibility	Count	18	76	2	11	31	6	11	16	12	5	188
			%	54,3%	44,4%	20,0%	23,4%	30,7%	37,6%	31,4%	47,0%	44,4%	45,5%	38,9%
		No idea	Count	2	19	1	3	12	3	4	7	3	3	57
			%	6,3%	11,1%	10,0%	6,4%	11,9%	18,8%	11,4%	20,6%	11,1%	27,3%	11,8%
Total			Count	32	171	10	47	101	16	35	34	27	11	484
			%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Once again, Malmo SD voters tend to have a more negative view of their possibility to influence political decisions in Malmo than positive. 47% consider their possibility to influence political decisions either pretty bad or very bad, while 11.8% think they have a pretty good possibility, 20.6% are in the middle, and 20.6% have no idea. However, the Malmo voters for the other parties also all have a plurality of negative responses, with the exception of Malmo Center Party voters, making this correlation seem less noteworthy.

Table 16

29c. Generally speaking, how much trust do you have for how this group manages its tasks – <u>the municipality's politicians?</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total	
		Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote			
Malmo	29c. Generally speaking, how much trust do you have for how this group manages its tasks – <u>the municipality's politicians?</u>	A lot of trust	Count	1	13	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	21
			%	3,1%	7,4%	,0%	8,3%	1,9%	,0%	2,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,2%
	A fair amount of trust	Count	8	55	5	16	24	5	6	3	6	0	128	
		%	25,0%	31,3%	50,0%	33,3%	22,4%	31,3%	17,1%	8,6%	22,2%	,0%	25,8%	
	Neither a lot nor a little trust	Count	11	67	4	15	39	4	16	8	14	1	179	
		%	34,4%	38,1%	40,0%	31,3%	36,4%	25,0%	45,7%	22,9%	51,9%	9,1%	36,0%	
	Not so much trust	Count	5	15	1	10	19	1	7	10	5	3	76	
		%	15,6%	8,5%	10,0%	20,8%	17,8%	6,3%	20,0%	28,6%	18,5%	27,3%	15,3%	
	Very little trust	Count	3	8	0	2	11	3	1	10	1	3	42	
		%	9,4%	4,5%	,0%	4,2%	10,3%	18,8%	2,9%	28,6%	3,7%	27,3%	8,5%	
No idea	Count	4	18	0	1	12	3	4	4	1	4	51		
	%	12,5%	10,2%	,0%	2,1%	11,2%	18,8%	11,4%	11,4%	3,7%	36,4%	10,3%		
Total		Count	32	176	10	48	107	16	35	35	27	11	497	
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Finally, there is an observed lack of trust among Malmo SD voters for Malmo’s municipal politicians. There is a comparatively lower amount of trust among Malmo SD voters for these politicians than among all other party voters in Malmo (although those who voted blank have a comparable lack of trust). A similar trend can be found regarding trust for Swedish parliamentarians and Malmo’s municipal employees in Appendix 2.

As follows, we can observe a strong positive correlation between political discontentment and disenchantment and support for RRP parties in the Malmo case.

5.4.6 Sociocultural Factors – Opposition to European Union membership

Opposition to membership in the EU is common among RRP party supporters. According to the hypothesis found in the literature, an anti-EU stance is positively correlated with support for RRP parties.

After several years of objections and heavy disputing, Sweden finally joined the European Union in 1995 after a referendum in Parliament. The hesitancy to fully trust the EU has nonetheless survived over the years based on several factors, including the issue of geographical proximity, questions of efficiency, and a reluctance to integrate into continental Europe and EU institutions. Swedish citizens are skeptical about the EU (Ekengren 146; Aylott 2002; Aylott 1999, 182) as they feel they are too far from the action in Brussels to feel like the money they are paying with their tax dollars to finance the EU is truly benefiting them (Aylott 1999, 183). This is especially true in the northern part of Sweden and in smaller cities, where the effects of EU policy are felt even less. People in southern Sweden and in larger cities tend to be more in favor of the EU as they tend to have a better impression of the advantages of being an EU member.

Accordingly, there may be a fallacy here when applying this factor to Sweden. For example, in the northern parts of Sweden, where there is a more negative attitude towards the EU, there are also fewer Sweden Democrat voters. As southern Sweden voters in general tend to have a more positive attitude towards the EU, so logically would southern Swedish SD voters, based simply on proximity to the continent. Thus, it should be stated again that these results apply to the individual voter-level, but on the systemic level, this study lacks the data to observe this phenomenon more closely.

Table 17

22. What is your opinion of Sweden's membership in the EU? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total	
			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Malmo	22. What is your opinion of Sweden's membership in the EU?	Mainly for	Count	11	91	7	37	77	7	17	14	16	5	282
			%	34,4%	51,1%	70,0%	78,7%	75,5%	41,2%	47,2%	41,2%	57,1%	45,5%	57,0%
	Mainly against	Count	18	48	1	6	14	6	14	15	8	3	133	
		%	56,3%	27,0%	10,0%	12,8%	13,7%	35,3%	38,9%	44,1%	28,6%	27,3%	26,9%	
	Have no opinion on the matter	Count	3	39	2	4	11	4	5	5	4	3	80	
		%	9,4%	21,9%	20,0%	8,5%	10,8%	23,5%	13,9%	14,7%	14,3%	27,3%	16,2%	
Total		Count	32	178	10	47	102	17	36	34	28	11	495	
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Question 22 is clearly very relevant in testing this hypothesis. As we see above, there is only a slightly higher opposition (44.1%) to Sweden's membership in the EU among Malmo SD voters. This would seem to contradict the hypothesis in this case. However, a comparison with the other party voters in Malmo shows that Malmo SD voters have a comparatively higher opposition to EU membership than the other party voters, with the exception of the voters for the Left Party. Although this certainly does not prove the hypothesis, it does show a comparatively higher positive correlation between an anti-EU stance and RRP party support.

Table 18

20a. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way in which democracy works in the EU? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	
Malmo	20a. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way in which democracy works in the EU?	Satisfied	Count	4	74	7	30	57	5	9	10	10	4	210
			%	12,5%	42,8%	70,0%	65,2%	57,5%	29,4%	25,0%	28,6%	37,0%	40,0%	43,3%
	Not satisfied	Count	28	99	3	16	42	12	27	25	17	6	275	
		%	87,5%	57,2%	30,0%	34,8%	42,4%	70,6%	75,0%	71,5%	62,9%	60,0%	56,7%	
	Total	Count	32	173	10	46	99	17	36	35	27	10	485	
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Question 20 is also highly relevant in testing this hypothesis. In the above table, there is a majority (71.5%) of dissatisfied Malmo SD voters concerning democracy functioning within the EU. Discontentment with the way the EU works would tend to make sense when we consider the hypothesis that opposition to the EU is positively correlated with support for RRP parties.

Table 19

21a. What possibility do you think you have to influence political decisions in the EU? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation														
Municipality				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	
Malmo	21a. What possibility do you think you have to influence political decisions in the EU?	Good possibility	Count	2	5	1	6	5	2	2	0	1	0	24
			%	6,2%	2,9%	10,0%	12,8%	4,9%	11,8%	5,6%	,0%	3,6%	,0%	4,9%
		Neither	Count	0	23	2	5	28	3	3	3	6	1	74
			%	,0%	13,1%	20,0%	10,6%	27,5%	17,6%	8,3%	8,6%	21,4%	9,1%	15,0%
		Bad possibility	Count	29	120	4	33	59	8	26	24	16	7	326
			%	90,6%	68,5%	40,0%	70,2%	57,9%	47,1%	72,2%	68,5%	57,2%	53,7%	66,1%
	No idea	Count	1	27	3	3	10	4	5	8	5	3	69	
		%	3,1%	15,4%	30,0%	6,4%	9,8%	23,5%	13,9%	22,9%	17,9%	27,3%	14,0%	
	Total	Count	32	175	10	47	102	17	36	35	28	11	493	
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Responses to question 21 by Malmo SD voters show an even more negative view towards EU membership. 68.5% of these respondents consider their possibility to influence political decisions in the EU as either pretty bad or very bad, with none of these respondents considering this possibility as good. This perception of a lack of the possibility to have any say in the goings-on in the EU by Malmo SD voters could certainly have an effect on for which party they give their support.

Table 20

Municipality		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total	
		Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote			
Malmo	29a. Generally speaking, how much trust do you have for how this group manages its tasks – EU-parliamentarians?	A lot of trust	Count	0	4	0	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	12
			%	,0%	2,3%	,0%	8,3%	2,8%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,4%
	A fair amount of trust	Count	5	29	4	12	24	1	4	4	4	1	88	
		%	15,6%	16,6%	40,0%	25,0%	22,4%	6,3%	11,1%	11,4%	14,8%	9,1%	17,7%	
	Neither a lot nor a little trust	Count	6	60	5	20	33	3	14	8	10	1	160	
		%	18,8%	34,3%	50,0%	41,7%	30,8%	18,8%	38,9%	22,9%	37,0%	9,1%	32,2%	
	Not so much trust	Count	12	33	0	8	22	2	7	6	2	2	94	
		%	37,5%	18,9%	,0%	16,7%	20,6%	12,5%	19,4%	17,1%	7,4%	18,2%	18,9%	
	Very little trust	Count	5	21	1	1	7	5	4	9	0	1	54	
		%	15,6%	12,0%	10,0%	2,1%	6,5%	31,3%	11,1%	25,7%	,0%	9,1%	10,9%	
	No idea	Count	4	28	0	3	18	5	6	8	11	6	89	
		%	12,5%	16,0%	,0%	6,3%	16,8%	31,3%	16,7%	22,9%	40,7%	54,5%	17,9%	
Total		Count	32	175	10	48	107	16	36	35	27	11	497	
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

In the above table, 11.4% of Malmo SD voters have a fair amount of trust, 22.9% have neither a lot nor a little trust, and 42.8% have either not so much trust or very little trust in the way that EU-parliamentarians manage their tasks. Therefore, there is a clear plurality of a lack of trust

among these voters for EU-parliamentarians. This is comparatively lower trust than Malmo voters for the Social Democrats, Center Party, People's Party, Moderates, Green Party or those voting for other parties or voting blank.

Thus, we in fact do see a positive correlation at least between *individual dissatisfaction* with the EU and RRP party support, although the correlation is not particularly strong. After observing a slightly higher comparative opposition to EU membership among Malmo SD voters, a deeper look into questions about how democracy works in the EU, possibility to influence political decisions in the EU and trust for EU-parliamentarians reveals a distinct suggestion of dissatisfaction with the EU among Malmo SD voters, seeming to help this hypothesis hold up more in this case.

5.4.7 Sociocultural Factors – Shifting salience of issues

The hypothesis behind this explanatory factor is that as certain issues become more salient (especially the immigration issue, but also those that are more represented by RRP party platforms than by other parties), there is an increase in support for RRP parties. For this explanatory factor, we look at Malmo voters' responses to the following question:

30. The following list comprises a number of suggestions that have come up in the political debate. What is your opinion of each of them?

Very good suggestion, Pretty good suggestion, Neither good nor bad suggestion, Pretty bad suggestion, Very bad suggestion

- a. Reduce the public sector
- b. Take in fewer refugees in Sweden
- e. Run more of the healthcare sector privately
- f. Raise municipal/regional taxes rather than reducing services
- j. Lower taxes
- m. Keep the real estate tax

Table 21

30a. Opinion of suggestions in the political debate-Reduce the public sector * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo														
Crosstabulation														
Municipality				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	
Malmo	30a. Opinion of suggestions in the political debate-Reduce the public sector * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 *	Good suggestion	Count	5	31	8	36	69	9	5	10	15	2	190
			%	16,2%	18,1%	80,0%	75,0%	65,1%	56,3%	13,9%	29,4%	53,5%	20,0%	38,8%
	Malmo Crosstabulation	Neither	Count	2	37	2	5	21	6	9	12	7	4	105
			%	6,5%	21,6%	20,0%	10,4%	19,8%	37,5%	25,0%	35,3%	25,0%	40,0%	21,4%
	Total	Bad suggestion	Count	24	103	0	7	16	1	22	12	6	4	195
			%	77,4%	60,2%	,0%	14,6%	15,1%	6,3%	61,1%	35,2%	21,4%	40,0%	39,7%
			Count	31	171	10	48	106	16	36	34	28	10	490
			%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Here we find that Malmo SD voters give a slightly more negative response to the suggestion to reduce the public sector. There is a continued slightly negative trend towards these neoliberal economic suggestions (those that gave more power to the private sector and took away power from the public sector), such as to run more of the healthcare sector privately, to raise municipal or regional taxes rather than reducing services and to keep the real estate tax. Interestingly enough, RRP parties and their supporters tend to typically be in favor of a neoliberal economic agenda. Malmo SD voters were on the fence about or not in favor of most neoliberal economic suggestions except for the suggestion to lower taxes, which most were in favor of (refer to Appendix 2 for tables).

Table 22

30b. Opinion of suggestions in the political debate- <u>Take in fewer refugees in Sweden</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 *														
Malmö Crosstabulation														
Municipality			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total	
			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Malmö	30b. Opinion of suggestions in the political debate- <u>Take in fewer refugees in Sweden</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 *	Good suggestion	Count	9	87	3	29	70	9	7	34	20	6	278
			%	29,0%	49,2%	30,0%	60,4%	65,5%	56,3%	30,5%	97,1%	71,4%	60,0%	55,8%
	Malmö Crosstabulation	Neither	Count	3	46	1	13	22	4	10	0	2	2	103
			%	9,7%	26,0%	10,0%	27,1%	20,6%	25,0%	27,8%	,0%	7,1%	20,0%	20,7%
	Total	Bad suggestion	Count	19	44	6	6	15	3	19	1	2	2	117
			%	61,3%	24,9%	60,0%	12,6%	14,0%	18,8%	52,8%	2,9%	7,1%	20,0%	23,5%
			Count	31	177	10	48	107	16	36	35	28	10	498
			%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Malmö SD voters' responses to this suggestion are much more typical of RRP party supporters. The overwhelming majority (97.1%) consider the suggestion to take in fewer refugees in Sweden in the political debate as a good suggestion. The Malmö voters for other parties differ a great deal across the board whether they consider this suggestion good, bad or neither. Thus, it is clear where the Malmö SD voters stand on the issue of immigration, specifically refugee acceptance, and how important this issue should be in the political debate.

According to the hypothesis associated with the differing salience of issues as an explanatory factor for the increase in support for RRP parties, we find that immigration as an issue is strongly positively correlated with support for RRP parties in the Malmö case. Worthy of note here is that neoliberal economic issues do not seem to be as decisive of factors for RRP party support in this case as would be expected.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to test the validity of the explanatory factors behind the support for radical right-wing populist parties in Western Europe as provided by the literature when applied to the case of the Sweden Democrats in Malmo, Sweden. The research question was, *How can the voter support for the Sweden Democrats in the city of Malmo in the 2006 election be explained?* This paper has focused on seven explanatory factors provided by the literature as applied to the Malmo case. The hypotheses associated with these factors were tested through some theoretical analysis and mainly quantitative analysis of survey data. In order to get a more comprehensive understanding of individual voters' attitudes perceptions of the current conditions in the municipality of Malmo, a mostly individual level of analysis was utilized. The results were the following:

Economic Factors

1. *A post-industrial economy*: The hypothesis is that a post-industrial economy makes the situation more disposed to greater voter support of RRP parties. According to the characteristics of how a post-industrial economy is represented in the literature, Malmo is classified as such, and the hypothesis would apply to the case of SD voters in Malmo. Additionally, the demographics of Malmo SD voters as provided by the survey data correspond with the typical RRP party voter.

2. *Economic crisis and unemployment*: Since Malmo has comparatively high unemployment figures in Sweden, the hypothesis that an increase in unemployment is positively correlated with an increase in support for RRP parties is supported. Additionally, the data results are in line with the hypotheses behind the relationship between economic crisis and unemployment and support for RRP parties – when economic crisis exists, there is an increase in support for RRP parties; when unemployment increases, there is an increase in support for RRP parties. Malmo Sweden Democrat voters have comparatively the most negative perception of their municipal economy. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a considerable positive relationship in this case between support for RRP parties and at least perceptions of economic problems.

Sociocultural Factors

1. *Fragmentation of the culture and multiculturalization*: The hypothesis attached to this explanatory factor is that increases in the fragmentation of the culture and in multiculturalization lead to an increase in support for RRP parties. We observed that where the immigrants live and where the Swedish families live represents a geographical fragmentation of the local culture. The survey data findings neither prove nor disprove an increase in multiculturalization in Malmo, but there clearly exists the *perception* of multiculturalization as existent, and by Malmo SD voters, as particularly negative. Accordingly, there is a strong correlation between the perception of increased multiculturalization and support for RRP parties in this case.

2. *Popular xenophobia and racism*: According to this hypothesis, a greater presence of xenophobia and racism is positively correlated with greater support for RRP parties. From the data, there was an observed very negative attitude towards immigrants among Malmo SD voters. As a result, we are able to quantify a strong correlation between xenophobia and support for RRP parties. I am however unable to quantify racist attitudes, although I recognize there being the possibility for a positive relationship between racism and support for RRP parties as well.

3. *Widespread political discontentment and disenchantment*: The hypothesis associated with this explanatory factor is that those that vote for RRP parties tend to be especially discontent and disenchant with the current government and mainstream political parties. We can observe a strong positive correlation between political discontentment and disenchantment and support for RRP parties in the Malmo case.

4. *Opposition to European Union membership*: According to the hypothesis found in the literature, an anti-EU stance is positively correlated with support for RRP parties. We in fact do see a positive correlation at least between individual dissatisfaction with the EU and RRP party support, although the correlation is not particularly strong. After observing a slightly higher comparative opposition to EU membership among Malmo SD voters, a deeper look into questions about how democracy works in the EU, possibility to influence political decisions in the EU and trust for EU-parliamentarians reveals a distinct suggestion of dissatisfaction with the EU among Malmo SD voters, giving more strength to the hypothesis in the Malmo case.

5. *Shifting Salience of issues*: The hypothesis behind this explanatory factor is that as certain issues become more salient (particularly the immigration issue), there is an increase in support for RRP parties. We find that immigration as an issue is strongly positively correlated with support for RRP parties in the Malmo case, although neoliberal economic issues do not seem to be as decisive of factors for RRP party support in this case as would be expected.

Accordingly, there is a great deal of support for the hypotheses provided in the literature as applying to the case of voter support for the Sweden Democrats in Malmo. Although this paper's purpose was not to make predictions about the future, the current conditions may provide a situation more mature for increased support for this type of party in Malmo and throughout Sweden. Further research into this case, possibly with a greater deal of qualitative analysis (such as interviews and focus groups) could give deeper insight into the voter-centered attitudes behind support for RRP parties in Malmo, Sweden. Moreover, comparative analyses with this case and local case studies in other cities in Sweden or in other Western European countries would be productive additions to the field of research.

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13. How interested are you in political questions that concern the municipality where you live?

Very interested Pretty interested Not especially interested Not at all interested

19. How do you think the government manages its tasks?

Very well Pretty well Neither well nor poorly Pretty poorly Very poorly

20. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way in which democracy works in:

Very satisfied Pretty satisfied Not especially satisfied Not at all satisfied

a. The EU

d. The municipality where you live

21. What possibility do you think you have to influence political decisions in:

Very good possibility Pretty good possibility Neither good nor bad possibility Pretty bad possibility Very bad possibility No idea

a. The EU

d. The municipality where you live

22. What is your opinion of Sweden’s membership in the EU?

Mainly for Sweden’s membership in the EU Mainly against Sweden’s membership in the EU Have no opinion on the matter

26. How do you think that the municipal council in the municipality where you live manages its tasks?

Very well Pretty well Neither well nor poorly Pretty poorly Very poorly

29. Generally speaking, how much trust do you have for the way in which the following groups manage their tasks?

A lot of trust A fair amount of trust Neither a lot nor a little trust Not so much trust Very little trust No idea

a. EU-parliamentarians

b. Swedish parliamentarians

c. The municipality’s politicians

e. The municipality’s employees

30. The following list comprises a number of suggestions that have come up in the political debate. What is your opinion of each of them?

Very good suggestion Pretty good suggestion Neither good nor bad suggestion Pretty bad suggestion Very bad suggestion

a. Reduce the public sector

b. Take in fewer refugees in Sweden

e. Run more of the healthcare sector privately

f. Raise municipal/regional taxes rather than reducing services

j. Lower taxes

m. Keep the real estate tax

36. **What do you think of the economy in your municipality?**

Very good Pretty good Neither good nor bad Pretty bad Very bad No idea

65. **People sometimes talk about Sweden having become a multicultural society. Do you think that this development has been positive or negative in the following areas:**

Very positive Pretty positive Neither positive nor negative Pretty negative Very negative No idea

e. Languages

f. Religion

g. The economy

h. Politics

i. Crime

66. **What is your opinion of each of the following statements about what prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society?**

Completely wrong statement

Completely correct statement

↓ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 ↓ 10

a. Immigrants' poor knowledge of the Swedish language is the crucial obstacle for integration

b. Discrimination in the labour market is an obstacle

c. The Swedes' negative attitudes towards immigrants is an obstacle

d. A lack of interest amongst the immigrants themselves prevents integration

92. **How would you judge Sweden's development in the last 5 years within the following areas:**

Very positive Pretty positive Neither positive nor negative Pretty negative Very negative No idea

aa. The economy

ab. Politics

ac. People's living conditions

And using the same scale, judge Denmark's development in the last 5 years:

Very positive Pretty positive Neither positive nor negative Pretty negative Very negative No idea

ba. The economy

bb. Politics

bc. People's living conditions

98. **In your opinion, how have the following economic conditions changed in the last 12 months?**

Become better Remained about the same Gotten worse

aa. Your own economic situation

ab. The economy in your municipality

ac. The Swedish economy

How do you think the economy will change in the coming 12 months?

Become better Remain about the same Get worse

ba. Your own economic situation

bb. The economy in your municipality

bc. The Swedish economy

99. **How would you judge the possibility for today's children and youth to be able to get in the future:**

	<i>Very good possibility</i>	<i>Pretty good possibility</i>	<i>Neither good nor bad possibility</i>	<i>Pretty bad possibility</i>	<i>Very bad possibility</i>
a. A good education					
b. A good job					
d. The same welfare as today					

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
95. Municipality Election Vote 2006	2537	80,7%	605	19,3%	3142	100,0%
* Municipality Crosstabulation						

95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Municipality Crosstabulation					
			Municipality		Total
			Malmö	All other municipalities in Scania	
95. Municipality Election Vote 2006	Left Party	Count	32	73	105
		% within Municipality/ies	6,3%	3,6%	4,1%
	Social Democrats	Count	181	618	799
		% within Municipality/ies	35,7%	30,4%	31,5%
	Center Party	Count	10	140	150
		% within Municipality/ies	2,0%	6,9%	5,9%
	People's Party	Count	48	189	237
		% within Municipality/ies	9,5%	9,3%	9,3%
	Moderates	Count	108	564	672
		% within Municipality/ies	21,3%	27,8%	26,5%
	Christian Democrats	Count	17	86	103
		% within Municipality/ies	3,4%	4,2%	4,1%
	Green Party	Count	36	92	128
		% within Municipality/ies	7,1%	4,5%	5,0%
	Health Care Party	Count	1	6	7
		% within Municipality/ies	,2%	,3%	,3%
	Sweden Democrats	Count	36	115	151
		% within Municipality/ies	7,1%	5,7%	6,0%
	Other party	Count	27	87	114
		% within Municipality/ies	5,3%	4,3%	4,5%
Blank vote	Count	11	60	71	
	% within Municipality/ies	2,2%	3,0%	2,8%	
Total	Count	507	2030	2537	
	% within Municipality/ies	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	43,373 ^a	10	,000
Likelihood Ratio	46,948	10	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	,269	1	,604
N of Valid Cases	2537		

a. 1 cells (4.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.40.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,000	,000	. ^c	. ^c
		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 Dependent	,000	,000	. ^c	. ^c
		Municipality Dependent	,000	,000	. ^c	. ^c
Goodman and Kruskal tau	F95. 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 Dependent		,002	,001		,000 ^d
		Municipality Dependent	,017	,005		,000 ^d
		Uncertainty Coefficient	Symmetric	,008	,002	3,634
		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 Dependent	,005	,001	3,634	,000 ^e
		Municipality Dependent	,018	,005	3,634	,000 ^e

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

e. Likelihood ratio chi-square probability.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,131			,000
	Cramer's V	,131			,000
	Contingency Coefficient	,130			,000
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	,010	,021	,519	,604 ^c
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	,029	,021	1,442	,150 ^c
N of Valid Cases		2537			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

Frequencies

Statistics				
		95. Municipality		95. Municipality
		Municipality	Election Vote 2006	Election Vote 2006
N	Valid	3142	2537	3142
	Missing	0	605	0

Frequency Table

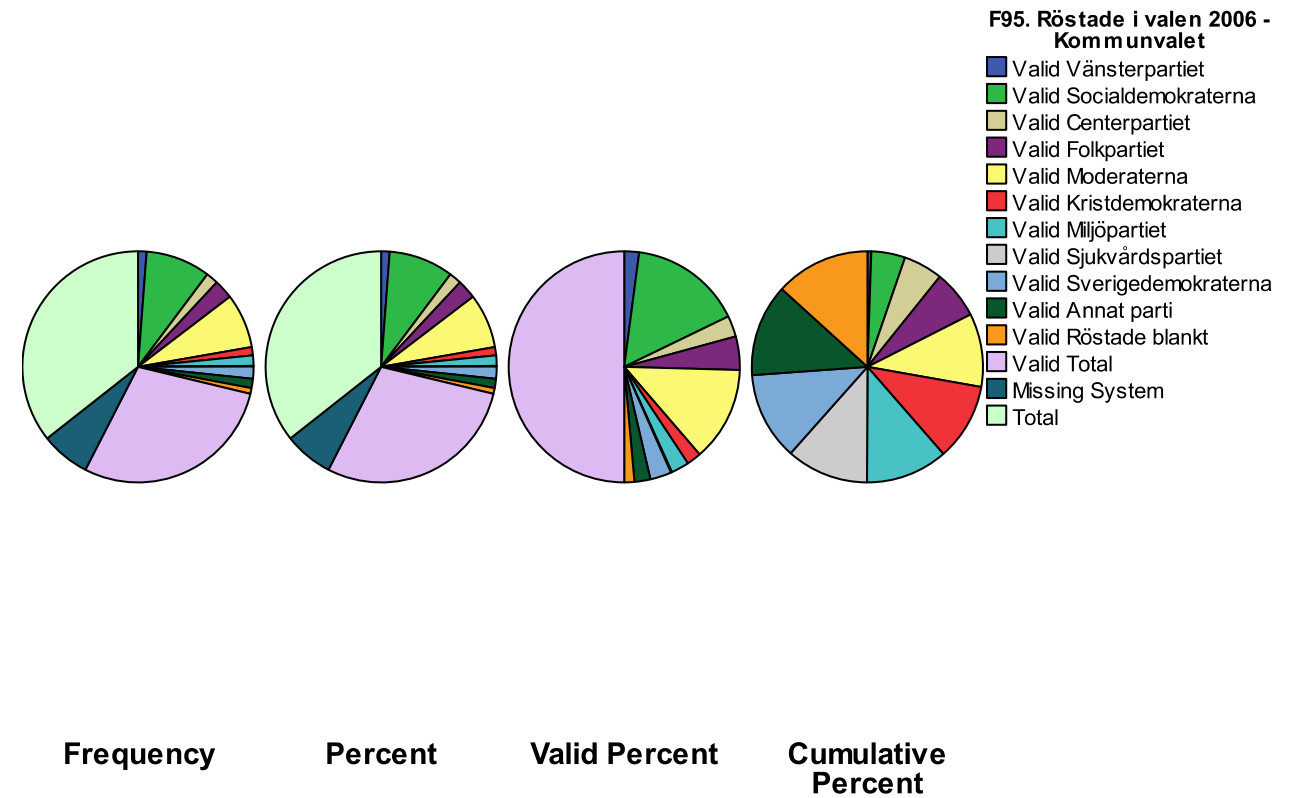
Municipality					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Malmö	637	20,3	20,3	20,3
	All other municipalities in Scania	2505	79,7	79,7	100,0
	Total	3142	100,0	100,0	

95. Municipality Election Vote 2006					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Left Party	105	3,3	4,1	4,1
	Social Democrats	799	25,4	31,5	35,6
	Center Party	150	4,8	5,9	41,5
	People's Party	237	7,5	9,3	50,9
	Moderates	672	21,4	26,5	77,4
	Christian Democrats	103	3,3	4,1	81,4
	Green Party	128	4,1	5,0	86,5
	Health Care Party	7	,2	,3	86,8
	Sweden Democrats	151	4,8	6,0	92,7
	Other party	114	3,6	4,5	97,2
	Blank vote	71	2,3	2,8	100,0
	Total	2537	80,7	100,0	
Missing	System	605	19,3		
	Total	3142	100,0		

F95. Röstade i valen 2006 - Municipalityvalet

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	All other votes	2991	95,2	95,2	95,2
	Sweden Democrats	151	4,8	4,8	100,0
	Total	3142	100,0	100,0	

F95. Röstade i valen 2006 - Kommunvalet



Statistics

Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmo	Pearson Chi-Square	367,625 ^a	40	,000
	Likelihood Ratio	397,488	40	,000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	66,087	1	,000
	N of Valid Cases	490		

a. 26 cells (47.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .14.

13. How interested are you in political questions that concern <u>the municipality where you live?</u> * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation																
Municipality		95. Municipality Election Vote 2006														
		Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Voted blank	Total			
Malmo	13. How interested are you in political questions that concern <u>the municipality where you live?</u>	Very interested	Count	7	36	1	11	13	2	4	0	7	4	1	86	
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	21,9%	20,5%	10,0%	23,4%	12,6%	11,8%	11,1%	,0%	19,4%	14,8%	9,1%	17,3%	
		Pretty interested	Count	18	96	7	24	59	7	22	0	21	17	5	276	
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	56,3%	54,5%	70,0%	51,1%	57,3%	41,2%	61,1%	,0%	58,3%	63,0%	45,5%	55,6%	
		Not especially interested	Count	6	43	1	12	25	7	9	1	8	6	3	121	
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	18,8%	24,4%	10,0%	25,5%	24,3%	41,2%	25,0%	100,0%	22,2%	22,2%	27,3%	24,4%	
		Not at all interested	Count	1	1	1	0	6	1	1	0	0	0	2	13	
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	3,1%	,6%	10,0%	,0%	5,8%	5,9%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	18,2%	2,6%	
		Total		Count	32	176	10	47	103	17	36	1	36	27	11	496

Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmo	Pearson Chi-Square	81,873 ^a	45	,001
	Likelihood Ratio	88,688	45	,000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	8,485	1	,004
	N of Valid Cases	495		

a. 32 cells (53.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .24.

29e. Generally speaking, how much trust do you have for how this group manages its tasks – the municipality's employees? 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation

Municipality			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total	
			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Malmo	29e. Generally speaking, how much trust do you have for how this group manages its tasks – the municipality's employees?	A lot of trust	Count	0	8	0	2	0	0	2		0	0	0	12
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	,0%	4,5%	,0%	4,2%	,0%	,0%	5,7%		,0%	,0%	,0%	2,4%
		A fair amount of trust	Count	9	41	4	8	15	2	6		4	7	0	96
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	28,1%	23,3%	40,0%	16,7%	14,3%	12,5%	17,1%		11,4%	25,9%	,0%	19,4%
		Neither a lot nor a little trust	Count	11	72	5	21	47	5	11		8	11	2	193
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	34,4%	40,9%	50,0%	43,8%	44,8%	31,3%	31,4%		22,9%	40,7%	18,2%	39,0%
		Not so much trust	Count	2	13	1	12	15	3	12		8	3	3	72
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	6,3%	7,4%	10,0%	25,0%	14,3%	18,8%	34,3%		22,9%	11,1%	27,3%	14,5%
		Very little trust	Count	5	10	0	2	8	2	0		8	3	2	40
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	15,6%	5,7%	,0%	4,2%	7,6%	12,5%	,0%		22,9%	11,1%	18,2%	8,1%
		No idea	Count	5	32	0	3	20	4	4		7	3	4	82
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	15,6%	18,2%	,0%	6,3%	19,0%	25,0%	11,4%		20,0%	11,1%	36,4%	16,6%
		Total	Count	32	176	10	48	105	16	35		35	27	11	495
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

66a. Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmo	Pearson Chi-Square	123,932 ^a	100	,053
	Likelihood Ratio	130,116	100	,023
	Linear-by-Linear Association	9,191	1	,002
	N of Valid Cases	495		

a. 94 cells (77.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

66b. Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmo	Pearson Chi-Square	149,579 ^a	100	,001
	Likelihood Ratio	129,876	100	,024
	Linear-by-Linear Association	19,436	1	,000
	N of Valid Cases	496		

a. 89 cells (73.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

66c. Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmo	Pearson Chi-Square	154,459 ^a	100	,000
	Likelihood Ratio	157,555	100	,000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	21,676	1	,000
	N of Valid Cases	494		

a. 91 cells (75.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

66d. Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmo	Pearson Chi-Square	148,283 ^a	100	,001
	Likelihood Ratio	155,077	100	,000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	17,706	1	,000
	N of Valid Cases	493		

a. 90 cells (74.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

66a. What prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society- immigrants' poor knowledge of the Swedish language is the crucial obstacle for integration? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation															
			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006												
Municipality			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	Total	
Malmo	66a. What prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society- immigrants' poor knowledge of the Swedish language is the crucial obstacle for integration?	Completely wrong statement (0)	Count	4	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	16	
		%*	12,9%	4,6%	,0%	,0%	,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	7,4%	10,0%	3,2%	
		(1)	Count	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
			%*	6,5%	1,7%	,0%	2,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,2%
		(2)	Count	3	6	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	14
			%*	9,7%	3,4%	,0%	,0%	,9%	6,3%	2,8%	,0%	5,7%	,0%	,0%	2,8%
		(3)	Count	2	8	1	1	2	2	4	0	1	0	0	21
			%*	6,5%	4,6%	10,0%	2,1%	1,9%	12,5%	11,1%	,0%	2,9%	,0%	,0%	4,2%
		(4)	Count	1	5	1	3	3	1	2	0	3	0	1	20
			%*	3,2%	2,9%	10,0%	6,4%	2,8%	6,3%	5,6%	,0%	8,6%	,0%	10,0%	4,0%
		(5)	Count	5	16	0	4	10	3	5	0	0	2	0	45
			%*	16,1%	9,1%	,0%	8,5%	9,3%	18,8%	13,9%	,0%	,0%	7,4%	,0%	9,1%
		(6)	Count	0	9	1	6	5	1	3	0	0	1	1	27
			%*	,0%	5,1%	10,0%	12,8%	4,7%	6,3%	8,3%	,0%	,0%	3,7%	10,0%	5,5%
		(7)	Count	2	33	1	5	15	2	7	0	5	3	0	73
			%*	6,5%	18,9%	10,0%	10,6%	14,0%	12,5%	19,4%	,0%	14,3%	11,1%	,0%	14,7%
		(8)	Count	2	33	4	11	20	1	8	1	3	6	2	91
			%*	6,5%	18,9%	40,0%	23,4%	18,7%	6,3%	22,2%	100,0%	8,6%	22,2%	20,0%	18,4%
		(9)	Count	1	9	0	3	11	1	1	0	2	5	2	35
			%*	3,2%	5,1%	,0%	6,4%	10,3%	6,3%	2,8%	,0%	5,7%	18,5%	20,0%	7,1%
Completely correct statement (10)	Count	9	45	2	13	39	4	5	0	19	8	3	147		
	%*	29,0%	25,7%	20,0%	27,7%	36,4%	25,0%	13,9%	,0%	54,3%	29,6%	30,0%	29,7%		
Total	Count	31	175	10	47	107	16	36	1	35	27	10	495		
	%*	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%		

*The percentage is within the Malmo Municipality Election Vote of 2006.

66b. What prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society- discrimination in the labor market is an obstacle? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation																
Municipality			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total		
			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote			
Malmo	66b. What prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society- discrimination in the labor market is an obstacle?	Completely wrong statement (0)	Count	0	6	0	1	3	0	0	0	8	2	0	20	
			%*	,0%	3,4%	,0%	2,1%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	22,9%	7,4%	,0%	4,0%	
		(1)	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3
			%*	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	,0%	9,1%	,6%	
		(2)	Count	0	6	0	2	6	1	0	0	5	3	0	23	
			%*	,0%	3,4%	,0%	4,2%	5,6%	6,7%	,0%	,0%	14,3%	11,1%	,0%	4,6%	
		(3)	Count	1	11	0	2	5	2	0	0	1	2	0	24	
			%*	3,2%	6,3%	,0%	4,2%	4,7%	13,3%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	7,4%	,0%	4,8%	
		(4)	Count	3	7	0	3	7	0	2	1	1	1	1	26	
			%*	9,7%	4,0%	,0%	6,3%	6,5%	,0%	5,6%	100,0%	2,9%	3,7%	9,1%	5,2%	
		(5)	Count	3	24	1	7	15	5	5	0	5	6	3	74	
			%*	9,7%	13,7%	10,0%	14,6%	14,0%	33,3%	13,9%	,0%	14,3%	22,2%	27,3%	14,9%	
		(6)	Count	0	10	1	6	12	1	6	0	3	0	0	39	
			%*	,0%	5,7%	10,0%	12,5%	11,2%	6,7%	16,7%	,0%	8,6%	,0%	,0%	7,9%	
		(7)	Count	2	29	2	8	18	0	3	0	6	2	2	72	
			%*	6,5%	16,6%	20,0%	16,7%	16,8%	,0%	8,3%	,0%	17,1%	7,4%	18,2%	14,5%	
		(8)	Count	5	26	3	6	14	3	6	0	4	3	1	71	
			%*	16,1%	14,9%	30,0%	12,5%	13,1%	20,0%	16,7%	,0%	11,4%	11,1%	9,1%	14,3%	
		(9)	Count	4	15	1	4	6	1	6	0	0	3	1	41	
			%*	12,9%	8,6%	10,0%	8,3%	5,6%	6,7%	16,7%	,0%	,0%	11,1%	9,1%	8,3%	
Completely correct statement (10)	Count	13	41	2	9	20	2	8	0	1	5	2	103			
	%*	41,9%	23,4%	20,0%	18,8%	18,7%	13,3%	22,2%	,0%	2,9%	18,5%	18,2%	20,8%			
Total	Count	31	175	10	48	107	15	36	1	35	27	11	496			
	%*	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%			

*The percentage is within the Malmo Municipality Election Vote of 2006.

66c. What prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society- the Swedes' negative attitudes towards immigrants is an obstacle? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation															
Municipality			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											Total	
			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote		
Malmo	66c. What prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society- the Swedes' negative attitude towards immigrants is an obstacle?	Completely wrong statement (0)	Count	2	8	0	3	5	0	0	0	9	3	0	30
		%*	6,5%	4,6%	,0%	6,3%	4,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	25,7%	11,1%	,0%	6,1%	
		(1)	Count	0	2	0	2	4	0	0	0	2	1	0	11
		%*	,0%	1,2%	,0%	4,2%	3,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,7%	3,7%	,0%	2,2%	
		(2)	Count	0	9	0	0	7	0	1	0	3	2	1	23
		%*	,0%	5,2%	,0%	,0%	6,5%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	8,6%	7,4%	9,1%	4,7%	
		(3)	Count	1	10	1	2	2	0	2	0	4	1	0	23
		%*	3,2%	5,8%	10,0%	4,2%	1,9%	,0%	5,6%	,0%	11,4%	3,7%	,0%	4,7%	
		(4)	Count	2	6	0	5	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	18
		%*	6,5%	3,5%	,0%	10,4%	2,8%	,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,6%	
		(5)	Count	4	16	0	9	17	4	4	1	5	10	6	76
		%*	12,9%	9,2%	,0%	18,8%	15,9%	26,7%	11,1%	100,0%	14,3%	37,0%	54,5%	15,4%	
		(6)	Count	1	20	1	6	19	5	6	0	4	1	0	63
		%*	3,2%	11,6%	10,0%	12,5%	17,8%	33,3%	16,7%	,0%	11,4%	3,7%	,0%	12,8%	
		(7)	Count	4	22	2	7	20	2	5	0	6	2	2	72
		%*	12,9%	12,7%	20,0%	14,6%	18,7%	13,3%	13,9%	,0%	17,1%	7,4%	18,2%	14,6%	
		(8)	Count	2	36	4	7	13	2	7	0	0	2	1	74
		%*	6,5%	20,8%	40,0%	14,6%	12,1%	13,3%	19,4%	,0%	,0%	7,4%	9,1%	15,0%	
		(9)	Count	3	10	0	4	4	0	2	0	0	2	0	25
		%*	9,7%	5,8%	,0%	8,3%	3,7%	,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	7,4%	,0%	5,1%	
Completely correct statement (10)	Count	12	34	2	3	13	2	7	0	2	3	1	79		
%*	38,7%	19,7%	20,0%	6,3%	12,1%	13,3%	19,4%	,0%	5,7%	11,1%	9,1%	16,0%			
Total	Count	31	173	10	48	107	15	36	1	35	27	11	494		
%*	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%		

*The percentage is within the Malmo Municipality Election Vote of 2006.

66d. What prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society- a lack of interest amongst the immigrants themselves prevents integration? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation															
			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006												
Municipality			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	Total	
Malmo	66d. What prevents immigrants from integrating into Swedish society- <u>a lack of interest amongst the immigrants themselves prevents integration?</u>	Completely wrong statement (0)	Count	6	11	2	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	25	
		%*	19,4%	6,4%	20,0%	,0%	,9%	,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	7,4%	9,1%	5,1%	
		(1)	Count	3	3	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	12
		%*	9,7%	1,7%	,0%	4,2%	1,9%	,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,4%	
		(2)	Count	2	15	1	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	26
		%*	6,5%	8,7%	10,0%	8,3%	,9%	,0%	8,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,3%	
		(3)	Count	1	9	0	3	7	1	1	0	0	1	0	23
		%*	3,2%	5,2%	,0%	6,3%	6,5%	6,7%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,7%	,0%	4,7%
		(4)	Count	1	9	1	6	6	1	1	0	0	1	0	27
		%*	3,2%	5,2%	10,0%	12,5%	5,6%	6,7%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	,0%	9,1%	5,5%
		(5)	Count	5	25	2	8	9	4	9	0	0	3	5	74
		%*	16,1%	14,5%	20,0%	16,7%	8,4%	26,7%	25,0%	,0%	,0%	8,6%	18,5%	36,4%	15,0%
		(6)	Count	1	12	2	3	10	0	3	0	0	1	2	35
		%*	3,2%	7,0%	20,0%	6,3%	9,3%	,0%	8,3%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	7,4%	9,1%	7,1%
		(7)	Count	5	19	1	8	19	1	3	0	0	2	2	62
		%*	16,1%	11,0%	10,0%	16,7%	17,8%	6,7%	8,3%	,0%	,0%	5,7%	7,4%	18,2%	12,6%
		(8)	Count	4	27	1	7	12	1	7	1	1	6	6	73
		%*	12,9%	15,7%	10,0%	14,6%	11,2%	6,7%	19,4%	100,0%	,0%	17,1%	22,2%	9,1%	14,8%
		(9)	Count	0	8	0	1	11	4	3	0	0	5	0	32
		%*	,0%	4,7%	,0%	2,1%	10,3%	26,7%	8,3%	,0%	,0%	14,3%	,0%	,0%	6,5%
Completely correct statement (10)	Count	3	34	0	6	29	3	2	0	0	17	9	104		
%*	9,7%	19,8%	,0%	12,5%	27,1%	20,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	48,6%	33,3%	9,1%	21,1%		
Total	Count	31	172	10	48	107	15	36	1	1	35	27	493		
%*	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%		

*The percentage is within the Malmo Municipality Election Vote of 2006.

Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmö	Pearson Chi-Square	49,762 ^a	18	,000
	Likelihood Ratio	49,080	18	,000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	1,449	1	,229
	N of Valid Cases	490		

a. 8 cells (26.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.45.

98bb. How do you think the economic condition will change in the coming 12 months in – the economy in your municipality? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmö Crosstabulation																
				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006												
Municipality				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	Total	
Malmö	98bb. How do you think the economic condition will change in the coming 12 months in – the economy in your municipality?	Become better	Count	2	14	2	12	26	3	4		4	2	2	71	
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	6,3%	8,3%	20,0%	25,0%	24,5%	17,6%	11,4%		11,1%	7,7%	18,2%	14,5%	
		Remain about the same	Count	14	118	8	30	69	13	22			21	18	7	320
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	43,8%	69,8%	80,0%	62,5%	65,1%	76,5%	62,9%			58,3%	69,2%	63,6%	65,3%
		Get worse	Count	16	37	0	6	11	1	9			11	6	2	99
			% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	50,0%	21,9%	,0%	12,5%	10,4%	5,9%	25,7%			30,6%	23,1%	18,2%	20,2%
	Total	Count	32	169	10	48	106	17	35			36	26	11	490	
		% within Municipality Election Vote 2006	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%			100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmo	Pearson Chi-Square	103,545 ^a	70	,006
	Likelihood Ratio	107,346	70	,003
	Linear-by-Linear Association	,193	1	,660
	N of Valid Cases	505		

a. 62 cells (70.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

87. What is the highest level of education that you have achieved? * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation															
				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006											
Municipality				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	Total
Malmo	87. What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?	Have not completed primary school	Count	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
			%*	,0%	1,1%	,0%	2,1%	,0%	5,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,8%
		Primary school	Count	4	50	1	2	11	4	3	0	6	8	2	91
			%*	12,5%	27,8%	10,0%	4,3%	10,2%	23,5%	8,3%	,0%	16,7%	29,6%	18,2%	18,0%
		Studies at secondary school or job training program	Count	6	15	0	3	9	1	1	0	7	1	2	45
			%*	18,8%	8,3%	,0%	6,4%	8,3%	5,9%	2,8%	,0%	19,4%	3,7%	18,2%	8,9%
		Completion of secondary school or job training program	Count	1	22	1	2	19	2	4	0	10	2	2	65
			%*	3,1%	12,2%	10,0%	4,3%	17,6%	11,8%	11,1%	,0%	27,8%	7,4%	18,2%	12,9%
		After secondary school training (not college)	Count	5	16	1	5	10	0	5	0	6	3	1	52
			%*	15,6%	8,9%	10,0%	10,6%	9,3%	,0%	13,9%	,0%	16,7%	11,1%	9,1%	10,3%
		Studies at college or university	Count	4	33	2	7	11	3	10	0	1	4	2	77
			%*	12,5%	18,3%	20,0%	14,9%	10,2%	17,6%	27,8%	,0%	2,8%	14,8%	18,2%	15,2%
		Completion of undergraduate degree from college or university	Count	12	40	5	27	46	6	12	1	6	9	2	166
			%*	37,5%	22,2%	50,0%	57,4%	42,6%	35,3%	33,3%	100,0%	16,7%	33,3%	18,2%	32,9%
		Completion of graduate degree	Count	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
			%*	,0%	1,1%	,0%	,0%	1,9%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%
		Total	Count	32	180	10	47	108	17	36	1	36	27	11	505
			%*	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

*The percentage is within the Malmo Municipality Election Vote of 2006.

Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmö	Pearson Chi-Square	121,630 ^a	70	,000
	Likelihood Ratio	125,328	70	,000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	,345	1	,557
	N of Valid Cases	487		

a. 58 cells (65.9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .06.

88. Yearly income before taxes (in Swedish Crowns) * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmö Crosstabulation			95. Municipality Election Vote 2006												
Municipality			Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party	Blank vote	Total	
Malmö	88. Yearly income before taxes (in Swedish Crowns)	100,000 or less	Count	2	12	3	2	4	1	7	0	2	1	2	36
			%*	6,9%	6,8%	30,0%	4,3%	3,8%	6,3%	20,6%	,0%	5,7%	4,0%	18,2%	7,4%
		101,000-200,000	Count	3	35	1	4	8	3	7	0	5	6	2	74
			%*	10,3%	19,9%	10,0%	8,7%	7,7%	18,8%	20,6%	,0%	14,3%	24,0%	18,2%	15,2%
		201,000-300,000	Count	9	39	0	8	17	3	8	0	4	8	2	98
			%*	31,0%	22,2%	,0%	17,4%	16,3%	18,8%	23,5%	,0%	11,4%	32,0%	18,2%	20,1%
		301,000-400,000	Count	10	32	0	5	17	3	6	0	8	1	0	82
			%*	34,5%	18,2%	,0%	10,9%	16,3%	18,8%	17,6%	,0%	22,9%	4,0%	,0%	16,8%
		401,000-500,000	Count	2	30	3	6	15	3	5	0	7	5	4	80
			%*	6,9%	17,0%	30,0%	13,0%	14,4%	18,8%	14,7%	,0%	20,0%	20,0%	36,4%	16,4%
		501,000-600,000	Count	3	11	1	8	16	1	0	1	5	0	0	46
			%*	10,3%	6,3%	10,0%	17,4%	15,4%	6,3%	,0%	100,0%	14,3%	,0%	,0%	9,4%
		601,000-700,000	Count	0	9	1	4	7	1	0	0	3	3	1	29
			%*	,0%	5,1%	10,0%	8,7%	6,7%	6,3%	,0%	,0%	8,6%	12,0%	9,1%	6,0%
		More than 700,000	Count	0	8	1	9	20	1	1	0	1	1	0	42
			%*	,0%	4,5%	10,0%	19,6%	19,2%	6,3%	2,9%	,0%	2,9%	4,0%	,0%	8,6%
		Total	Count	29	176	10	46	104	16	34	1	35	25	11	487
			%*	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

*The percentage is within the Malmö Municipality Election Vote of 2006.

Chi-Square Tests

Municipality		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Malmo	Pearson Chi-Square	123,602 ^a	70	,000
	Likelihood Ratio	125,609	70	,000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	,201	1	,654
	N of Valid Cases	484		

a. 67 cells (76.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.

67. Employment status * 95. Municipality Election Vote 2006 * Malmo Crosstabulation

				95. Municipality Election Vote 2006										Total			
				Left Party	Social Democrats	Center Party	People's Party	Moderates	Christian Democrats	Green Party	Health Care Party	Sweden Democrats	Other party		Blank vote		
Malmö	67. Employment status	Gainfully employed (including those on sick-leave and parental leave)	Count	18	85	5	27	63	8	21	1	27	3	6	264		
			%*	62,1%	49,4%	55,6%	56,3%	61,2%	47,1%	61,8%	100,0%	77,1%	12,0%	54,5%	54,5%		
		Working under labor market employment policy measures	Count	1	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	12	
			%*	3,4%	2,9%	,0%	2,1%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	8,0%	9,1%	2,5%	
		Enrolled in vocational training	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
			%*	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,2%	
		Unemployed	Count	1	7	1	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	18	
			%*	3,4%	4,1%	11,1%	,0%	4,9%	,0%	5,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	18,2%	3,7%	
		Retired	Count	3	43	2	6	21	7	3	0	2	17	0	104		
			%*	10,3%	25,0%	22,2%	12,5%	20,4%	41,2%	8,8%	,0%	5,7%	68,0%	,0%	21,5%		
		In early retirement	Count	0	11	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	19		
			%*	,0%	6,4%	,0%	4,2%	,0%	,0%	5,9%	,0%	2,9%	12,0%	,0%	3,9%		
		Studying	Count	5	18	1	5	7	1	5	0	4	0	2	48		
			%*	17,2%	10,5%	11,1%	10,4%	6,8%	5,9%	14,7%	,0%	11,4%	,0%	18,2%	9,9%		
		Other	Count	1	3	0	6	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	18		
			%*	3,4%	1,7%	,0%	12,5%	5,8%	5,9%	2,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,7%		
		Total			Count	29	172	9	48	103	17	34	1	35	25	11	484
					%*	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

*The percentage is within the Malmo Municipality Election Vote of 2006.