Jens Gmeiner: From the "old" to the "new" moderates. Conditions for success and change processes of the Swedish Conservatives from 2002 to 2010, Books on Demand (BoD) 2020

Submitted as: Conditions for success for the Swedish Conservatives. Structures, actors and processes of change of the Moderate Party from 2002 to 2010

Brief overview of the structure:

1. INTRODUCTION: SUBJECT MATTER AND INTEREST IN THE STUDY

2. STATE OF RESEARCH IN THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND OWN LEVELS OF EXAMINATION

- 2.1 Research status and research gap on the Moderate Party
- 2.2 Party change Clarification of terms, preliminary considerations and approaches
- 2.3 Theoretical framework Parties between agency and structure
- 2.4 On the mission statement, content and trends of the Swedish model
- 2.5 Own approach: Levels of analysis and concrete questions of the work

3. RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODS, AND STUDY STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Research design and case selection
- 3.2 Material and methods
- 3.3 Structure of the study

4. IDEOLOGICAL AND WELFARE CONTEXT: THE "POLICY OF MARKET ADAPTATION"

- 4.1 Criticism and diagnosis of the Swedish model since the "long 1990s"
- 4.2 The new welfare compromise in the 1990s
- 4.3 The Swedish model between "people's home nostalgia" and market adaptation

5. HISTORY: FOUNDATION, RISE AND LIMITS OF THE MODERATE PARTY (1904–1999)

- 5.1 Origin, development of ideas, organization and electoral milieu of the Swedish conservatives
- 5.2 From the marginalized right-wing party to the leading party in the bourgeois bloc (1970–1999)

6. THE MODERATE PARTY IN THE OPPOSITION – THE TRANSITION TO THE "NEW MODERATES" (2002–2006)

- 6.1 The 2002 election defeat Electoral shock and intra-party window of opportunity for the moderates to change
- 6.2 Fredrik Reinfeldt's rise to party chairman of the moderates

- 6.3 Party organization, party leadership and changes within the party under Fredrik Reinfeldt
- 6.4 From the "old" to the "new" moderates? Strategies, change concepts and change processes
- 6.5 Legitimation and Resistance Anchoring the change of course in the party organization
- 6.6 The "Alliance for Sweden" Bourgeois alliance politics against the social democrats
- 6.7 The 2006 parliamentary elections Results and analyzes

7. THE MODERATE PARTY IN THE GOVERNMENT – THE RISE OF THE "NEW MODERATES" TO THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT PARTY (2006–2010)

- 7.1 Alliance politics in government Overcoming bourgeois fragmentation
- 7.2 Voter orientation and program The "new moderates" on the way to the "catch-all party"
- 7.3 Swedish social democracy between departure and dissolution
- 7.4 Party competition in times of bloc politics and financial crisis
- 7.5 The 2010 general election Results and analyzes

8. SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND OUTLOOK – THE CHANGE PROCESSES AND CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS OF THE MODERATE PARTY

- 8.1 From the "old" to the "new moderates" Classification and evaluation of the change processes
- 8.2 Semantics as well as leadership and communication style of the "new moderates"
- 8.3 The success conditions of the Moderate Party between 2002 and 2010 Alliance arena, party competition, voter arena
- 8.4 The political legacy of the "new moderates" Outlook on society, the welfare state and the party system

SUMMARY:

In comparative political science, Sweden is regarded as an ideal-typical example of a universal welfare state and as a social democratic stronghold in Europe. Between 1932 and 2006, the social democrats did not hold office as a governing party for only nine years. Bourgeois and conservative parties have been marginalized by this dominance of social democracy in the political and scientific debate. However, since the 1990s at the latest, structural erosion processes of "social democratic" Sweden have become apparent, which also manifested themselves in party politics with the longest period of bourgeois government from 2006 to 2014 under the liberal-conservative Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt.

Under the leadership of Fredrik Reinfeldt, the liberal-conservative Moderate Party, the strongest party in the bourgeois spectrum since 1979, has been de-ideologizing itself programmatically, representational and in its address to voters since 2003. Starting in 2005, the moderates called themselves "new moderates" and integrated original Swedish symbols and central concepts of welfare culture. In addition, with the label "Sweden's New Labour Party", the party aggressively challenged Swedish social democracy with its employment policy. The "new moderates" were able to take over the government in the 2006 election and four years later, in the 2010 election, they were almost on a par with the once dominant social democrats with 30 percent.

On the one hand, the thesis examines party change and conditions for success of the Moderate Party in selected political and thematic areas during the opposition phase (2002 to 2006) and in the government from 2006 to 2010. The thesis asks about the central change actors in the party and about resistance and legitimation processes within the party organization. The work also asks after key terms and programmatic changes of the Moderate Party as well as after the address to the voters. For the evaluation and classification of the "new moderates", a historical and developmental analysis of the party is assigned a central role.

On the other hand, learning processes on earlier bourgeois government formations as well as the compromise finding and milestones of the "Alliance for Sweden" are analyzed and historically contextualized. In the run-up to the 2006 election, all four bourgeois parties (Moderate Party, Liberals, Center Party, Christian Democrats) had committed themselves for the first time in their history to a common election platform called "Alliance for Sweden". In addition, the thesis also sheds light on alliance politics in the center-left spectrum as well as party competition and goes into more detail on structural changes in the welfare state and the social change in Swedish society.

The focus of the thesis is also the investigation of the respective elections in 2006 and 2010. Based on the empirical election data, it could be shown that the Moderate Party penetrated into the core social democratic milieus, but at the same time was able to win over former liberal and Christian Democratic voters as well as non-voters. In socioeconomic terms, however, the "new moderates" did not constitute a "workers party" in the composition of their electorate but continued to be a party of higher employees and entrepreneurs, which speaks more for continuity than change.

The subject of the work is party research and political cultural research. The study is empirically based on own expert interviews, national Swedish press coverage, secondary literature, data on post-election surveys, programmatic documents and biographies.