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Shaping Equal Gender Policy in Sweden in 1960-70-s

Today the Swedish welfare state is based on a dual breadwinner model. Apart from circumstances directly related to childbirth, married women are covered by the same labour, tax and social security legislation as men. The state uses separate taxation, generous public day-care provision for pre-school children and extensive programs of parental leave to encourage married women – mothers to remain in gainful employment. The norm is to have two children, though there are many families with three children. According to American organization “Save Children” Sweden is the most child-friendly country in the worldi.

According to the Swedish Statistic (Statistiska centralbyrån) women work almost at the same extend as men. Especially in the years of 45-54 the number is adequate - 90% men and 88% women. Though in the age of 25-34, when the families are building, women’s work frequency is decreasing (only 74% against men’s 84%) but still remains rather high.

Motherhood has been democratized. Marriage is not a prior requirement for childbirth any more. In 1990, 50 % of births were outside marriage, although most of the mothers were cohabiting with a manii.

Swedish women are strongly represented in political life. After 2002 elections there are 45,3 % women in the Parliament. They are also well represented in political parties, municipal- and county councils.

Swedish state is also based on a dual parents model. Both parents are supposed to take equal responsibility over children. In 2001 88 % of parents with children under 1-17 years had common childcare. Among families with children under 1-5 years this number is even higher – 94 %.

Origins of the equal gender policy refer to the end of 1950-s and mostly to the beginning of 1960-s. Because of Sweden hasn’t been participating in wars in 200 years and defense expenditures were relatively low money was available for the social welfare and educational programs introduced after the war. Neutrality during the Second World War left Sweden with its industrial base intact in an excellent
market position on the war-damaged European continent. This along with Sweden’s abundance of natural resources (especially timber and minerals) contributed to postwar economic expansion, which is in turn led to the need of labor power. There were only two ways of getting labour power – from outside (immigrants) or from inside (women). In the 1950-s there was made a choice in favor to women rather to immigrants in the labor market, despite the fact that during the 1950-s still every year 10 000 immigrants came to Sweden. The main reasons were: women already had place to live, society connections, knowledge of Swedish and were loyal to employer, Swedish trade unions and domicile. In 1951 started working Labor markets women’s board (Arbetsmarknadens Kvinnonämnd) – cooperation organ between The Swedish Employers’ Confederation (SAF), The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and The Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO). They solved problems concerning labor market, especially equal pay questions. Its work was provided in the nearest contact with power structures and institutions, press, radio and TV.

The beginning of the 1960-s is marked not only by the lack of labor in that work, which has been recently dominated by men, the urbanization also created new working places for women. So women got a wide choice of work. At the same time public center of economy increased, that created new workplaces by itself. Economic conditions were favorable: rapid technological progress in agriculture and industry, few industrial conflicts and strength of unionized labor.

The greater number of workingwomen automatically increased the number of women inside the trade union movement (by 1970-29% women in LO, 43% -TCO) and this is in its turn obliged trade union leaders to pay more attention than previously to the problems of women. The great number of workingwomen also forced politicians to take a more active interest to the problems currently faced by women than they had done before since such women constituted an important section of the electorate.

The absence of war and male war heroes not only may have helped save money for welfare spending, but also may have made male dominance and traditional made worldviews appear less legitimate. This may have helped women gain positions of political power in Sweden and contributed to the ascendancy of the equality model which emphasizes the value of nurturing children.

So, the main change in 1960 was that the women got the possibility and were encouraged to work out of the household. Women started providing family maintenance. By the beginning of the 1970-s it
became widely acceptable in the society that every individual should be responsible for his / her own maintenance. Mother’s role and housewife’s role were no longer primarily women’s ideal. “The bloodless revolution”, according to the terminology of C. Florin and B. Nilson, is the introducing of dual breadwinner family in every household. One of the reasons why it became possible is that the housewife’s role wasn’t so strongly cemented in Swedish family culture. It was rather “many breadwinner model” – where every member of the family worked, both mother and father, even children”, which refers back to the history in the agrarian society.

But still it was quite unusual especially after 1940-s, when it was some kind of a privilege, which became possible even for workers, to have a housewife at home. A man was proud of that he could let his wife to be out of the work. A man had his role as a family breadwinner; a woman had also the only role as a housewife. In the 1960-s appeared a term “two roles of the woman”. The beginning of the 1960-s was the times of destruction of the “housewives contract” in Y. Hirdman’s terminology. In 1965 appeared new radio course, which was made to encourage women who started thinking about gainful employment but hesitated and didn’t dare to begin working. At the same time debates on joint taxation abolishment started. Of course there appeared a protest from housewives. Later on, in the beginning of 1970 a special company under the leadership of Britta Nordsröm (“professorska från Täby”) was organized. In the end of February 1970 there was the “first housewives demonstration in history” in Stockholm. In 1964 the member of Social democratic party Nancy Eriksson published her book “Only a housewife” as a resistance to the public opinion of woman should be at work, where she defended “so pitiful housewife, who is so out-of-day, because she has only one role is regarded as societies parasite”.

It is very interesting to notice that housewife was “out-of-day”. Almost the same expression I’ve met in the magazine “Hertha”, published by Fredrika Bremer Association, where the chief-editor wrote in 1964: “Women’s question is in of fashion now”.

What made it ”trendy”? In 1961 appeared a rather radical article, written by Eva Moberg, “Women’s conditional liberation”, where she wrote about two roles of men and women or more correctly to say one role as a person. In 1962 was published the research work of Rita Liljeström and Edmund Dahlström “Women’s life and work”. The women’s issues started to be discussed in press, radio and television. It was also the influence of Group 222, which was consisted of the people with university
degrees, liberals and social democrats, sociologists Annika Baude, Rita Liljestöm, Edmund Dahlström, economists Per Holmberg, Rudolf Meidner, psychologist Irene Mattis and others. They met once a month. Even Olof and Lisbeth Palme attended their meetings. It was a lobby-group to drive women’s issues and to influence the society by mass media, private contacts, public work etc.

It was the Liberal party who started to tell about two roles of a woman and consider women’s issue to be a part of society’s interest. In 1960 the leader of Liberal party Bertil Ohlin said that “there is much more to do, before the character of the Swedish society as “men’s society” would entirely disappear and complete equality between women and men would be achieved. This question is not of the only women’s special interest, but of the whole parties general interest. The aim for political and societies work in 1960-s is to achieve this equality.

In the social-democratic program of 1960 one also can find an item about gender equality.

In 1962 the Swedish Communist party organized a women’s conference, which discussed forms and methods in work among women, and the methods of encouraging them to participate in politics. They emphasized women’s growing role in society because of more women took part in productive work. They realized that in the future the women’s conflict between production and reproduction would be more stressed. The party decided to turn to women’s questions directly and involve more women. Women’s issue was also discussed in the party’s central committees meeting in 1963. They proclaimed equality between sexes as the main item and told that both men and women should play the same role in production (but nothing was said about the family) and emphasized that women’s position in the family depends on her position in production. They also marked how important is to break conservatism in the view of women’s capability to get work, in education, childbearing etc.

In autumn 1963 the chairperson of the Center party woman’s federation (CKF) Karin Andersson was asked to formulate the main streams of Center party’s future family policy visions. In 1964 Center party issued its parliamentary bill where was written about home-care allowance and the demand of the freedom of choice of the parents between housework and gainful employment, between home or society’s child-care. During 1964-79 Center women made 30 statements considering family policy. Comparing to other questions this is a quite large number. Family policy became the central question for the CKF and for the whole party.
According to the decision made in 1962’s year national conference of the Conservative party’s special committee for creating family policy program with the help of conservative women was appointed. Its main stream was to strengthen family bands. Family must choose its life form by itself. The conditions of the families with small children should be improved. “The positive attitude to home and family is the conservatives’ main choice”

In the Liberal’s party program of 1962, the possibility for a married woman to have a freedom of choice between housework and gainful employment was proclaimed. In 1966 concept “woman” was replaced by “parents with small children”. So it can be concluded that from this point two roles of both parents had become acceptable.

In 1966 all the party leaders, except T. Erlander, were asked by the journalist from “Vi kvinnor” magazine published by Swedish Women’s Left Association (SKV)\textsuperscript{xv}, what measures do they consider to be important to amend sex-roles patterns and what they are going to do. Here are the answers:

G. Hedlund, (c): “Present sex-role patterns mostly depend on one’s attitude and less on formal measures and regulations in society…”.

C. H. Hermansson, (vpk): “The basis of present sex-role patterns is our society’s structure. This is the capitalistic way of production and its demand that shapes roles and causes discrimination. Society system should be changed”.

B. Ohlin, (fp): “The main influence is caused by education”.

Y. Holmberg, (m): “What I can’t accept is the tendency to regard housewives as labour market reserve. Woman should get freedom to choose if she wants to be at home and take care of the children or search for gainful employment and leave children for child-care service”.

It is very significant, that no one said, that there is nothing to change.

Two years later in 1968 “Hertha” tested the politicians, using E. Dahlström’s method\textsuperscript{xvi}. He divided the public opinion, concerning women’s issues into three groups: 1 – conservative: “woman should be at home”, 2 – moderate – “woman should take care of children, when they are small and then get job”, 3 – radical – “men and women should both work and share the housework”. 5 leaders of the parties were asked. None considered himself to be a conservative. On the contrary, everybody, except Y. Holmberg, called themselves radical.
I can conclude that from the beginning of 1960-s all the political parties were included in discussing women’s issue in terms of family question or working life question.

The women’s issue was taken by the whole society so it was even put up the question, are the separate women’s federations really required? Women’s federation from left till right wing began to defend themselves and prove that their work was necessary and the work for equality was not finished yet. In 1966 in interview given to Dagens Nyheter the chairperson of The Women’s Association of the Conservative party xvii (MKF) Ethel Floren-Winter told that “women’s federations are in need as pressure groups. On that day when equality will be achieved they will be dissolved by themselves” xviii. In 1967 an article in Svenska Dagbladet under title “It’s a political suicide for the political parties to abolish women’s federations now” was published. Ethel Florin-Winther proclaimed that “this position that Swedish women have today depends in a great extend on the women’s federation’s activity”. In the same article the chairperson of the women’s federation of Liberal party Ingegärd Fränkel told that “women’s federations exist of course not for their own sake but to activate women to political parties. That day when women make a good showing there women’s federations can be abolished” xix. In 1969 appeared the booklet of The Federation of Social Democratic Women ”Why women’s federation?” xx. These debates were continued during the 1970-s. In 1978 a MKF’s leaflet appeared ”Women’s federations are in need”xxi. I think if the women’s federations had been abolished there would be no continuation of work for gender equality. It was the certain role of women’s federations of political parties (except The Swedish Left - Communist party, which had no special women’s federation, but The national committee on women’s issues), which took part in shaping family policy and could express their points of view concerning those questions.

How could women’s organizations influence the society and government?

The ways of influence by women’s organizations:

Formal:

1. Demonstrations
2. Own published materials – magazines, posters
3. Materials, given to Mass Media
4. Meetings, conferences, seminars, trainings
5. Participating in public inquiries (SOU), state committees

6. Influence to the party, if it’s a political organization

Informal

1. Lobby-groups

2. Private meetings

And all this sometimes was possible even with cooperation with other political and non-party women’s (and not women’s) organizations.

In 1967 FBA started a company for more women in politics. In cooperation with other political parties they made an investigation about women in municipal policy. The Local FBA’s organization in Malmö sent for all women letters with list over all political parties with addresses and telephone numbers. Following “Choose your party and be its member” ended the letter. On FBA’s initiative a cooperation committee for increasing of women’s political representation was introduced in 1967. All the women’s federations including The national committee on women’s issues of the Swedish Left Party took part in it.

On 12 of October 1972 FBA organized the conference under motto “More women in politics”. There gathered representatives of Center Party, social democrats, The Swedish Left party, The Liberal Party, conservatives also such famous and important persons as Alva Myrdal, Camilla Odhnoff, second vice-speaker of the Parliament Cecilia Nettelbrandt.

The company “More women in politics” was rather successful. During the press conference in October 1973 FBA presented the results of elections concerned women’s participation. The number of mandates won by women in Parliament increased from 14 till 21%, in county councils - from 15 till 19%, in municipal councils - from 14 till 18%.

In Hertha, 1973, № 3 interviews with all the representatives of women’s federations of all political parties were published. The topic was dedicated to the problems preventing women from taking active part in politics. Besides political and societies problems the physiological moment was stressed that was expressed by Birgitta Hambraelius (c): “The most important reason is the lack of self confidence. We women are often very self-critical.

The type of political system that exists in Sweden has also made it possible for women to exert influence over social policy. Swedish political system is based on proportional representation. Voters do
not register support for individual candidates, which can work to the disadvantage of candidates (like women) who could be victims of social stereotyping. An individual candidate wins office based on the size of the popular vote for the party, which the electorate has given as well as on that candidate’s ranking on the party list. Working in women’s federations of the parties’ women gradually worked their way up through the party hierarchies.

The questions of women’s representation in political life also raised up the problem of quotation. In the beginning of 1960-s the strongest argument against quotation in Swedish Communist Party was that political qualifications don’t depend on sex. This was changed in 1972, when the national congress of the party recommended that women’s level of representation in all the party’s decision-making bodies should be at least as high as their proportion of party members. In 1976 a study-circle course dealing with feminist issues was introduced and has since attracted a great many participants. The national committee on women’s issues has worked to establish local counterparts, which in their turn involve themselves in issues affecting women in their own districts. Women’s issues were viewed as the responsibility of the entire party. The goal became to bring the feminists aspects of a problem into the discussion of every issue at every level.

According to a decision taken at the Liberal party’s national congress in 1978, neither sex is to have less than 40% of the places in any of the party’s own organs, regardless of level.

Neither Center Party nor Swedish Moderate party introduced quotations.

In interview given to A. Kullenberg Anna-Greta Leijon remembers that at the first time she suggested quotation in 1966 in the Järfalla’s branch of the Social Democratic party. Only two persons supported her. At that moment it was too early. In the end of 1960-s beginning 1970-s The Federation of Social Democratic Women demanded the increasing of women’s representation in the party. And it was Olof Palme who made the old “women’s issue” the party’s issue, when he took over the leadership of the SAP. It was the tactic that would make social democrats the leading party in issue of gender equality. And this issue would be an important part of social democratic policy.

Palme’s speech on the Party congress on the 2nd of October 1972 is considered to be a backlash moment in female situation, which turned SAP to the women’s friendly policy. He said: ”The ambition to achieve equality for women should be laid on the foundations of working life. Vi must uphold women’s
right for work... After 50 years of introducing the women’s right of vote, women are still strongly under represented in political efforts and organizations. Women should substantionally increase their activity in politics and trade unions… Party administration should in cooperation with women’s federation and other branch organizations formulate outlines to make women step by step widen their political activity in working communities and associations and thus in political representative assemblies…

He told even about men’s responsibility at home. Of course, this idea was not new, but it was quite revolutionary for the SAP, which until that time wasn’t radical in women’s issues: "Further: women’s gainful employment leads, if equality principal will be in effect, for the change of traditional labor division in the household. One of the greatest political tasks of the 1970-s is to shape the society, where sources are constructed for person’s need of service and fellowship…The women’s liberation wouldn’t be achieved if the work in the household is not shared between man and woman in more reasonable way than now and if attitudes to what is "femine” and ”masculine” are not changed.

It’s interesting to notice that the party congress wasn’t the first place, where Olof Palme presented his visions, concerning gender equality.

In Hertha, 1970 № 3 the interview with present Prime Minister Olof Palme was published, where he declared: “Social democrats strive for equality between sexes. Until now women’s problem have been dominated in public debates. But the change of society in that direction, which we want, needs the change of both roles women’s and men’s… This is an excellent watchword – not to speak only about “women’s” but also “men’s emancipation”… Men’s role is also going to be changed in charge of more freedom of choice in professional work, better possibilities for contacts with child, less economical and prestige press. Shortly speaking both women and men will have it better”.

In the same year Olof Palme gave a lecture to the Women’s National democratic Club, Washington DC under the title “The emancipation of men”. Abstract was published in English in Hertha: “Sociologists consider that one should not speak of “the problem of women’s role in society” but of “the sex-role problem” in order to emphasize that the problem also concerns the traditional male role. This designation is now becoming generally occupied… The greatest disadvantage with the male sex role is that the man has too small a share in the upbringing of the children…Men should from the beginning have just as much contact with their children as the woman. And we should have both men and
women as child nurses, kindergarten teachers and primary school teachers”. But here he didn’t tell anything about men and domestic work. Though it can be concluded, that the project of the congress speech was ready long before year 1972. However this congress’ speech is the institutionalizing the issue in the party. The sex-role debates of the 1960-s and the influence of women’s organizations made the background for taking the gender equal policy into consideration. But I also consider that gender equality was the part of general equality and the main feature of the Swedish model, created by social democratic government. That is why it was easy and logical for SAP to accept it.

In 1968 Tage Erlander told that "equality is not at all limited only by relationships between man and woman, it is also in a great extent a question of rich and poor, young and old, black and white people"xxxiv.

One year later the first report from SAP-LO s committee concerning equality issues appeared. "What do we mean by equality? Demand for justice. The principle that all the persons are equivalent has been given the significance by social democracy, that all the persons have the same rights to get wealthy and developing life… Equality demands a society where working life is more adapted to the individuals conditions and desire, where complete living environment is created, which makes contacts between different generations and groups of society possible and obstructs categorizing and where individuals get more possibilities to take part in a decision process that influence their immediate life situation, working life, place of living etc’xxxvi.

It is difficult to understand why so much attention was paid to gender equality issue if it’s discussed without the context of the social policy and general equal policy, aimed to creating equality in incomes, possibilities, living conditions, different areas of the country and so on. The “Swedish model” is defined at the great extent by equality and safety for all. It is the policy of justice for all.

The Palme’s speech on the Party Congress of 1972 concerned this issue too: ”The political work for women’s equality is the question of all the of all society’s spheres. That is why the work of putting a reform into effect should be coordinated with the general outlook”xxxvii.

"We must take up the special measures for women’s education in the labor market, for help for old and disabled persons, regional policy measures etc. Everything for the aim to help individual in her or
his particular situation and so increase his or her freedom of choice and liberate him or her from the markets power forcexxxviii.

This idea got its development in the world’s conference in Mexico on 23 of June 1975. Olof Palme was almost the only representative of the government; other world’s political actors had sent their wives instead: "The gap between the poor and rich widens. Millions of persons are forced to live in poverty, need and hunger, in a permanent struggle for surviving. This is the reality that predominant world’s women like men meet. If we want to liberate women we should change these circumstances… It reflects at the same time how are the Swedish debates of equality between sexes not only women’s conditions concern but also men’s. They claim that the changed women’s role assumes that also men’s role changes… That is why one tells also about men’s liberationxxxix.

Since the beginning of 1970-s it can be concluded that the implementation of gender equal policy began. Here are the laws introduced:

Individual Taxation Act 1971

Governmental Committee on equality between man and women 1972

New Family laws 1973-74

Parental Leave Insurance Act 1974

The Law of Free Abortion 1975

Parliamentary Commission on Equal Status 1976

Ministry of Equal Status 1976

Decree for Gender Equality in the Civil Service 1976

Right to a 6-Hour Day for Parents with Small Children 1979

Law Against Gender Discrimination in Employment 1979

It was at certain extent the role of Governmental Committee on equality between man and women under the supervision of the Prime Minister which was the institutionalization of equal gender issue in 1972, in promoting the work for gender equality in the labor market, government and society. It started working from the beginning of 1973. It was consisted of a “large” council and a “small” council. All party’s women’s organizations, FBA and a special reference group participated in its work. The main decisions were made: establishment of 100 posts in employment service, which especially should devote
their work to women’s problems in the labor market; a special allowance was introduced, which consisted of 5 SEK per hour for the company, which employs women or men in such jobs, which are dominated by opposite sex. Later it was suggested to increase it till 14 SEK. Equal opportunities council also took part in working on reports, such as SOU “Women in state post”, “Aim is equal gender policy” and others. They continued to promote the idea of two gender roles. 15-16 of November 1975a seminar “Man has also double role” was organized. It’s significant that after elections 1976 which had been lost by social democrats, the bourgeois parties’ coalition remained it almost unchangeable, though under the new name. In 1976 Parliamentary Commission on Equal Status replaced Governmental Committee on equality between man and women. The way of organization remained the same. In many cases committee continued or finished the work provided by the commission. By 1977 the bill was introduced for public authorities to make annual plans for providing general equality, the work continued to take away the rule, according to which the person applying for stipendium had to prove the spouse’s income. The new vacation law was introduced. The right for the same period of vacation, independent of the duration of the working day, was very important for those who worked part time\textsuperscript{xii}.

The main reform in regarding women and men as individuals responsible for their own maintenance is introducing individual taxation, which was in Sweden since 1902\textsuperscript{xiii}. It was very important and made it profitable for women to work outside the house. That was the reform, which made the women’s “second role” permanent. On the other hand the introducing of Parental Leave Insurance Act, which changed maternity benefit into parent-benefit allowed economically for men to have the “second role” as a parent. The Act introduced the possibility for fathers of newborn children to have paid leave to take care of their children.

The end of the 1960-s – beginning of the 1970-s were also marked by the general radicalization in Sweden. In 1969 the radical new women’s organization Group 8 appeared which caused it’s influence, especially in press. There was a cooperation work in the 1970-s between even moderate FBA and radical Group 8. The members met each other, lectured and worked together\textsuperscript{xliii}.

One of the examples of women’s cooperation work is the struggle for public day care nurseries. In 1975 the demonstration took place in Stockholm under the motto “We need god kindergartens now”. Group 8 struggled for possibility for all children between half and 12 years to have a place in day-care
In the decision of the child care’s problem there was two variants – public childcare centers (vpk, s, Group 8) and child care allowance (m, c, fp, FBA). The bourgeois organizations insisted on the freedom of choice of the parents. During the end of 1960-s – 1970-s the representatives of these parties issued bills with the suggestion of introducing it, but still no success.

It’s very significant that the gender equal policy was considered by all society’s agents to be useful for the better society. In the end of the 1970-s every political party had it’s own program concerning gender equality. Swedish official gender policy was concerned mostly the labor market and family situation. The regard of women’s organizations, especially Group 8 was in sexual liberation (the struggle for right for free abort, till example). They worked in cooperation over questions concerning childcare and 6 hours working day. The personal became political.

Women’s organizations caused the influence of society in that part, that they created the possibility to provide two roles of a person. In Russia, for instance, where the liberation of the women was provided by the state, only women have two roles, and men still one. It is still the responsibility of only women to bring up children, nothing to say about household work. This is the main difference. If it was only the state that created women’s liberation, women in Sweden would still have two roles and men the one. But gender equal policy accepted this part from women’s organizations.

The Swedish political system is based on the compromise and consensus between different opinions. This feature made it possible to influence the policy. The pre-school teacher in 1970-s Lena Stråle told in the witness seminar, organized by Södertörns Högskola on 7.05.2003 “It was possible to do something”. The same idea one can find in Gunnel Thorgren book about Group 8 – it was possible to change something, to influence the politics, politicians and society. I think that the equal gender policy is the result of this consensus. And as in every consensus it’s in between, “the golden middle” and of course there are unpleasant agents from both sides. And feminists point out to problems, which still remain in Swedish society:

Women still don’t work in the same extent as men. 41% of workingwomen have part-time job respective 8% of men. Lady-bosses are only one forth of all chefs. Only 19% in private sector, but 55% in public sector, which means that women are still more connected with public sector and it’s easier for them to make a career there. At present there are only 11% single mothers respective 1% fathers in
Sweden. But all the leaders of political parties except Christian-democrats call themselves feminist and that’s something.

Thinking about Russia I can conclude that the problem of gender equality is not considered to be the society’s problem, the state problem. It is still connected with the women’s and only women’s issue. What we need today is to raise this problem and make it the concern of the whole society. There are around 1500 female organizations in Russia, but they are rather week. Some of them act as lobby-groups, the Party for Protecting Women tried to pass 4 % barrier in the last elections but no success, Ella Pamfilova, the only women-candidate in the president elections got little bit more than 1 % of the votes.

And the main difference in our society, comparing it to Swedish society, is that no one “simple” person – medium Russian, I don’t mean politicians, thinks that he (she) can influence the policy and change something.

1 Stockholm City. 7.05.2003. S. 8
4 Qvist G. Policy towards women and the women’s struggle in Sweden // Scandinavian journal of history, 1980, vol. 5. P. 69
9 Hertha. 1964. № 2. S. 1
9 This can be one of the reasons of Olof Palme’s interest to the women’s issues.
10 FPK-nytt. 1960. № 1. S. 1
15 Hertha, 1968. № 1. P. 34
In 1969 the Conservative party changed its name to Moderate party – Moderata Samlingspartiet. Women’s Association became the Women’s Association of the Moderate party.

Dagens nyheter. 1966. 8.03. S. 18

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Kvinnoföreningar behövs. MKF. Stockholm, 1978

Hertha, 1967, Nr 5. S. 2

Hertha, 1973, Nr 3. S. 10


The quotation of the candidates for elections in VPK was introduced in 1990, in SAP – since 1993.


Hertha, 1970, Nr 3. S. 12


Hertha Nr 3. S. 5


Thorgren, G. Grupp 8 och jag. Stockholm, 2003