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POLICY DIMENSIONS AND THE CENTER-RIGHT

A study of the center-right in Spain and Sweden

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Abstract

This thesis has two aims: to understand the motivations behind the political positions of center-right parties and to examine policy dimensions that are used to measure those positions. Political parties increasingly compete not only on the traditional left-right dimension but also on socio-cultural issues such as environmental protection, civil liberties, multiculturalism and nationalism. It is important to understand how the parties position themselves on these new issues. It is also important to study the dimensions that are used to analyze these socio-cultural divisions in order to see to what extent they can capture the positions of political parties and whether they overlook anything. In this thesis qualitative interviews with representatives of center-right parties in Sweden and Spain are used as well as a content analysis in order to examine how well the GAL-TAN scale can capture these issues. The results reveal that the motivations of party representatives are diverse and often multifaceted. They frequently overlap between the economic and socio-cultural dimensions as well as between the opposite poles of the socio-cultural dimension. There is also convergence between the Spanish center-right parties on some issues but not between the Swedish center-right parties. Thus more refined categories are needed in order to properly capture the positions.

Keywords: GAL-TAN; Left-Right; Policy dimensions; Center-right parties; Dimensionality

Content

1. Introduction

It is increasingly argued that the economic dimension is not sufficient to understand the main fault lines between political parties in Europe. In the last decades new political fault lines have been drawn and new policy scales have been suggested in order to accurately measure the positioning of political parties. While the left-right dimension has been dominant for a long time increasingly sociocultural divisions are being highlighted. This dimension focuses on issues such as migration, social freedom, nationalism and law and order. The GAL (Green/Alternative/Libertarian) TAN (Traditionalist/Authoritarian/Nationalist) scale (Hooghe et al., 2002) is increasingly used in order to measure positioning within the sociocultural dimension.

It has been argued that the GAL-TAN dimension can be seen as a complement to the left-right dimension. Yet it has been heavily debated how useful it is and what contribution it makes to the understanding of the positioning of political parties. Therefore it is important to understand what it can measure and which issues might be difficult to grasp using the GAL-TAN dimension as well as the left-right dimension.

The literature has mainly used quantitative methods in the research about the cultural dimension (De la O and Rodden, 2008; Hooghe et al., 2002; Knutsen, 2004; van der Brug et al. 2009) as well as about the economic dimension. Surveys are useful for large investigations about which values and attitudes people hold, they are often used for examining the views of voters or party members. Yet the answers that they provide can be seen as insufficient. Many of the issues covered by the GAL-TAN scale such as cultural diversity, traditionalism, civil liberties and authoritarianism are complex issues that are not always easy to answer in a few words. The motivation for the opinions is not explored in surveys. It could be argued that the reasons for why someone hold an opinion matters for how it is assessed as people can come to the same conclusions about different issues but for very different reasons. For example one person might be in favor of limiting freedom of speech because she or he does not like to hear certain opinions. Another person might be in favor of limiting freedom of speech because she or he wants to protect people who are victims of hate speech.

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) let experts in different countries answer surveys in order to understand where political parties are within the two scales. Yet the experts' knowledge about the views that people within the parties hold is limited as they do not work within the parties but study them from the outside.

1.2. Aim and Research Questions

Previous research on party competition (Elff, 2009; Ezrow, 2005; Lipset and Rokkan, 1967; Somer-Topcu, 2015) has generally not tried to understand the motivations of the people within the parties. It is important to understand the motivations behind the positions as it could say something about how useful the measurements such as the left-right scale and the GAL-TAN scale are. These two scales are increasingly seen as two separate dimensions by many researchers. In this thesis it is tested to what extent they can be seen as separate from each other.

The aims of this thesis is to try to understand which motives lay behind the political positions of political representatives of center-right parties and to investigate how well their positioning can be captured by the left-right and GAL-TAN dimensions. Qualitative method and interviews with party representatives at different levels are used in order to understand their motives and thus to see whether the answers can provide a different perspective in how well the scales can measure the positioning of the respondents. Interviews with party representatives can provide knowledge about the views of the people who are in the middle of the parties. As the representatives have been elected by the parties their views can be considered to be important in order to understand the ideas that shape the parties.

The choice was made to focus on center-right parties in this thesis. Several studies about rightwing parties in the U.S. have been conducted in recent decades (Frank, 2004; Hochschild, 2016; Roemer 1998). They have found that the cultural dimension plays a central role in motivating voters and parties on the right. Since the aim of the thesis was to look at the cultural dimension and how it is connected to the economic dimension it seemed suitable to study center-right parties in this thesis.

Representatives from two different countries, Spain and Sweden, have been interviewed for this thesis. Since it includes more than one case the findings have a higher validity and are more likely to be generalizable to other European countries (Yin, 2007). There are important political and cultural differences between the different countries in Europe, therefore two countries that differ from each other in many respects were chosen. Spain and Sweden represent different categories of European countries: Spain is Catholic, Sweden is Protestant; Spain was a dictatorship for most of the 20th century while Sweden has been a democracy for nearly a century; Spain has greater regional differences than Sweden. By choosing countries that are different from each other the findings can be generalizable to a larger variety of countries. Thus if there are similarities between the findings in the two countries it is probable that similar results will be found in other European countries as well.

Political representatives from six different center-right parties in Sweden and Spain have been interviewed. The left–right scale and the GAL–TAN scale are used to categorize their views on different economic and cultural issues. New categories were also created for the positions and arguments that did not fit in within these categories. The economic issues discussed concerned public and private investment, tax–policies and the size of the welfare state. The cultural issues that were discussed were among others: multiculturalism, nationalism, civil liberties and law and order.

The research questions are:

Can the positions of representatives of center-right parties in Sweden and Spain be captured by the left-right and GAL-TAN scales?

Is there overlapping between the two policy dimensions in the positions?

Is there overlapping within the GAL-TAN dimension in the positions?

Do the parties converge?

2. Literature Review

In this part previous research looking at the usage of policy dimensions is discussed. The old and new dimensions are presented as well as how they are related to each other and what shapes they take in different contexts.

2.1. Policy Dimensions

In the party competition literature it is common to analyze how political parties and voters position themselves on different issues along spatial dimensions (Downs, 1957). The term "dimension" is used when determining political positioning rather than other factors such as the organizational interests of parties (Hooghe et al., 2002). Much of the research on party competition in Europe still focuses on the economic dimension (Adams et al., 2006; Adams et al., 2011; Budge et al., 2012; Ezrow, 2005; Somer-Topcu, 2015). These scholars use a one-dimensional left-right scale in order to capture the positioning of the political parties and look at issues such as taxation, redistribution and privatization.

The research about European political parties and policy dimensions has been heavily influenced by cleavage theory. Cleavages are defined as conflicts that are rooted in transformations of social structures that are a result of the development of the modern political and economic systems (Bornschier 2009). According to Bartolini and Mair (1990) a cleavage is a division between two groups characterized by three components: a social-structural component, for example class or religion; a collective identity based on the social-structural component; an organizational manifestation of the collective identity. Lipset and Rokkan (1967) claim that four main cleavages have formed modern politics: the cleavage between Church and state; the cleavage between center and periphery; the cleavage between the agricultural sector and the industrial sector; class conflicts between workers and owners. According to Lipset and Rokkan the cultural divides of the earlier age froze in the 1920s as a result of the establishment of democracy. They were translated into the modern political conflicts of the European party systems centering on conflicts between social classes. Since then the conflict between workers and capital has dominated Western politics they claim. Yet in some countries the older cleavages have also influenced the political conflicts.

According to some scholars (Dalton, 2014; Franklin et al. 1992; Knutsen, 2004; van der Brug, 2010) cleavage theory has become less important in the last decades. These scholars claim that civil society has transformed as social norms and the structure of the labor market have changed. Fewer people are active in political or religious organizations or unions and thus they are less likely to vote for Christian democratic or social democratic parties respectively. Among scholars of party competition there are two different viewpoints of these changes. They are either seen as a de-alignment or as a re-alignment. According to the first perspective political institutions have lost legitimacy and individuals have weaker attachments to civil society and political organizations. The second perspective holds that new political conflicts have replaced the old cleavages.

2.3. The Other Dimension

In the last decades several scholars have argued that there is need for an alternative dimension to compliment the left–right dimension. It is claimed that the economic issues have become less salient and that there needs to be a greater focus on cultural issues. According to Inglehart (1977) as a result of rapid economic growth in Western societies in the post-war era non-economic issues concerning matters such as lifestyle and self-expression have become more important than physical and economic security. As stated by Kitchelt and McGann (1995) the rise of this cultural dimension creates an opportunity for new parties such as environmentalist parties and far-right parties to prosper.

There are different ways of studying the cultural dimension. There are scholars who focus mainly on how cultural factors affect party choice at the individual level. Some of them look at how religious affiliation influences the way people vote. For example, Knutsen (2004) has found that the cleavage between the denominational and nonreligious people is much bigger in Catholic and religiously mixed countries than in Protestant countries in Europe. Other scholars (van Kersbergen, 2003) focus on the influence of culture at the party level.

2.4. Are the Dimensions Interconnected?

Kriesi et al. (2006) and Schofield (1993) argue that it is important to make a distinction between the economic and the cultural dimension.

There are also those who think that the two dimensions should be combined. Some of them argue that they are two distinct dimensions but that they are connected to each other (De la O and Rodden, 2008; Elff, 2009; Hooghe et al., 2002; Kitschelt, 1994; Marks et al., 2006; Roemer, 1998; Spies and Franzmann, 2011). Van der Brug et al. (2009) look at the connection between religiosity and views on economic issues on the individual level and find that religious people are likely to be less in favor of economic redistribution as they find a comfort in religion which to some degree substitutes for economic subsidies. Other scholars claim that the economic and the cultural dimensions should be considered together as one single dimension (Inglehart and Norris, 2004; Scheve and Stasavage, 2006). According to Häusermann and Kriesi (2015) the boundaries between the two dimensions have become blurred and thus it is not possible to talk about them as distinct policy dimensions.

According to Kitschelt (1994) the parties in Western Europe compete along a single dimension which combines on the one hand left and libertarian values and on the other hand right and authoritarian values.

Hooghe et al. (2002) claim that there is need for a new political dimension ranging from GAL (Green, Alternative and Libertarian) to TAN (Traditional, Authoritarian and Nationalist) to compliment the left-right dimension. This dimension has also been applied by several scholars in order to measure not only views on the EU but on several sociocultural issues such as globalization, identity and multiculturalism (Oscarsson, 2017). According to Marks et al. (2006) the cultural dimension has become increasingly salient in Western Europe since the 1970s. According to them this dimension is oriented around issues that have to do with lifestyle, ecology and communal issues. They also claim that it is related to different issues in different countries. For example in some countries it is mainly connected to the conflict between secularism and religion and in others the conflict between immigration and nationalism. Thus they include categories that can capture all of these issues on each pole of the dimension such as lifestyle, ecology, immigration, cultural diversity and nationalism.

Hooghe et al. (2002) argue that the left-right dimension and the GAL-TAN dimension ought to be seen as ways to summarize how parties position themselves on important issues. Although there are differences between different countries they maintain that there is a generalizable pattern.

There could be various reasons for the different conclusions that the authors draw. Scheve and Stasavage (2006) and Roemer (1998) focus on the U.S. where the connection between the economic and cultural dimensions is different than in Europe. In the U.S. religion has for a long time had a larger influence and the cleavage between left and right has not been as deep as in Europe since it has lacked a large social democratic party.

Much of the research looks at the demand side of electoral politics and analyzes electoral surveys or similar surveys. Kriesi et al. (2006) and Hooghe et al. (2002) look at the supply side, the parties' positions, yet they also use quantitative method in their studies of the dimensions. This data can capture the salience of the dimensions but it is difficult for it to capture in more detail how the two dimensions interact with one another.

2.5. Cross-Country Variation

There are other scholars who argue that there are differences between European countries (Henjak 2010; Häusermann and Kriesi, 2015; Rovny and Polk, 2018). Knutsen (2004) points out that the cultural dimension is more salient in Catholic countries. According to Bakker et al. (2012) none of the European countries is unidimensional, instead they argue that in some countries the correlation between the dimensions is stronger than in others.

Häusermann and Kriesi (2015) also find that there are differences between the countries in Western Europe in which dimension is more important. The economic dimension is more important than the cultural dimension in Northern Europe. Rovny and Polk (2018) claim that in Protestant countries traditional parties position themselves on the economic dimension predominantly while new parties position themselves on the cultural dimension. Yet in Catholic countries the economic and the cultural dimensions are intertwined among traditional parties. According to Henjak (2010) the variation of salience between the different

countries is affected by the characteristic of the welfare state. Thus the economic dimension is more salient in social democratic welfare states while the cultural dimension is more salient in Christian democratic welfare states.

Most of the scholars who do cross-country studies of dimensionality find that there are differences between different countries in the salience of the dimensions and in how they relate to each other. Marks et al. (2006) underline that political contestation varies in the different European countries. Yet they argue that there is a basic pattern between them that can be identified.

2.6. This Thesis

This thesis, unlike most previous research, has a qualitative approach and uses interviews rather than surveys and can thus capture more complex arguments. Rather than looking at party documents or statements in the media it uses interviews with party representatives from different levels in order to attain a broad spectrum of views from within the parties.

It makes four contributions to the previous literature. First, it looks at the connection between the economic and the cultural dimensions. Using interviews makes it possible to achieve fuller answers than in surveys for example, and hence to examine how the two dimensions interact with each other in more intricate ways. Second, it looks at the salience of the dimensions in the two different countries. Here, again, the chosen method makes it possible to ask more complex questions to the individuals that work within the parties. Third, it examines the validity of the GAL-TAN dimension by looking at the motivation for the positions of party representatives. By taking into account the motivation behind the positions a more complex understanding of the positions is captured. Trying these answers on the GAL-TAN dimension makes it possible to scrutinize to what extent it can categorize more multifaceted positions. Fourth, it looks at the differences between the positions of the respondents from the two different countries in order to test whether the same theoretical approaches can be used in different national contexts.

While the connections between the dimensions and the variation of dimensionality in different countries have been studied in the previous research this thesis looks at these issues from a different approach which could provide new insights. Arguably the most significant contribution of this thesis is the examination of the validity of the GAL-TAN dimension.

3. Theoretical Framework

In this part the theoretical framework is presented.

3.1. The CHES Group

The theoretical framework for this thesis is based on the codes used by the CHES group. The CHES group gathers information about policy and ideological positions of the leadership of national political parties in EU countries as well as non-EU European countries. The data that they collect focuses on four areas: positions on the general left-right dimension, positions on the economic left-right dimension, positions on the GAL-TAN dimension and positions on European integration (Bakker et al., 2015: 144).

The CHES group uses expert surveys in order to measure the positions of the political parties. According to Bakker et al. (2015) expert surveys have several advantages. For example, they both consider what the parties say in their programs and the speeches of their representatives as well as which political decisions they make. They also have a high reliability since the standard deviations of the experts on the positions of the parties is relatively small.

3.2. Policy Positions

In order to categorize the positions of the respondents 20 statements were read and the respondents were asked to answer whether they agree or not and to give a motivation.

According to Bakker et al. (2015) the left-right dimension can classify political parties according to their positions on economic issues. Left parties are in favor of the government having an active role in the economy. Rightwing parties want the government to have a smaller role and are in favor of "privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending, and a leaner welfare state" (Bakker et al., 2015). In order to capture the positions of the respondents on the left-right dimension five statements based on the categories used by the CHES group were used. The statements that were used were: that there should be more

privatizations; that taxes should be lower; that there should be fewer regulations in the market; that there should be fewer public investments; that the welfare state should have a smaller role.

The positions on the GAL-TAN dimension were categorized according to the CHES codebook from 2014. Eight different themes were used for this dimension. For the GAL side civil liberties, environment, social lifestyle and multiculturalism were used. For the TAN side law and order, integration, nationalism and religion were used. Four of these themes represent opposing positions. The four other themes are independent (CHES codebook, 2014). For the themes that are considered as polar opposites a position against them were coded as a position in favor of the opposite theme. The themes that are independent were coded as in favor of or against. A position in favor of a GAL theme was coded as GAL and a position against it was coded as TAN and a position in favor of a TAN theme was coded as TAN and a position against it was coded as GAL.

Multiculturalism and integration are, accordingly with the CHES codebook, connected to each other. These issues are measured as, on the one hand, in favor of multiculturalism and, on the other hand, in favor of assimilation (CHES codebook, 2014). The statements that were used for these themes were first, whether they are in favor of the state supporting associations that represent different cultural groups and that promotes multiculturalism and second, whether they think that immigrants should adapt to the national values of the new country. Here specific policy measures were used for the questions, rather than general statements, in order to attain more concrete answers. It is assumed that it is important to consider both the intentions of the respondents as well as the likely consequences of favored political decisions in order to determine their positions.

Civil liberties and law and order are also related to each other according to the CHES codebook although the connection between them is less clear than the connection between the previous themes. For civil liberties the categories that were used were abortion, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and internal democracy. According to Bakker et al. (2015) parties on the GAL side are in favor of abortion and more democratic representation. Freedom of speech and freedom of religion were chosen since they are seen as fundamental liberal issues.

For abortion two statements were used. First, whether they think that abortion should be limited and second, whether they are in favor of freedom of consciousness, that is whether they think that midwifes who do not want to carry out an abortion should be allowed to decline. The second statement was used in order to achieve more nuanced answers. For example, while a majority of Swedes are in favor of abortion not all of them agree on how far the legislation should go in order to assure access to abortion. For freedom of speech the statement that was used was that freedom of speech should always be protected. For freedom of religion the statement was that it should be allowed to wear religious symbols in public places. For internal democracy the statement was that leading politicians ought to listen more to the members of the party. As mentioned it is not at all clear that the people who disagree with these statements are in favor of law and order or according to the CHES codebook: "strongly supports tough measures to fight crime" (CHES codebook, 2014: 21) since none of these things are illegal. Thus these themes were not coded as against law and order but as independent themes. For law and order the statements were that there should be tougher prison sentences to curb crime, that begging in the street should be prohibited and that there should be more surveillance. According to Bakker et al. (2015) TAN parties are in favor of more order and stability in society. Here it is clearer that those who oppose these policies are more in favor of civil liberties than people who favor them.

For the environment the statement that sustainable development should be given priority before economic growth was used (CHES codebook, 2014: 23). For social lifestyle two statements were used: that same-sex marriage should be legal and that same-sex couples should be allowed to adopt children. Bakker et al. states that GAL parties are in favor of same sex marriage (Bakker et al., 2015). The statement regarding adoption was added in order to attain more reliable answers for this theme. Nationalism was captured by a statement favoring maintaining national identity and traditions. According to the CHES codebook cosmopolitanism is defined as the opposite pole of nationalism (CHES codebook, 2014: 24). Cosmopolitanism was not used in the interview guide, yet it was brought up by some of the respondents. For religion different statements were used for the two different countries. For Spain a statement in favor of having public events in churches was used and in Sweden a statement favoring having graduation ceremonies in schools in church was used. The latter is

a heavily debated theme in Sweden while it is not considered an important issue in Spain, thus the question was changed.

3.3. Differences between Spain and Sweden

There are many cultural and political differences between Spain and Sweden. The role of religion and the relationship between Church and state have been different in the two countries as well as the modernization process and the transition to democracy. The relationship between the national governments and the regions in the two countries also differ. These differences can influence the findings of this thesis. They can have an influence on specific issues such as nationalism and religion. They can also influence the salience of and the connection between the different policy dimensions.

By including countries with many differences the thesis is more generalizable to a larger spectrum of European countries. If there are similarities in the findings in both countries the same patterns could also exist in other European countries. For example if there is overlapping between the dimensions in both Spain and Sweden it is also likely that there is overlapping between them in other European countries.

If there are differences between the findings in the two cases it is possible that these differences are correlated to the political and cultural differences between them.

Spain is majority Catholic and in Sweden most people identify as Protestant (Pew Research Center, 2017). In the late 19th century there was a confrontation between the Church and the state in Spain. In Sweden on the other hand the Church and the state managed to cooperate (Rovny and Polk, 2018).

According to Rovny and Polk (2018) the historical differences influence how the parties position themselves today. Protestant countries which had a state-church model tend to have higher salience of policy dimensions while in Catholic countries where there was a confrontation between the Church and the state the policy dimensions tend to be interconnected.

The differences are less important today but they still exist. The state and the Church are separate in the Spanish constitution yet the state has worked together with the Catholic Church through concordats and agreements. The Catholic Church also receives funding from the state directly and indirectly through tax relief (Sandberg and Doe, 2007: 10-11). Although the relationship between the Swedish state and the Swedish Church now resembles the relationship between the Swedish state and other denominations to a higher extent the law still regulates the organizational structure of the Church (Harding, 2016: 15-16).

In the 20th century the two countries developed along different paths. In Sweden the Social Democratic Party managed to overcome the social divisions in the interwar period as it was able to reach voters beyond its base (Berman, 2007: 162-166). In Spain on the other hand deep social divisions and polarization led to a breakdown of democracy in the 1930s. The right and the left both had maximalist goals and thus saw the other as illegitimate (Berman, 2019: 281). When Spain became a democracy in the 1970s the political parties and other important actors had come to see democracy as more important than fulfilling their own goals (Berman, 2019: 344-345).

The regions in Spain in general have more influence over political decisions at the national level then the Swedish regions. The relationship between the regions and the central state is also a much more politically loaded question in Spain than in Sweden (Marks et al., 2008).

3.4. Overlapping

From the beginning the idea for this thesis was to focus mainly on the dimensionality. However during the work with the interviews it was noticed that many of the answers were difficult to place in a single category. Several of them could fall into different categories and were at times contradictory. Hence the decision to focus on overlapping between and within the dimensions was made.

An overlapping is here defined as when an answer could be categorized as both economic and cultural, both left and right or both GAL and TAN. More specifically it is defined as an

answer which contains more than one of the above mentioned categories. For example if an economic argument was provided as motivation for a cultural position this is considered an overlap. Economic and cultural arguments are defined as statements that are in favor of or against the categories that are included in the CHES codebook. Another type of overlap is when a respondent claims that the economic and cultural issues are interconnected and provides an argument for this statement.

There were answers that were difficult to interpret. Some of them could be defined as indirectly in favor of or against one of the categories from the CHES codebook. However the criteria for a statement being classified as either for or against was high and thus only the statements that were clearly in favor of or against more than one of the issues in the codebook was coded as overlapping.

3.5. Convergence

This thesis also looks at whether the respondents from the two different countries diverge between ideological differences or whether they share the same views although they are categorized on different sides of the GAL-TAN dimension according to the previous research. When the respondents from parties on different sides of the GAL-TAN dimension share the same positions on economic or cultural issues this is coded as policy convergence. This was also difficult to define in some cases. On some issues respondents from different parties were not entirely unanimous in their opinions or had similar positions although there were small differences in their answers. Only the cases were all of the respondents, or all but one, were unanimous on an issue were coded as convergence.

3.6. Salience

It is also examined whether the respondents from the different countries consider the same issues and dimensions to be most important. Salience is defined in this thesis as when several of the respondents consider an issue or a dimension to be most important.

4. Method

In this part the steps taken in order to respond to the research questions are described. First the research design is described. In the next section the selection of the parties is elaborated. Then it is described how the interviews were planned and carried out. In the following section it is described how the analyzes of the data was made. Next the limitations of the thesis are considered. Then the ethics, quality and validity and generalizability of the thesis are considered.

4.1. Research Design

This thesis has two main aims. First, to look at the arguments of party representatives for their positions within the economic and cultural dimensions and the arguments for which dimension they think is most important of the economic and cultural dimensions. Second, to look at the policy scales, the left-right scale and the GAL-TAN scale, which are used to measure the positions of the parties. It is considered how useful these scales are when measuring the positions of parties and whether there are limitations to them. In the thesis representatives from six different center-right parties are interviewed.

A multiple case study with comparative elements is conducted in this thesis. A case study can be used when studying a specific phenomenon and when one is asking how- and why-questions (Yin, 2006). The research methods chosen for this thesis are qualitative interviews and a qualitative content analysis. Since the objective of the study is to look at motivations for opinions a qualitative method is more useful than a quantitative. A qualitative method can better understand more complex issues such as ideology as it can identify underlying factors and patterns within the text. The first part of the study, the text analysis, uses an inductive approach although theories are used for categorization. The transcripts from the interviews are analyzed and themes and patterns are identified. Then a deductive approach is used as it is tested whether the left-right and GAL-TAN scales can be used to capture the themes and patterns found in the analysis or whether there are issues where there is an overlap within GAL-TAN and between the two scales. The theoretical framework that is used is the

economic and cultural dimension and the policy scales left-right and GAL-TAN. The dimensions and scales are operationalized into the interviews.

4.2. Case Selection

The case selection was made in two steps. First the organizations that were considered most adequate for the thesis were selected and then the interviewees were chosen (Eriksson Zetterqvist and Ahrne, 2011: 42).

The parties selected for this thesis were chosen as they are all categorized as center-right parties. The choice to study center-right parties was made since it is argued in several of the previous studies that rightwing parties, for different reasons, tend to have a high dimensionality. Since the aim of the thesis is to look at the cultural dimension and its connection to the economic dimension it seems as if these parties are relevant for this aim.

In order to strengthen the validity and the generalizability of the thesis political representatives from two different countries were interviewed. The decision was made to choose two countries that are politically and culturally different from each other in order to see whether the same theoretical framework can be used and whether the findings from the two cases will be similar or different from each other.

Spain and Sweden belong to different categories of countries regarding issues such as historical legacy, religious denomination, church-state relation and regionalism. Spain is one of the countries were democracy collapsed in the interwar period (Berman, 2019) and Sweden is one of the countries were democracy remained intact (Berman, 2007).

In Western Europe there are Protestant countries, Catholic countries and religiously mixed countries. Southern Europe is mostly Catholic while the Scandinavian countries as well as England are majority Protestant. In Spain a majority of the population identifies as Catholic while in Sweden most people identify as Protestant (Pew Research Center, 2017).

Regarding church-state relations the European countries can be divided into three different categories: State Church systems, Separation systems and Hybrid systems. In State Church systems there are close connections between the state and a specific religious community which are often based on constitutional law. Historically Sweden has been a State Church system. In Separation systems such as the Netherlands the state is prohibited by the constitution from meddling in the activities of the Church. In Hybrid systems the state and the Church are separated by the constitution yet the state and the Church cooperate within some areas through agreements. Spain is an example of a Hybrid system (Sandberg and Doe, 2007: 3-5).

There are also differences in the level of regionalism in the two countries. According to Marks et al. (2008) regional authority can be measured as self-rule and shared rule. They look at 42 countries in Europe and North America from 1950 to 2006 and find that 29 of them have significant self-rule but low or no shared rule while 13 of them have both high self-rule and high shared rule. Sweden is one of the few countries were regionalism has decreased. According to the Regional Authority Index (RAI) Sweden's regionalism dropped from 13.5 to 10.0 in the post-war era. While the self-rule of regions has increased in Sweden the shared rule of the regions (län) was halted as the upper chamber, composed of representatives from the län, of the Riksdag was abolished in 1971. In Spain on the other hand, as in other countries, the regional authority has increased, to a large extent as a result of the wave of minority nationalism in the 1970s.

Interviews with representatives from six different center-right parties from Sweden and Spain was conducted for this thesis. The representatives have positions at different levels within the parties. Since party representatives have experience from working within the party they have valuable knowledge about the positions of the party. Their views are also likely to reflect the views of the party.

Before deciding to interview representatives the option of interviewing members was considered. Since representatives have more knowledge of the parties this option was chosen instead. It was also considered to include party programs in the analysis. However the

decision was made to not include any documents within the analysis although some documents were read in order to prepare for the interviews.

The criteria established for the representatives that were contacted for the interviews were that they had to have a position within the party at the national or municipal level. They also had to have some experience and thus to have worked within the parties for at least a year. The aim was to have a diverse group of representatives of the different parties. Thus people from different levels of the parties were chosen. The goal was also to have an equal number of female and male representatives as well as people of different ages. The aim was also to include people from different parts of the two countries as well as people from larger cities and from smaller municipalities. Representatives from the following parties were included in the study; in Sweden: Moderaterna, Kristdemokraterna, Centerpartiet and Liberalerna; in Spain: the Partido Popular and Ciudadanos. Three to five persons from each party were chosen in order to have a better representation. 13 of the representatives were women and 12 were men. They were between 18 and 70 and the average age was 40.

A snowball method was used to find the representatives (Eriksson Zetterqvist and Ahrne, 2011: 43). In the first interviews the respondents were asked if they knew anyone else that might be interested in participating in an interview. Some of the respondents helped out with finding other party representatives or gave advice about persons who might be interested.

The parties of the two countries also provided a good balance as three of them are classified as GAL and three as TAN by the previous research (Sveriges Radio, 2018; Gómez-Reino and Plaza-Colodro, 2018).

4.3. Data Collection

For this thesis interviews has been chosen as a data-gathering method. Interviews can be used in a qualitative study when the aim of the study is to look at how a certain group of people perceive an issue (Dalen, 2015: 15). In this thesis the aim is to understand the positioning of representatives of center-right parties in economic and cultural issues. Interviews allow for a more in-depth study of individual experiences which is important for this study as it aims at

understanding the motive for the positioning of representatives of political parties. Therefor semi-structured interviews with relatively open questions have been used in order to have a more open conversation and to let the interviewees speak more freely about their opinions. They are similar to an everyday conversation yet they have a clear purpose and structure (Kvale, 2007).

Semi-structured interviews allow for some structure at the same time as they allow for a more open conversation. The structure makes it easier to connect the interview to the theoretical framework and to use suitable categories. Many of the answers from the interviewees contrasted with the suppositions of the theories, thus it was important to not stick strictly to the interview-guide but to ask follow up questions when these topics came up. It also allowed for asking the questions from the interview-guide in an order that seemed most suitable for each specific interview.

For the interview guide questions connected to the theoretical framework were chosen, which is the left-right and GAL-TAN scales and the theories regarding dimensionality. In the first part of the interview statements related to the scales were read and the interviewees were asked to respond if they agreed or disagreed and to motivate why they agreed or why they disagreed. Thus statements that correspond to economic and sociocultural issues were created. Follow-up questions were asked in order to better understand the motivation for their views.

In the second part of the interview guide the respondents were asked whether they consider the economic or the cultural dimension to be most important and why as well as how they perceive the policy scales. As it was difficult for some interviewees to select one of the categories they were asked to elaborate on why they thought they were as important or why they though other issues were more important. This part allowed for understanding more in-depth how the interviewees position themselves and which issues they prioritize as well as how they perceive the dimensions. The questions were clarified if the interviewee did not understand them. In some cases the order of the questions were changed as the interviewee had more to say about some issues and were less interested in others. Initially the second part was used in the beginning of the interview guide. The order of the interview questions were changed later on.

An interview guide was made in order to capture the different issues on the left-right and GAL-TAN dimensions as elaborated in section 3.2. For the left-right scale five statements were chosen. For the GAL-TAN scale 15 statements were chosen. More questions were chosen for the GAL-TAN scale than for the left-right scale as it includes more variables. Yet the decision was made to not use a too high amount of questions in order to have a better focus. As mentioned it is important to take into account that there are many economic, social and cultural differences between Sweden and Spain. Some of the questions were more topical in Sweden, some were more topical in Spain and some were current in both countries when the interviews were conducted. One question was changed for the Spanish translation as it dealt with an issue, whether graduations should be held in a church, which is not important in Spain. Instead a question about whether public events should be held in churches in general was used.

There is a risk that persons on high positions will give the same answers that they usually give to the media as they are used to being interviewed and are thus unlikely to say something original (Eriksson Zetterqvist and Ahrne, 51: 2011). Therefor the interviewer tried to ask follow up questions in order to get fuller answers.

11 of the interviews were conducted face to face, five through Skype and three by telephone. The interviews took between half an hour and one hour. Six of the interviews were conducted through email.

The representatives were contacted through email. They were asked to participate in interviews. In the first contact little information about the subject of the thesis was provided. To those who showed interest in participating more information was provided. The basic premises of the thesis were given but not in great detail. The idea was that they should be able to prepare themselves for the interviews yet that they should not know which questions were going to be asked in order to get more spontaneous answers. The idea was that this would make it less likely that they would adapt the answers to what they thought that the interviewer expected them to say. This was obviously not possible for the interviews that were sent by email.

According to Eriksson Zetterqvist and Ahrne (2011) when the answers from the interviews are more or less the same and when one sees a pattern in the answers one is starting to reach saturation. Thus when the same answers were given by respondents several times the decision to stop the data collection was made.

4.4. Data Analysis

To analyze the interviews a content analysis was chosen. A content analysis can be used when a large amount of text needs to be analyzed. It is a useful method to find the most important themes within the texts and to discover patterns within it. For a content analysis a set of themes are established and then the parts that fall into each category are counted (Silverman, 1993: 123). It is usually used to count the number of manifest statements within a text but it can also be used for finding meaning within the text that is not stated explicitly (Bergström and Boréus 2012: 45).

The content analysis has to be connected to the research question and the theories used in the thesis. To do the analysis themes defined by the theories were used as well as themes not defined by the theories, developed during the work with the content analyses, in order to identify issues omitted by the theories. The themes were then divided into subthemes. The data was then coded according to these themes.

First the transcriptions were read several times in order to achieve a thorough understanding of their content. A coding scheme was created for the statements that were coded (Bergström and Boréus, 2012: 49). The parts that were most relevant according to the themes were coded. The themes were based on the left-right scale and the GAL-TAN scale as defined by Hooghe et al. (2002). The coded statements were then analyzed. Different quotes from the interviews were then selected for each theme. A chart was then made with the names of the interviewees on one side and the themes on the top. The statements of every respondent were filled in for each theme. This made it easier to get an overview and to identify patterns between the themes and interviewees.

For the first part of the interview the positions that the respondents took were coded. They were coded as either economic positions or cultural positions. Then codes were created within these categories. The economic positions were coded as either left or right and the cultural positions were coded as either GAL or TAN. The next step was to code the arguments for the positions. Similarly they were coded as economic or cultural arguments and then as left or right arguments for the economic arguments and GAL or TAN for the cultural arguments. The arguments were defined according to the categories as defined by the CHES codebook (CHES codebook, 2014). An economic position or argument was defined as favoring or opposing taxes, welfare, the public and private sector and market regulation. A cultural position or argument was defined as favoring or opposing environmental sustainability, civil liberties, nationalism and the other categories from the CHES codebook. A GAL position or argument was thus defined as promoting the GAL positions or opposing the TAN positions. A TAN position or argument was defined as an argument that promotes TAN positions or opposes GAL positions. Having coded the positions and arguments the instances where there was an overlap, where a respondent took an economic position but used a cultural argument or took a cultural position but used an economic argument were identified. The same analysis was applied to the left-right dimension.

For the second part of the interview it was coded whether they thought that the economic or the cultural dimensions were most important or if they thought that they were as important and the reason why. Different issues that they considered to be important were discussed in this part of the interview and some of these issues were difficult to categorize as either economic or cultural. The arguments that the respondents made for interconnectedness between the dimensions were also coded.

The next step was to see if there was convergence between the respondents' positions from the two different countries. The answers for each category were examined in order to see if there were issues were the parties from the same country have comparable opinions.

Then it was examined whether there was any dimension or issue that was especially salient among the respondents in order to see whether there were any patterns along national or ideological lines.

4.5. Limitations

It is important to be aware that the interviewers' preunderstanding of the political parties could influence the interpretation of the answers from the respondents. It is therefore useful to use an inductive analysis as the answers are interpreted in an open manner.

The usage of semi structured interviews also creates a risk for bias. It is possible that the interviewer will focus on issues that she or he considers important while leaving out other issues that are deemed less important. It is therefore important to keep an open mind during the interviews and try to focus on many different issues. It is also important to not influence the respondents in any way during the interviews and to not interrupt them.

It is also possible that the respondents could adapt or change the answers so that they fit the expectations of the interviewer. It is thus important that the interviewer remains neutral during the interview and does not influence the respondents by stating opinions about the answers or facial expressions. It is also possible that the interviewer could misinterpret the answers of the respondents. The interviewer can try to avoid this by asking for clarification if an answer is unclear during the interview or by contacting them afterwards.

The representatives interviewed cannot be said to represent all the members of the party, let alone the party as a whole. Yet it was attempted to include people with many different backgrounds in order to include different perceptions. The purpose of the thesis is mainly to analyze their opinions.

There is also a time limit that might affect the thesis. Initially the plan was to conduct the interviews with the Spanish respondents in Spain but as it was not possible to go there they were conducted via Skype, telephone and email.

4.6. Ensuring quality

It is also possible that the coding of the interviews will be biased. There is a risk that the statements are coded in an arbitrary way by the author of the thesis. To ensure quality a test was made. The quotes from the interviews were written down on notes. Each theme that was coded was written on an envelope. Then the author put each quote into one of the envelopes. A colleague was asked to conduct the test. An 86 percent correlation was found. When the test was repeated a 93 percent correlation was found.

4.7. Ethical considerations

Before every interview the interviewee was asked for permission to record the interview. Every interviewee was asked if they wanted to be anonymous. It was also made clear to them that the information would be treated with confidentiality and that they could decide which parts of the interviews would be used in the thesis. The recorded interviews and the transcripts were kept confident. Politicians today are a vulnerable group therefor it is very important to be careful with the usage of the data.

4.8. Validity and Generalizability

Creswell (2014) states that one way in which validity in qualitative research can be attained is by showing the respondents the results and ask them if they find them to be accurate. One can also, if necessary, conduct a follow-up interview. Thus it was important to contact the respondents who participated in this thesis and ask them if they wanted to look at the text. In some cases follow-up questions were asked when the answers were unclear.

One can also increase the validity by using thick descriptions of the findings and by reflecting on the bias of the researcher (Creswell 2014). Thus the results from the interviews as well as interpretations of them are provided in this thesis. A description of potential bias of the researcher is provided in section 4.5.

Yin (2007) claims that a study can achieve external validity if it can be replicated. If it is possible to replicate the theoretical framework and methods used in one case to another case the validity of the study is strengthened. Two cases were studied in this thesis.

According to Yin (2007) a qualitative study is not generalizable in the same way that a quantitative study is. However qualitative studies can use analytical generalization through applying the findings from one case to another case. If more than one case supports the same theory the empirical results become stronger. Thus two cases are studied in this thesis. The same framework is used for both countries; only one interview question was changed. It is important to state that the representatives interviewed in this thesis do not represent representatives of other center-right parties in Europe. Yet since two different countries were looked at it can be analytically generalized to some extent if there are similar patterns in the findings. It is also important to make clear that the representatives interviewed in this thesis do not represent all representatives of the political parties that they belong to. However their answers can give an indication of the political positions of the parties.

4.9. Reliability

According to Creswell (2014) one way to strengthen the reliability of the study is to look through the transcripts of the interviews and make sure that there are no errors. Another method is to make sure that the definitions of the codes are clear so that they do not change. Thus the codes that were used were clearly defined and the data was constantly compared with the codes in order to make sure that the coding is adequate.

The reliability is also strengthened in this thesis by documenting the procedure of conducting the thesis as carefully as possible (Yin 2007).

5. Results

In this part the results from the content analysis are presented party by party. The most important positions and arguments of the respondents are elaborated and overlapping between and within the dimensions is explained as well as dimensionality. The parties from each country are summed up and possible convergence is explained.

5.1. Spanish Parties

5.1.1. Ciudadanos

The respondents from Ciudadanos (Cs) are on the right on economic issues in general. They are in favor of deregulations of the market as they think that the Spanish economy has been too regulated. Respondent 4 claims that "the market only needs the regulations that are necessary in order to secure the protection of the consumer and the free competition." They are also in favor of lower taxes. Respondent 3 argues that income taxes have to be compared to the level of welfare to know which taxes are necessary in order to be able to provide adequate social services to the citizens. Yet some of them are more on the left on some issues. The Cs-respondents are not in favor of a smaller welfare state although they think that it could be made more efficient and that there are unnecessary expenditures that could be cut. Neither do they necessarily favor privatizations over public investments. They argue that both sectors are important and that efficiency is what matters most. Respondent 1 states: "I do not think that all social relations have to be controlled by the public sector and I am even less in favor of the contrary principle."

The respondents tend to believe that there is no contradiction between economic growth and sustainability and that new technology will create new models of production that will be less harmful to the environment. For example respondent 4 claims that "sustainability and growth go together, I think that the way forward is the circular economy." Respondent 1 claims that the development of solar energy is an example of how economic development and sustainability can coalesce.

The respondents favor promoting cultural associations although some of them think that it is not the role of the state to support them and that some activities should not be supported. Respondent 2 thinks that it is important to promote cultural diversity: "getting to know other cultures makes people more open minded; I think that an open society is a richer and freer society." Respondent 1 agrees but argues that the support should not be unconditional as it is paid by the taxpayers. The respondent is also critical of supporting sectorial interests such as the financial support that the Catalonian government gives to Catalan organizations.

Regarding abortion respondent 1 thinks that the Spanish abortion law has led to a trivialization of abortion: "Abortion is a tragic situation and a difficult situation for the mother and the family and thus it should not be taken lightly." The respondent does not think that abortion is a right since it is about a human life. Respondent 2 thinks that women should have the right to decide but that it is an unpleasant procedure for the women, thus the respondent thinks that it is important to try to avoid it:

> We have to try to avoid those decisions to the best we can so that no one does it for economic reasons. The authorities cannot infringe on a person's freedom because the person has to decide whether they want to have a child or not but we have to use measures in order to make sure that the decision is not made for economic reasons.

All of the respondents are also in favor of the freedom of consciousness for midwifes that do not want to carry out an abortion if it goes against their moral convictions. They are in favor of the rights of LGBT persons to marry and to adopt children.

The respondents are in favor of freedom of speech and think that there should be few limits to it. Respondent 2 and respondent 1 argue that it is important to defend freedom of speech although you might not like the opinions of the other person as it is a democratic right. On the issue of religious symbols some are more critical of them while others think that they should be allowed. Respondent 3 argues that since the Spanish constitution does not state that Spain is a confessional state nor a secular state but a non-confessional state religious expression have to be accepted to some extent:

For the moment it will depend on the relations between Spain and the Vatican through the concordat which still establish the limits in this area. We have different types of education. There are Catholic schools with basically a religious education, subsidized by the state and it is very difficult to remove the Catholic symbols in those schools. On the other hand the use of religious symbols in public schools should be banned.

Most of the respondents think that politicians should listen to party members yet respondent 4 argues that to have a process where members can influence all the time would lead to less responsibility in the decision making process and that it would make all political strategy inviable.

The respondents are in favor of promoting national identity and traditions. Respondent 1 argues that it is important to recognize the Spanish culture which, the respondent argues, Catalan nationalists have tried to undermine:

I think that it is important that citizens have awareness of belonging to the political community and a certain pride, without falling into chauvinism and without falling into nationalism, of being a part of a nation, Spain, which has the experience that it has, with an important history.

Regarding adaption of Spanish values by immigrants respondent 1 thinks that it is important: "They should respect the best of the European culture and tradition and if they identify with Spanish traditions so much the better but it should not be demanded from them as that would be counterproductive." Respondent 2 argues that Spanish society today is very diverse and thus it is not necessary that they adapt to it. Regarding whether public events could be held in a church respondent 2 does not think that it is important: "For a religious ceremony it makes sense but for a non-religious ceremony it is not necessary." Respondent 3 is in principle against it but since tradition is very important in Spain, since it has been an extremely Catholic country a large part of Spanish culture is produced in Catholic buildings: "Thus demanding that public ceremonies are not held in churches goes against the popular will of the Spanish people."

Regarding law and order some are in favor of tougher measures while others are not. Respondent 3 thinks that the Spanish penalty scale is good and does not think that having tougher punishments would lead to less criminality. The respondents are not in favor of a prohibition of begging. Respondent 2 thinks that instead of prohibiting it they should be supported through social services. The respondents have different opinions about surveillance. Respondent 1 does not think that there should be more surveillance: "Although the intention is to protect people's liberty and security it can put the liberty and security of people in danger."

The respondents tend to think that economic and sociocultural issues are as important and interconnected. Respondent 1 thinks that: "the sociocultural issues are much more important than the economic issues, although it is a bit difficult to categorize the issues in such narrow categories." Respondent 3 thinks that the most important issue is European integration and argues that it is both economic and sociocultural, the two are connected the respondent argues: "For example there is a lot of economic collaboration between Spain and Latin-America for cultural reasons, because they speak the same language and also share cultural similarities. For the same reason there are fewer Spaniards who are involved in economic activities in Europe." Thus the respondent believes that closer cultural ties between the EU countries would lead to more economic collaboration.

There is overlapping between the dimensions on the environmental issue since the respondents claim that there is no contradiction between sustainability and growth. Also on multiculturalism there is overlapping. Several of the respondents argue in favor of limiting support for cultural associations since they do not want to spend taxpayers' money on them. Regarding abortion respondent 2 argues that the welfare state should support them in order to try to avoid abortions. There is also overlapping within the GAL-TAN dimension. Because the respondents do not believe that there is a contradiction between ecological sustainability and growth and are in favor of both it makes this category impossible to measure. Regarding freedom of religion respondent 3 argues in favor of Catholic schools supported by the state. This could also be considered as a support for religious principles in politics since public money is given to schools that promote a religious education. On the issue of nationalism

respondent 1 argues that the government should try to instill a pride of their country among Spaniards. Yet the respondent embraces multiculturalism.

5.1.2. Partido Popular

The respondents from the Partido Popular (PP) are in favor of the free market, yet some of them think that there needs to be some regulations of it. Respondent 6 thinks that the market should be less regulated but that there also has to be regulations in order to limit the excesses of capitalism. Regarding public investments respondent 5 claims that they can be effective if the governance is efficient. The respondent argues that there needs to be a balance between the public and the private as some are managed better by private companies and others are better managed by public companies. Respondent 6 argues that the private market is something positive but that it would be detrimental if private companies dominated social services as they would only prioritize economic benefits. Regarding the welfare state respondent 5 argues that the state needs to guarantee the welfare of all its citizens to make up for the deficiencies within the system and to avoid inequality. Respondent 6 argues that the welfare state is something good but that it is important to know how to pay for it:

> In the northern European countries people are more aware about how to pay for the welfare state. Here in the countries of southern Europe it is the other way around. We think that since it is public it does not cost money. Thus the welfare state has to be controlled.

There are different opinions among the respondents regarding ecological sustainability. Respondent 7 argues that we have to prioritize sustainability since economic growth is not possible without it. Respondent 5 thinks that it is compatible with economic and ecological sustainability.

The respondents are in favor of associations that promote cultural diversity yet respondent 6 does not think that they should be supported by the state.

The respondents are in favor of limiting the right to abortion. Respondent 5 argues that: "it is unacceptable that, as a result of the new law, a 16 year old can have a free abortion but is not allowed to buy cigarettes." The respondent thinks that abortion is necessary under specific circumstances, such as when there are complications for the mother or the fetus or after a rape. But the respondent does not think that abortion is a right because if it was, the respondent asks: "where is the right to life of the unborn?" The respondents are also in favor of the freedom of consciousness as they argue that midwifes have the right to refuse to carry out an abortion and that their decision should be respected. Furthermore they are in favor of LGBT rights.

The respondents are in favor of freedom of speech as long as it is not used in order to offend anyone. Respondent 5 argues that the left often uses freedom of speech as an excuse for encouraging violence:

> One has to always respect the right to honor. The freedom of expression cannot undermine other rights. For the left it is permissible that a singer encourage people to kill a policeman in the texts of their songs or that one defends terrorism. For us this is not freedom of expression. The maxim "my liberty ends where the other person's liberty begins" has to be our roadmap.

Regarding freedom of religion respondent 7 argues that "it is important to allow people to wear religious symbols in order to defend individual freedom." Respondent 6 states that: "since Spain is a non-confessional state it should not be allowed in public places as they could be interpreted as offensive to people with different values." As to whether politicians should listen to the members of the party respondent 6 argues that politicians can make up their own minds without listening to either the members or the people.

The respondents are in favor of promoting national culture and traditions. Respondent 5 thinks that it is important:

In Spain there is a serious problem with national identity, with belonging and with the defense of the national unity. In Spain there are detractors of the national unity and we cannot allow that one breaks that which has taken so many centuries to create.

Respondent 7 argues that it is important to know where you come from in order to know where you are going and that it is important in order to create a unity within the society. Respondent 6 thinks that it is important to maintain the national identity but do not see it as a hindrance to respect other cultures. Regarding whether immigrants should adapt to Spanish values respondent 5 argues that it is important to create synergies between the culture of one's home country and the culture of the new country and thus adapt to the new country without losing one's national identity. Regarding whether public events could be held in a church respondent 6 thinks that they can be held there because it should be as inclusive as possible, and include religious as well as non-religious people.

The respondents have different opinions regarding law and order. Respondent 6 claims that: "punishments have an impact up to a certain limit, then, over that limit it does not have any impact on the criminal." Respondent 5 argues that: "if criminals are kept off the street that means that the victims of crime can feel safer." Regarding prohibition of begging respondent 7 says that "begging does not provide a good image to any city." The respondent thinks that people who beg should receive assistance from social services and if they continue to beg it should be prohibited. Regarding surveillance respondent 5 thinks that it is important to have strong security systems but without threatening individual liberties. Respondent 6 does not think that surveillance is necessary and that it is more important to protect people's privacy.

The respondents have different views of which dimension is most important. Respondent 6 thinks that economy is most important as it is the basis of everything: "if the economy functions the other issues will also function". Respondent 5 thinks that both are important and interrelated but if the economy is not functioning it is impossible to solve the other problems. Respondent 7 thinks that economic and individual freedom is the most important issue as well as the unity of Spain and other issues. The respondent also argues that defending the family is very important and that that is dependent on well-functioning education, healthcare and pensions.

Some of the answers from the respondents of PP overlap between the economic and the cultural dimensions. On the environment for example respondent 5 argues that growth contributes to sustainable development. Respondent 6 is in favor of supporting multiculturalism yet does not think that public money should be spent on it. Another issue that overlaps is law and order. Respondent 7 thinks that beggars should be supported by the welfare state rather than prohibiting it. Issues that overlap on the GAL-TAN scale are the environment, integration, freedom of consciousness and nationalism. Respondent 6 thinks that it is important to defend Spanish culture and national identity yet does not think that that stops anyone from respecting other peoples' cultures and is in favor of multiculturalism. Respondent 5 argues that immigrants should create synergies and thus adapt to Spanish culture and at the same time keep their own traditions and cultures.

The PP-respondents tend to think that economy is the most important dimension yet they do also consider culture to be immensely important.

5.1.3. Summary Spanish Parties

The respondents from the Spanish parties are generally on the right on economic issues although they are more to the left on some issues such as the welfare state. On the cultural issues they converge on some issues while they differ on others. They are both in favor of promoting national culture and identity although they express themselves in different ways. Similarly on religion most of the Cs-respondents are more in favor of secular values than the PP-respondents yet they are both favorable to holding events in religious buildings. Also on abortion PP is more in favor of limiting it while Cs are more open to it yet they do not think that it should be unlimited. However on freedom of consciousness they coincide. They also agree on LGBT rights. On integration Cs are more in favor of multiculturalism while PP leans more towards favoring assimilation.

5.2. Swedish Parties

5.2.1. Centerpartiet

The respondents from Centerpartiet (C) have similar opinions on economic issues although there are some differences between them. Most of them do not think that the welfare state should be smaller. Respondent 8 thinks that it is important to have a well-functioning welfare system but that it is less important if it is carried out by private or public actors. Respondent 9 however thinks that:

> it is something positive if private actors in for example elderly care enter the market but if all elderly care is privatized and then the private actors wants to exit the market it would create a problem as someone has to look out for the elderly.

Respondent 10 on the other hand thinks that the state should be minimal and only handle the most necessary activities and that the private sector could manage the welfare sector. The respondent also argues that there is a contradiction between welfare and immigration:

> You have to make a choice there. Either you tighten the immigration policy or you take away subsidies and the possibilities to enjoy the welfare state. That is my solution, that you take away the possibility to enjoy the welfare system for them.

They are all in favor of lower taxes and argue that it leads to more individual freedom. Yet some of them think that taxes should be higher for products that are detrimental for the environment. They are in favor of having less market regulations as it makes it easier for companies and thus lead to higher employment. In general they are also in favor of privatizations although some of them are also in favor of public investments within some sectors.

Some of the respondents think that there are situations where one has to prioritize the climate before economic growth. Respondent 12 on the other hand sees no contradiction between them: "To me sustainability is economic, ecologic and social. The three should be equal, which means that one of them does not have to go against the others but you cannot prioritize one over the others." Respondent 11 states that it is important to support green companies and

locally produced food and to give subsidies to farmers: "this leads to less pollution as a result of shorter transports."

The respondents are in favor of multiculturalism and associations that promote cultural diversity. Respondent 9 argues that it is important:

> Culture is the glue that binds us together as people and if we do not have publicly financed associations then we will have a quite homogenized culture because then it will be the commercial culture which is successful and the rest will disappear and I think that it is important to have diversity.

Yet some of them do not think that the state ought to finance these activities.

They are also all in favor of the right to abortion. Respondent 12 argues that "one should have the right to decide over one's own body." A majority of them is also against the freedom of consciousness for midwifes who do not want to carry out an abortion although respondent 10 thinks that they should be allowed to decline as the right of the individual has to come first and that it could be solved organizationally. They are all in favor of LGBT-rights.

There are some differences regarding where they think that the limit should be for freedom of speech. Respondent 8 argues that people should be able to have whatever opinions they want but that violent extremist groups should be banned. Respondent 9 thinks that you should be able to say whatever you want but not be able to offend anyone. They are in favor of allowing people to wear religious symbols at work places and at schools. Respondent 12 claims that since we have freedom of religion those symbols should be accepted. In general they think that politicians need to be sensitive to what the members of the party think.

The respondents do not think that national identity should be promoted by the state or by politicians. Respondent 10 and respondent 8 think that it could be promoted by individuals and civil society instead. Regarding whether immigrants should adapt to Swedish values it depends on how one defines Swedish values. It is seen by the respondents, for example, as following Swedish law and as promoting gender equality. The respondents do not think that it

is important that the school graduation ceremony is held in a church. Respondent 9 thinks that it should not be held in a church since not everyone is a Christian. "We abolished the state religion in Sweden a long time ago and thus the graduation ceremony should not be religious."

There are some differences of opinion regarding law and order. Some of them are in favor of harsher punishments for crime while others are not. Respondent 12 is not in favor of harsher punishments as there is no evidence that proves that it leads to a lower crime rate although the respondent thinks that it might be necessary to increase the severity of punishments for crimes against the person. They are not in favor of criminalizing begging. They have somewhat different views on surveillance. Respondent 12 is not in favor of it because it does not lead to a more safe society. Respondent 10 thinks that it is necessary sometimes and is in favor of investing in the police but does not want to have a bigger state in general.

Most of the C-respondents think that the dimensions are equally important. Respondent 11 thinks that the economic issues are most important for C but do also think that the basic values of the party are important. Respondent 10 agrees that the economic issues are most important for the party but argues that the environmental issues are intertwined with the economy as the environmental policies demand a lot of economic policies: "such as premiums or lower taxes for green cars or emission allowances for example. Everything is connected to the economy all the time." Respondent 8 claims that they are as important: "It is important to make it easier to start companies and for the companies to hire people, and that goes hand in hand with the integration which is also an important issue for C."

To Respondent 9 the most important issue is that you should have the same opportunities regardless of whether one lives in the center of the municipality or on the outskirts of the municipality:

The prosperity of the rural areas is also a precondition for the growth of the whole Swedish economy. Yet not everyone understands that. C understands the situation in the rural areas as we have our roots here and our voters live here. Thus we receive input from people who live here. Our issues are important for those who live outside of the

city centers and who are owners of small companies, runs a farm or in other ways try to be small company owners, with little access to broadband and, well things that people from the city center do not understand: "of course you have WiFi right?" No, we do not. We live out there and we know that there is no broadband access.

The views of the C-respondents overlap on several issues over the dimensions. Respondent 12 argues that ecological sustainability and economic growth are dependent on each other. Another respondent claims that the welfare state cannot be sustained with generous immigration policies. The environment issue overlaps between the dimensions. As does multiculturalism as respondent 8 is in favor of it but does not think that they should be promoted financially. Within the GAL-TAN dimension there is also overlapping. Respondent 9 argues that Swedish national culture should be promoted but does also think that other cultures should be promoted at the same time. Respondent 10 thinks that midwifes should be able to decline to carry out an abortion since it is their right as individuals to do so thus arguing in favor of civil liberties while taking a TAN position.

5.2.2. Kristdemokraterna

The representatives of Kristdemokraterna (KD) have somewhat different views on economic issues. Some of the respondents think that the welfare state should be expanded. Respondent 15 thinks that it depends on how you define it:

I am convinced that all people should have access to healthcare, education – the classic welfare things. The safety net should be there for everyone. Thus you could say that it should be larger since there are people who fall through the net; maybe it should also be improved.

There are also those who think that the welfare state has to be smaller. Respondent 16 argues that the welfare state is important but that it sometimes is too intrusive into people's private life and for example tries to regulate which parent should take care of the children. They are in favor of lower taxes. Respondent 14 argues that: "Higher taxes do not lead to higher revenue or more welfare. It is the other way around, which is easy to prove. Lower taxes leads

to more prosperity in the long run." The respondents also favor deregulation of markets. Respondent 13 thinks that there should be fewer regulations as it makes it easier for the companies to create growth and that deregulations also make it easier to build more houses. Most of them are in favor of privatizations. Respondent 16 argues that having private actors in the welfare system makes it possible for disabled people to choose from whom they want help. They differ in their views on the public sector. Respondent 13 thinks that there needs to be more public investments in welfare. Respondent 16 on the other hand argues that public investments are expensive and often unnecessary.

The respondents from KD differ in their opinions about sustainable development. For example respondent 15 does not think that there is a contradiction between ecological sustainability and economic growth and thinks that technological innovations will contribute to solving the environmental problems.

The respondents are in favor of promoting civil society but have different views on cultural associations. Respondent 14 argues that the support to cultural associations has to be questioned. The respondent thinks that it is important to: "support associations that help people who are in need and help them to be themselves but not associations where, for example, women and men are not allowed to sit together and where women are not treated equally."

Regarding abortion respondent 14 argues that the period when one is allowed to have an abortion should be limited. The respondent says that it is disgraceful that today we try to save fetuses at the same time as it is allowed to have an abortion so close to the limit. Respondent 16 argues that midwifes who do not want to carry out an abortion should be allowed to work: "most of the people who want to be midwifes do not want to be it because they want to carry out abortions. It works in other countries so why should it not work here?" The respondents are in favor of same-sex marriage. Some of the respondents are in favor of the right of same-sex couples to adopt children. Respondent 16 on the other hand argues that same-sex couples should not have the right to adopt children as it could be harmful to the children.

There are different opinions on where the limit should be for freedom of speech. Respondent 15 thinks that the Swedish laws work well. Respondent 14 thinks that it should be guided by dignity and that one should not be allowed to insult religious people for example. Regarding freedom of religion respondent 14 says that: "you can wear anything you like but you cannot be allowed to cover your face in public as it should be possible to identify people."

Regarding internal democracy within political parties respondent 16 thinks that politicians should listen to the members of the party to some extent but that it can also create problems as the party gets stuck in internal negotiations that can drag on for a long time.

The opinions about the importance of national identity and traditions are also different among the respondents. Respondent 14 thinks that it is important to carry on the culture and tradition of your country but stresses that it is important to promote a good nationalism that is not discriminatory against other people. Respondent 13 argues that it is important to promote national identity and traditions in order to open up the Swedish culture and traditions to newly arrived immigrants because it is important to feel that you belong to a context. Regarding the adaption to Swedish values by immigrants respondent 15 does not think that Swedish values exist. The respondent says that KD is based on Christian values and that society should be based on them. "As long as you do not use violence against anyone or discriminate against anyone, you are allowed to do whatever you want to do" the respondent argues. Respondent 13 thinks that it is important that they adapt to Swedish values but that it is also important that immigrants have the possibility to keep their own culture. Regarding whether the graduation should be held in a church or not respondent 16 argues that it is not important that it is held there but that it is important that it is possible. Respondent 13 thinks that it is a good alternative if the school wants it and that they themselves should decide.

Regarding law and order most of the respondents are in favor of harsher measures. Respondent 14 argues that today criminals get out too soon and are thus allowed to terrorize their victims. Respondent 14 argues that begging should be prohibited because it is humiliating and undignified for the people who beg. Respondent 15 is not in favor of prohibiting it as one cannot forbid someone from asking for help and argues that organized

begging already is prohibited. Respondent 16 thinks that more surveillance is needed although the respondent does not think that it should go too far.

The respondents have different opinions on which issues are most important yet most of them think that the economic and cultural dimensions are as important. Respondent 14 argues that one cannot separate between them and argues that everything that has to do with human existence is important to KD and that economy and culture are both part of that. Respondent 13 thinks that the combination of economic and sociocultural issues is what makes KD a sustainable alternative. Respondent 15 thinks that the economic issues are most important for the party.

There is overlapping between the economic and cultural dimensions in the views of the KD respondents on the environment. Respondent 15 thinks that growth and sustainability can be combined as a result of the development of technology. There is also overlap within the left-right dimension since respondent 15 is in favor of raising some taxes while lowering others. Within the GAL-TAN dimension there is overlap on the environment and various other issues. On multiculturalism respondent 14 argues that some of the financial support for cultural organizations should be withdrawn since they discriminate against women. Concerning nationalism respondent 13 is in favor of promoting it at the same time as the respondent thinks that one can belong to several different cultures.

5.2.3. Liberalerna

The respondents from Liberalerna (L) agree to a large extent about economic issues although some are more in favor of lower taxes than others. Respondent 17 argues that: "by lowering taxes one could increase economic activity which would lead to more jobs and thus higher tax revenue." Yet the respondent argues that one cannot simply lower taxes without having a plan for how to substitute the revenue as the respondent is in favor of a strong welfare state. Respondent 20 claims that regulations make it more difficult for those who do not have a job to enter into the labor market as it creates an insider-outsider effect:

Because the threshold is so high to get into the labor market the companies have to take pretty big risks to employ someone new. Thus we have a problem in Sweden that once you have entered it is great. But the poor people who are outside, today they are mainly young and newly arrived immigrants, they are very far from this safe situation that we experience.

Respondent 17 thinks that the private market creates incentives for innovation, for example in the energy market. Yet some of the respondents argue that there are some areas of the economy that needs to be controlled by the state. Respondent 20 also believes that the public sector could be made more effective through cutting down on the bureaucracy. Yet the respondent also believes that there are services such as culture and sports that cannot be covered solely by the private market.

Respondent 17 argues that it is possible to make economic growth sustainable with carrots rather than with sticks as it has to be more beneficial to be sustainable, but that if it is absolutely necessary the environment has to come first. Respondent 19 thinks that if technology and development are allowed to progress, together with the economy, the products will become more environment-friendly.

The respondents are in favor of promoting cultural associations although they have somewhat different opinions. Respondent 20 says that some of the money today goes to organizations that for example are against LGBT persons and that it is important that we do not support those groups.

Regarding abortion respondent 18 argues that: "to limit abortion would put women in danger as abortions would be carried out but they would be much less safe." The respondent does not consider the fetus to be a human life and thus does not think that abortion is problematic. Regarding the freedom of consciousness respondent 20 and respondent 19 think that one has to choose a different job if one does not want to carry out an abortion since conducting abortions is part of the work for midwifes.

Regarding same-sex marriage the respondents are in favor of it. Respondent 18 however thinks that: "if the Church or the Mosque does not receive subsidies from the state they should not have to marry couples if they do not want to." All of them are in favor of the right of same-sex couples to adopt children.

The respondents have different opinions about freedom of speech. According to Respondent 19 it is important to defend freedom of speech given that: "if an illiberal party would govern the country it is important that the people can criticize it." According to Respondent 17 "it is a problem that undemocratic forces use freedom of speech as a method to dismantle the democracy." Regarding religious symbols in public places respondent 18 argues that it would hurt many women if they could not carry religious symbols at work as they would not be able to work. Regarding internal democracy respondent 19 argues that the politicians are there for the people, both the members and the rest of the population and thinks that it is always important to take in opinions from both members and political opponents.

The respondents are critical of nationalism. Respondent 17 is very proud of our culture and traditions but does "not think that they should be promoted over any other culture or traditions since there is a risk that when you do that you try to prioritize which culture is best and I am completely against that." Regarding whether immigrants should adapt to Swedish values respondent 18 thinks that they should accept our values but also that we should accept their values as well. The respondent claims that:

> we cannot have a society where we take in immigrants and say that they can maintain their values that existed in other countries. They have moved from countries where women have been stoned because they have committed adultery or because they have been raped. If they are allowed to maintain those values then Sweden will no longer be a safe zone.

Respondent 19 argues that immigrants should not have to become like the people who are born in Sweden but that they should accept basic values and ideas such as democracy, human rights, women's rights and LGBT rights. Regarding having the school graduation in a church

the respondents do not think that it is important. Respondent 18 says that it should not be held in a church because some of the children might feel excluded if it is.

The respondents have different opinions on law and order although most of them are against harsher measures. Respondent 20 claims that the research has proven that punishments do not make people commit less crime and that the most important thing is to encourage people to get back into society. Regarding prohibition of begging respondent 18 thinks that it is similar to prohibiting prostitution: "it is like hitting someone that is lying down." Regarding surveillance respondent 17 thinks that better cooperation is needed instead.

Respondent 19 think that the sociocultural issues are most important for L. The respondent argues that L always have focused more on social issues such as emancipation of woman and LGBT rights rather than on economic issues. Respondent 17 thinks that L focuses mostly on welfare issues such as education and that most members focus on education but also on sociocultural issues such as LGBT rights, feminism and antiracism. The respondent also thinks that promoting companies and entrepreneurs can contribute to integration. Respondent 20 thinks that social issues such as education and integration are the most important issues. Respondent 18 thinks that it focuses mostly on economic issues. For the respondent issues related to education are the most important ones and most important of all is to have more order in the schools. Although the respondent considers L to be on the GAL side the respondent thinks that they are on the TAN side within this issue:

> I consider myself a liberal but I believe that in order to have a liberal society you have to have some conservative elements. I do not think that one can have a liberal society if we just let everybody loose from the beginning.

The L-respondents' answers overlap between the economic and cultural dimensions within issues such as environment and multiculturalism. Respondent 19 argues that economic growth leads to a more sustainable development. Respondent 18 is in favor of multiculturalism yet does not think that the state should give financial support to associations that promote it since the respondent believes in a small state. Concerning same-sex marriage respondent 18 argues that churches should only be required to conduct weddings for same-sex couples if they are

given subsidies by the state. Within the GAL-TAN dimension there is overlap on multiculturalism. Respondent 20 is critical of some of the support for cultural associations since they discriminate against LGBT persons.

5.2.4. Moderaterna

The respondents of Moderaterna (M) have similar views on economic issues although they differ slightly on regulations of the market and the role of the public sector. They are critical of subsidies and think that people should take more responsibility for their economic situation. Respondent 23 thinks that the welfare state should support the people who are too sick to work but that the aim should be to try to help them so that they can start working again.

Concerning regulations respondent 21 argues that the market should be less regulated as Sweden is one of the most regulated countries in the world and because it is very difficult to enter the housing market. Some are also in favor of regulations, in some cases more regulations, within some sectors of the market. Respondent 22 claims that private companies needs to be regulated, especially private schools:

> My experience is that private schools work better than public schools but when it goes bad there is no safety net and there I would like to see more regulations and most of all better governance because in many places there are amateurs making decisions and that can have terrible consequences.

Respondent 24 argues that the private sector is better at managing companies than politicians as there is no connection between having political opinions and being good at managing companies. Respondent 21 argues that specialist care needs to be under state administration.

Respondent 24 argues that one would like to have a balance between sustainability and growth and that it is important to give incentives to the companies so that they can benefit from being sustainable. But considering the threat of climate change the respondent does not

think that it is possible to solve it if growth is always given priority. Respondent 25 thinks that they are compatible.

The respondents think that cultural associations should be supported but that the state should be careful with which associations it supports. Respondent 24 thinks that it is important for democracy to protect the right to organize and that different types of organizations should be supported financially by the state. The respondent argues that it has to be in line with democratic values and that religious associations that have their own agenda that is not democratic should not be able to receive funding.

Respondent 21 says that the right to abortion should not be limited under any circumstances since it has to do with the right of the woman to control her own body. Regarding freedom of consciousness respondent 24 argues that young women who want to have an abortion are in a very difficult situation and thus should not have to meet someone who thinks that they are immoral persons. Respondent 21 argues that in the public sector they have to carry out abortions as they have signed a contract that obliges them to do so. On the other hand it should be allowed in private clinics as they might be aimed at a specific group. All of the respondents are in favor of same-sex marriage and adoption.

The respondents are in favor of freedom of speech. Respondent 21 argues that: "often when you try to shut down a group you actually make them stronger." Regarding religious symbols respondent 22 argues that: "the veil should not be allowed for children who are under 15 years old because if they do not want to show their hair to men someone has given them a skewed view of the world." Regarding internal democracy respondent 21 thinks that more people would join parties if they felt that the leaders listened to the members. The respondent thinks that it is very important to anchor the policies so that everybody is onboard when a party changes its policies.

The respondents have different opinions about nationalism. Some of them think that it is important to support national unity while others think that it is dangerous. Respondent 21 thinks that there is a demand for patriotism in Sweden and that the other parties tend to lump patriotism and nationalism together. In Sweden patriotism would contribute to improving

integration of immigrants the respondent claims. Respondent 22 is in favor of promoting traditions but not national identity. The respondent thinks that it is important to be as inclusive as possible and thinks that a nationalist politics, which upholds a romantic image of how great Sweden is, run the risk of being xenophobic. Regarding Swedish values respondent 24 thinks that it is important that immigrants adapt to democratic values if they do not already have them. The respondent argues that:

> you have to accept that women and men have the same rights, LGBT people are equal and have the same rights […] because otherwise you are limiting other people's lives. Then again not all Swedes accept these values so it is important to create a society where everyone is tolerant.

Respondent 25 thinks that it is important that we let Swedish values exist and to denounce religious fundamentalism, but that it is also important to promote the immigrants' cultures. Respondent 19 does not think that it is important to hold school graduation in a church. The respondent says that "Sweden is built on Christian values but the graduation has nothing to do with religion."

The respondents tend to favor tough measures when it comes to law and order. According to respondent 24 having longer punishments is important as it allows for the victims to move freely. Regarding begging the respondents are in favor of a prohibition although respondent 22 is not in favor of a national prohibition as it would be difficult to formulate such a law. The respondents think that surveillance is important as it makes the society more secure and makes it easier to resolve crime.

The respondents tend to think that economic issues are most important for M although the sociocultural issues are gradually becoming important as well. Respondent 24 thinks that economic issues are most important for M although the respondent claims that they are working on becoming better on the other issues. The respondent thinks personally that LGBT rights and gender equality are more important but the respondent thinks that there is a larger difference between left and right regarding economic issues:

Almost all the political parties are in favor of same-sex marriage and if a proposition against it was presented in the parliament it would be voted down. In the economic issues there is a much larger discrepancy, and it is determinate for why one is right and not left.

Respondent 22 thinks that to M the sociocultural issues are most important for the moment as the respondent argues that it focuses a lot on migration policies but that it is seen as intertwined with the economic issues. Respondent 21 also thinks that M always has been more focused on economy. The respondent thinks that the economy is most important as everything emanates from it and that it would thus be more damaging for society if it was changed in a negative way.

Some of the respondents' answers overlap between the two dimensions. Respondent 21 thinks that the welfare state cannot be sustained if the immigration is not reduced. Respondent 25 claims that it is possible to combine growth and ecological sustainability. There is also overlapping within the GAL-TAN scale on various issues such as the environment as mentioned above. Regarding multiculturalism respondent 23 is critical against the subsidies for cultural associations since some of them goes to organizations that discriminate women. On the issue of freedom of consciousness respondent 22 argues that it is important to not discriminate against those who do not want to conduct an abortion. Concerning freedom of religion respondent 22 argues that children under the age of 15 should not be allowed to wear the veil at school. The respondent is thus in favor of limiting a civil liberty but is at the same time against religious principles. Respondent 23 is in favor of nationalism as the respondent believes that it is important to promote Swedish values against patriarchic values and discrimination against women.

5.2.5. Summary Swedish Parties

The Swedish respondents are on the right in the economic dimension although there are respondents who are more to the left on specific issues within all parties. On the cultural issues on the other hand there are many differences. There is a clear difference between the respondents from the GAL parties (C and L) and the respondents from the TAN parties (M

and KD) on the issue of nationalism. Here the TAN parties argue that maintaining the culture has an intrinsic value and that it is important in order to integrate immigrants into Swedish society. The GAL parties' respondents are against nationalism and argue that it can lead to racism and xenophobia. On law and order the GAL-respondents are in favor of more liberal policies while the TAN-respondents favor tougher measures against crime. On religion, although no one thinks that it is important that graduations in schools are held in churches, some of the TAN-respondents thinks that it should be a possibility while none of the GAL-respondents thinks that it matters if it is possible or not.

6. Discussion

In this part the findings of the content analysis are discussed related to the research questions and to the previous research.

6.1. Overlapping between the Dimensions

As mentioned the previous research has reached different conclusions regarding the relationship between the economic dimension and the cultural dimension. The result of this thesis might say something about the nature of the relationship between them. The environment is an issue that overlaps in all parties. Since the respondents tend to believe in a free market and private ownership many of them argue that growth is not harmful to the environment or that it actually contributes to ecological sustainability. Yet there are also respondents who believe that the market needs to be regulated in order to protect the environment.

Issues that have to do with immigration and integration also overlap several times. Several respondents think that less public money should be spent on immigration or integration. But there are also respondents who claim that a freer market would facilitate integration.

Other issues that overlap in a few cases are abortion and same-sex marriage. There are also issues such as the rural-urban cleavage and European integration where there is also an overlapping. For some of the other issues such as freedom of speech, internal democracy, nationalism, religion and surveillance no connection to the economy was found, or only a weak connection to it.

Thus although the results of this study indicate that the there are some issues within the cultural dimension that are connected to the economic dimension there are also several issues where no overlapping was found. One possible conclusion of this finding is that the dimensions are independent but that there are connections between them. According to Kriesi et al. (2006) some issues from the cultural dimension have become integrated into the economic dimension. For example they argue that environmental protection has become

assimilated into the economic dimension in some countries. These results might support that claim.

6.2. Overlapping Within the Dimensions

There is little overlap within the economic dimension. A few respondents are both in favor of lowering taxes and of raising taxes yet they tend to be more in favor of lowering taxes overall.

There is more overlapping within the GAL-TAN scale. Since the environment overlap between the dimensions it also overlaps across the GAL-TAN dimension since this issue is measured as more in favor of growth or more in favor environmental sustainability (CHES codebook, 2014). When the respondents argue that this contradiction does not exist and that they are in favor of both growth and environmental sustainability this category becomes impossible to use.

Another issue that overlaps several times in the analysis is nationalism. Many of the respondents who are in favor of nationalism also stress that they are also in favor of promoting other cultures and state that they do not believe that there is a contradiction between defending one's own culture and embracing other cultures or ethnic groups or that one can belong to many cultures at the same time. Thus this category also becomes difficult to measure since the respondents deny that there is a dichotomy.

A similar argument is used about integration. Here some respondents claim that it is possible to be in favor of both assimilation and multiculturalism and think that one can adjust to the new country's culture while still keeping ones' own culture. Another type of overlap regarding integration is when the respondents criticize multiculturalism claiming that it threatens the rights of LGBT persons for example. Thus the respondents argue against an issue on the GAL side while promoting another issue on the GAL side.

Another issue that overlaps a lot is abortion, or more specifically freedom of consciousness. Freedom of consciousness can be seen as a threat to abortion yet many of the respondents who are in favor of it argue that they are defending the right of an individual to refuse

something that they think is wrong. This could be interpreted as defending a civil liberty or freedom of religion or, maybe, a certain lifestyle.

Freedom of speech also overlaps across the GAL-TAN dimension. One respondent claims that freedom of speech cannot be unlimited arguing that extremists use freedom of speech to attack groups such as immigrants and LGBT persons. Thus while criticizing a civil liberty and promoting law and order the respondent also speaks in defense of ethnic minorities and other vulnerable groups.

Freedom of religion overlaps within the GAL-TAN dimension since it is difficult to draw the line between promoting it and promoting religious principles. For example, one respondent is against religious symbols in publicly funded schools. The position could be interpreted both as against a civil liberty and as against promoting religious principles. Another respondent is in favor of allowing students to wear religious symbols. Likewise, this position is also difficult to define as either GAL or TAN.

There are thus many issues connected to the GAL-TAN scale that overlap when the motivations for the positions of the respondents is considered. As a result of this their positions become difficult to categorize.

6.3. Convergence

The respondents from the Spanish parties converge on three of the cultural issues used in this thesis: nationalism, religion and freedom of consciousness. The respondents from the Swedish parties on the other hand do not converge on any issue. Thus although Cs is closer to L and C on the GAL-TAN scale the respondents have more in common with PP on some issues. The Spanish parties are also more similar to each other than any of the Swedish parties on economic issues. Yet on other issues such as law and order and integration the GAL parties in both countries have similar positions.

Hence the categories that are used to capture the different poles on the dimensions and specifically the GAL-TAN dimension might need to be refined in order to better capture parties from different countries.

6.4. Salience of Dimensions

There is a clear difference between the respondents from the TAN parties and the respondents from the GAL parties in dimensionality. More TAN-respondents then GAL-respondents argue that economy is the most important dimension. Yet the party were most respondents think that the economy is most important is M. The Cs-respondents think that the dimensions are equally important or that culture is most important while the Swedish GAL-respondents are mixed.

There is also a difference between which issues they think are most important for the party and which issues they think are most important at a personal level. At the personal level all of the GAL-respondents think that the cultural dimension is most important or equally important and fewer TAN-respondents think that economy is most important.

As Rovny and Polk (2018) have shown, mainstream parties in Catholic countries combine the two dimensions to a higher extent than mainstream parties in Protestant countries.

7. Concluding Remarks

In this part the theoretical implications of the results are summarized and suggestions for future research are discussed.

The positions that the respondents take to some extent match the policy dimensions as described by the previous research. They can be categorized as right on the left-right dimension. Their positions on the GAL-TAN dimension are more problematic. On some issues, such as law and order, there is a clear difference between GAL parties and TAN parties. On other issues such as the environment, nationalism, integration and religion some of the positions are difficult to categorize after taking into account their motivations for their positions.

Judging by the results of this thesis it seems as if the economic left-right dimension and cultural GAL-TAN dimension are connected to one another to some extent. They suggest that if the economic dimension is somewhat influenced by cultural factors the cultural dimension is even more affected by economic issues. The fact that many of the respondents also think that the two dimensions are connected seems to strengthen this assumption. Thus it is important to take this connection into account when using the GAL-TAN dimension. Respondents might take positions that go against their opinions on the cultural dimension because they are motivated by their views on economic matters.

It is also difficult to distinguish between the opposite sides of the GAL-TAN dimension. Based on the results of this thesis it seems as if some of the categories of the two sides are not always mutually exclusive and as if the categories on each side of the dimension are not always aligned with each other. Several of the respondents position themselves in favor of values based on both sides of the dimension on various issues. On other issues respondents favor categories on one side of the dimension and reject categories on the same side of it.

Thus there is overlapping in both countries both between the dimensions and within the GAL-TAN dimension. It is thus likely that the same patterns would be found if the study would be replicated in other European countries.

The results also illustrate that there are differences between different countries. On many of the cultural issues the Spanish parties converge. Notably on issues such as abortion, nationalism and religion the Spanish respondents have similar opinions despite being on different sides of the GAL-TAN dimension. Yet since they do diverge on the other issues these convergences might not alter their location on the GAL-TAN dimension.

As previous research has found this thesis confirms that Spanish parties tend to combine the two dimensions to a higher extent then Swedish parties although respondents from some Swedish parties combine them more than others.

For the parties where the cultural dimension is more salient the GAL-TAN scale could be useful, however if the dimensions are tightly connected it is important to take into account that the cultural positions could be connected to economic positions.

The differences regarding convergence and salience of dimensions might be correlated with the political and cultural differences between the countries. It is possible that if the study was replicated in other European countries that they would also differ regarding convergence and salience as a result of local factors.

It is important to note that this study is very limited and thus it is important to be careful with the conclusions drawn from it. Yet it might say something about the parties included and thus about the policy dimensions that attempt to capture their positions.

Future research should try to refine the categories that are used for capturing the cultural dimension. If the results from this thesis are indicative the economic and cultural dimensions are connected to some extent and thus it is important to at least be aware of this. It might be useful to try to find categories that are not connected to economic factors.

It is important to find categories that are more clearly distinguishable from one another for the cultural dimension. It is also important that the categories that are used on each pole of the policy dimension are not at odds with each other on certain issues.

What is also important is to refine the dimensions so that they can better capture parties from different countries. The local context might affect how parties position themselves on some issues. These positions might be difficult to capture through surveys. Thus future studies should be careful when using the same questions in different countries and in some cases try to change them so that they better fit the context without altering the content of the questions too much.

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Appendix 1 – Interview Guide in English

Left-Right

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Why?

-The market needs fewer regulations.

-The taxes should be lower.

-There should be fewer public investments.

-There should be more privatizations.

-The welfare state should be smaller/have a smaller role.

GAL-TAN

-The state should support associations that promote cultural diversity such as LGBT and different cultural associations.

-To ensure security it is important to expand surveillance.

-It is important for politicians to listen to the members of the party.

-It is important to promote our national identity and our traditions.

-It is important that immigrants adapt to Swedish/Spanish values.

-It should be permitted to wear religious symbols in school and at the work place.

-It is important to always defend the freedom of speech.

-The graduation ceremony in Swedish schools should take place in church./Public events should take place in church

-The laws need to be tougher on crime.

-Begging in the street should be prohibited.

-The right to abortion should be limited.

-Midwifes who do not want to carry out an abortion should be able to refuse to do so.

-It is important to promote environmental sustainability even if it would lead to lower economic growth.

-Same-sex marriage should be permitted.

-Adoption should be permitted for same-sex couples.

Questions about the scales
Where do you think that your party should be placed on the GAL-TAN scale?

Which scale do you consider to be most adequate for your party?

Most important issues for party
-Which issues do you consider to be most important for your party between economic and sociocultural issues?

-Do you think that the party has a higher profile in economic issues or in sociocultural issues?

-Which ones do you think that most people within the party consider to be most important?

Most important issues for person

-Would you say that the economic issues or the sociocultural issues are most important for you in your choice of party?

-Why are those issues so important for you?

-In which way do you consider your party to be the best party regarding these issues?

-Would you support the party even if it changed its policies regarding these issues?

-How important do you consider the other issues to be? Why do you think that they are less important?

-Would you support the party if it changed its policies regarding those issues?

Background

-What is your name and your age?

-What have you studied?

-For how long have you been active within the party?

-Why did you join the party?

-What position do you have within the party?

Appendix 2 – Interview Guide in Swedish

Intervjuguide

Håller du med om följande påståenden? Varför/Varför inte?

Vänster-Höger

-Marknaden behöver färre regleringar.

-Skatterna bör sänkas.

-Det behövs färre offentliga investeringar.

-Det behövs mer privatiseringar.

-Välfärdsstaten bör bli mindre/ha en mindre roll.

GAL-TAN

-Staten bör stödja föreningar och verksamheter som främjar mångfald (HBTQ, mångkultur).

-Det behövs mer övervakning i samhället för allas säkerhet.

-Politiker som har högre poster bör vara lyhörda för synpunkter från partiets medlemmar.

-Det är viktigt att främja vår nationella identitet och våra traditioner.

-Det är viktigt att invandrare tar till sig svenska värderingar.

-Det bör vara tillåtet att ha religiösa symboler på sig i skolor och på arbetsplatser.

-Det är viktigt att alltid värna om yttrandefriheten.

-Det är viktigt att skolavslutningar äger rum i kyrkan.

-Det behövs hårdare straff mot kriminalitet.

-Tiggeri bör förbjudas.

-Det är viktigt att främja ekologisk hållbarhet även om det går ut över den ekonomiska tillväxten.

Aborträtten bör begränsas.

Samvetsfrihet bör råda inom vården.

Homoäktenskap bör vara tillåtet.

Homoadoptioner bör vara tillåtet.

Frågor om skalorna
På vilken sida tycker du att ditt parti befinner sig på GAL-TAN skalan?

Vilken skala tycker du är mest adekvat för att förstå ditt partis politik?

Viktigaste frågor för partiet
-Vilka typer av frågor ser du som viktigast för partiet, ekonomiska eller kulturella?

-Anser du att partiet är mest profilerat i ekonomiska eller i kulturella frågor?

-Vilka tror du att de flesta i partiet tycker är viktigast?

Viktigast frågor för person
-Skulle du säga att de ekonomiska frågorna eller de sociokulturella frågorna är viktigast för dig i ditt val av parti?

-Varför är de frågorna så viktiga för dig?

-I vilket avseende anser du att ditt parti har den bästa ekonomiska/sociokulturella politiken?

-Skulle du stödja partiet även om de ändrade sin politik i de frågorna?

-Hur viktig tycker du att den kategori som du värderar lägre är? Varför tycker du att den inte är lika viktig?

-Skulle du stödja partiet även om de ändrade sin politik i de frågorna?

-Finns det någon förändring som skulle kunna få dig att byta parti?

Bakgrund

- Vad är ditt namn och din ålder?

- Vad har du studerat?

- Hur länge har du varit aktiv inom partiet?

- Hur kom det sig att du gick med i partiet?

- Vad har du för uppdrag inom partiet?

Appendix 3 – Interview Guide in Spanish

Guía de entrevista

¿Esta de acuerdo con estas afirmaciones? ¿Por qué/Por qué no?

Izquierda-Derecha

-El mercado necesita menos regulaciones.

-Es importante bajar los impuestos.

-El sector público necesita menos inversiones.

-Es importante privatizar más.

-El estado de bienestar debería tener un papel menos importante.

GAL-TAN

-El estado debería apoyar asociaciones que promuevan diversidad cultural. (LGBT, asociaciones culturales).

-Se necesita más vigilancia en la sociedad por la seguridad de todos.

-Los politicos con altos cargos deberían valorar más las opiniones de los miembros de su partido.

-Es importante promover nuestra identidad nacional y nuestras tradiciones.

-Es importante que los inmigrantes se adapten los valores españoles.

-Debería estar permitido exhibir símbolos religiosos en las escuelas y en el trabajo.

-Es importante siempre defender la libertad de expresión.

-Las ceremonias públicas (por ejemplo, una inauguración) deberían estar en la iglesia.

-Se necesitan castigos más duros para frenar la criminalidad.

-Pedir dinero en las calles debería estar prohibido.

-Es importante limitar el derecho al aborto.

-Las enfermeras que no quieren practicar un aborto deberían poder negarse a hacerlo.

-El matrimonio homosexual debe estar permitido.

-La adopción de niños por parte de parejas homosexuales debe estar permitido.

-Es importante promover la sostenibilidad ecológica aunque vaya en contra del desarrollo económico.

Preguntas sobre las escalas

¿Dónde se debería colocar su partido en la escala GAL-TAN?

¿Qué escala se asimila mejor a su partido, el GAL-TAN o izquierda-derecha?

Preguntas sobre los asuntos más importantes para el partido

¿Cuáles son los temas más importantes a tratar para su partido entre temas economicos y temas socioculturales?

¿Cree que el partido tiene un perfil más ligado a asuntos economicos o socioculturales?

¿Cuáles de esos asuntos cree que los miemros del partido consideran más importantes?

Preguntas sobre los asuntos más importantes para la persona

¿Cree que los asuntos económicos o los asuntos socioculturales han sido lo más importantes a la hora de selecionar su partido?

¿Por qué son estos asuntos tan importantes para usted?

¿Podría razonar porque cree usted que su partido tiene las mejores políticas económicas/socioculturales?

¿Apoyaría al partido aunque cambiaría sus politicas en estos asuntos?

¿Por qué cree que el resto de asuntos tiene menos importancia?

¿Apoyaría al partido aunque cambiaría sus políticas en estos otros asuntos?

Datos personales

-¿Cuál es su nombre y su edad?

-¿Qué ha estudiado?

-¿Cuánto tiempo lleva en el partido?

-¿Por qué se unió al partido?

-¿Qué puesto tiene en el partido?

Appendix 4 – List of Respondents

The dates when the interviews were conducted and the positions within the parties of the non-anonymous respondents are within parenthesis.

Ciudadanos:

Anonymous respondent (4-9-2018)

Anonymous respondent (25-9-2018)

Anonymous respondent (10-10-2018)

Silvia Ibarrondo Saavedra (3-10-2018, City Councillor in Madrid)

Partido Popular:

Lucía S. Fernández Alonso (3-8-2018, Spokesperson and President in San Sebastián de los Reyes)

Alejandro Martin Illaregui (2-8-2018, Secretary General in Leganes)

Luis María Pizana Boj (2-8-2018, City Councillor in Torrevieja and President of the Youth Organization of the Party in Torrevieja)

Centerpartiet:

Katarina Lundin (17-8-2018, Member of the District Board of Gothenburg and Västra Götaland)

Linda-Maria Hermansson (3-9-2018, Commissioner of the Opposition in Stenungssund)

Olivia Lindroth Steinwall (8-8-2018, Campaign Manager in Gothenburg and District Vice Chairman of the Youth Organization in Halmstad)

Mikael Bjuhr (3-8-2018, Member of the Board of Undergraduate Studies in Uddevalla)

Rickard Nordin (31-8-2018, Member of Parliament)

Kristdemokraterna:

Anonymous respondent (23-5-2018)

Falco Güldenpfennig (5-8-2018, Group Leader in Borås)

Anonymous respondent (10-8-2018)

Anonymous respondent (12-6-2018)

Liberalerna:

Mariah ben Salem (23-5-2018, Deputy City Councillor in Gothenburg)

Anonymous respondent (22-5-2018)

Soroush Rezai (8-6-2018, District Vice Chairman of the Youth Organization in Västra
Götaland, Candidate to the City Council in Borås)

Anonymous respondent (22-5-2018)

Moderaterna:

Anonymous respondent (6-8-2018)

Helena Lind Trotzenfeldt (25-5-2018, Member of the County Labour Board in Stockholm)

Anneli Rhedin (10-8-2018, President of the Women's Organization of the Party in
Gothenburg and Candidate to the City Council in Gothenburg)

Anonymous respondent (9-8-2018)

Anonymous respondent (17-5-2018)