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The Swedish General Election 2014 and the Representation of Women

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This paper reviews the Swedish general election of September 2014 from the perspective of the representation of women in politics.

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Key Points

This paper seeks to explain the relatively high proportion of female political representatives in Sweden (45% in national and 43% in local legislatures) through analysis of the general election to the Swedish parliament (Riksdag) on 14 September 2014. Some contributory factors to consider are as follows:

- Context – Sweden has a range of provisions to facilitate women’s participation in wider society and to promote gender equality, for example:
 - Equality mainstreaming in government policy, including in budgets
 - Relatively generous parental leave, part of which must be taken by the second parent
 - Public childcare provision
 - Legislation considered conducive to the protection and autonomy of women
 - Statutory oversight of equality provision by a Minister for Gender Equality and an Equality Ombudsman
- Political life – Sweden has a number of features in political life that are considered beneficial for women’s participation, for example:
 - A Proportional Representation list system of elections
 - Parliamentary procedures to facilitate women’s participation, such as family-friendly sittings, childcare provision, support structures for female Members and a gender action plan
- Party policies – while there is no legal quota for female candidates in Sweden, most parties have internal policies to promote the participation of women, some having voluntary quotas
- Civil Society – explanations for levels of women’s political participation include that women’s organisations and community activists have been instrumental in pressing for greater female representation

Candidate lists for the main parties in the 2014 Riksdag election range from 30% to 53% female, with 45% of all candidates being women, and party manifestos promote women’s issues to varying degrees.

The elections returned 197 men and 152 women (44%), making a small reduction of the proportion of women from the previous mandate (45%).

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1 Introduction

This Research Paper has been compiled in relation to the Assembly and Executive Review Committee review of the representation of women in the Northern Ireland Assembly. Sweden has a high representation of women in parliament (Riksdag), comprising 45% of members, but there is no legal quota in place for obligatory percentages of women candidates for parties or reserved seats in the Riksdag. This paper therefore examines the Swedish political system as a case study to establish what factors may have contributed to higher levels of participation of women in political life.

The paper gives a broad overview of the position of women in Sweden for context then looks at women in political life, including party positions and policies on women and discourses during the campaign for the general election held on 14 September 2014. Some analysis is undertaken in relation to factors that are considered to contribute to higher levels of representation of women in politics¹.

¹ See Research and Information Service Research Paper 9/14 *Women in the Northern Ireland Assembly*, 3 September 2013:

http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/Documents/RaISe/Publications/2014/assembly_exec_review/potter0914.pdf.

2 Context: Women and Men in Sweden

The representation of women in politics can be seen as a reflection of the position of women in wider society. In this respect, context is an important determinant of the extent of women's access to public life in any country. This section briefly reviews the position of women in Swedish society, with some comparison with Northern Ireland². It is not intended to be a detailed examination of every aspect of women's life in Sweden, but summarises certain factors that the Swedish Government has highlighted as contributing to the comparatively high level of gender equality in the country.

Sweden has been considered to be one of the world's most gender-egalitarian societies, due in part to an extensive welfare system that makes it easier for women and men to balance work and family life³. Features of Swedish society that are considered to have contributed to gender equality have been suggested as follows:

- Gender equality in education Gender equality principles permeate the Swedish school system⁴, with SEK110 million⁵ allocated to gender equality in education from 2008 in the government's Gender Equality Policy⁶. In Northern Ireland, the Gender Equality Strategy refers to addressing stereotyping in all forms of education⁷, but the Department of Education does not have a gender equality policy itself.
- Parental leave Swedish parents are entitled to 480 days of paid parental leave when a child is born or adopted, with sixty days being specifically allocated to each parent. In Northern Ireland, each parent is entitled to up to 18 weeks' unpaid parental leave⁸. Paid maternity leave is available for 39 weeks and unpaid for a further 13 weeks⁹; paid paternity leave is for two weeks¹⁰. Individual employers may have additional maternity and parental leave arrangements. The EU Directive on Parental Leave¹¹ implements a Framework Agreement of 2009, which recommends at least four months' parental leave, of

² See also Research and Information Service Research Paper 15/14 *Review of Gender Issues in Northern Ireland* 28 January 2014: <http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/Documents/RalSe/Publications/2014/ofmdfm/1514.pdf>.

³ 'Gender Equality in Sweden', official Sweden website, accessed 13 August 2014: <https://sweden.se/society/gender-equality-in-sweden/>.

⁴ 'Fixing Sweden's Schools', *The Economist* 2 November 2013: <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21588959-swedish-pupils-have-fallen-behind-their-international-peers-fixing-swedens-schools>.

⁵ Approximately £4.3 million.

⁶ Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality (2009) *The Swedish Government's Gender Equality Policy*, Stockholm: MIGE, p.2: <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/13/07/15/8a48ffb6.pdf>.

⁷ Office of the First Minister and deputy First Minister (2006), *Gender Equality Strategy*, Belfast: OFMdfM, p.50: <http://www.ofmdfmi.gov.uk/genderequalitystrategy2006-2016.pdf>.

⁸ NI Direct website, 'Parental Leave', accessed 13 August 2014: <http://www.nidirect.gov.uk/parental-leave>.

⁹ NI Direct website, 'Statutory Maternity Pay', accessed 13 August 2014: <http://www.nidirect.gov.uk/index/information-and-services/money-tax-and-benefits/benefits-and-financial-support/expecting-or-bringing-up-children/statutory-maternity-pay.htm>.

¹⁰ NI Direct website, 'Ordinary Paternity Leave', accessed 19 August 2014: <http://www.nidirect.gov.uk/ordinary-paternity-leave>.

¹¹ COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2010/18/EU of 8 March 2010 implementing the revised Framework Agreement on parental leave concluded by BUSINESSEUROPE, UEAPME, CEEP and ETUC and repealing Directive 96/34/EC: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2010:068:0013:0020:en:PDF>.

which at least one month is to be on a non-transferable basis to encourage uptake by both parents.

- Employment The Discrimination Act in Sweden provides for safeguards against discrimination on a range of grounds, including sex, but also requires employers and employees to co-operate and undertake goal-oriented work to eliminate inequalities in the workplace¹². In Northern Ireland, employers are required not to discriminate on the grounds of sex¹³.
- Statutory oversight Safeguards are in place to monitor gender equality in Sweden, and to ensure the implementation of gender equality policy. These include:
 - Minister for Gender Equality The Minister for Gender Equality, who is also the Deputy Minister for Education, is situated within the Ministry of Education and Research¹⁴. Northern Ireland does not have a Minister for Gender Equality, but all equalities are within the remit of the Office of the First Minister and deputy First Minister (OFMdfM)¹⁵.
 - Equality Ombudsman The Equality Ombudsman is concerned with overseeing the implementation of the Discrimination Act and the Parental Leave Act¹⁶. The agency seeks to combat discrimination on grounds of sex, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age¹⁷. In Northern Ireland, the Equality Commission has powers and duties derived from statutes which provide for protection against discrimination on the grounds of age, disability, race, religion and political opinion, sex and sexual orientation¹⁸.
- Legislation The Swedish Government has enacted certain pieces of legislation that were aimed at promoting gender equality. These include:
 - The Abortion Act Swedish women have the right to an abortion without giving a reason up to the 18th week of pregnancy and can have an abortion up to 22 weeks if there are special reasons for doing so¹⁹. The UK Abortion Act 1967 does not extend to Northern Ireland, where abortion is only permitted under special circumstances, but the Justice

¹² Discrimination Act 2008: <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/11/81/87/36dc60a5.pdf>.

¹³ For example, the Sex Discrimination (Northern Ireland) Order 1976: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/nisi/1976/1042/contents>; Equal Pay (Northern Ireland) Act 1970: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/apni/1970/32/contents>.

¹⁴ Ministry of Education and Research website, accessed 14 August 2014: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/2063>.

¹⁵ Gender equality pages, OFMdfM website, accessed 14 August 2014: <http://www.ofmdfmi.gov.uk/index/equality-and-strategy/equality-human-rights-social-change/gender-equality.htm>.

¹⁶ Parental Leave Act 1995: <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/10/49/85/f16b785a.pdf>.

¹⁷ Equality Ombudsman website, accessed 15 August 2014: <http://www.do.se/en/About-the-Equality-Ombudsman/>.

¹⁸ Equality Commission website, accessed 15 August 2014: <http://www.equalityni.org/Home>.

¹⁹ 'Gender Equality in Sweden', official Sweden website, accessed 15 August 2014: <https://sweden.se/society/gender-equality-in-sweden/>.

Minister David Ford has stated an intention to consult on the issue during 2014²⁰, reportedly in autumn²¹.

- Act on Violence Against Women Violence and abuse is assessed cumulatively in Sweden, so that each incidence is taken into account. There is specific reference to abuse by a man against a woman with whom he is in a close personal relationship, who can then be liable to a charge of 'gross violation of a woman's integrity'²². Generally, offences relating to gender-based violence in Northern Ireland are drawn from general offences relating to violence and sexual assault, with the exception of legislation relating to protection of victims²³, such as the Family Homes and Domestic Violence (Northern Ireland) Order 1998²⁴.
- Act Prohibiting the Purchase of Sexual Services Since 1999 it has been illegal to pay for casual sexual relations in Sweden²⁵, which criminalises the purchaser in a prostitution arrangement rather than the prostitute. In Northern Ireland, there has been debate around the criminalisation of the purchase of sex in relation to the passage of the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Further Provisions and Support for Victims) Bill 2013²⁶.
- Public childcare Sweden has a universal public childcare system, capped at an affordable rate, and free pre-school from age three, which has been regarded as a factor in Sweden having the highest rate of female labour market participation in Europe²⁷. Seventy per cent of all 1 – 5 year olds attend municipal pre-school provision and a further 17% under private arrangement²⁸. While there are certain state benefits with regard to childcare and free pre-school provision for a limited number of hours at age three²⁹, there is no universal state childcare system in Northern Ireland, and childcare costs are higher than in other parts of the UK and have been increasing³⁰.

²⁰ 'Abortion: Justice Minister David Ford to consult on changing NI's laws', *BBC News* 5 December 2013: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-25230152>.

²¹ 'David Ford: NI abortion consultation 'ready by autumn'', *BBC News* 18 August 2014: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-28833136>.

²² Penal Code, Chapter 4, Section 4a: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/3926/a/27777>.

²³ Ministry of Justice (2013), *Domestic Violence & Child Abuse Offences*, London: MoJ, pp.4-6: <http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/la-private-matters/dv-ca-offences.pdf>.

²⁴ Family Homes and Domestic Violence (Northern Ireland) Order 1998: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/nisi/1998/1071/contents/made>.

²⁵ 'Legislation on the purchase of sexual services', Government Offices of Sweden website, accessed 15 August 2014: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/4096/a/119861>.

²⁶ Research and Information Service Bill Paper 122/13 *Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Further Provisions and Support for Victims) Bill 2013* 4 October 2013: <http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/Documents/RaISe/Publications/2013/justice/12213.pdf>.

²⁷ 'Sweden: Successful reconciliation of work and family life', European Platform for Investing in Children, accessed 15 August 2014: http://europa.eu/epic/countries/sweden/index_en.htm.

²⁸ Statistics Sweden (2014), *Women and Men in Sweden: facts and Figures 2014*, Örebro: Statistics Sweden, p.41.

²⁹ 'Childcare benefits, tax credits and other help for working parents', NI Direct website, accessed 15 August 2014: <http://www.nidirect.gov.uk/index/information-and-services/parents/childcare/childcare-benefits-tax-credits-and-other-help-for-working-parents.htm>.

³⁰ Rachel Dennison (2013) *Northern Ireland Childcare Cost Survey 2013*, Lisburn: Employers for Childcare: <http://vouchers.employersforchildcare.org/media/full-childcare-cost-survey-report-2013.pdf>.

The above is just a brief overview of how gender equality has been attributed to certain factors that combine to influence women's life choices and opportunities in Sweden. In addition, there are cross-cutting factors that contribute to the promotion of gender equality in official policy. These include the following:

- Gender mainstreaming A Gender Mainstreaming Support committee of inquiry was appointed in 2005, as part of the governmental gender mainstreaming strategy begun in 2004³¹. In 2011, the Swedish Government adopted an updated gender mainstreaming platform that has five key elements³²:
 - Strategy for gender mainstreaming in the Government Offices,
 - A development programme for government agencies,
 - Support for gender mainstreaming at regional level,
 - Quality assurance of the development of gender mainstreaming in municipalities and county councils, and
 - Initiatives to gather and share experience and knowledge about practical implementation of gender mainstreaming

The current Strategy for the Work with Gender Mainstreaming in the Government Offices³³ is overseen by a Division for Gender, with a gender coordinator at each ministry and annual action plans. From 2014, the Swedish Government took over funding of the multi-agency website 'Include Gender'³⁴, which provides information and resources for gender mainstreaming, and official guidance is provided for gender mainstreaming in public authorities³⁵. Gender mainstreaming is included in the Gender Equality Strategy in Northern Ireland³⁶ and OFMdfM has published a Gender Impact Assessment Handbook for the implementation of gender mainstreaming in policy development³⁷.

- Gender equality in policy-proofing Sweden has long been regarded as having a well-integrated system for gender equality appraisal in policy and legislation

³¹ Gunilla Sterner and Helene Biller (2007), *Gender Mainstreaming in the EU Member States: Progress, Obstacles and Experiences at Governmental Level*, Stockholm: Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, p.34: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/8600/a/75096>.

³² 'Gender Mainstreaming', Government Offices of Sweden website, accessed 18 August 2014: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/4096/a/125215>.

³³ Strategi för arbetet med jämställdhetsintegrering i Regeringskansliet, from the European Institute for Gender Equality website, accessed 18 August 2014: <http://eige.europa.eu/content/strategi-f%C3%B6r-arbetet-med-j%C3%A4mst%C3%A4lldhetsintegrering-i-regeringskansliet>.

³⁴ Include Gender website: <http://www.includegender.org/>.

³⁵ Gender Mainstreaming Support Committee (2007), *Gender Mainstreaming Manual*, SOU 2007:15, Stockholm: Swedish Government Official Reports: <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/08/19/82/3532cd34.pdf>.

³⁶ Office of the First Minister and deputy First Minister (2006), *Gender Equality Strategy*, Belfast: OFMdfM, pp.26-28.

³⁷ Marie Crawley and Louise O'Meara (2004), *Gender Impact Assessment Handbook*, Belfast: OFMdfM: <http://www.ofmdfmi.gov.uk/handbook1.pdf>.

development³⁸. Policy-proofing is an integral part of gender mainstreaming in the country. In Northern Ireland, an equality duty is provided for in legislation, where public bodies are required to have due regard for the impact of policies on a range of equality grounds, including between women and men³⁹.

- Gender budgeting The Swedish Government allocates funds specifically to gender equality in the annual budget. The 2014 budget indicates that SEK 252 million⁴⁰ has been allocated to gender equality policy for this year⁴¹. The Northern Ireland Executive does not normally specify budgetary allocations to gender equality policy.

It has been suggested that certain factors have contributed to the success of gender mainstreaming in Sweden. These include⁴²:

- Structures for co-ordination in each ministry
- Training to use mainstreaming tools
- Clear entry points, via co-ordinators, for the Gender Equality Division to each ministry
- Policy documentation on mainstreaming, such as guidance and toolkits
- Long-term plans, annual action plans and ministry-specific action plans

In many respects, however, there are areas where gender equality in Sweden has been regarded as less than satisfactory. For example:

- Women's entrepreneurship is less extensive than that of men and it reflects segregation of the workforce by gender⁴³
- There are fewer women than men on company boards, leading to calls for gender quotas⁴⁴
- Men predominate in management positions and this is reported to affect how a whole organisation operates⁴⁵
- Women take far more parental leave than men⁴⁶

³⁸ Fiona McKay and Kate Bilton (2001), *Equality Proofing Procedures in Drafting Legislation: International Comparisons*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, p.26.

³⁹ Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/47/contents>.

⁴⁰ Approximately £21.6 million.

⁴¹ 'Objectives and budget for gender equality policy', Government Offices of Sweden website, accessed 18 August 2014: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/4096/a/171700>.

⁴² Gunilla Sterner and Helene Biller (2007), *Gender Mainstreaming in the EU Member States: Progress, Obstacles and Experiences at Governmental Level*, Appendix 4: in-Depth Study of Sweden, p.39, Stockholm: Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality.

⁴³ Gunhild Wallin (2012), 'Women's businesses mirror gender segregated labour market', *Nordic Labour Journal* 8 March 2012.

⁴⁴ Lenita Freidenvall and Hanna Hallonsten (2013), 'Why Not Corporate Gender Quotas in Sweden?', *Representation* 49(4), 467-485.

⁴⁵ Gunhild Wallin (2014), 'Gender equality at the top influences the entire organisation', *Nordic Labour Journal*, 5 March 2014.

- There are major differences between women's and men's lifetime earnings, attributed to different early life choices⁴⁷
- Significant measures for gender equality are undermined by patterns of relationship formation in society and family choices⁴⁸

A selection of statistics relating to gender and power is at Appendix 1, with comparative figures for Northern Ireland.

⁴⁶ Ann-Zofie Duvander (2014), 'How Long Should Parental Leave Be? Attitudes to Gender Equality, Family and Work as Determinants of Women's and Men's Parental Leave in Sweden', *Journal of Family Issues* 35(7), 909-926.

⁴⁷ Gunhild Wallin (2013), 'Workplace equality depends on early life choices', *Nordic Labour Journal* 8 March 2013.

⁴⁸ Bo Rothstein (2012), 'The Reproduction of Gender Inequality: A Causal Mechanism Approach', *Gender, Work and Organisation* 19(3), 324-344.

3 Women and Political Participation in Sweden

Sweden has the fourth highest representation of women in a national legislature in the world (45%)⁴⁹. The Northern Ireland Assembly has 22 women (20%). At local government level, 44% of councillors in Sweden are female – the highest rate in a survey of 30 European countries (see Appendix 2). Councils in Northern Ireland are 24% female and 25% of those elected to the shadow councils to replace the existing 26 councils are women.

The proportions of women elected to public office are roughly in proportion to those nominated for election: 44% for the last general election to the Riksdag, 42% to municipal councils and 45% to county councils⁵⁰. This pattern is also broadly true of elections in Northern Ireland: 17%⁵¹ of candidates in the Northern Ireland Assembly election in 2011⁵² and 24% of candidates for the local council elections in 2014 are women⁵³.

This section briefly reviews the involvement of women in politics in Sweden and considers some of the explanations for the relatively high rate of participation.

The Political System in Sweden

While there are significant variations, the ‘Nordic model’ or ‘Scandinavian model’ of politics has been described as being distinct from political systems elsewhere in Europe, and described as⁵⁴:

a blend of compromise politics, local government autonomy and corporatism, where party competition is nested with political and social co-operation.

With this in mind, features of these political systems are large welfare states with strong democracies and a comparatively high rate of voter trust in political actors⁵⁵. Consequences of this include a comparatively high rate of political party participation and high voter turnout: regularly in excess of 80% in Sweden since the 1990s, without compulsory voting⁵⁶.

In Sweden, there are 349 seats in the Riksdag, of which 310 are elected through proportional representation (PR) from the 29 constituencies and 39 are ‘adjustment

⁴⁹ Women in National Parliaments database, Inter-Parliamentary Union, accessed 18 August 2014: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.

⁵⁰ Statistics Sweden (2014), *Women and Men in Sweden: facts and Figures 2014*, Örebro: Statistics Sweden, p.94.

⁵¹ Twenty women were elected in 2011 (19%), but there have been two more female co-options than male since then, bringing the total to 22 (20%).

⁵² See Research and Information Service Research Paper 9/14 *Women in the Northern Ireland Assembly*, 3 September 2013, p.8: http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/Documents/RalSe/Publications/2014/assembly_exec_review/potter0914.pdf.

⁵³ See Research and Information Service Briefing Note 48/14 *Candidates for the 2014 Elections in Northern Ireland by Gender*, 1 May 2014: http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/Documents/RalSe/Publications/2014/assembly_exec_review/4814.pdf.

⁵⁴ Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson (2008), ‘The Nordic Countries: Compromise and Corporatism in the Welfare State’, in Josep Colomer (ed.) *Comparative European Politics*, London: Routledge, p.248.

⁵⁵ Åsa Bengtsson, Kasper Hansen, Ólafur Hardarson, Hanne Narud and Henrik Oscarsson (2014), *The Nordic Voter: Myths of Exceptionalism*, Colchester: ECPR Press, pp.16, 64.

⁵⁶ Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson (2008), ‘The Nordic Countries: Compromise and Corporatism in the Welfare State’, in Josep Colomer (ed.) *Comparative European Politics*, London: Routledge, p.254.

seats'. The 'adjustment seats' are used to achieve a proportional distribution of seats between parties in the country as a whole, where patterns of constituency votes may upset this balance. A party must obtain a threshold of 4% to gain seats in parliament⁵⁷.

While essentially a PR party list system, Sweden also has 'weak' preferential voting. Voters have an option to vote for a candidate on the party list and where this vote exceeds 8%, this has the effect of altering the position of an individual candidate on a party list⁵⁸. This means that the electorate has the power to override where a political party places a candidate on the list by promoting an individual to a higher position. The distribution of seats is by a proportional Sainte Laguë formula.

While PR systems are considered more conducive to women's representation, mainly due to the ease of managing provisions for women on party lists, there is no quota in law for a balance of representation between the sexes.

Parliamentary Procedures

When Brigitta Dahl became Speaker of the Riksdag in 1995 she invited female representatives from each of the parliamentary party factions to form a Reference Group for Gender Equality to discuss how they could together make the best use of the higher representation of women. Since then, the Reference Group has worked towards a range of changes to parliamentary procedure, such as sitting times, childcare facilities, a plenary-free month and a gender equality plan for the parliament⁵⁹.

In 2004, the Riksdag commissioned a working group to look into improving gender equality and this group published a 15-point action plan in 2005. This consisted of the following proposed actions⁶⁰:

1. A gender programme for the Riksdag – A programme is to be developed for each mandate to set out how to increase gender equality in political life with a particular aim of improving qualitative equality, so that political participation is equal regardless of gender
2. Responsibility – The Director of the Riksdag will be responsible for the drafting of the gender programme and, once approved by the Riksdag management board, its implementation
3. Seminars for committee chairs, etc. – Seminars are to be held, at least twice in a mandate, for committee chairs, clerks and other key individuals to discuss

⁵⁷ 'The distribution of seats in the Riksdag', Riksdag website, accessed 19 August 2014: <http://www.riksdagen.se/en/How-the-Riksdag-works/Democracy/Elections/The-distribution-of-seats-in-the-Riksdag/>.

⁵⁸ Åsa Bengtsson, Kasper Hansen, Ólafur Hardarson, Hanne Narud and Henrik Oscarsson (2014), *The Nordic Voter: Myths of Exceptionalism*, Colchester: ECPR Press, p.87.

⁵⁹ Lenita Freidenvall (2013), 'Sweden: Step by Step – Women's Inroads into Parliamentary Politics' in Drude Dahlerup and Monique Leyenaar (eds), *Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.116.

⁶⁰ Arbetsgruppen för en Jämställd Riksdag (2005) *15 FÖRSLAG FÖR EN JÄMSTÄLLD RIKSDAG*, Stockholm: Riksdagstryckeriet: <http://data.riksdagen.se/fil/589F89BB-4755-4A9B-87DD-D9262F344976>.

parliamentary and committee work, culture, the role of the chair, etc., to include raising awareness of behaviour and behavioural patterns

4. Panel of Members – Formed from Riksdag Members, preferably 35 in number, the panel would be a focus for communication of issues and to carryout service surveys, etc.
5. Surveys and interviews with departing Members – Information is to be gathered from Members to gain insights into issues regarding how the parliamentary system works
6. Research, etc. – Research is to examine the work of the Riksdag from a gender perspective
7. Sex-disaggregated statistics – The Riksdag’s website is to be developed with gender statistics
8. Support for Members who consider themselves adversely affected – Professional counselling and advice is to be made available to those Members who have been mistreated
9. Induction for new Members – The induction process is to have a focus on informal learning of the processes of the Riksdag
10. Treatment issues in work plans, etc. – The possibility of including issues around treatment is to be considered for committee work plans, etc.
11. Meeting places for party groups – The secretariat is to provide accommodation for party groups to meet to discuss gender issues, etc., and committee staff may attend these sessions
12. An equality directive for all internal investigations, etc. – The results of any internal investigations should consider implications for gender equality and there should be a gender balance of investigating staff
13. Committee work plans, etc. – Members’ family situations are to be taken into account when compiling committee work plans
14. International Women’s Day – Attention is to be drawn to gender issues especially on International Women’s Day (8 March) each year through the laying of gender-related reports before the Riksdag on or near that day, etc.
15. Facts and figures – Members are to receive the publication *På tal om kvinnor och män* which contains statistics on women and men in Sweden

The Riksdag has in place a number of provisions to facilitate Members with caring responsibilities, including a commitment where possible not to meet during major school holidays, having ‘plenary-free’ weeks and childcare facilities⁶¹.

Gender is also taken into account in the scrutiny of the executive. For example, the Committee for Finance examines the annual budget for gender equality aspects as a matter of course. To assist with this, the annual Budget Bill has an appendix indicating gender disaggregation of expenditure⁶². For example, Appendix 3 to the Budget Bill 2014 includes information on how the budget contributes to government targets on gender equality⁶³.

Beyond numerical representation in parliament in general, participation in key deliberative processes of the legislature is an indicator of the extent of substantive representation. One of these deliberative venues is the parliamentary committee. Table 1 summarises the gender distribution of committee members.

Table 1: Riksdag Committee Membership by Gender

Committee	% Women
Housing/Interior	59%
Health and Welfare	59%
Education	59%
Labour market	47%
Industry	47%
International	47%
Justice	41%
Culture	41%
Environment and agriculture	41%

⁶¹ Contribution by Sweden to the FEMM Committee of the European Parliament on provisions for women’s representation, 2011:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/femm/dv/contribution_sweden_/contribution_sweden_en.pdf.

⁶² Inter-Parliamentary Union (2011), *Gender-Sensitive Parliaments*, Geneva: IPU, p.35:
<http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/gsp11-e.pdf>.

⁶³ Budgetpropositionen för 2014: Förslag till statens budget för 2014, finansplan och skattefrågor, Bilaga 3:
<http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/22/37/09/c4d88fcb.pdf>.

Social Insurance	41%
Traffic	41%
Constitution	29%
Taxation	29%
Finance	24%
Defence	18%
Total	42%

There are two things of note here: Firstly, the percentage of women in committee membership (42%) is lower than that of the total representation in the Riksdag (45%), meaning women are under-represented in a key deliberative forum. Secondly, there is a certain degree of gender segregation in the nature of committees, for example, women being in the majority in committees dealing with housing, health and education, whereas men predominate in committees dealing with issues such as defence and finance⁶⁴.

Political Parties

Eight political parties were represented in the Riksdag in the 2010-2014 mandate. Their number and sex distribution are given in Table 2⁶⁵.

Table 2: Percentages of Women in the Riksdag by Party

Party	Women	Men	% Women
Left party	11	8	58%
Green Party	14	11	56%
Social Democrats	54	58	48%
Moderate Party	51	56	48%
Liberal Party	10	14	42%

⁶⁴ Figures from Statistics Sweden (2014), *Women and Men in Sweden: facts and Figures 2014*, Örebro: Statistics Sweden, p.94.

⁶⁵ Figures from Statistics Sweden (2014), *Women and Men in Sweden: facts and Figures 2014*, Örebro: Statistics Sweden, p.93.

Christian Democrats	7	12	37%
Centre Party	7	16	30%
Sweden Democrats	3	17	15%
Total	157	192	45%

While there are no legal quotas, three parties have some kind of arrangement for a minimum number of women on party lists for Riksdag elections. Table 3 summarises these arrangements⁶⁶.

Table 3: Provisions for the Representation of Women in Parties

Party	Provision
Social Democratic Party	Zipper system: sexes alternate on party lists
Left Party	50% quota for women on party lists
Green Party	50% gender quota on party lists, plus or minus one person

In addition to these party rules, other parties have various policies or recommendations for equal representation, although not enforceable in the same way. Taken alone, the three parties with rules regarding candidate quotas do not have a majority of seats in parliament, so the measure cannot be considered the single causal factor for high levels of women's representation.

At the time of writing, there are two female party leaders⁶⁷ and seven male party leaders in the parties represented in the Riksdag. It has been argued that, despite the increased representation of women in politics, men still disproportionately predominate in leadership positions⁶⁸.

While not represented in the Riksdag in the 2010-2014 mandate, there is a feminist party, Feminist Initiative⁶⁹, which gained representation in the elections to the European Parliament in 2014⁷⁰. This party has a female leader (Gudrun Schyman) and the only

⁶⁶ From 'Sweden' on the Quota Project website, accessed 19 August 2014:

<http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?country=197>.

⁶⁷ The Green Party has two party leaders, one male and one female.

⁶⁸ Johanna Rikne and Olle Folke (2012), 'Kvinnor i politiken och män vid makten? Könkvotering och konkurrens i svenska kommuner', *Ekonomisk Debatt* 40(1), 16-21.

⁶⁹ Feministiskt Initiativ website: <http://gamla.feministisktinitiativ.se/engelska.php>.

⁷⁰ 'Feminism is about competition', *The Local* 8 August 2014: <http://www.thelocal.se/20140808/feminism-is-about-competition>.

other party of note, the Piratpartiet (Pirate Party), also with no seats in the Riksdag, has a female party leader (Anna Troberg)⁷¹.

Details of the parties represented in the Riksdag in 2014 are at Appendix 3.

Explanations for the Advancement of Women in Politics in Sweden

The level of representation of women in politics has attracted a range of studies to try to explain the promotion of women in public life. Explanations include the following:

- The traditional left-right politics in Sweden focussed on equality on the basis of individual rights and social-economic rights, however, a gender-aware ‘third way’ developed through a combination of alliances between elected women, women in government, women in parties, women in community groups, social movements and ad hoc groups campaigning for representation⁷²
- Increased numbers of women generated momentum through a ‘politics of presence’, where women have represented and promoted the interests of women better than men⁷³
- A ‘discursive turn’ in Swedish politics took place, driven by a two-fold approach in arguments for gender equality: redefining women’s issues as gender equality issues and framing women’s equality as a demand for greater democracy, but these demands are made in a context of the increased presence of women in institutions⁷⁴
- Rather than traditional motivational factors attributed to political movements, the pressure for women’s equality was driven by women themselves in Sweden, who had an interest in improving the society around them, and collective mobilisation by women on issues specific to women’s advancement⁷⁵
- Pressure placed in political parties by women’s movements within parties and outside parties led to special measures by the parties themselves to increase the number of women representatives⁷⁶
- Factors contributing to the participation of women have been the integration of women into party structures and political will, which are complemented by

⁷¹ ‘Who’s who in politics?’, *The Local* 5 September 2014: <http://www.thelocal.se/20140905/swedish-party-leaders>.

⁷² Maud Eduards (1991), ‘Toward a Third Way: Women’s Politics and Welfare Policies in Sweden’, *Social Research* 58(3), 677-706.

⁷³ Lena Wängnerud (2000), ‘Testing the Politics of Presence: Women’s Representation in the Swedish Riksdag’, *Scandinavian Political Studies* 23(1), 67-91.

⁷⁴ Diane Sainsbury (2004), ‘Women’s Political Representation in Sweden: Discursive Politics and Institutional Presence’, *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27(1), 65-88.

⁷⁵ Per Adman (2009), ‘The Puzzle of Gender-equal Political Participation in Sweden: The Importance of Norms and Mobilisation’, *Scandinavian Political Studies* 32(3), 315-336.

⁷⁶ Lenita Freidenvall (2013), ‘Sweden: Step by Step – Women’s Inroads into Parliamentary Politics’, in Drude Dahlerup and Monique Leyenaar (eds.), *Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 97-123.

relatively generous parental leave and have operated in a context of favourable institutional, socio-economic and cultural factors⁷⁷

In general, there are certain factors that recur among explanations for the level of participation of women in politics in Sweden. These can be summarised as follows:

1. A broad social tradition of participation in Sweden
2. A strong women's movement for participation driving a gender equality agenda
3. The political will for gender equality within government, political parties and the general public
4. A social context of state provision of support to enable women to participate, such as childcare and parental leave
5. Party policies as mechanisms for bringing more women into politics
6. The presence of women in public life adding momentum to generate more participation

These factors inter-relate to reinforce each other in maintaining a process of women's participation which becomes the norm.

⁷⁷ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and development (2014), *Women, Government and Policy Making in OECD Countries*, Paris: OECD, p.44.

4 Women and the 2014 General Election in Sweden

Elections to the Riksdag, municipal and councils take place every four years on the second Sunday in September. This paper focusses on the election to the Riksdag on 14 September 2014.

To stand for election, a candidate must be nominated by a political party. There is no requirement to register the name of a party, but doing so protects the party name. The parties themselves place ballot papers in the polling station, which are free to parties which gained 1% of the vote in the previous election, and these ballot papers either have the party name and a list of candidates or just a party name. Blank ballot papers are also available to the polling station.

The voter takes a ballot paper with the name of a party or a blank paper and writes the name of a party on it (yellow for elections to the Riksdag, blue for county council elections and white for municipal or European elections). The voter may then choose to nominate individual candidates (preference voting). If the party in question has not provided a list of candidates, the voter may write the name of a candidate on the ballot paper.⁷⁸

Candidate Selection

Candidates by party and gender are presented in Table 4. There is no adjustment made for position on the list. There are some examples of alternating male and female on party lists, but generally they are a mixture of male and female candidates without any specific pattern or order.

The table gives an indication of how the parties have prioritised the representation of women. Generally, parties have fielded female candidates roughly in proportion of women currently in the Riksdag, although the Christian Democrats, Centre Party and Sweden Democrats have fielded significantly more female candidates than is reflective of their pre-election representation.

Only the larger parties are included, therefore the total figure for the whole of Sweden – 45% - is not calculated solely from the parties shown in the table. The female candidate count is normally indicative of the number of women expected to be elected.

⁷⁸ Election Authority (2014), *Elections in Sweden*, Stockholm: Election Authority, pp.6-10:
http://www.val.se/sprak/engelska/Elections_in_Sweden_2014_juli_webb.pdf.

Table 4: Candidates in the 2014 Riksdag Election by Party and Gender⁷⁹

Party	% Female
Left party	53.3%
Green Party	50.7%
Social Democrats	49.7%
Liberal Party	43.6%
Christian Democrats	42.9%
Moderate Party	42.1%
Centre Party	44.1%
Sweden Democrats	30.2%
Sweden	45.2%

Party Policy

The election manifestos of the main parties for the 2014 election are discussed here in relation to the representation of women and gender equality. The Moderates, Centre Party, Liberal Party and Christian Democrats are combined as the centre-right electoral coalition Alliance.

Specific references to measures relating to gender equality in manifestos are as follows:

- Social Democrats⁸⁰:
 - Increase in female professors in higher education (p.20)
 - Equal rights and responsibilities for women and men in paid work and unpaid housework (p.21)
 - Reduction of the pay gap between women and men (p.21)

⁷⁹ 'Val till riksdagen - Ålder och kön: Kandidater', Valmyndigheten website, accessed 22 September 2014: <http://www.val.se/val/val2014/alkon/R/rike/alderkon.html#kandalkon>.

⁸⁰ Socialdemokraterna (2014), Kära Framtid, Valmanifest för ett Bättre Sverige, Stockholm: SD: http://www.socialdemokraterna.se/upload/val/Val2014/valloften/Socialdemokraternas_Valmanifest.pdf.

- Equal access to a good working environment and full time employment for women and men (p.21)
- Access to high quality welfare, especially for women, who bear most responsibility for child and family care (p.33)
- Abolition of tax for pensions up to the average rate for female pensioners (p.39)
- Actions against violence against women (p.41)
- More support for abused women (p.41)
- Improved clear-up rate for sex crimes (p.41)
- Review of sexual violence laws, including increased penalties (p.41)
- Criminalisation of the purchase of sex abroad (p.41)
- Alliance⁸¹:
 - Measures in support of women's health (p.18)
 - Women and men to have equal rights and power to shape their own lives (p.34)
 - Tax credits that benefit women (p.34)
 - Career advancement and better pay in female-dominated professions (p.34)
 - Equality bonus for parents to take equal amounts of parental leave (p.35)
 - Develop a tool for employers to identify factors that affect different pressures on women and men at work (p.35)
 - Work to prevent women leaving employment early due to work-related issues (p.35)
 - Investigation of options for dividing pensions more equally among women and men (p.35)
 - Conduct of an inquiry into mental health issues for young women (p.48)
 - Electronic tagging for more cases of restraining orders (p.89)
 - Evaluation of the impact of punishment for crimes against women and consideration of increased sentences (p.89)

⁸¹ Alliansen (2014), *Vy Bygger Sverige: Alliansens Vallmanifest 2014-2018*, Stockholm: Alliansen:
http://www.moderat.se/sites/default/files/attachments/vi_bygger_sverige_-_alliansens_valmanifest_2014-2018.pdf.

- Additional funds for county boards to tackle crimes against women and children, prostitution and human trafficking (p.90)
- Action against forced marriage (p.90)
- Secure funding for refuges for women and children (p.90)
- Continued support of programmes aimed at combating violence against women (p.90)
- Green Party⁸²:
 - Policy based on an anti-racism feminism that acknowledges how power systems inter-react (p.13)
 - Equal pay, right to full time work and breakdown of gender segregation in the labour market (p.13)
 - Investment in improving female-dominated professions (p.13)
 - Work to reduce mental health illness for women (p.13)
 - Parental leave to be divided into three equal parts: for the mother, the father and the third period for either parent or a close relative (p.13)
 - More prevention of men's violence against women, more investment in women's shelters, any form of sex without consent to be made illegal, mandatory training on sex crime for judges (p.14)
 - Investment in follow-on accommodation from women's shelters (p.14)
 - Quotas for women on boards of listed companies (p.14)
 - Focus on school health and child and adolescent psychiatry, which particularly affects young girls (p.14)
 - Introduction of legislation to ban sexist advertising (p.14)
 - Introduction of legislation on gender mainstreaming for all public bodies and application of a gender perspective to all policies (p.14)
 - Focus on women's health and maternity care (p.15)
 - Repeal of the Aliens Act, which locks women without residency in abusive relationships (p.19)
 - Assurance of women's participation in all peace processes in accordance with UN Resolution 1325 (p.22)

⁸² Miljöpartiet de Gröna (2014), *Valmanifest*, Stockholm: MP: <http://www.mp.se/politik/valmanifest2014>.

- Hours and conditions in male-dominated industries should also be agreed in industries dominated by women (p.24)
- Girls' and women's sports and interests should have the same conditions as those of boys and men (p.26)
- Sweden Democrats⁸³:
 - Improve the living conditions of older people, predominantly women (p.6)
 - Work towards a Sweden where men and women have the same rights and value (p.17)
 - Work towards a Sweden where people can break out of traditional gender roles, but also live in such a way if they choose to do so (p.17)
 - Improvement of working conditions in the female-dominated public sector (p.17)
 - Enhanced maternity pay (p.17)
 - Increased support for women's shelters and special shelters for victims of honour violence (p.17)
 - Higher degree of control over the Swedish contribution to UN missions, including increased support to persecuted Christians, women and LGBT people (p.21)
 - Increased child maintenance (p.22)

Programmes to improve the lives of women as a group are common features of all the manifestos. Such references are less prevalent in the manifesto for the Sweden Democrats, which also had the lowest representation in the Riksdag in the last mandate (15%). The Sweden Democrats have been described as a 'radical right populist party', which has tried to blend old nationalist ideas about traditional roles with a new nationalist discourse of Sweden as the most gender-equal nation in the world, but it has been argued that gender equality is an uneasy fit with nationalist ideology⁸⁴.

In the other manifestos, the following common themes emerge:

- Equality in employment, including measures for equal pay, equal working environments for women and men and career advancement for women
- Improved welfare for women, including tax and pension benefits

⁸³ Sverigedemokraterna (2014), *Vi Väljer Välfärd!* Stockholm: SD: <http://sverigedemokraterna.se/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Valmanifest.pdf>.

⁸⁴ Ann Towns, Erika Karlsson and Joshua Eyre (2014), 'The Equality Conundrum: Gender and Nation in the Ideology of the Sweden Democrats', *Party Politics* 20(2), 237-247.

- Options for a more equal distribution of parental leave
- Measures for women's health, particularly mental health and maternity care
- Protection of women from violence and improved provision for victims

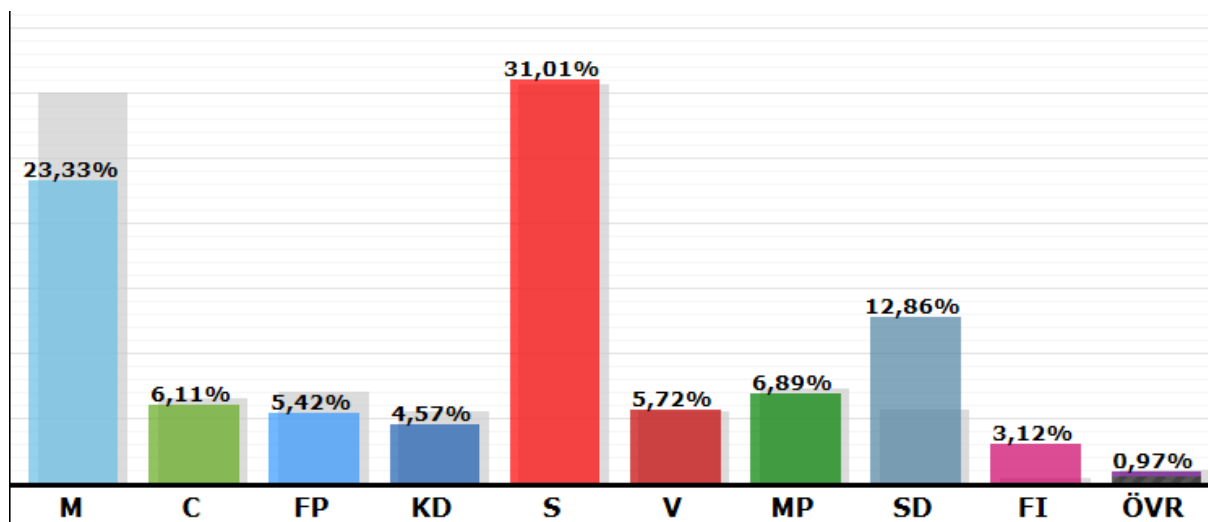
These proposals enhance what may be regarded as fairly comprehensive existing provisions. However, there are some more innovative proposals, such as the criminalisation of the purchase of sex abroad (Social Democrats), quotas for women on company boards and legislation to ban sexist language in the media (Green Party).

The language of political parties also suggests commitment to gender equality. For example, the Green Party manifesto has a section entitled 'Feminism and Equality' and the Liberal Party goes as far as to state that it is a 'feminist party'⁸⁵.

Election Results

Results from the election count indicate that the eight parties currently in the Riksdag have been returned. The Feminist Initiative has failed to reach the 4% threshold. The Social Democrats have the most votes, roughly on a par with the previous mandate. The biggest changes have been losses for the Moderates with a corresponding gain to the right wing Sweden Democrats.

Figure 1: Results for the Election to the Riksdag 14 September 2014⁸⁶



The elections returned 197 men and 152 women, making the new Riksdag 44% female⁸⁷, a decline of 1% on the previous mandate. Table 5 gives the results by party and gender.

⁸⁵ 'Feminism utan socialism', Liberal Party website, accessed 17 September 2014:

<http://www.folkpartiet.se/politik/hjartefragor/jamstalldhet/>.

⁸⁶ 'Val till riksdagen – Valnatt', Valmyndigheten website, accessed 22 September 2014:

<http://www.val.se/val/val2014/valnatt/R/rike/index.html>.

⁸⁷ 'Den nya riksdagen efter valet', Riksdag website, accessed 22 September 2014: <http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Start/Press-startsida/pressmeddelanden/201314/Den-nya-riksdagen-efter-valet/>.

Table 5: Women Elected to the Riksdag 2014 by Party⁸⁸

Party	% Female
Left party	57.1%
Green Party	50%
Social Democrats	47.1%
Liberal Party	26.3%
Christian Democrats	37.5%
Moderate Party	52.4%
Centre Party	42.9%
Sweden Democrats	22.5%
Sweden	43.6%

As can be seen, there is significant variation in the representation of women according to party (23% to 57%). Also of note is, if compared with Table 4 above depicting candidates by party, there is significant variation in the correlation between candidates and elected representatives, suggesting that the position on the party list is significant, rather than having a certain proportion of women.

⁸⁸ 'Invalda ledamöter 2014', Riksdag website, accessed 22 September 2014: <http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/ledamoter-partier/Invalda-ledamoter-2014/>.

5 Analysis: Factors Contributing to the Higher Representation of Women in Politics in Sweden

This section briefly discusses provisions in Sweden in the context of measures suggested internationally for the representation of women in politics. For the purposes of this paper, a six-step action plan for gender equality in elected office⁸⁹, prepared for the Organisation for Co-operation and Security in Europe (OSCE), is used as a framework for comparison.

Constitutional Rights

As highlighted above, Sweden has comprehensive statutory provision which provides for the protection of women from discrimination, generous parental leave, universal public childcare and legislation designed to protect women's autonomy and dignity, such as abortion rights and provisions against gender-based violence and exploitation through prostitution. These rights are subject to statutory oversight by government by the Minister for Gender Equality and through the independent Equality Ombudsman.

In terms of government policy, gender mainstreaming, gender-proofing of policies and gender budgeting contribute to overall measures for including gender equality in all areas of government business.

Electoral System

Sweden has a proportional list system for elections, which is regarded as the most conducive to gender equality in political representation, as it allows for the easy application of gender quotas by parties.

Legal Quotas

Sweden does not have legal quotas for political candidates.

Party Rules and Recruitment Procedures

Most of the larger political parties practice forms of positive discrimination or overtly espouse commitments to women's equal representation in politics. This includes the use of quotas in some parties, but also the election manifestos of all the major parties express a commitment to gender equality, with most putting forward a range of measures to implement gender equality principles.

Capacity Development

Women organise within political parties in Sweden as well as in the Riksdag, such as in the Reference Group for Gender Equality, and political parties actively support women's representation. In addition, women in politics in Sweden are supported by

⁸⁹ Pippa Norris and Mona Lena Krook (2011), *Gender Equality in Elected Office: A Six-Step Action Plan*, Warsaw: OSCE: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/78432>.

women's groups in the community, providing moral and political support to women in public office.

Parliamentary Reform

Measures within the Riksdag support the presence of women, such as family-friendly sitting times, childcare provision, gender equality principles applied in the work of the legislature and a commitment to supporting women representatives.

Sweden does not necessarily have all the processes in place that are considered conducive to increasing the political representation of women, as there are no legal quotas for election candidates. However, what appears to be more important in the presence of women in politics is the general context of gender equality throughout Swedish society. Also, the presence of greater numbers of women appears to have a momentum effect that generates greater representation.

This context of general gender equality recognises the need for further measures to improve women's representation: Sweden's women political representatives have never reached 50% of the Riksdag and Sweden has never had a female Prime Minister. This theme can be seen in the political manifestos summarised above, which contain proposals for further equality measures. Therefore, despite Sweden's claim to be the most gender equal country in the world, it is a work in progress.

Appendix 1: Women and Men in Sweden and Northern Ireland⁹⁰

	% Female in Sweden	% Female in Northern Ireland
Government Ministers	54%	27%
State Secretaries	37%	0%
Senior Judges	37%	0%
Managers	36%	37%
Public Appointments: Chairs	37%	19%
Public Appointments: Members	47%	33%
Self employed	36%	24%
University vice chancellors/directors	52%	0%
School principals	66%	56%
Schoolteachers	76%	76%
Heads of state health and social care organisations	57%	33%
State health and social care staff	83%	81%

Note: Figures have only been given where there is some degree of equivalence in available statistics.

⁹⁰ Figures for Sweden are taken from Statistics Sweden (2014), *Women and Men in Sweden: facts and Figures 2014*, Örebro: Statistics Sweden. Figures for Northern Ireland are from Research and Information Service Briefing Paper 79/14 *Who Runs Northern Ireland? A Summary of Statistics Relating to Gender and Power*, 19 June 2014: http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/Documents/RaISe/Publications/2014/assembly_exec_review/7914.pdf.

Appendix 2: Local Government Representation in 30 European Countries⁹¹

Country	% Women in Local Government	Country	% Women in Local Government
Sweden	43.2%	Bulgaria	25.3%
Spain	40.2%	Poland	25%
Iceland	39%	Netherlands	24.5%
Norway	38.5%	Lithuania	24.3%
Belgium	37.7%	Austria	23.3%
Finland	36.7%	Switzerland	22.4%
France	33.9%	Luxembourg	21.9%
Denmark	31%	Slovenia	21.6%
Latvia	30.5%	Slovakia	21.5%
Portugal	30.4%	Italy	19%
Estonia	29.7%	Malta	17%
UK	29%	Ireland	16.1%
Hungary	28.5%	Greece	14.4%
Germany	26.9%	Romania	13.9%
Czech Republic	25.5%	Croatia	13%

⁹¹ Figures taken from: Aksel Sundström (2013) *Women's Local Political Representation within 30 European Countries: A Comparative Dataset on Regional Figures*, Quality of Government Institute Working Paper 2013:18, Gothenberg: University of Gothenberg.

Appendix 3: Political Parties Represented in the Riksdag 2010-2014⁹²

Party	Name in English	Website	% Women	Quota?
Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetarparti	Social Democrats	www.socialdemokraterna.se	48%	Zipper
Moderata Samlungspartiet	Moderate Party	www.moderat.se	48%	No
Miljöpartiet de Gröna	Green Party	www.mp.se	56%	50%
Folkpartiet Liberalna	Liberal Party	www.folkpartiet.se	42%	No
Centerpartiet	Centre Party	www.centerpartiet.se	30%	No
Sverigedemokraterna	Sweden Democrats	www.sverigedemokraterna.se	15%	No
Kristdemokraterna	Christian Democrats	www.kristdemokraterna.se	37%	No
Vänsterpartiet	Left Party	www.vansterpartiet.se	58%	50%

⁹² Figures for August 2014 prior to the September elections, websites accessed 19 August 2014.

Appendix 4: Political Parties Represented in the Riksdag Following the 2014 General Election

<i>Party</i>	<i>Name in English</i>	<i>% Women</i>
Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetarparti	Social Democrats	47.1%
Moderata Samlungspartiet	Moderate Party	52.4%
Miljöpartiet de Gröna	Green Party	50%
Folkpartiet Liberalna	Liberal Party	26.3%
Centerpartiet	Centre Party	42.9%
Sverigedemokraterna	Sweden Democrats	22.5%
Kristdemokraterna	Christian Democrats	37.5%
Vänsterpartiet	Left Party	57.1%