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*Policies on Homosexuality in the Swedish Parliament
between 1933-2010*

Master's Thesis

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Author: Markus Sjöln Gustafsson
Supervisor: Per Adman

Abstract

This study looks at the development in policy towards homosexuals in Sweden from criminalization to constitutional protection. A study on the ideational development in parliament has yet to be conducted. By studying the frames expressed in the official documents between 1933 and 2010 the study analyses ideas in terms of problems and solutions to describe how change occurred. The result is that Swedish policy towards homosexuals has been determined by two frames of understanding: a sexual frame and an emotional frame. The policy process of the frames developed similarly in terms of institutionalization. Initially both frames saw homosexuals as dangerous which resulted in a different legal status. The frames gradually harmonized with a new scientific understanding that reinterpreted homosexuality as harmless and the different legal status problematic.

Keywords: LGBT-rights, Swedish Parliament, frame analysis, path-dependency, critical junctures, policy, harmonization

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
1. Introduction	4
1.1 Previous research	6
2. Theoretical framework.....	10
2.1. Difference, harmonization and policy	10
2.2 Ideas as institutions	13
2.3 Theoretical framework to describe policy changes	14
3. Analytical framework - Frame analysis and frame construction	15
3.1 Institutionalization of Frames	16
4. Design and material.....	18
4.1 Critical assessment of the design	19
5. Analysis.....	21
5.1 1933-1944: A sexual frame of understanding – special protection	21
5.2 1951-1970: A sexual frame of understanding – contestation	29
5.3 1971-1978: A sexual frame of understanding – harmonization	32
5.4 1979-1994: An emotional frame of understanding – special status.....	38
5.5 1995-2010: An emotional frame of understanding – harmonization.....	52
6. General discussion	66
7. Conclusion	71
8. References.....	73
Appendix 1 Official documents concerning homosexuals	76
Appendix 2 Time line over the major events between 1933-2010	82
Appendix 3 Word list.....	83

1. Introduction

One of the difficulties in studying society is that it is constantly changing. In previous research it has been described that Sweden entered into a modern understanding of homosexuality around the 1900s (Rydström, 2003). Up until 1944, homosexual relations were a criminal offence in Sweden. The subject of homosexuality was sensitive, associated with shame and bad morals. In 2010, all parties voted to include an explicit protection against discrimination because of sexual orientation in the Swedish constitution, making any unmotivated differential treatment illegal. Historically, Sweden has had a negative view on homosexuals, but the last decades saw a dramatic shift, both in terms of policy and in public attitudes (cf. (Ingelhart 2020a; 2020b)). This development can be described as a move from political differentiation, where a difference in terms of policy was upheld, to political harmonization where homosexuals were given the same legal status. While parts of the political process have previously been studied, no comprehensive study has been done on the development in Parliament.

Policies are instruments for change, and they express ideas about how society should be run. Politics can be described as a battle over ideas between different groups or interests. Amongst frame analysts, politics is even the construction of ideas. Scholars on institutional change often describe change in terms of stable “path-dependent” periods in which cultural, economic, ideological and social structures influence and reproduce political actions. These are interrupted by “critical junctures” which push the development in another direction (Capoccia and Kelemen 2007, 342–43). Based on the previous research some examples of critical junctures can be proposed such as the scientific development and the Danish law on registered partnerships in 1989 (cf. Rydström 2003; Rydström 2011). Other possible factors are the AIDS-pandemic and the formation of the Gay Liberation movement in 1950.

“Homosexuality”¹ is suitable for studying ideational shifts in policy over time. The term has remained fairly stable while the attitudes around it have changed. The ideas associated with policy towards homosexuality are here understood as the general description of homosexuals as a group and how politicians describe their place within society. Sweden is suitable for several reasons. First, the material is extensive and accessible online for the entire period. Second, since Sweden also was one of the first countries to enact changes it follows that the proponents of change would have had to use more fundamental arguments to argue for change rather than to harmonize its policies with other countries.

This study builds on previous research on the role of ideas within politics. Since homosexuality is still a controversial issue in many countries and public policies towards homosexuals differ enormously, the study is politically relevant to deepen our understanding of policy changes in regard to homosexuality. The aim is to describe the changes in ideas associated with the Swedish policy towards homosexuals. It covers the period from 1933 to 2010. The starting point is the first time a private member’s motion suggested that same-sex relations should be legalized. From then onwards the *Riksdag*² gradually improved LGB-rights and in 2010 a clause in the constitution was introduced, prohibiting discrimination because of one’s sexual orientation. It seeks to fulfil its aim by answering the question *how did the ideas associated with Swedish policy towards homosexuals change in the Riksdag between 1933 and 2010?* While the purpose is descriptive, the study will sometimes discuss potential motives behind the political behavior.

¹ Turnbull-Dugarte notes that the term “homosexual” is theoretically ambiguous because individuals may perform same-sexual acts without considering themselves homosexuals while others considers themselves as bisexuals or non-conformers but mainly engage in or live in relationships with a person of the opposite sex. (2019, 532) While I acknowledge the difficulty, this study is mainly interested in how the term is conceptualized and understood in the political debate and not whether a person self-identifies with the term.

² The Swedish Parliament

To cover 80 years of politics is ambitious (if not foolish). Therefore, this study will limit itself to focus on the discourse in the parliamentary arena. Furthermore, it will not describe political changes outside of the political elite. The study will not give a comprehensive historical account or describe change within individual parties but focuses on the main arguments used when policies changed. Therefore, the study does not cover discourse around homosexuality in related policy areas such as gender issues, transgender rights or foreign policy. Thankfully the issue has not been politically salient every year.

1.1 Previous research

In 1995 Jens Rydström, one of the foremost scholars on the judicial treatment of homosexuals in Sweden, described homosexuality as a “neglected” field of research in Sweden (1995; 2004). This negligence has since then partly been remedied. His dissertation on criminal cases of homosexuality in Sweden between 1880-1950 studies the creation of a homosexual identity. The creation is described as an ideational shift on illicit sexual acts from “a sodomy paradigm” to “a homosexual paradigm” where the medical profession saw homosexuality as biologically constituted. Homosexuality was diagnosed as an “atypical” sexual orientation as opposed to “normal” sexual practices but became differentiated from other forms of acts of fornication. Rydström explains this by the emergence of the modern welfare state’s emphasis on science, urbanization and a revolution within communications that allowed people and ideas to spread faster (Rydström 2003). The legalization has also been the subject of at least two bachelor’s theses (Lundahl 1987; Bygg 2017).

The legalization changed attitudes and treatment of homosexuals. Homosexuality became a mental illness. Rydström concludes that the diagnosis allowed for a different legal status as a protection from “homosexual seduction”. The moral hazard to society that homosexuality stood for led to a reinvigorated public debate in the

media (Rydström 2003). Rydström has further, briefly described the process from 1944-1978 when the age of consent for homosexual relations was gradually lowered to 15 as a result of the sexual and political radicalism in the 1960s (Rydström and Mustola 2007, 206-207).

Rydström has also studied the introduction of same-sex marriage in Scandinavia. He finds that the Danish law on registered partnerships inspired both LGBT activists and policymakers in Sweden. A new generation of politicians, with increased female representation, also brought more open attitudes and facilitated the introduction. The law on registered partnerships, increasing media attention, awareness of rainbow families and advancements in IVF technology (insemination) gradually changed the public opinion. The gradual erosion of the differences in rights eventually paved the way for full gender-neutral marriage rights in 2009 (Rydström 2011).

While Rydström's research is largely convincing, he has described the changes within a specific time frame and from a legal perspective. His focus is on the legislative changes and their consequences in society, rather than the evolution of arguments in Parliament. Some reforms are not covered, for instance the law for homosexual domestic partnerships in 1987 and the introductions of bans against discrimination.

Other scholars have also studied parts of the political process in Sweden. Björklund (2007) gives an overview of the Swedish policy reforms and debates relating to gender equality which includes LGBT rights. Sundevall and Persson (2016) have mapped out the attitudes of the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) towards homosexuals between 1944-2014. They: “challenge a common narrative that portrays LGBT policy development in contemporary history as a linear progress moving steadily from condemnation and exclusion to acceptance and inclusion.” (ibid, 120). Homosexuals were initially excluded from the armed forces as they were considered a risk to national security. Later, the exclusion was motivated as an issue of individual

security for the homosexuals and to protect subordinate soldiers from sexual abuse. At the turn of the last century policies within the SAF changed, driven by both internal and external pressure. Structural discriminatory behavior within the armed forces became regarded as a problem. The SAF emphasized the symbolic importance of promoting LGBT rights in their role as an international actor promoting peace and human rights (ibid).

The development in policy of LGBT rights has also been studied in other countries. Albæk (2003) studies the debates and political behavior in the Danish Parliament during the 1990s. His main focus is to study political actors' behavior when "conscience voting" is allowed. He finds that it is doubtful that 'ethical' voting is superior to 'political' considerations since the former only seem to guide policy makers' actions in some situations. Johnson (2019) has also given a historical overview of the laws affecting homosexuality the United Kingdom from 1533-2017.

Attitudes towards homosexuals have mainly been studied from a comparative perspective. The studies focus on factors such as economic development, religiosity, urbanization, age, gender, traditional values as explanations (see for instance (Adamcsyk 2017; Andersen and Fetner 2008; Herek 2002; Stulhofer and Rimac 2009). Krichner et. al. (2011) finds that social tolerance is negatively related to threats to one's own social, political and economic status. They argue that political institutions are important in explaining social tolerance because they affect the overall equality in a society. Abou-Chadi and Finnigan (2019) have studied the relation between LGBT-reforms and attitudes. Based on data from the European Social Survey they find that allowing gay marriage has a positive effect on attitudes towards homosexuals though reduced perceived group differences, while registered partnerships and marriage bans have negative effects.

As illustrated above, there are few studies on how policy change towards homosexuals occur. There is no comprehensive study of the parliamentary process in Sweden. Therefore, the ambition of this study to contribute to the research field and fill this gap.

2. Theoretical framework

To describe policy generating processes we need a framework that capture ideational development over time. If we are interested in why policies take a specific form, the role of ideas needs to be analyzed through questions like: what kinds of ideas serve what functions? how does different ideas interact with each other? how do they develop over time? how does ideas shape and are shaped by actors' choices? (Mehta 2010, 25). The following chapter builds a theoretical framework around the role of ideas in politics and links it to perceived group differences and policy harmonization. It ends by constructing a schema to help describe the ideational development over time.

2.1. Difference, harmonization and policy

Power is a central concept within political science with different understandings. For this study its function within politics needs to be clarified. Guzzini describes that: "Power' implies an idea of counterfactuals; i.e., it could have been otherwise" (2016, 511). When we give something power, it changes the interpretation of what we see as possible to change. In that sense power is directly connected to politics: "To be 'political' means to be potentially changeable; ... something which has the potential to be influenced by agency." (Ibid). Issues that are potentially changeable become political and actions (or non-action) taken by actors needs to be justified. Similarly issues are "depoliticized" when it is accepted that no actions can be taken (Guzzini 2016, 511–12). From the constructivist perspective Guzzini holds, politicizing something is in itself an exercise of power. Analyzing power includes perceptions of strengthened or deteriorated control and it also needs to include unintended effects of actions and non-actions (ibid, 514). This understanding means that the perception of what power the state has is fundamental for the policies towards homosexuals that have been produced and which areas that have not been politicized.

Following Guzzini's understanding described above, in order to study (or to produce) policies towards a specific group, we first need to perceive a difference between social groups. Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a perspective developed to explain human behavior. While this thesis does not have an ambition to explain the perceived difference, the theory still serves as a basis for understanding group categorization in society. It holds that humans understand the world through categorization by social comparisons. Individuals identify with certain groups and differentiate themselves from others. The categorization is driven by a desire for sameness and for distinctiveness (Hornung et. al. 2018, 213) Individuals try to maximize differences between one's social group and other groups which leads to in-group favoritism (Greene 2004, 137). The self-identification with a group affects the individual's behavior by shaping goals, values and interest to mobilize around conflicts of interest and threats to the groups' interest or self-esteem (Laitin and Fearon 1996, 717). While SIT assumes self-identification to explain individual behavior, a social group can also be defined by being excluded by the in-group. Hornung et. al. notes that a specific policy may also trigger a social identity (2018, 213-14). Social identity is relevant to the policy process since external factors in a specific context (institutions, events, public opinion and policy content) influence the perception and behavior of social groups (ibid, 217-18). Therefore, to describe the development in ideas towards homosexuals we ought to focus on how homosexuals have been described in terms of a threat towards society by the *Riksdag*. Based on the description above, we can also assume that a greater perceived threat will be found at times when homosexuals were held more differently in terms of policy and conversely, when described as a less apparent threat policies would be more similar. While the study might be able to confirm such a development, such findings cannot be said to explain why change occurred.

This study seeks to describe a development of *policy harmonization* between different groups. The use and definitions of harmonization within political science vary, but

generally it is understood as making legislation more similar. While policy harmonization has often been studied between countries, the distinctions developed for those studies can be useful here as well. Windholz holds that policy harmonization can have different functions. It can be used to attain a socially desirable outcome for values such as justice, equity and fairness (2012, 229). Since the policy goals differ depending on context, so does harmonization. Generally, policy harmonization can be described in terms of *policy breadth* (what area is included) and *policy depth* (the level of harmonization) (ibid).

Policy breadth can either be understood as harmonizing outcomes such as similar legal status, legal compliance or treatment. While Windholz makes a more precise distinction, this study will use *harmonization through broadening policy* in a more general sense. Examples of broadening will be when a pre-existing policy is changed to include rights for homosexuals (in a new policy area). Similarly, harmonization is broadened if a new special law is created to give homosexual similar rights to other groups. The policy depth can be understood as how consistent two policies are in comparison (Ibid, 330-31). For this study *harmonization as deepening policy* will be used to describe situations when policies are amended or created to extend more similar, or the same rights for homosexuals as compared to other groups. Whereas broadening captures harmonization between different policy areas, deepening captures the level of similarity. By combining these two perspectives we can describe *harmonization* (to produce similarities) and *differentiation* (to uphold or produce difference) as opposites that could be translated into policy solutions. This will be developed further below.

2.2 Ideas as institutions

There are several theoretical models for understanding human behavior in policy processes. Inspired by neo-institutionalists, who explain human behavior as affected by the institutions (physical, normative or cultural), policy analysts have developed what they call the *path-dependency of ideas*. Ideas affect policy over time by policy legacies – previous ideas influence later ideas through contrast, evaluation and evolution. New ideas can also interrupt certain paths of policymaking seen as “critical junctures” that pave the way for different paths (Mehta 2010, 30). Cox describes the path-dependency of ideas as a tendency to uphold “comfortable values in a changing world”. People try to interpret changes through their pre-established beliefs and values to make the changing circumstances fit in with their expectations. Ideas are constantly reinterpreted to accommodate these changes (Cox 2004, 207–208). Critical junctures according to Della Porta, are rooted in existing structures but also “open-ended”. They represent a random happening or event that cannot be explained or predicted on the basis of a particular theoretical framework. The actions taken to solve the random happening or crisis produce changes that affect events later on, becoming path-dependent until a new rupture happens (Della Porta et.al. 2020, 5-6).

In this study, the path-dependency of an idea is understood as ideas and interpretations or descriptions of homosexuality that survive over time. While the description might alter slightly, it still upholds the same basic description of homosexuality. A critical juncture will represent a clear change in the description or understanding of homosexuality. Whereas critical junctures and path-dependency can be used to explain change, this study will be only be able to describe the changes in terms of stable periods and disruptive periods.

2.3 Theoretical framework to describe policy changes

In previous research on homosexuality Rydström has described that Sweden entered a homosexual paradigm in the 1900s (2003). He has also studied the family reforms from the 1990s (2011). As previously mentioned, the entire period from 1933 until 2010 has not been described. It is therefore unclear how the changes in ideas associated with the Swedish policy towards homosexuals developed in terms of path-dependent periods of the “homosexual paradigm” and the critical junctures that led to change as well as areas which were or were not politicized.

Table 1. Theoretical schema for describing the difference

	POLICY	
PERCEPTION OF HOMOSEXUALS IN THE HOMOSEXUAL PARADIGM	<i>Differentiated</i>	<i>Harmonized</i>
<i>Small difference</i>		
<i>Great difference</i>		

Table 1 illustrates a theoretical schema for the different perceptions in ideas as well as policy outcomes for the period. To fulfil its purpose, the study will try to determine where Swedish policies placed itself within this schema during the different time periods. With this model, we can turn our attention on how to analytically conduct the analysis.

3. Analytical framework - Frame analysis and frame construction

Frame analysis is a method developed by sociologists that studies ideas and actors (Erikson 2011, 33). In her dissertation Erikson studies policy formation processes around prostitution in Sweden from a constructivist perspective. Her study has been very influential for the analytical outline of this thesis. By using a pre-existing methodological framework the study connects to previous research within politics.

Frame analysis has two major methodical parts – to describe the construction of meaning within a certain context (i.e. the framing process) and to study the effects these frames have on actors' behavior and the policy outcomes (Björnehed and Erikson 2018, 110–11). This study will focus on the frames and less on the actors' behavior since the material does not allow for studying their strategic reasoning.

A frame according to Goodman is “a situational definition that follows certain principles of organization, and as such it controls both the events and the subjective commitment of the individual within the situation in question (Persson 2019, 50).³ Erikson describes a frame in a policy setting as “a system of ideas concerning a phenomenon, and they can within itself contain several different ideas about the phenomenon” (2011, 38). Here, it will be how homosexuality is described or understood within society.

Bacchi defines frames as comprised of three parts: the *problem*, the *cause* and the *solution* (Björnehed 2012, 37–38). Mehta describes problem definitions as “a particular way of understanding a complex reality” (2010, 27). The way a problem is perceived in society can theoretically be open to many different interpretations, and it will in turn determine what solution that is seen as appropriate. The frames are negotiated in a process where different actors' problems and solutions (amongst several possible descriptions) win or lose influence. Although analytically we

³ Cited from Goffman *Frame Analysis* 1974, 10

differentiate between the three categories, Björnehed notes that a full description of the frame cannot be done without including all parts in the description (Ibid). This study will utilize Bacchi’s categorization. The frames will be analyzed through three guiding questions: *What is the problem? What causes the problem? What is the solution?* By finding answers to these questions in the material, the development can be described in terms of changes within, between and around the answers to these questions.

3.1 Institutionalization of Frames

To analyze the process over time, Erikson and Björnehed have suggested combining the frame analysis with an institutional perspective. They utilize Snow and Bedford’s definition of the framing process as “a set of dynamic, negotiated, and often contested processes” (Björnehed and Erikson 2018, 111). In their model they refer to institutionalization as the process in which a frame expands its influence and regulative functions and to operationalize the “process” into a four-step ladder of formal/institutional decision-making (Björnehed and Erikson 2018, 113):

Table 2. Frame-institutionalization ladder

LEVEL OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
Reaching the political agenda	The frame is being discussed in the (relevant) political arena.	A private member’s motions or expressed in a relevant debate
Support from a coalition of actors or key actors	A coalition of actors or a few key actors (ministers, spokespersons or committee members) express the frame, with several actors supporting it or its core elements	A party motion or several motions, partial support in a committee opinion.
Official acknowledgement	<i>Formally</i> – a frame is expressed in official statements (public reports or governmental directives), <i>Informally</i> – when all actors in a given debate acknowledge the frame by relating their statements to it.	<i>Formally</i> – Supported in a committee opinion, report or proposed bill. <i>Informally</i> – expressed by all member’s in a debate.

Formal institutionalization	A frame becomes expressed in formal institutions, legislation or policy	A law, or agency is instated or in an official statement made by the <i>Riksdag</i>
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Björnehed and Erikson argue that the institutional ladder allows for studying gradual or abrupt advances in policy and also captures the “path-dependent” nature of ideas (Björnehed and Erikson 2018, 113-14). Table 2 also contains examples of areas where a frame is institutionalized in this study.

The concept of *frames* serves as an analytical tool for distinguishing the role of ideas within policy making. Although a frame is seen as one unit, it captures both the problem definition and policy solution aspects of ideas as well as their relationship. *Frame institutionalization* links frame construction to the institutional or political arena.

With these parts we are now able to capture the reconstruction of ideas around homosexuality, from harmful to society into something fully acceptable and how that ideational shift led to a number of reforms to protect homosexuals instead.

4. Design and material

The frame analysis will be done by analyzing the content of official documents in which homosexuality is discussed. The material consists of Governmental bills, private member's motions, Governmental Commission of Inquiry reports, comments from consultative procedures, committee reports, and the minutes from the debates in the Chamber. All the material is accessible online. The public records up until 1970 are accessible through Royal Library online and the material after 1970 are found on the Swedish Government's and the Swedish Parliament's webpages.

To compose the list of material a mixture of techniques was used. Swedish laws are passed in a process which has remained more or less the same during the period. The Government takes initiatives to propose new legislation. Parliament can request the Government to make initiatives through announcements and in extraordinary cases propose laws through committee initiatives. To introduce bills the Government usually appoints a research officer or a commission of inquiry with certain terms of reference. The commission then presents one or several reports that can include a recommendation for new proposed legislation. These reports always contain a summary of the how the issue has been handled in the past (earlier inquiries and governmental considerations). By starting with the latest reports, it is therefore possible to identify earlier relevant proceedings back until 1933. The material was then checked with the previous research.

The material is presented in appendix 1 and is composed of over 260 documents. The appendix gives other researchers a possibility to critically assess the material. It is also included in the appendix to serve as a point of departure for future research projects.

4.1 Critical assessment of the design

A major difficulty with the design is the quantity of the material the study is based on. It is necessary to condense the material into a fairly general description. The study is not a comprehensive description of all the considerations that have been made during the period. This poses two validity problems; first, the risk of missing important information and second, that the composition of frames actually corresponds to the view in parliament.

The first problem relates to having omitted important sources. The previous section gives an account for how the material was collected. The use of multiple methods to gather information largely addresses the issue in a satisfying way, but still there is a risk that some private member's motions have been overlooked. In those cases, they are most likely motions that have been unsuccessful in evoking change and that they therefore had little effect on the frames at that time. Alternatively, the same motion may have been submitted again later and then eventually made an impact (in that case it has been accounted for).

The second problem relates to my capacities as a researcher. In terms of condensing the material to look at the broader changes certain documents have been identified as more interesting if they produced policy changes. Most material around these changes contain the same ideas as they usually build on each other. By comparing the content of commission reports to proposed bills and committee opinions it is easier to see what ideas that were accepted, and which were not. I would argue that this approach still is able to fulfill its ambition as it concentrates on the strength and influence of these ideas that differ over time.

Erikson stresses that “it is inevitable that the researcher as a part of the social context partakes in the knowledge generating process.” Political texts are difficult to analyze from an ideational perspective since ideas are not always fully explicit and they are a result of compromises (Erikson 2011, 54). To account for this problem, the study follows Erikson’s approach to highlight when the material is contradictory, and thereafter make a reasonable interpretation in regard to the context.

The public records fill the criteria of authenticity, independence and contemporaneity since they all were presented to the public at the time. The minutes of the debates are verbatim accounts kept by people that were present at the time. Usually tendency is held to be a problem, in this study however, we are interested in subjectivity and therefore clear positioning is an advantage while a less clear standing could be a problematic. Just as above any ambiguous positions will have to be carefully interpreted in relation to the context.

5. Analysis

5.1 1933-1944: A sexual frame of understanding – special protection

In 1933 Vilhelm Lundstedt (S)⁴ submitted two related private member's motions regarding homosexuals. The first was the most important, in it Lundstedt suggested that the criminal classification *fornication against nature* should be removed and that same-sex relations should be regulated similar to other sexual relations. Adult same-sex relations should be legal with protections against sexual assaults, for students, prison inmates, children and the mentally disabled. The age of consent was 15 years for women.⁵ Lundstedt suggested a higher age of consent for homosexual relations, 18 years, but that there should be no penalty for people between the age of 15 to 18 if the two were “in age and development... approximately equal”⁶ (Mot. 1933:1, 30).

Alongside the motion, Lundstedt presented an anonymous scientific review.⁷ To validate it, the review had been assessed by a professor of psychiatry who found it accurate. To Lundstedt the criminalization was pointless and harmful. When the Penal Code of 1864 had been written punishments were seen as vengeance. By 1933, punishments should prevent certain behavior to be justified (ibid, 1-3). To serve a function, culprits needed to be able to affect their behavior. Science held that people could not affect their sexual orientation. Therefore, homosexual desires were “*as natural* expressions” as heterosexual ones. While homosexuals could choose to not act upon their urges, it was unmotivated to criminalize certain acts but not others (Ibid, 6).

Lundstedt approximated that there lived around 200.000 homosexuals in Sweden. Only 31 men had been convicted for *fornication against nature* between 1926 and 1930.

⁴ A list of the full party names is included in the word list in appendix 3.

⁵ For men in 1937.

⁶ All quotes are my translations.

⁷ The author confessed to being homosexual

Lundstedt concluded that the law was sporadically used and biased towards men. Since homosexual acts mostly occurred in private, the risk of exposure was very low (ibid, 12-14). It therefore risked undermining the legal authority (ibid, 10). Instead the criminalization created emotional suffering and supported crimes such as prostitution and extortion (ibid, 11). Finally, he argued that the law should not be based on the public's attitude: "the moral indignation against people on the grounds of something that, ... is revealed to be nothing else than their *creation*, ought to be derived to primitivities, that a wise legislator cannot allow oneself to be controlled by." (Ibid, 17). The second requested that the government should criminalize extortion of homosexuals (Mot. 1933:2).⁸

The First Law Committee (1LC) replied that the *Riksdag* ought to take no action since the *moral crimes* in the Penal Code were currently under review. They noted that experts had recommended legalization for a while and stated that homosexuals were not morally inferior: "concerning homosexual actions it is generally known, that... there exists a not insignificant amount of people, that by nature are so constituted, that their sexual drive is targeted towards people of the same sex" (1LU 1933:15, 5-6). They agreed that homosexuals often were victims of extortion and that the law contributed "to a high degree" (Ibid). The committee did not want to take any stance on the matter until they received the review, but added that the commission needed to consider if a legalization would increase open displays of "homosexual deeds" and "improper" influences towards young people, or if "that is prevented already in the minds of the perverted of the instinctual disgust, that every sane human feels for their abnormality" (Ibid). The committee opinions were adopted by both chambers. Only two speakers, Carl Lindhagen and Zeth Höglund (both S) in their respective chambers, commented on the opinions. Both interpreted the opinions as "in principle" supporting Lundstedt. Höglund added that a suggestion should be

⁸ See (Rydström 2003: 166) on the public debate on extortion at the time.

presented quickly so that: “the barbaric outlook ... would be relinquished from our Penal Code” (Prot. FK 1933:17, 5; Prot. AK 1933:18, 6).

Lundstedt’s motion represented a new frame regarding homosexuals *reaching the agenda* in the *Riksdag*. Homosexuals were understood in a *sexual frame of understanding*. To Lundstedt legalization was the solution since society could not control people’s sexuality. The frame also gained some *support from a coalition of actors* – being partly accepted in the committee. The committee opinion did not take any principal stance on the matter. Although they acknowledged parts of the problem, but they did not seem convinced that legalization was the solution. The opinion described homosexuals as “perverted” causing “instinctual disgust” and held them as socially dangerous. This was very different from the proponent’s description of society’s attitude as “primitive” and “barbaric”. Although raising concerns, the committee opted to wait. While the material does not reveal the actors’ strategic reasoning, it is reasonable to assume that the scientific understanding was hard to disagree with and therefore had strong influence on how the problem was constructed. Similarly, the problems with extortions were well known and could not be ignored. There was, however, a difference in the view of how dangerous homosexuality was. It is hard to determine whether the non-action came from real concerns or a reluctance towards changing policy in spite of the recognized problem. The issue was not resolved but the opinion stopped the discussion for a while.

The commission of inquiry report on moral crimes came in 1935. It recommended that homosexual relations over 20 should be legalized. For people between 15 and 20 that were of similar age and development same-sex relations should not lead to prosecution. The recommendation also included special protection for certain professions such as doctors, teachers and prison staff (SOU 1935:68, 11). The report responded to Lundstedt’s frame and affirmed that same-sex relations between adults generally were harmless. It also included a new medical review which generally

corresponded to the anonymous review, but they diverged on two important accounts. While the first report presented biological explanations, the second also mentioned psychological explanations – that certain experiences conditioned one’s sexual preferences (Ibid, 109-10). The first report also held that homosexuals were mainly attracted to adults (Mot. 1933:1, 34) whereas the second stated that: “a large group of homosexuals are focused on children” (SOU 1935:68, 106). The commission therefore recommended a special protection for the youth i.e. a higher age of consent (Ibid, 82-83). The commission left out any suggestion regarding rape, since such cases were very rare (Ibid, 84).

The Minister of Justice, Karl Gustav Westman (BF), submitted a proposal for a new law on moral crimes in 1937, but without any changes regarding homosexuality (Prop. 1937:187). Westman disagreed with the notion that same-sex relations generally were harmless amongst adults. They could lead to psychological suffering and spread venereal diseases, he maintained. Since the report did not reject the “seduction theory”, the commission had not considered enough measures to counter socially dangerous expressions such as public displays of homosexuality and male prostitution (Ibid, 91-92).

The 1LC agreed with Westman but stressed that a reform in line with the recommendations needed to be presented soon. They welcomed further measures to protect children and suggested the *Riksdag* to request a bill regarding homosexuality (1LU 1937:45, 34-35). Both chambers adopted the committee’s suggestions. (Prot. FK 1937:29, 57; Prot. AK 1937:29, 90-91).

Westman altered Lundstedt’s and the commission of inquiry’s frame. The seduction theory was emphasized and pointed towards the dangers of legalization. With the bill this altered frame was *officially acknowledged*. Since Westman preferred the status quo he was partly successful in delaying change. Westman, however, did not suppress the

original frame altogether. In fact, the 1LC still held that a reform was needed despite the new concerns.

Two new reports were presented in 1941, but with different recommendations for measures against the problems with seduction. The first report recommended medical treatment, the second recommended legal measures and submitted a revised law (SOU 1941:3; SOU 1941:32). Lundstedt submitted a new private member's motion in 1943. Although he did not fully agree with the new law proposal, it was in line with his earlier suggestion and he therefore requested that it should be adopted by the *Riksdag*. (Mot. 1943:130, 4-5). The 1LC responded that the *Riksdag* should request a proposal for a new law in the following year. The committee stated that the new legislation should: "be built on the principle that homosexual actions should be criminal only when given to special circumstances" (1LU 1943:32). The committee opinion was adopted without objections.

In 1944 the new Minister of Justice, Thorwald Bergquist (FP), presented a proposal. Bergquist held that the heaviest argument against legalization was that it might increase same-sex tendencies in bisexuals. Since it was practically impossible to separate bisexuals from "constitutional homosexuals", he supported a general legalization of same-sex relations, with criminalization only applying to certain situations. Although some preferred medical treatment as a social measure, Bergquist stated that it was "unsustainable" that homosexuals in all cases would go unpunished. Society had an interest in protecting children from abuse, "since many male homosexuals sought primarily relations with younger persons" and the youth that might be "particularly receptive to influences in a homosexual direction" (Prop. 1944:13, 45-46). The bill suggested an age of consent of 18 years, the same as the age of criminal responsibility. For persons above 18, Bergquist suggested a conditional protection for acts committed by: "exploiting one's inexperience or with gross abuse

of one's dependent position”(ibid, 2). Bergquist also proposed special protection for certain occupations and amendments to the Child Care Act (Ibid, 2-4).

The 1LC largely accepted the proposal but amended the conditional protection to only apply until the age of 21 since a general protection risked undermining the principal legalization (1LU 1944:12, 30-35). E. G. Sundqvist (H) left a blank reservation to the opinion. In the second chamber, he explained that he was against the proposal because a legalization risked increasing homosexuality in society (AK Prot. 1944:10, 82). He stated that adult homosexual relations were not harmless and that the law had a symbolic value on the public's view. A legalization would not remove cases of threats and extortions. The homosexual's psychological suffering was smaller than the suffering for the majority if this “moral hazard” spread. He finished by expressing his concern that the change could lead to more instability during the war. Sundqvist was supported by eight party colleagues (ibid, 84). Lundqvist replied that homosexuality was not “a disease... of epidemic character”. Legislators should not be influenced by the: “ignorant and unreflecting parts of society”. He supported the committee amendment over the bill (ibid, 87-88). Gustav Mosesson (FP) feared that a legalization would make it harder to educate good citizens. Oscar Werner (BF) opposed him and saw the new law as a stronger protection for children since it punished certain professions harder (ibid). The second chamber adopted the committee opinion.

In the first chamber, Axel Ivar Anderson (FP) argued against a legalization and suggested medical treatment. Since homosexuality was caused by biological and social factors it should be discouraged to prevent spreading “the homosexual illness” (FK Prot. 1944: 10, 77-78). Unlike Siljeström, Sigrid Linner and Gösta Siljeström (both H) supported the reform because of the current law's ineffectiveness (Ibid, 82-84). The Minister Bergquist partook in both debates. His address mainly focused on the government's motivation. Although he did not raise any serious objections to

the committee's amendment, he would have preferred no absolute age limit for the protection (Ibid, 80). The first chamber also adopted the amended proposal.

Discussion

The introduction of the *sexual frame of understanding* in 1933 represents a critical juncture in the view of homosexuality. In terms of harmonization the new frame can be understood as a policy harmonization though deepening. While homosexuality was not fully harmonized, the suggestion to legalize homosexuality made the treatment of homosexuality more similar to heterosexual relations. Although the change cannot be described as “dramatic” or “unforeseen” Lundstedt's motion started a process that changed the development. The change came from the scientific advancements in biology that allowed for a new way to explain homosexuality. The law change meant the formal institutionalization of the new frame. So far, the frame corresponds to what Rydström has called the “homosexual paradigm”, but analytically the frame is a more precise set of ideas within the paradigm. While the two terms now seem interchangeable, we will see how the frame will allow for a closer description of the ideational changes over time.

Whereas the problem was acknowledged early, it caused a struggle over a suitable solution: equal treatment or a special protection. By recognizing homosexuality as something influenced by biology, it limited the state's power and determined what could be politicized. Politicians could not make homosexuality disappear, even though politicians most likely disliked it. Westman represents the point where a new opposition to counter homosexuality emerged. Politicians wanting to keep the ban emphasized the potential risk of seduction to motivate continued coercion. The reluctance can be understood as a rooted in the Rydström's earlier “sodomitic paradigm” but to legitimize a continued ban, new arguments had to be formulated. Since the scientific understanding could not determine the cause of homosexuality, different theories could be utilized strategically. The seduction theory enabled the state to regain some power by discerning some behavior to prevent the spread of

homosexuality. Although the alteration of the frame enabled some control, it was not enough to support a general ban. In the end the 1LC created a compromise that still legalized same-sex relations for adults, whilst leaving a stronger special protection which meant a legal differentiation based on sexual orientations.

The threat largely focused on male homosexuals. Although the reports mentioned lesbians, they were not brought up in the discussions. The analysis does not allow for an explanation to this, but their absence can either be because of a lack of interest in differentiating them, or strategically, because they were harder to make into a threat. Nevertheless, lesbians received the same status.

In 1944 the differentiated solution had large support. Although some conservatives and liberals objected, there were individuals from all parties who supported the reform. The issue did not follow clear ideological lines. With the new law a limited special protection frame was *formally institutionalized* and the view on homosexuality was legally changed. While no longer criminal, homosexuality was still perceived as something sick or unhealthy, described as a disease which motivated special measures. Rather contradictory, the state's measures remained punitive as homosexuality was medicalized. Though recognized as a natural sexual variation, homosexuality was not viewed as equal to heterosexuality.

Lastly, while homosexuals were described as sexually dangerous, the legislators did not create a protection against rape. This might be a reflection of the view of rape held at the time, but it could also be interpreted as another dimension in the view of the homosexual threat. Although sexually dangerous, they were not violent but psychologically deceitful. While not clearly expressed, the danger seemed to point towards a general unreliability. This idea partly corresponds to Sundevall and Persson's description of the view on homosexuals in the military at the time.

5.2 1951-1970: A sexual frame of understanding – contestation

The formal legalization gave homosexuals more freedom. For instance, in 1950 the Swedish Federation for LGBT-rights (RFSL) was founded but it also increased public attention. Two major scandals, the *Kejne* and *Hajby* affairs were covered by the press. The Reverend *Kejne* accused governmental officials of being involved in a criminal homosexual league. This forced the government to appoint a commission to investigate the accusations (SOU 1951:21). The affair forced the Minister of Church affairs, Nils Quensel, to resign. Concerned about prostitution, Ture Nerman (S) motioned to have an evaluation of the effects of the legalization and to raise the absolute age of consent to 21 with the conditional protection to be applicable regardless of age (Mot. 1951:4). The 1LC rejected the suggestions because prostitution was already investigated within a revision of the entire Penal Code (1Lu 1951:35, 18). In the first chamber, Nerman expressed the opinion that the reform had increased the seduction of youths. The state needed to differentiate homosexuality as “seduction against nature, not in accordance with nature”. He noted that RFSL demanded equal judicial treatment, something which he opposed (FK Prot. 1951:32, 24-25). Leif Cassel (H) left a reservation to support the intention of the motion.

Nerman and Cassel thus tried to change the frame, but they failed to institutionalize it further. Several other MPs argued that the perceived increase in prostitution was not isolated to the legalization. Other factors such as unemployment, liquor consumption and social unrest after the war most likely explained the increase (Ibid, 26-30). In the Second chamber Johan Johnsson and Helga Sjöstrand (both FP) supported Cassel’s reservation while their party colleague Olov Rylander supported the committee (AK Prot. 1951:32, 37-40). The committee opinion was passed in both chambers.

In 1953 the Commission on Criminal Justice presented their recommendation for a new Penal Code, but they left the special protection untouched (SOU 1953:14, 246). Although they held that society should not differentiate homosexuals, they diverged on two points. Rape continued to be a crime where a man assaulted a woman, and homosexual offences should be judged more harshly (ibid, 229). The governmental bill was not presented until 1962. It was the first time RFSL was included in the consultative process. They criticized the commission's conclusion that homosexual relations meant a greater risk of physical or psychological damage than heterosexual acts between people of the same age (Prop. 1962:10, 177). The government nonetheless kept the differentiation (ibid, 179). To counter prostitution, the government presented a new criminal classification called *seduction of youth*, which prohibited buying sexual liaisons from people under 18 years for heterosexuals, and 21 years for homosexuals (ibid).

In the second chamber, the new crime was debated. Bo Martinsson (S) questioned whether homosexual seduction existed: "One surely does not have any scientific evidence that a person through seduction can become homosexual, if he or she was not it already before" (AK Prot. 1962:33, 46). Elisabet Sjövall (S) criticized the fact that the higher age limit for homosexuals made it possible for "antisocial boys... to live on blackmail for another three years" (Ibid, 64-65). Similarly, Lisa Mattsson (S) criticized the law since it would be hard to convict anyone of the crime. Instead it risked labelling unmarried cohabitants as prostitutes. Homosexuality was not explicitly mentioned (FK Prot. 1962:32, 85). The bill was eventually adopted including the new crime classification.

Martinsson's remark meant the first time the seduction theory was criticized but he never presented an alternate solution. It therefore did not challenge the differentiation solution of the sexual frame further.

In 1969 the Minister of Justice Lennart Geijer (S) suggested lowering the age of majority from 21 to 20 years (Prop. 1969:25, 2). The suggestion affected several aspects of the civil law. The reason stated was to harmonize the law with the other Nordic countries (ibid, 69). Furthermore, he held that social and biological maturity happened earlier now (ibid,49). Consequently, the age of consent for homosexuals was suggested to become 20. Regarding homosexuals Geijer commented that “it can be questioned if it in the future ought to be reasons ... to differentiate between homosexual and heterosexual relations”, but that such a change should be dealt with separately (ibid, 79). Geijer’s remark was vague, but it seemed to open up for further reformulation of the frame of homosexuals, while the statement was presented in the bill, it cannot be described as being *officially recognized* since the questioning did not suggest any further actions at the time. The issue was not commented upon further by the committee (1Lu 1969:32, 54) or in the debates (AK Prot. 1969: 23, 118) (FK Prot. 1969:23, 45). The following year amendments to the Freedom of Press Act added a ban on distributing pornography in public places. Similarly, homosexuality was mentioned in the bill, but the suggestion did not differentiate between different sorts of pornography (Prop. 1970:125).

Discussion

Until 1970, the sexual frame formally did not change. The public attention in the 1950s reopened the debate from six years earlier and though some suggested harder measures, they failed to institutionalize their ideas. Some reforms touched upon homosexuality, but only indirectly. In terms of *policy harmonization*, the slightly lowered age of consent meant a further deepening by once again making the treatment more similar.

From the 1960s the frame started to deteriorate. Some actors criticized the differentiation and no actors explicitly defended it. Although the criticism never challenged the frame seriously, the earlier ideas continued to reproduce in the sense that the special protection was kept. Although the material cannot discern people’s

motivations. It could possibly be attributed to changing attitudes after the sexual revolution (cf. Rydström and Mustola 2007), or because the special protection never was fully challenged. If the scientific findings meant a critical juncture in terms of frames in the 1930s, the development up until now seemed to follow in “path dependent” manner, defending the difference for the time being.

5.3 1971-1978: A sexual frame of understanding – harmonization

The first explicit challenge of the special protection came in 1971 when Alf Wennerfors (M) submitted a private member’s motion where he suggested to have the same age of consent for both sexual orientations. Wennerfors had been contacted by RFSL to motion in the matter (Prot. 1971:121, 124). He argued that the higher age limit was easy to lie about. Minor homosexuals could easily start a relationship to extort the older partner. This could be seen as a form of prostitution. For the authorities it would be easier if the age of consent was 15 regardless of sexual orientation (Mot. 1971:648).

The Committee on Justice (CJ) responded that: “it is clear that the values behind the penal provisions on homosexuality... now would be judged differently”. However, they held that this was a limited problem that ought to be handled in a larger review of the moral crimes. The *Riksdag* was recommended to let the government know what the committee said on the issue (JuU 1971:19). In the debate, other members expressed themselves favorably to the motion. Johan Takman (VPK) called the law “a clear discrimination”, the first time the word ‘discriminatory’ was used to describe the treatment of homosexuals. Minister Geijer promised to appoint an investigation (Prot. 1971:121, 125-127).

In terms of frame institutionalization, an alternative *harmonization solution* to the sexual frame of understanding was introduced. Although the solution was only supported by individual MPs, the commission *officially acknowledged* that a revision was needed.

The previous frame remained in the sense the law did not change, but with the stately commission being appointed at least the idea to reconsider the special protection was *formally institutionalized*. This however, meant that it was far from certain that it would change the legal status.

In 1973, the government presented a revision to the Marriage Act (Prop. 1973:32). While the bill did not touch upon homosexuality, it motivated the VPK to suggest that the term marriage should be replaced by “registered cohabitation” and that “sexually deviants’ right to equal opportunities with other groups is recognized”. VPK argued that it was important for the social tolerance to formally recognize these groups (Mot. 1973:1793, 2-4). The motion and the bill were prepared by the Standing Law Committee (LC) who interpreted “sexual deviants” as homosexuals and recognized that their situation in society was worse in many ways (LU 1973:20, 116). The committee did not support VPK’s motion but stated that homosexual cohabitation was “fully acceptable” to society, which they meant achieved VPK’s demand of a formal recognition (ibid). Two members of the committee Bertil Lidgard and Håkan Winberg (both M) reserved themselves in favor of another formulation: “there is nothing to criticize in regard to cohabitation between persons of the same sex” (ibid, 141). In the debate Lidgard argued that their formulation was clearer and more neutral (Prot. 1973:105, 38). The committee’s suggestion was adopted with 271 for the committee, 34 against and 8 abstentions (Prot. 1973: 106, 37). With the adoption of the committee statement the *Riksdag* *officially acknowledged* that homosexual relations were tolerable.

In 1976 the Committee on Sexual Offences submitted a report recommending amendments of the moral crimes (SOU 1976:9). The recommendations were radical. The headline to the chapter on “moral crimes” was changed to “sexual crimes” to mark society’s changed view on the crimes (ibid, 17). All sexual crimes should also be applicable to both to sexual orientations. The committee found no evidence that homosexual relations were more harmful and recommended to remove the special

protection. They also emphasized the need for the homosexuals' situation in society to improve, to counteract feelings of exclusion and discrimination. The criminal classification *seduction of youth* was found inefficient and it was therefore recommended to be removed. Other recommendations were to legalize incestual relationships and to introduce a gradual penalty scale for rape which somewhat relaxed the position (ibid, 17-19). The commission also had produced a new scientific review on homosexuality. It affirmed that science had no explanation for homosexuality but whatever it was, it affected the sexuality at such an early stage that "homosexual experiences" did not affect one's sexuality in either direction (ibid, 214-16). Based on the report, the committee rejected the *seduction theory* (ibid, 100).

The report was met with severe critique for its relaxed recommendations on rape and the new liberal-conservative government appointed another commission to present new recommendations. Since the critique had not concerned the recommendations on homosexuality, three motions were submitted to follow those recommendations by members of VPK, S and FP. The S-motion also suggested that the disease classification should be removed (Mot. 1976/77:134; Mot. 1976/77:241; Mot. 1976/77:637). The CJ held that the new commission should be able to scrutinize the issue unconditionally before the *Riksdag* changed the law and therefore rejected the motions (JuU 1976/77:37). The Committee on Social Affairs (CSA) stated that there was little knowledge about homosexuals' situation in society and suggested that the *Riksdag* should request the government to appoint a commission to investigate it (SoU 1976/77:37). In the chamber, Tore Nilsson (M) criticized the CSA's opinion for going against the Christian view of what was "natural", but he received little support (Prot. 1976/77:142,77) Both committee opinions were adopted (ibid, 84). The same year a commission was appointed to investigate the situation for homosexuals and to leave any suggestions regarding how to prevent discrimination (S 1977:21).

The negative reactions to the commission recommendations halted the struggle over solution within the sexual frame of understanding, although the commission had proposed harmonization, its recommendations was indirectly rejected. Just as before, the committee opinion *formally institutionalized* another idea. The *Riksdag* officially admitted that discrimination against homosexuals was a problem. This new problem was attached to the sexual frame, but it was not yet established how nor what eventual policy solutions the commission would lead to.

At the end of 1977 the government presented a new bill based on the second commission's recommendations. It suggested to remove the age-difference for homosexuals and to legalize incestual relationships (Prop. 1977/78:69, 2). The second recommendation was identical to the first and therefore presented without a new consultative process (*ibid*, 4). The critique of the *seduction theory* remained: "There is no basis to the assumption – either in scientific theory or in the experiences from the practical legal life – that homosexual experiences amongst the youth in the ages above 15 years in even the slightest way affects their urges" (*ibid*, 31). Earlier concerns that children were the prime targets for homosexual desires was also rejected and concerns with prostitution were exaggerated (*ibid*, 27). In the end the suggestion regarding incest was retracted because it met some critique and that it was less urgent to solve (*ibid*, 57-58). The crime classification for rape was left unchanged, to await the final recommendations from the committee (*ibid*, 32). The second commission and the government *officially acknowledged* the harmonization solution for the sexual frame. Although the solution was the same as Wennerfors', the problem was less concerned with extortion, and instead the solution rejected the *seduction theory* completely.

The proposal provoked five private member's motions. Three, from members of C, M and FP, opposed the proposal. The other two from members of VPK and S suggested to legalize incest (JuU 1977/78:26). Tore Nilsson (M) again referred to

Christian values and claimed that faith made the youth “immune” against evil (Mot. 1977/78:209, 1-2). Sexual education in schools eroded public moral, and he defended the *seduction theory*. He held that it was pessimistic to see homosexuality as “incurable” and he referenced conversion therapy (ibid, 2-4). Gunde Raneskog and Sven Johansson (C) similarly voiced that the proposal hurt the upbringing of children in “our society that is based on Christian values” (Mot. 1977/78:210, 5). Rolf Sellgren et. al. (FP) also defended the *seduction theory* (Mot. 1977/78:211, 8). The CJ rejected all the motions in favor of the bill (JuU 1977/78:26, 5).

In the debate, Raneskog developed his argumentation. Homosexuals should not be supported by society since they could not have children (Prot. 1977/78:93, 52):

The homosexuals have the sterility, the infertility and the death in themselves. How can one talk about “equally acceptable sexual actions”, actions that “legally should be equal”, when the poles are so widely different that the heterosexual threatens with a population explosion and the homosexual means mankind’s extinction in less than a hundred years?

Jörn Svensson (VPK) argued that the discrimination against homosexuals was a result from authoritative tendencies amongst the elites who had felt threatened by the working class. The moral laws repressed all humans (Ibid, 57). Bertil Johansson (C), unlike his party colleagues, supported the committee opinion. Nilsson feared that that Sweden was on its way to become a “post-Bible” society. He claimed that the proposal allowed homosexuals to exploit the youth without punishment and was a threat to the family (Ibid, 68-72). The bill was adopted by 210 in favor of the committee’s suggestion, 37 against and 4 abstentions (Ibid, 83). With the decision homosexual relations achieved the same legal status as heterosexual relations in all aspects apart from rape (Prop. 1977/78:69). The *harmonization solution formally institutionalized* replacing the 1944 solution.

Discussion

The 1970s saw a transformation in the *sexual frame* of understanding from differentiation to a deepened harmonization. The critique of the special status came mainly from the left, but the issue went through party lines and even had supporters amongst conservatives. The critique initially was formulated around prostitution, although unsuccessful, it initiated a review which led to the scientific rejection of the *seduction theory* in 1976. The rejection became a critical juncture where the view of homosexuals went from socially dangerous to harmless. With it the ideas around homosexuality changed. The legitimacy or *power* to enforce a separate legal status disappeared. The juncture also meant that opponents to harmonization changed their argumentation. Some tried to defend the differentiation with Christian values others by describing homosexuality as sterile. Although these counter arguments did not gain influence at the time, it forced the debate into new territory. While we are unable to discern actor's real motivations, the difference in attitudes towards sex becomes even more prominent than in the 1960s, at least Wennerfors claimed to have become motivated to raise the issue after contacts with RFSL.

The critical juncture did not represent a separation from the sexual frame. The *Riksdag* still understood homosexuality in terms of sex, and the explicit policies towards the group remained in the Penal Code. The special status legitimized a differential treatment, in that sense the legal harmonization could be seen as the resolution of the frame, but during the 1970s homosexuality started to appear in other policy areas as well such as marriage, the military and domestic life (Prop. 1977/78:69). Another problem started to formulate itself, the state's treatment. Homosexuals were described as discriminated, but formally the disease-classification remained. For these new areas it seemed harder to utilize the sexual frame, since the problems were found outside of the sexual relations. As expressed by the *Riksdag* in 1977, the state did not seem to have enough knowledge about homosexuals in order

to properly respond to these new problems. Similar to before, lesbians remained largely in the background.

Both legal reforms regarding homosexuality were connected to other moral crimes. In 1944 homosexuality was legalized alongside bestiality. In 1977 it was discussed alongside incest. The argumentation in both cases were motivated by the scientific understandings, but both times policymakers reconstructed the issues to be treated differently. Bestiality was not constructed as a threat to the population and was legal until 2014. Incest remained morally questionable, and the less apparent problem meant that the criminal offence was kept. The scientific discoveries regarding the origins of homosexuality was not that different in 1941 and 1976 but reinterpreted in a way that either amplified or soothed concerns to allow for different policy solutions. The difference policies confirm that policies are influenced by how actors construct them and seem to follow the hypotheses about the relationship between perceived threat and policy difference.

The committee opinion of 1973 which declared that homosexuality was “fully acceptable” represent another divergence from the sexual frame. Although this study cannot determine the actors’ intentions behind the statement it was an *official acknowledgement* which can be described as a critical juncture. For the first time the *Riksdag* took a stance on homosexuality outside the sexual frame of understanding. The statement would, as we see later, become central to the continued discussions about homosexuality.

5.4 1979-1994: An emotional frame of understanding – special status

In 1979, Jörn Svensson (VPK) submitted two new private member’s motions regarding homosexuals. The first suggested to introduce a law against discrimination of homosexuals. Although the *Riksdag* had stated that homosexuality was “fully acceptable” homosexuals were treated differently, subject to prejudice and without

legal protection in domestic partnerships, at the workplace and in the military (Mot. 1978/79:602). The second suggested that the disease-classification should be removed (Mot. 1978/79:892). The CSA recommended that the *Riksdag* should await the investigation before acting. They further noted that the National Board of Health and Welfare (NBHW) held that the disease-classification was only used for international statistical purposes and did not reflect society's view. Both motions were rejected (SoU 1978/79:29). In the debate Svensson defended his motions and accused the CSA of disinterest. He held that the disease-classification sustained prejudice towards homosexuals and mentioned that NBHW had investigated removing the status for seven years without taking any action. The *Riksdag* rejected the motions with 276 in favor, 12 against and 3 abstentions (Prot. 1978/79:115). Less than six months after the debate the NBHW removed the classification after RFSL had occupied their main stairs.

In 1981, a commission report on prostitution was presented. At the time prostitution was not criminalized. The report noted that the problems with male prostitution were exaggerated because cruising (i.e. picking up partners) could be confused with picking-up prostitutes (SOU 1981:71, 13). Male prostitution existed to a small degree, whilst the investigation found no evidence of lesbian prostitution (ibid, 89). The research officer argued that criminalization held more disadvantages and recommended social measures (ibid, 146).

The government presented a bill in 1984 that extended the definition of rape to “actions comparable to intercourse” and made it gender neutral (Prop. 1983/84:105,1). The changes were passed without any further discussions regarding homosexuality (JuU 1983/84:25; Prot. 1983/84:152). With it, sexual relations were legally treated the same way.

The same year the Commission on the Situation of Homosexuals in Society presented an extensive report (SOU 1984:63). The report declared that: “the only certain difference between homosexuals and heterosexuals is that homosexuals emotionally are drawn to persons of the same sex. Against this background it is obvious that homosexuals should not be discriminated.” (ibid, 19). Swedes had become more tolerant, but there still existed problems, namely the silence and a social taboo regarding homosexuality (ibid, 20-21). The state therefore needed to strengthen the legal protection and to integrate homosexuals in social and cultural life (ibid, 22).

The commission recommended a protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation in the constitution, protection against defamation, incitement to ethnic or racial hatred, and discrimination, to include sexual orientation in the mandate of the Ombudsman for Ethnical Discrimination and as grounds for asylum. The commission also recommended a new law on homosexual domestic partnerships which regulated tax law, common property protection, insurances and child support (ibid, 10-17). They found no formal objections to prohibit marriage or adoptions. However, the adoptive children risked feeling stigmatized in society and the “values around marriage as an institution between a man and a woman”, meant that both areas were recommended to be untouched. They also rejected instituting “registered partnerships” as a marriage substitute since that meant a specific registration for homosexuals (ibid). With the report a new *emotional frame of understanding* was *officially acknowledged*. The frame extended the previous definition of homosexuality in terms of sexual desire to an emotional affection. It equalized relations in all aspects apart from marriage and parenthood. The new frame saw society’s negative attitude as the problem and the solution was legal protection against this negative bias.

In 1987, the government presented a bill based on the recommendations. It included a limited law on homosexual domestic partnerships, an inclusion in the law against

discrimination for *homosexual orientation* alongside other minorities and a requisite for prosecution regarding defamation (Prop. 1986/87:124). The constitutional protection was left out as well as incitement to ethnical or racial hatred (ibid, 33-34). The proposal also agreed that rules regarding the right to adoption or marriage should not change (ibid, 40-41). The suggested new law on homosexual domestic partnership would include parts of the original proposal, namely rules for partition of joint property, but without regulating joint insurances and tax laws as further considerations were needed (ibid, 43-44).

In the *Riksdag* the LC and CSA both prepared the bill and largely gave it their support. The LC also treated nine private member's motions that had been submitted along the bill and rejected all of them (LU 1986/87:28). Three of the motions, by VPK, suggested homosexuals should be included in the law on domestic partnership (for heterosexuals) that already existed. Martin Olsson et.al. (C) rejected proposal. The law on registered partnerships existed to protect children with unmarried parents. Since homosexuals did not have joint custody, there was no need to regulate their economic relationships further. By having a special homosexual law other forms of cohabitation between friends or siblings were left out (Mot. 1986/87:L137). Björn Körlof et. al. (M) similarly, did not want the state to legitimize homosexuality, or to strengthen their position. Alf Svensson⁹ (C) stated that society needed to protect its own survival. He questioned if there existed a genuine genetical homosexuality: "a 'genuine' homosexual society does not survive". He also criticized that the protection against defamation and discrimination was only applicable for a *homosexual orientation*¹⁰ (Mot. 1986/87:So154; Mot. 1986/87:So156). Lars Ahlmark et. al. (M) supported the commission's original recommendation (Mot. 1986/87:So155). Bengt Harding Olson et. al. (FP) opposed any law on domestic partnerships since it automatically applied to the partners. Heterosexuals could regulate economic relations through

⁹ Svensson was an elected representative of the Center Party, but actually belonged to Christian Democratic Unity

¹⁰ My italicization

marriage instead. For homosexuals the law on registered partners was the “best possible equal treatment” but it should only apply if the partners agreed to it before (Mot. 1986/87:L138).

The CSA also treated parts of the mentioned motions plus an additional one. Roland Sundgren (S) wanted the *Riksdag* to express that: “society openly should accept and support homosexuals” and to have more research conducted (Mot. 1986/87:So152). Similarly, the CSA rejected the motions (SoU 1986/87:31).

In the debate, Per-Olof Strindberg (M) opposed the suggestion because he was against any law on domestic partnerships and that there should not be: “an active societal support for homosexual cohabitation”. The law could lead to bisexual youths being seduced into homosexual relations (Prot. 1986/87:136, 92-93). Other MPs participated, but largely discussed the principal nature of a law on domestic partners. Daniel Tarschys (FP) stated that it seemed like the prejudices towards homosexuals had become more intense in the later years because of HIV (Ibid, 106). Ingvar Eriksson (M) held that there existed no discriminatory laws and that discrimination was a small problem in society. By protecting one group it risked obscuring of the disadvantaged situation for other minorities (ibid, 107). In the end, the proposed bill was adopted (Ibid, 113-14). With the adoption, parts of the commission’s recommendation and the new *emotional frame* was *formally institutionalized*, but the harmonization depth was reduced compared to the original recommendation.

The 1980s marked a new situation with the arrival of AIDS. In 1984, the HIV-virus had not yet been discovered. Sweden had eight confirmed cases with two diseased (SOU 1984:63, 230). In 1987, the number of cases had risen to 1300, with the number of cases doubling every eleventh to twelfth month. The majority of the infected were men who had sex with men (Prop. 1986/87:149, 7). In 1985, the Disease Prevention Act was amended to allow contact tracing for HIV. VPK objected that the suggestion

had not considered the vulnerable position of homosexuals. If anonymous testing was not allowed, there was a risk that men refused to test themselves from fear of revealing their sexual orientation (Mot. 1985/86:42). They reserved themselves from the committee opinion (SoU 1985/86:4). In the debate, Margó Ingvarðsson (VPK) stated that since homosexuality had been labeled a disease until recently, trust in the health care system was low. Only with a positive test result should people need to identify themselves (Prot. 1985/86:33). The government assured that there was high protection for patients' integrity and that strong measures were needed. The amendment was adopted (ibid).

In 1987, the government proposed to forbid video- and sauna clubs (Prop. 1986/87:149). AIDS had a high mortality rate without any cure and amongst the carriers of the virus, more than half were homosexual or bisexual men. The video- and sauna clubs were contact areas for spontaneous and anonymous sexual encounters (ibid, 4). The law restricted itself to clubs where sexual encounters were allowed to not infringe on the rights to freedom of assembly and free formation of opinion (ibid). Jörn Svensson and Bertil Mårbrink (both VPK) motioned that that the prohibition was misguided. The clubs were few and existed because the social norms did not allow for homosexuals to freely show their sexual orientation. By closing the clubs the government would lose an important venue to spread information about virus prevention and the encounters would continue underground. Instead the authorities should focus on spreading information and rules on safety at the clubs. If this failed, then Svensson and Mårbrink conceded that the law could be introduced at a later time (Mot. 1986/87:So157).

The CSA emphasized that the law was not restricted to gay clubs, but any arrangement that provided similar risks of spreading HIV and rejected both motions in favor for the proposed bill. The opinion was supported by all members including the representative of VPK (SoU 1986/87:38) and the law was adopted (Prot.

1986/87:135). The big debate about AIDS came a year later although homosexuals were a part of that discussion, the view of homosexuals was not at the center of the discussion (SoU 1987/88:10).

In 1989 Kent Carlsson¹¹ (S) and Maria Leissner (FP) both suggested continued harmonization. Carlsson argued that although the *Riksdag* had stated that homosexuality was “fully acceptable” it was still legally differentiated. Homosexuals could not marry and the law on homosexual registered partnerships did not allow for the same civil-, social- and fiscal rights as for heterosexual couples. At this time, surviving partners of AIDS victims could not inherit them. Since society did not allow for marriage, a new legal institution had to be instated for homosexuals. Just as in Denmark, Sweden should introduce a “law on registered partnerships” which gave homosexuals almost the same legal status as married people (Mot. 1988/89:L419). Leissner suggested first to amend the law on domestic partnerships to include social insurance rights. She argued that if this was rejected by the *Riksdag*, an investigation on registered partnerships should be appointed (Mot. 1988/89:L421). The LC prepared both motions but found that nothing substantial had changed since the committee opinion in 1987. The motions were rejected (1988/89:LU22). In the debate over the committee opinion, no one brought up the issue (Prot. 1988/89:99), and it was adopted the day after (Prot. 1988/89:100). With the motions two areas were suggested to be harmonized. Although they did not gain support, they revealed that the latest reforms were not deemed as enough. Carlsson even went further than the 1984 solution and suggested registered partnerships.

The following year four new motions suggested registered partnerships: Lars Werner et. al. (VPK), Anita Stenberg et. al. (MP), Maria Leissner et. al. (FP) and Ylva Johansson (VPK) et. al. (VPK, FP, MP and S) (Mot. 1989/90:L404; Mot. 1989/90:L408; Mot. 1989/90:L417; Mot. 1989/90:L424). The motions did not

¹¹ Kent Carlsson was the first Swedish member of the *Riksdag* to come out as gay. He died in November 1993 from AIDS-related illnesses.

substantially differ from the previous years, however more actors suggested it, including in a joint party motion. The joint motion criticized the 1987 committee opinion of being outdated and suggested to copy the Danish law which included equal rights in terms of taxation, the right to inheritance, the same rights when it came to insurances and pensions. Denmark did not allow for joint adoptions, for joint custody, religious ceremonies, and required that one partner was a Danish citizen (Mot. 1989/90:L424).

The LC replied that now it could be worth reviewing if the law of 1987 had fulfilled its intended effects, but that it was too early to adopt a law on registered partnerships. The LC suggested to solve the issue amongst the Nordic countries to ensure legal harmony between the countries. The motions were again rejected (LU 1989/90:23, 43). Elisabeth Persson (VPK) reserved herself and suggested to introduce the law instead (ibid, 49). In the chamber, Elizabeth Franzén (MP) stated that her party wanted to allow civil unions for homosexuals instead of giving them a special status, therefore they did not support the reservation (Prot. 1989/90:118,101). Kent Carlsson (S) stated that although homosexual couples could achieve the same legal status on joint property and inheritance through private agreements they could not do so with tax law, life insurances or social security benefits: “A law on registered partnerships regulates several issues that matter during the time when you live together. The law on domestic partnerships in principle only regulates what happens if a relationship ends” (ibid, 110). Carlsson also criticized his party colleagues (ibid, 112):

Sadly the majority in the Standing Law Committee does not take any stance to the suggestion on registered partnerships for homosexuals. It had actually been better with a decisive no, if they believed that, instead of this hide and seek behind investigations and negotiations amongst the Nordic countries.

He further criticized the Green Party: “Here they have a possibility to support a legislation that the homosexual’s own organizations actually demand, but the Green

Party's representative says that it is us who should decide what rights homosexuals should have" (ibid, 112-13). To await the right time for "homosexual marriage" would take years if it ever happened while AIDS continued to cause problems (ibid, 114). Franzén disagreed with the time aspect and held that a special status would hinder full equality in the long run (ibid). In the end the committee's suggestion won with 247 votes in favor, against 35 for the reservation and 6 abstentions (ibid, 116).

In 1991, the Minister of Justice, Laila Freivalds (S), appointed a parliamentary commission of inquiry to evaluate the law on homosexual domestic partnership and if Sweden should introduce registered partnerships, which now had been suggested by NBHW (Dir. 1991:6). The Chair of the Committee on registered partnership became Barbro Westerholm (FP). After the general elections the same year, a new coalition government was formed between the M, C, FP and KDS (who just had entered Parliament). In 1991, 1992 and 1993 independent members from S, V, FP, MP and a joint motion from S, V, an independent, NYD, FP and C were sent in suggesting registered partnerships. All were rejected by the LC and in the chamber with reference to the ongoing inquiry (Bet. 1990/91:LU21; Bet. 1991/92:LU32; Bet. 1992/29:LU36). Although the new solution failed to gain support in the committee, for every year it seemed to gain stronger *support by a coalition of actors*. Before the commission released its report however, the issue was politically locked.

The report was released in November 1993. It recommended to introduce registered partnerships. Homosexual couples should through a civil registration be given the same legal status as spouses, except when it came to joint custody, IVF treatments and adoptions. It was also suggested that parenthood ought to be investigated separately (SOU 1993:98:12-13). The commission held that their suggestion would secure economic and judicial rights, and politically recognized homosexual relations: "we acknowledge the homosexual love as equal to the heterosexual one" (ibid, 11). They argued that the Bible contained different interpretations of homosexuality, and

it was not up to the commission to decide what interpretation was correct. They also disagreed that registered partnership devalued marriage: “That partnerships would lead to general decadency and increasing criminality are statements without any serious foundation” (ibid, 16-17). Regarding the earlier conclusion that registration was problematic, the committee stated that a registration did not contain any information about sexual practices, nor that a sexual relationship was required, just as with marriage (ibid, 18). Four of the eight members of the commission from M, C, KDS and NYD reserved themselves against the recommendations. They held that marriage was between a man and a woman and served as a “natural frame” for the family. The “natural order” of relations between men and women were a guarantee for mankind’s continuation and protected children at the core of society. Although they recognized that some areas of the social security should be revised, it should not be through marriage (ibid, 145-46). The decisive vote between the 4-4 tie, in favor of registered partnerships was cast by the chair Barbro Westerholm (FP).

The report *officially acknowledged* partnerships as a solution but revealed an unusual parliamentary situation. A majority in the *Riksdag* supported registered partnerships, but not within the government. KDS had declared that they would block any governmental bill that followed the committee recommendation (Westerholm 2000, 257-58). Maj-Lis Lööv (S), chair of the LC decided to initiate a law through a committee initiative directly in the *Riksdag*. It marked the first time a committee initiative was used to suggest a law. Ten party motions had been submitted in 1994 on registered partnerships. Six of the motions (from S, M, C, FP and V) were in favor, and based on these the committee drafted a suggestion for a law which was reviewed by the Council on Legislation. Four motions (KDS, M and FP) were opposed. Similar to the commission report, the committee members from C, M, KDS and NYD reserved themselves against the opinion (LU 1993/94:28).

The motions that supported it, referred back to the 1973 statement. The suggestion was seen important for equality and might increase tolerance. Additionally homosexuals demanded it. Fredrik Reinfeldt (M) motioned that the *Riksdag* should state that there was a need for legislation (Mot. 1993/93:L422). Ingvar Svensson and Pontus Wiklund (both KDS) defended marriage as the best form for family unity. Other forms of cohabitation than marriage should be based on legal agreements not legislation. The family was the foundation of society, and transferred values, norms and ethics between generations: “The safest way of reducing violence and criminality, to counteract rootlessness and drug addiction is to give support to homes and families” (Mot. 1993/94:L208). They also held that: “Society should not be neutral to its own survival. Family with marriage as the departure constitutes continuity in society” (ibid). They instead suggested to review how to remove obstacles for partners to freely regulate their affairs (ibid). Bengt Harding Olson (FP) suggested an alternative approach with a gradually increased protection based on how long partners lived together (Mot. 1993/94:L406). Knut Wachtmeister and Bo Arvidson (both M), stated that a special legislation was unnecessary and critiqued the report’s suggestion to investigate adoptions (Mot. 1993/94:L403):

We believe that it is especially absurd to even consider questioning the possibility of adoption... We have the fixed opinion that children who are adopted by two homosexual men faces a significant risk of coming to physical damage.

In the debate, Holger Gustafsson (KDS) critiqued the committee initiative and claimed that the reservation was made solely on formal grounds. The suggestion was unrefined and needed to be reworked by the government instead. Over 120 000 protest signatures had been sent to the *Riksdag* which showed that many wanted to protect marriage (Prot. 1993/94:119). Elisabeth Persson (V) criticized the opponents of hiding behind these formal arguments: “Instead say that you do not want the law and explain the actual reasons.” (ibid). She disagreed that registered partnerships

would hurt marriage, lead to higher divorce rates or that it would encourage a homosexual lifestyle (ibid):

Homosexuality is not contagious. If one believes that, and if one believes that these very few people will seduce many to homosexuality, one must have the remarkable opinion that homosexual love in itself is more attractive and tempting and more satisfactory than heterosexual love...

Lööv emphasized that the suggestion was “the step” today towards equality and, that it did not lead to adoptions, joint custody or insemination. She opposed arguments that the suggestion was unnecessary because homosexuals had a promiscuous lifestyle. That was irrelevant and she questioned if society ever had allowed for monogamous homosexual relations. Reinfeldt was the only member of his party to express support to the committee initiative. Svensson defended his motion and questioned if the *Riksdag* were responsible to confirm people’s love, and if so, where would it stop? Stefan Kihlberg (NYD) stated marriage had nothing to do with love but simply a legal institution between one man and one woman. If one followed the majority’s opinion, he wondered if the same reasoning should allow for polygamy or incest: “is this sort of love also of equal worth?”. Göte Jonsson (M) stated that marriage was unique and not discriminatory. He argued that the law would be the first step towards adoption and joint custody by homosexuals. Representatives from both S and FP declared that they as Christians supported the law. John Bouvin (NYD) described homosexual sex as unnatural and illustrated his address with “obscene gestures”¹² Roland Lében (KDS) stated that it was insensitive to believers, to reject that “salvation” could be used liberate people from an “experienced negative homosexuality”. After the debate the law was passed with 171 in favor, 141 against, 5 abstentions and 32 absentees (ibid).

Discussion

¹² Cited from the protocol (Anf. 102).

The harmonization of the sexual frame in 1977 represented the end of an ideational period that for over 40 years had followed the same development. Although it was not completely harmonized in terms of depth until 1984 when the new definition of rape was *formally institutionalized*, it did not end the political struggle over the view of homosexuality.

Several MPs recognized that homosexuals held a disadvantaged position by being excluded from other areas of the civil law. Ideationally this put policymakers in a dilemma which the sexual understanding seemed unable to resolve. Although the *Riksdag's* statement in 1973 had departed from the sexual frame, it was not until 1984 when the critical juncture was expressed as a new *emotional frame* of understanding. The new frame partly built on the previous one but defined “the only certain difference” in terms of emotional attachment. It was still based on the scientific understanding of the *homosexual paradigm*, but in terms of frames it clearly departed from the previous understanding. The new emotional understanding made the exclusion of homosexual relations in the civil law a problem, and the new solution was to extend homosexuals’ rights in other policy areas. Although the commission had equalized emotional attachment, the frame differentiated homosexuals in terms of the family. In terms of policy harmonization the frame therefore initially harmonized by including homosexuality in more policy areas, but it was not a full policy harmonization in terms of depth, since homosexuals still were treated differently.

Although the frame did not describe homosexuals in terms of sterility, it still understood homosexuals as childless and they were described as potentially harmful to children’s development. Just as before, it is not possible to determine the actors’ motivations behind the limitation, if it stemmed from a genuine worry or unwillingness to allow reforms. It is possible that the traditional negative values regarding homosexuality still remained, and that the ideas of what a family and marriage were, could not be challenged. Once again gay men were the major threat

and lesbians rarely distinguished. The potential risk of harm functioned in any case similarly to the seduction theory and motivated limitations in the breadth of harmonization. While there were no formal obstacles to allow homosexuals to marry or adopt children it was deemed as an inappropriate solution. In 1987, no actors expressed concerns with the limitation. The frame solution became a limited extension of rights and a new special status. For homosexuals it represented the first time they gained a positive freedom in society, although the formally institutionalized solution was more restricted than the original recommendation.

The new solution did not prove to be stable. Almost immediately the discussion about finding a marriage substitute started. Rydström (2011) has argued that the Danish example in 1989 was an important inspiration, our analysis confirms this conclusion, but it still took five years for it to be introduced. For the proponents it was important to remove the formal difference because of financial, judicial and symbolical reasons. Although registered partnerships extended the rights, it was important to once again give homosexuals a special status. It is more difficult to describe registered partnerships in terms of *harmonization*. It can be interpreted as a broadening by extending a marriage substitute to homosexuals, but it can also be seen as a deepening as the law produced similar outputs while a symbolic difference was kept. In that sense registered partnerships did not alter the 1984 *emotional frame* which still held marriage as exclusive to heterosexual relations. There is some evidence that the distinction was made from strategic considerations. Although some parties preferred a gender-neutral civil union, it was deemed more progressive to formalize a new institution for homosexuals. The advocates also emphasized that registered partnerships did not mean that harmonization of laws regulating parenthood had to continue.

While the AIDS pandemic partly returned the discussion to sex, these discussions did not alter the frame. Although it was acknowledged that homosexuals carried the

virus, the *Riksdag* seems to have had a fairly nuanced discussion around the issue. The study does not contain information about homosexual's reaction to the law change or its effects. Clearly VPK problematized certain areas of the measures targeting AIDS as problematic, but the problems never gained any serious support.

5.5 1995-2010: An emotional frame of understanding – harmonization

While the Commission on registered partnerships had opened to investigate parenthood it did not lead to any immediate actions. In 1996 and 1997, thirteen motions from C, FP, MP, S and V were submitted supporting adoptions. V called the prohibition discriminatory, other parties emphasized that homosexuals already were biological parents, but legally could not have joint custody. The situation made those children more vulnerable if the biological parent died. Adoption were based on the principle of the child's best interest, regardless of the parent's sexual orientation. The LC replied in 1998 that the issue should be investigated. The investigation should focus on the legal, economic and social situation for children with homosexual parents today. They rejected to allow insemination for lesbian couples until the investigation had been made. The committee also stated that they would await the conclusions before taking their principal stance. The committee members from MP and V reserved themselves to allow inseminations. They did not believe children's development was different and today it forced lesbians to seek assistance abroad, giving them a lower safety standard (1997/98:LU28).

In the chamber, Chatrine Pålsson (KD) criticized the committee opinion. She brought up registered partnerships had been promised to not be a step towards adoptions. The child's best interest was to have a mother and father. She defended the limited emotional frame by the child's special need for protection. Although not all parents were suitable, all children should grow up under conditions as similar to the "natural family situation" as possible. She emphasized that her position was not based on the belief that homosexuals were worse parents. Anders Ygeman (S) and

Marietta de Pourbaix-Lundin (M) both emphasized that the committee's suggestion was to have an impartial investigation before taking any stance on the issue. The committee opinion was passed (Prot. 1997/98:94). With the committee statement, an investigation was *supported by a (big) coalition of actors*, although it was uncertain if there was support for a broader harmonization.

In 2001, the commission presented its report. Based on a number of scientific reports it concluded that children in homosexual families had a similar psychological and social development. It found no differences in the parent's ability to offer care and protection (SOU 2001:10, 15). They concluded that there was no reason to uphold the legal difference and recommended allowing adoptions and insemination for lesbian couples (ibid). The investigation stated that the countries Sweden had adoption agreements with would only adopt children to heterosexual couples, but that allowing homosexual adoptions would not risk affecting heterosexual adoptions or single parent adoptions in all but two countries (ibid, 27). To allow adoptions it was recommended that Sweden ceded the 1967 European Convention on Adoptions since it was incompatible with the reform. The commission judged that ceding the convention had no real impact since the Swedish law already covered all essential points of the convention (Ibid, 31). The report meant that a broader *emotional frame* was *officially acknowledged*. With the threat against children being rejected, the legal difference became seen as problematic.

The following year the Minister of Justice, Thomas Bodström (S), presented a bill in line with the recommendations for adoptions, but he wanted to wait for a further investigation on the legal parenthood before suggesting inseminations (Prop. 2001/02:123). The LC prepared the bill alongside 30 motions. The committee agreed with the proposition and rejected all motions that differed from the governmental bill. In relation to three of the motions the committee supported their meaning to let the government know that resolving the issues around insemination should be

prioritized. The committee opinion came with eleven reservations. KD reserved themselves against the entire proposal and M reserved themselves against allowing international adoptions since it risked hurting Sweden's international reputation (Bet. 2001/02:LU27, 1).

In the debate, Christel Anderberg (M) stated that the law was written from the adult's perspective and criticized the proposal for ignoring expert functions who had disagreed with the recommendation (Prot. 2001/02:120, 22-23). Her party held that it was important for children to grow up with two biological parents. The reform risked having other countries refusing to adopt any children to Sweden (ibid, 24). Alf Svensson (KD) argued similarly to Anderberg: "Why should certain children have one thing that others should not have, when we still know that every child still should have one mother and one father" (ibid, 30). Agne Hansson (C) emphasized that it was still up to experts to determine if two persons were suitable as adoptive parents and that he supported allowing homosexuals to have that individual assessment (ibid, 33-34). Marianne Carlström (S) replied that there was no reputational risk regarding international adoptions and that the Swedish legislation could not be based upon other countries' values (ibid, 36). In the end, the committee opinion won against all reservations (ibid, 176). The broader *emotional frame* was formally institutionalized, reducing the legal difference to inseminations and marriage.

In 2003, the government submitted a new proposal for a harmonized law on domestic partners. The proposal included some minor changes and a general definition of domestic partners to: "remove unmotivated legal differences in the treatment of homosexual domestic partners" (Prop. 2002/03:80, 1). This meant that all differences apart from the right to IVF treatments for lesbian couples were removed (ibid, 39). The proposal was prepared by the LC alongside nine motions, out of which seven from members of C, FP, MP, S and V, all mentioned, and welcomed the changes. In a joint motion by members of all the previously mentioned

parties, it was also suggested that the *Riksdag* should declare that lesbian couples should be allowed IVF treatment. KD motioned that the laws on registered partnerships should be revoked to promote marriage (LU 2002/03:19). The committee supported the bill and the motions that followed the proposition. Regarding insemination, the committee suggested awaiting until the announced investigation (ibid, 14). In the debate, no one explicitly opposed to the harmonization of the two laws. Members of the parties that had sent in favorable motions welcomed the harmonization, but the debate focused on the principal law rather than homosexuals. In the end the new law was adopted (Prot. 2002/03:115, 77).

The *emotional frame* also institutionally developed in areas to protect homosexuals against discrimination. The first motions to suggest a law against discrimination in the labor market had been submitted already back in 1993. Although the Committee on the Labor Market (CLM) agreed that such legislation might be needed, no actions were taken. Similar motions were rejected during the following years (AU 1993/94:9; AU 1995/96:3). In 1997, the CLM noted that the government now prepared a bill on the matter (AU 1997/98:6). In 1998, a bill suggesting a protection against direct and indirect discrimination for hetero-, homo- and bisexual orientation in the labor market was presented as well as a suggestion for a new agency: the Ombudsman Against Discrimination Because of Sexual Orientation (HomO) (Prop. 1997/98:180).

With the proposal the government introduced similar laws on ethnical discrimination and discrimination of people with functional disabilities. The CLM treated the proposals jointly alongside 20 related motions, of which eight mentioned discrimination against homosexuals (AU 1998/99:4). The committee supported the bills and stated that homosexuality was “natural” and therefore employers could not motivate discriminatory behavior on the grounds of one’s sexual orientation (Ibid, 20). Members from M and C reserved themselves in favor of a joint law instead of

three separate ones (Ibid, 92-93). No party opposed the fact that homosexuals were discriminated and that a special protection was needed (Ibid). The idea was supported by all parties in the debate and in the following vote, after the M reservation had fallen against the committee opinion. They also chose to abstain in the following votes on other amendments (Prot. 1998/99:62:67-69). With this adoption, yet another suggestion from the 1984 commission became *formally institutionalized*.

In 2004, the government released a memorandum that recommended allowing lesbian inseminations. It stated that an uncertain number of children were already born by lesbians through artificial insemination outside of the health care system (Ds 2004:19, 41). There was no reason to treat lesbian couples differently from straight couples, and both partners ought to be considered to be parents (ibid, 50). The report did not discuss the situation for homosexual men apart from recognizing that they could be donors. The child had the right to know the identity of a donor after the age of 18. The donor to a lesbian couple, just as any other donor, should not to have any legal relationship with the child (ibid). The following year, Minister Bodström (S), presented a bill following the recommendations. For children already born through artificial insemination the non-biological mother could adopt the child to become the legal parent if it was “to the advantage of the child” (Prop. 2004/05:137, 1). The memorandum and government *officially acknowledged* yet another broadening of the emotional frame.

The proposal was prepared by the LC alongside three motions. Yvonne Andersson et. al. (KD) motioned against the proposal and argued that any change to the principle that children had a right to a mother and a father was unmotivated. They once again accused the bill for taking the adults’ perspective and disregarding the father. That some women still used artificial insemination outside of the state’s

control was not a reason to change the law. They also stated that their position was not based on any belief that lesbians were worse parents (Mot. 2004/05:L30).

The LC supported the bill and therefore rejected the motions (2004/05:LU25). KD reserved themselves to the committee opinion (ibid, 14). In the debate, Martin Andreasson (FP) stated that the suggestion secured the child's rights since they, as adults, had the right to know who the donor's identity. Regarding the suggestion, his party only objected to that the woman who did not carry the child, was not automatically recognized as legal parent (Prot. 2004/05:133, 8-9). Ingemar Vänderlöv (KD) argued that the suggestion legally removed the father and emphasized that several experts held that the consequences had not been investigated enough (ibid, 10-11). Marianne Carlström (S) replied that KD interpreted the answers from the experts in a way that suited them. Although there was little research conducted on children born through artificial insemination, all research on children in homosexual families showed that there was no difference in parenting abilities (ibid, 15). Chatrine Pålsson (KD) connected the absence of a father during childhood to criminality (ibid, 35):

We only need to look at all the prisons we have in this country. We can conduct interviews... There it usually comes up that the father has been absent when growing up and that this has caused things to go wrong later in life. I of course do not say that this is the only reason, but an important one.

Pålsson argued that the *Riksdag* would cause more children growing up without a biological father. Carl-Axel Roslund (M) went against his party and although he believed homosexuals should be treated equally he stated: "I think that one violates nature here... A child has a right to a mother and a father no matter how bad they are" (ibid, 44-45). Mia Franzén (FP) argued that opponents' arguments were based on an ideal not reality (ibid, 46):

Unfortunately we cannot remove lovelessness through legal procedures. Already today children are removed from their father when heterosexual parents get help through a sperm donation, but the child still gets two parents hopefully with lots of love and sense of responsibility. With adoptions the child is removed from both mother and father, the biological ones, but still hopefully gets two loving parents.

The bill was passed with 206 votes for, 31 against and 32 abstentions (ibid, 83). The law changes *formally institutionalized* yet another broadening of the *emotional frame*.

In 2008, the government proposed a harmonization of seven different laws against discrimination and of the different Ombudsman offices (Prop. 2007/08:95). HomO and the law against discrimination in the labor market were incorporated into the new legislation. The Penal Code was recommended to use the term “sexual orientation” instead of “homosexual orientation” (ibid). The CLA prepared the suggestion and 53 motions that had been submitted in relation to the proposal. Five touched upon homosexuality but were rejected by the committee in favor of the bill (Bet. 2007/08:AU7). In the debate, all speakers who mentioned homosexuality admitted that there were still problems with homophobia and hate crimes in society. Annika Carlsson (C) stated (Prot. 2007/08:117, 55):

Research show that more than every fourth homosexual person chooses to go to work every day, year after year and to pretend to be someone else than they are. Half of all homo- or bisexuals in the labor market experience that their co-workers have prejudices and additionally express them around the coffee table.

The bill was passed in a procedure with 47 reservations. In every vote, the committee opinion won (Prot. 2007/08:122). Just as earlier, the change did not change the frame that homosexuals were discriminated against, but in terms of harmonization the joint law deepened the harmonization by increasing similarity in the discrimination law.

After 2004, the only remaining limitation in the *emotional frame* of homosexuals was marriage. In 1996, VPK had sent in two motions suggesting to open marriage for homosexuals. They argued that registered partnerships had been a compromise for those who believed that marriage was between a man and a woman, but that there existed no reason to keep two separate institutions to regulate the same thing (Mot. 1997/98:L417; Mot. 1997/98:So677). Motions suggesting gender-neutral marriage were rejected by the LC in 1998, 1999, 2001 and 2002 (LU 1997/98:10; LU 1998/99:18; LU 1999/99:16; LU 2000/01:13; LU 2001/02:8).

In 2004, the LC treated 12 motions that supported gender-neutral marriages including a joint motion from members of V, S, FP, MP and C that suggested an investigation (Mot. 2002/03:L254). Tuve Skånberg et. al. (KD) motioned that marriage would continue to be between a man and a woman (Mot. 2003/04:L308). The CJ agreed that the *Riksdag* should request an investigation of gender-neutral Marriage Act (Bet. 2003/04:LU22, 8). They held, that since adoptions were now allowed, the formal objections to differentiate had been removed. It had been 15 years since the *Riksdag's* original statement on gender-neutral marriages and: “it cannot be ruled out that the public view on these matters had also gone through important changes” (ibid, 15). KD reserved themselves and stated that marriage was important as a way to protect the child’s right to biological parents, to have both a male and a female role model and that marriage was a cultural institution. There was no need for marriage to change since registered partnerships fulfilled the same legal protection. Lastly, any changes would threaten the religious freedom of the Swedish denominations (ibid, 41-43).

In the chamber, Inger René (M) stated that although her party saw marriage as something distinct, they supported an investigation. Her party would abstain from voting on the matter. She also held that a gender-neutral law in itself did not solve discrimination and that harmonization even could be harmful (Prot. 2003/04:104,69-

70). Tasso Stafilidis (V) accused KD from hiding behind their motivation of protecting children. He compared the different laws to the American racial doctrine “*separate but equal*”: “You get your law, and we get ours. It is our right” (ibid, 79). Vivian Gredin (C) emphasized that she did not speak on behalf of her party: “To keep two different labels... is that discrimination? The relations still give the same judicial protection. It is only the label that differentiates them.” (ibid, 99). The committee opinion was accepted with 211 in favor, 33 against, 41 abstentions and 64 absentees (Prot. 2003/04:105).

Marriage continued to be suggested by several members of the *Riksdag*. A commission was appointed which released their recommendations in 2007. It concluded that although the two laws formally were the same, marriage still had a higher symbolic value. Equal treatment was important for homosexuals, and there was no legal or cultural reason to restrict their right to marriage (SOU 2007:17, 16-17). A marriage did not require a couple to have, or plan to have children it therefore also held other functions. The “child perspective” did not give any clear guidance: “For the child the most meaningful thing ought to be that the relations to the parents are good and safe regardless of their gender or what judicial form they have chosen for their partnership” (ibid, 18). Sweden was formally secularized, but the Swedish church as well as other religious denominations with a license had a right to exercise authority by registering the marriages. The commission suggested that this should be kept. To protect religious freedom no officiates would be forced to marry homosexuals (Ibid). With the commission report, the *emotional frame* seemed to be *officially acknowledged* as fully harmonized.

After the general elections in 2006 Sweden received a new coalition government which included KD. In 2008, the Minister of Justice, Beatrice Ask (M), presented a bill to revise the Marriage Act but without suggesting a change for homosexuals

(Prop. 2008/09:80, 18). With it, the government *officially acknowledged* a preference for status quo challenging the commission's recommendations.

The Committee on Civil Affairs (CCA) who disagreed with the bill and presented a new committee initiative based on a gender-neutral law based on motions from S, V and MP and one from M, C and FP submitted outside of the general motion period (Cu 2008/09:19, 9). The committee's proposed law was reviewed by the Council on Legislation and was based on the commission's original recommendations. The law on registered partnership was suggested to be revoked. Registered partners could either chose to keep their status or have the registered partnership changed into a marriage registration. The committee motivated their stance by (ibid, 11):

...the things expressed in the law reflects what is sanctioned by society in general and is normative for everyday relations. A difference between marriage and registered partnerships can then be interpreted as a signal that there is reason to make difference between such relations.

KD reserved themselves and suggested to remove the legal marriage and have gender-neutral civil unions instead. Since the church and the state were formally separated, only the state ought to handle the exercise of authority. Any ceremonial issues should be decided by the religious denominations independently to protect the freedom of religion. Couples who wanted a marriage ceremony in relation to the civil union registration could do so, if the respective denomination agreed to it. They argued that this model was already used in many other countries (ibid, 39).

In the debate, Yvonne Andersson (KD) argued that marriage was a religious term, and nothing that the state should define. Their proposal was a compromise that could satisfy both sides. She stated that she did not understand how different labels could be seen as discriminatory and she reconnected to their earlier argumentation about family protection. Since the current system worked well there was no reason to

change it (Prot. 2008/09:95, 5). Anti Avastan (M) interpreted KD's proposal as a way to prohibit homosexuals from having marriage ceremonies within the church. A reform gave homosexuals a symbolic recognition that could strengthen their families: "The suggestion of a gender-neutral marriage does not reduce the freedom for anyone. The suggestion instead increases the freedom for some" (ibid, 13-14). Liselotte Olsson (V) stated that this was a good step forward, but her party also wanted to force officiates to marry homosexual couples in the future to remove any potential discrimination (ibid, 22). Several speakers including Hillevi Larsson (S), Barbro Westerholm (FP) and Maria Wetterstrand (MP) argued that this was an important "next step" from previous reforms (ibid). Mikael Oscarsson (KD) held that marriage laws should be voted on with the largest possible acceptance. The proposal was dividing and exclusive. In reproductive terms humans needed a man and a woman, marriage represented an example of this social and legal "truth" in all times (ibid, 56-57). Anna Kindberg-Batra (M) stated that many within the church and other denominations welcomed the opportunity to marry homosexuals (ibid, 59). In the end, 261 members voted for the suggestion, 22 against with 16 abstentions (ibid, 105). With it, the *emotional frame* was *formally institutionalized* to resolve the last formal difference for homosexuals.

In 2009, the government proposed a reformed constitution which would include a protection against discrimination because of sexual orientation (Prop. 2009/10:81). The Committee on the Constitution agreed with the suggestion (KU 2009/10:19) (KU 2010/11:4) and no one objected to the changes in the debate (Prot. 2009/10:130). With the change came a constitutional protection against any unfair treatment, and it also marked the realization of the last of the 1984 recommendations to be *formally institutionalized*.

Discussion

Almost a quarter of a century passed between the official acknowledgement of the *emotional frame* until it was fully harmonized. Although the 1984 commission found

no formal objections to ban adoptions or marriage, they had still deemed it inappropriate according to society's attitudes at the time. Almost immediately proponents started to question this conclusion, but it was not until 2001 when the original frame was changed by allowing adoptions. Just as before, the change came with experts rejecting the idea that children to homosexuals risked developing differently. The conclusion represented a new critical juncture in the sense that it convinced enough politicians (namely in the major parties) that the ban was problematic. The debates over adoptions and inseminations unconsciously echoed the debate 60 years earlier. The state could not control some aspects of people's behavior, regardless if they liked them or not. What would the normative consequences be if the law symbolically recognized homosexual parenthood? Moral decay? At least that was suggested by some. In addition, the "minority argument" arose in both debates. The reforms concerned just a few homosexuals compared to the potential risk for the rest of society.

For policymakers on both sides, the battle stood over reality. The debates in 2001 and then in 2004 echoed the debates. The proponents emphasized that homosexuals were already biological parents and that the state could not control who became a parent or not. The consequence of the ban instead gave children in so called rainbow families less protection than other children. The opponents based their arguments on the biological conditions of human reproduction: both a male and a female were needed for the conception of a child and they were needed to raise the child. Although the opponents held both of these as facts, they had a hard time defending the heteronormative family, having to concede that not all heterosexual parents fulfilled their ideal and that biology did not determine parents' ability of care and love.

The *Riksdag* never clearly differentiated lesbians before the law on artificial insemination. While the image of the sexually dangerous male had disappeared,

AIDS kept the focus on men in the 1980s and 1990s. The shift came with the discussion about family. This more distinct role might be related to more general ideas in society where sex was seen as a male activity, and childcare connected to females. In any case, lesbians became part of the discussion from that point on.

The issue causing least struggle was the increased protection against discrimination, although it took several years before a law was passed. While the reasons for the delay cannot be determined in this study, the relative political unity might be because the emotional frame already acknowledged homosexuals as discriminated in society and that there existed a general protection since 1987. To *formally institutionalize* a legal protection therefore did not challenge the differentiation within the frame. The continued demands from MPs eventually led to change. Another reason why discrimination might have been less controversial was the other laws which were enacted at the same time, giving a similar protection to other groups. In 2008, the separate law was harmonized with the other discrimination laws. While the new law did not substantially differ in terms of protection, it is worth noting that the institutionalization process followed the same development as other all other laws in this study, with a formally separate law that then became harmonized.

Marriage was the last difference to be harmonized in the emotional frame. Although there was no legal difference between marriage and registered partnerships after the reforms on parenthood, the symbolically different status was seen as an unmotivated negative special treatment. Marriage had only been protected by symbolic values; in that sense, it is odd that it was the last reform to be resolved. It seems like its strong connection to traditional families made those issues necessary to solve first. While marriage could have been reframed earlier, it was also strongly connected to religion and the churches power of authority, which might also have made it harder to reframe. Policymakers wanted to preserve the power of authority of the religious denominations. To a certain degree, this preservation blurred the lines between

church and state and therefore a secular solution (similar to other countries) could be seen as more appropriate. Once again the material does not allow for a deeper understanding to why this solution was kept. It might be because a secular solution would be seen as unpopular or, as expressed in the debates, by removing the religious marriage it risked preserving marriage as a cultural institution exclusive for heterosexuals. With marriage being harmonized the emotional frame was fully extended to include gender neutral civil rights.

6. General discussion

This study had the ambition to follow the ideational development around homosexuality in the Swedish parliament. Table 3 summarizes the development, appendix 2 illustrates the same development in a timeline. The study finds that policy towards homosexuals was determined by two frames. This is generally in line with what Rydström has called the homosexual paradigm, in the sense that they both were based on the scientific understanding of homosexuality, but it divides the paradigm into different ideational periods. The first was a sexual frame of understanding (SF) which formally institutionalized when homosexual relations were legalized in 1944. The sexual frame defined homosexuality in terms of sexual attraction and regulated behaviour in the Penal Code. The frame saw homosexuality as something natural, but the scientific uncertainty around the causes of homosexuality allowed policymakers to exploit the seduction theory to motivate a different legal status by a higher age of consent compared to heterosexuals. From the 1960s the seduction theory started to become questioned, but the legal difference was not challenged until 1971. In 1977 the seduction theory was formally rejected by experts, and homosexuals no longer posed a sexual threat. Sexual policy therefore gradually became more similar until 1984 when it fully harmonized for both sexual orientations.

Increased awareness of homosexuals created a dilemma for policy makers in other policy areas. The description of homosexuals as discriminated against started to emerge in the 1970s, but it was not until 1987 when a new frame of understanding replaced the sexual frame. This new frame saw homosexuality as different in terms of emotional attraction (EF). By extending the frame it allowed policymakers to tackle the new problem where the state legally differentiated homosexuals. The solution was to extend their rights in some policy areas, but once again homosexuals were held differently. Homosexual relations were perceived as “sterile” and should

therefore be excluded from parenthood and marriage. Allowing a complete legal harmonization was seen as a threat to the family.

As such the study confirms the hypothesised development that the legal difference is linked to a perceived threat posed by homosexuals. While this can be said to strengthen the Social Identity Theory, more research is needed before we can use it to explain the development.

Table 3. Schema of the policy frames regarding homosexuality over time
 PERCEPTION OF HOMOSEXUALS IN THE HOMOSEXUAL PARADIGM

	<i>Differentiated</i>	<i>Harmonized</i>
<i>Small difference</i>	SF 1978-1984 EF 2001-2009	SF 1984-1987 EF 2009-
<i>Great difference</i>	SF 1944-1978 EF 1987-2001	

Similar to the sexual frame, the differentiation in the emotional frame became increasingly questioned over time. In 2001, the emotional frame broadened by formally institutionalizing adoptions and in 2004, inseminations, to fully recognize parenthood. Similar to the previous frame, proponents emphasized that the state could not control some aspects of peoples’ behavior. Homosexuals already had biological children, no matter if the state allowed it or not, the legal ban was therefore unmotivated. The last struggle over policy harmonization came in 2009 when gender neutral marriage was formally institutionalized. After parenthood had been harmonized there were no formal reason to uphold a symbolic difference.

This study finds that both frames had a similar political treatment. The *Riksdag* was generally more supportive of reform than the government. Although the committees often delayed reforms by awaiting investigations or opting for non-action, they also

requested the government to present bills, initiate investigations and to actively work for reforms several times. More importantly, they also went against the government at least three times (1944, 1994 and 2008) to push through reforms. In all three cases, it was coalition governments who opted not to follow, or restrict commission recommendations. In the last two cases, the government's reluctance can be attributed to KD, as a part of government, blocking reforms. This raises the question if the parliamentary system has contributed to the development of reforms around homosexuality, and if so, if it has aided or hindered the development.

The findings reveal that the two frames had a similar path-dependent development. They built on the previous ideas and followed a gradual frame institutionalization over time from introduction of a frame to formal recognition. Although the reforms took different time to institutionalize, the two frames from their formal introduction took about the same time to fully resolve, 20-30 years. The study also finds four critical junctures. The critical junctures came in 1933 and 1976 for the sexual frame and in 1984 and 2001 for the emotional frame. From then the development altered clearly. All four junctures were based on scientific conclusions in regard to homosexuality and started a new struggle over interpretation and translation into policy. Table 4 and 5 describes the evolution. While the illustrations do not differentiate between harmonization in terms of depth and breadth, they illustrate that the initial differential treatment gradually led to harmonization over time.

Table 4. Evolution of the sexual frame

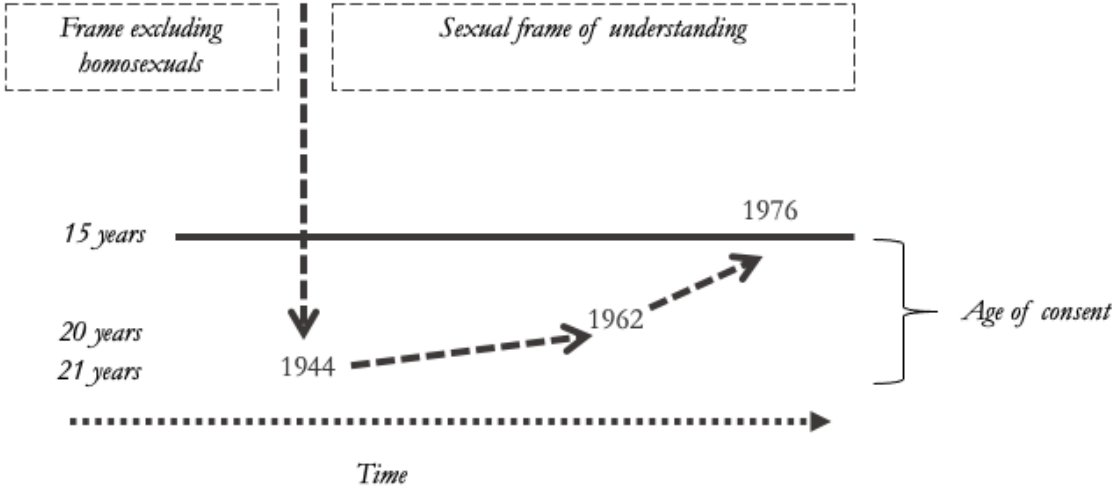
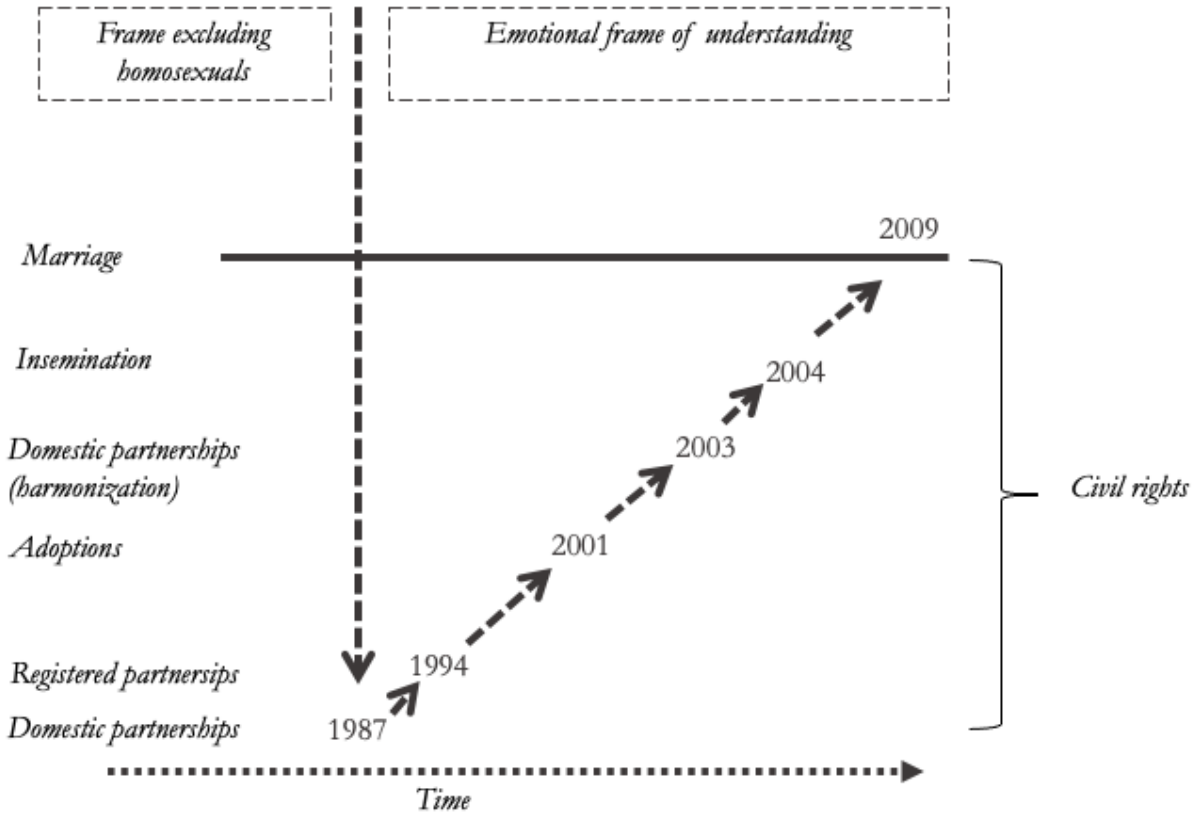


Table 5. Evolution of the emotional frame



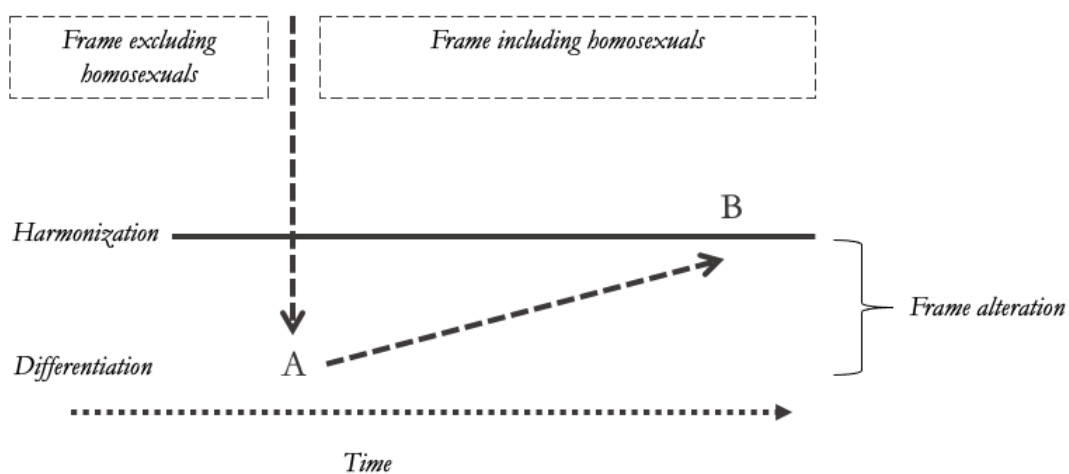
While this study cannot translate these findings to other contexts, it opens up for questions if this development can be found in other areas. That is, in other countries, for policies towards other social groups or for other moral issues that cross party lines. Another related question is if this initial differentiated but recognized status is

necessary for eventual ideational and policy harmonization. In order to answer these questions, further research is needed.

7. Conclusion

This study has had the goal to answer the question *how did the ideas associated with Swedish policy towards homosexuals change in the Riksdag between 1933 and 2010?* By using frame analysis, the ideational development has been studied in terms of problems and solutions over the period. The study finds that Swedish policy was determined by two frames, a sexual frame of understanding (1933-1984) and an emotional frame of understanding (1984-).

Table 6. Evolution of the political frames regarding homosexuals



The gradual harmonization of policy in both cases followed a similar development, as illustrated in table 6. Point A illustrates a critical juncture where a new frame was introduced. This resulted in extended but differentiated rights. Gradually the frame was renegotiated until homosexuals received the same legal status in point B. The initial differentiated policy solution came with a new scientific understanding, but politically, homosexuals remained differentiated because of uncertainties that were interpreted as threats. These threats were later rejected by experts, in a second critical juncture, which led to full policy harmonization. The harmonization came with a changed view on what could be politicized, or rather, what power the state has to enact policies that affect behavior.

As noted before the findings are context-bound, but in the future, it might be worth investigating if this development from differentiation to harmonization can be found in other contexts. If so, then we might develop a better model on policy harmonization towards different social groups.

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Official documents are presented in Appendix 1, the works referenced in the analysis are marked with an *

Appendix 1 Official documents concerning homosexuals

Legalization

AK Motion nr. 1 1933 av Vilhelm Lundstedt (S)*
AK Motion nr. 2 1933 av Vilhelm Lundstedt (S)*
AK Riksdagens protokoll nr. 2 12 januari 1933
Första Lagutskottet utl. nr. 15 1933*
Första Lagutskottet utl. nr. 16 1933*
FK Prot. nr. 17, 4 mars 1933*
AK Prot. nr. 18, 4 mars 1933*
SOU 1935:68, Promemoria angående Ändringar i Strafflagen beträffande straffsätserna för särskilda brott m.m.*
Proposition 1937:187 med förslag till lag om ändring i vissa delar av strafflagen, m.m.*
Första Lagutskottet utl. nr. 45 1937*
AK riksdagens protokoll nr. 29 Onsdagen den 5 maj 1937*
FK riksdagens protokoll nr. 29 Onsdagen den 5 maj 1937*
SOU 1941:3 Åtgärder för bekämpande av homosexualitetens samhällsfarliga yttringar*
SOU 1941:32 Strafflagberedningens utlåtande med förslag till lagstiftning angående åtgärder mot homosexualitetens samhällsfarliga yttringar*
AK Motion nr. 130 1943 av Vilhelm Lundstedt (S)*
Första lagutskottet utl. nr. 32 1943*
Proposition 1944:13 med förslag till lag om ändring i 18 och 25 kap strafflagen, m.m.*
Första lagutskottet utl. nr. 12, 1944*
Riksdagsprotokoll FK 1944 nr 10, onsdagen den 15 mars*
Riksdagsprotokoll AK 1944 nr 10, tisdagen den 14 mars*
FK motion nr. 4 1951 av Ture Nerman (S)*
Första Lagutskottet utl. nr. 35 1951*
Riksdagsprotokoll FK 1951, nr. 32, onsdagen den 21 november*
Riksdagens protokoll AK, 1951, nr 32, onsdagen den 21 november*
Riksdagsprotokoll AK 1951 nr. 25, torsdagen den 31 maj
SOU 1951:21 Utredning angående myndigheternas förhållande i den s.k. Kejneaffären m.m.; avgiven av en av kungl. Maj:t tillsatt kommission*
SOU 1953:14 Förslag till ny Brottsbalk*
Proposition 1962:10 med förslag till ny Brottsbalk*
Första lagutskottets utl. nr. 42 1962
Prot. AK 1962 nr. 33, onsdagen den 21 november*
Prot. FK 1962 nr. 32, onsdagen den 21 november*

Sexual equality

Proposition 1969:25 med förslag till lag om ändring föräldrabalken m.m.
Första lagutskottet utl. nr. 32 1969
Prot. AK 1969 nr. 23, tisdagen den 13 maj
Prot. FK 1969, nr. 23, tisdagen den 13 maj
SOU 1969:38 Yttrandefrihetens gränser – sårande tukt och sedlighet
Proposition 1970:125 med förslag till ändring i Tryckfrihetsförordningen, m.m. tukt och sedlighet
Konstitutionsutskottet utl. 6 1970, KU och utl. 39 1970,
Första lagutskottet utl. 47 1970,
Motion 1971:648 av Alf Wennerfors (M)*
Justitieutskottet bet. 1971:19*
Prot. 1971:121*
Proposition 1973:32 med förslag till lag om ändring i giftermålsbalken, m.m.*
Motion 1973:1739 av Carl-Henrik Hermansson m.fl. (vpk)*
Lagutskottet utl. 1973:20*

Protokoll 1973: 105, onsdagen den 30 maj 1973*
Protokoll 1973:106, fredagen den 1 juni 1973*
SOU 1976:9 Sexuella övergrepp: förslag till ny lydelse av brottsbalkens bestämmelser om sedlighetsbrott*
Motion 1976/77:134 av Jörn Svensson m.fl. (vpk)*
Motion 1976/77:241 av Lilly Hansson m.fl. (s)*
Motion 1976/77:637 av Hans Lindblad (fp)*
Justitieutskottet bet. 1976/77:37*
Socialutskottet bet. 1976/77:37*
Protokoll 1976/77:142, fredagen den 27 maj 1977*
Utredningen om de homosexuellas situation i samhället direktiv S 1977:2*
Proposition 1977/78:69 om ändring i 6 kap. brottsbalken*
Motion 1977/78:209 av Tore Nilsson (m)*
Motion 1977/78:210 av Gunde Raneskog (c) och Sven Johansson (c)*
Motion 1977/78:211 av Rolf Sellgren m.fl. (fp)*
Motion 1977/78:212 av Jörn Svensson m.fl. (vpk)
Motion 1977/78:991 av Christer Nilsson (s)
Justitieutskottet bet. 1977/78:26*
Protokoll 1977/78:93, fredagen den 10 mars 1978*
Motion 1978/79:602 motion av Jan Svensson m.fl. (vpk)*
1978/79:892 av Jörn Svensson m.fl. (vpk)*
Socialutskottet bet. 1978/79:29*
Protokoll 1978/79:115, onsdagen den 28 mars 1979*
SOU 1981:71 Prostitution i Sverige*
Proposition 1983/84:105 om ändring i brottsbalken m.m. (sexualbrotten)*
Justitieutskottet bet. 1983/84:25*
Protokoll 1983/84:152, onsdagen den 23 maj 1984*

The law on domestic partnerships for homosexuals

SOU 1984:63 Homosexuellas situation i samhället*
Prop. 1986/87:124 Om de homosexuellas situation i samhället*
Prop. 1986/87:86 Om följdlagstiftning till äktenskapsbalken m.m.
Motion 1985/86:L212 av Lars Werner m.fl. (vpk)
Motion 1986/87:L403 av Lars Werner m.fl. (vpk)
Motion 1986/87:L137 av Martin Olsson m.fl. (c)*
Motion 1986/87:L138 av Bengt Harding Olson m.fl. (fp)*
Motion 1986/87:So151 av Lars Werner m.fl. (vpk)
Motion 1986/87:So152 av Roland Sundgren (s)*
Motion 1986/87:So153 av Hans Pettersson i Röstånga (fp)*
Motion 1986/87:So154 av Björn Körlof m.fl. (M)*
Motion 1986/87:So155 av Lars Ahlmark m.fl. (M)*
Motion 1986/87:So156 av Alf Svensson (C)*
Lagutskottet bet. 1986/87:28*
Socialutskottet bet. 1986/87:31*
Riksdagens protokoll 1986/87:136, torsdagen den 4 juni 1987*

AIDS

Proposition 1985/86:13 om ändring i smittskyddslagen m.m.
Socialskottet bet. 1985/86:4*
Mot. 1985/86:42 av Lars Werner m.fl. (VPK)*
Protokoll 1985/86:33, torsdagen den 21 november*
Proposition 1986/87:149 med förslag till lag om förbud mot s.k. bastuklubbar och andra liknande verksamheter*
Mot. 1986/87:So157 av Jörn Svensson och Bertil Mårbrink (VPK)*
Socialutskottet bet. 1986/87:38*

Riksdagens protokoll 1986/87:135, onsdagen den 3 juni 1987*
Proposition 1987/88:79 om åtgärder mot AIDS
Socialutskottet bet. 1987/88:10

Registered Partnerships

Motion 1988/89:L419 av Kent Carlsson (S)*
Motion 1988/89:L421 av Maria Leissner (FP)*
Lagutskottet bet. 1988/89:22*
Protokoll 1988/89:99, onsdagen den 19 april 1989*
Prot. 1988/89:100, torsdagen den 20 april 1989*
Motion 1989/90:L404 av Lars Verner m.fl. (VPK)*
Motion 1989/90:L408 av Anita Stenberg m.fl. (MP)*
Motion 1989/90:L417 av Maria Leissner m.fl. (FP)*
Motion 1989/90:L424 av Ylva Johansson (VPK) m.fl. (VPK, FP, MP, S)*
Lagutskottet bet. 1989/90:23*
Protokoll 1989/90:118, onsdagen den 9 maj 1990*
Direktiv 1991:6 Registrerat partnerskap*
Motion 1990/91:L408 av Anita Stenberg m.fl. (MP)
Motion 1990/91:L416 av Anita Johansson m.fl. (S)
Motion 1990/91:L417 av Lars Werner m.fl. (V)
Motion 1990/91:L418 av Margareta Winberg m.fl. (S)
Motion 1990/91:L419 av Ingegerd Wärnersson m.fl. (S)
Motion 1990/91:L423 av Daniel Tarschys m.fl. (FP)
Lagutskottet bet. 1990/91:21*
Protokoll 1990/91:127, fredagen den 7 juni 1991
Motion 1991/92:L415 av Lars Werner m.fl. (V)
Motion 1991/92:L416 av Maj-Lis Lööv m.fl. (S)
Motion 1991/92:So273 av Kent Carlsson och Ulrica Messing (S)
Motion 1991/92:So292 av Karin Pilsäter och Barbro Westerholm (FP)
Socialutskottet bet. 1991/29:19
Lagutskottet bet. 1991/92:32*
Protokoll 1991/92:106, onsdagen den 6 maj 1992
Motion 1992/93:L406 av Maj-Lis Lööv m.fl. (S)
Motion 1992/93:L409 av Gudrun Schyman m.fl. (V)
Motion 1993/93:L421 av Kent Carlsson (S) m.fl. (S, V, -, NYD, C, FP)
Lagutskottet bet. 1992/93:36*
Protokoll 1992/93:91, onsdagen den 14 april*
SOU 1993:98 Partnerskap*
Motion 1993/94:L207 av Catrine Pålsson (kds)
Motion 1993/94:L208 av Ingvar Svensson och Pontus Wiklund (kds)*
Motion 1993/94:L403 av Knut Wachtmesiter och Bo Arvidson (m)*
Motion 1993/94:L405 av Margareta Winberg m.fl. (s)
Motion 1993/94:L406 av Bengt Harding Olson (fp)*
Motion 1993/94:L408 av Maj-Lis Lööv m.fl. (s)
Motion 1993/94:L412 av Christina Linderholm m.fl. (c)
Motion 1993/94:L413 av Barbro Westerholm m.fl. (fp)
Motion 1993/94:L415 av Gudrun Schyman m.fl. (v)
Motion 1993/93:L422 av Fredrik Reinfeldt (m)
Lagutskottet bet. 1993/94:28*
Protokoll 1993/94:119, tisdagen den 7 juni 1994*

Adoptions

Motion 1996/97:L401 av Barbro Westerholm (FP)

Motion 1996/97:L414 av Carina Moberg (S) m.fl.
Motion 1996/97:L4115 av Tone Tingsgård m.fl. (S)
Motion 1996/97:L416 av Yvonne Ruwaida and Eva Goës (MP)
Motion 1996/97:L419 av Tanja Lindeborg (V) m.fl.
Motion 1997/98:L401 av Barbro Westerholm (FP)
Motion 1997/98:L408 av Yvonne Ruwaida och Annika Nordgren (MP)
Motion 1997/98:L409 av Majléne Westerlund Panke (S) m.fl.
Motion 1997/98:L410 av Cinnika Beiming (S) m.fl.
Motion 1997/98:L411 av Karin Pilsäter och Kerstin Heinemann (FP)
Motion 1997/98:L412 av Elisa Abascal Reyes (MP)
Motion 1997/98:L414 av Tanja Linderborg (V) m.fl.
Motion 1997/98:L424 av Andreas Carlgren (C) m.fl. (C, S)
Lagutskottet bet. 1997/98:10
Lagutskottet bet. 1997/98:28*
Protokoll 1997/98:94, onsdagen den 22 april 1998*
Motion 1998/99:So380 av Gudrun Schyman m.fl. (v)
Lagutskottet bet. 1998/99:18
Lagutskottet bet. 2000/01:13
SOU 2001:10 Barn i homosexuella familjer*
Proposition 2001/02:123 Partnerskap och adoption*
Motion 2001/02:K284 av Agne Hansson m.fl. (C)
Motion 2001/02:L17 av Gustaf von Essen och Lennart Fridén (M)
Motion 2001/02:L18 av Anders Bengtsson och Sonia Karlsson (S)
Motion 2001/02:L19 av Susanne Eberstein m.fl. (S)
Motion 2001/02:L20 av Karl Gustav Abramsson (S)
Motion 2001/02:L21 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (V)
Motion 2001/02:L22 av Christel Anderberg m.fl. (M)
Motion 2001/02:L23 av Olle Lindström (M)
Motion 2001/02:L24 av Lennart Kollmats m.fl. (FP)
Motion 2001/02:L25 av Tuve Skånberg m.fl. (KD, M, C)
Motion 2001/02:L26 av Rolf Åbjörnsson m.fl. (KD)
Motion 2001/02:L27 av Kia Andreasson m.fl. (MP)
Motion 2001/02:L207 av Christel Anderberg m.fl. (M)
Motion 2001/02:L212 av Elizabeth Nyström och Anita Sidén (M)
Motion 2001/02:L226 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (V)
Motion 2001/02:L248 av Sten Tolgfors (M)
Motion 2001/02:L273 av Kjell Eldensjö m.fl. (KD)
Motion 2001/02:L308 av Tasso Stafilidis och Charlotta L Bjälkebring (V)
Motion 2001/02:L309 av Tasso Stafilidis och Charlotta L Bjälkebring (V)
Motion 2001/02:L314 av Tommy Waidelich och Cinnika Beiming (S)
Motion 2001/02:L319 av Bengt-Ola Rytter och Barbro Hietala Nordlund (S)
Motion 2001/02:L325 av Lars Lindblad och Anna Kinberg (M)
Motion 2001/02:L327 av Tommy Waidelich och Cinnika Beiming (S)
Motion 2001/02:L344 av Karin Pilsäter och Johan Pehrson (FP)
Motion 2001/02:L355 av Marina Pettersson (S)
Motion 2001/02:L357 av Anita Johansson och Lars U Granberg (S)
Motion 2001/02:L359 av Hillevi Larsson m.fl. (S)
Motion 2001/02:L368 av Laila Bäck m.fl. (S)
Motion 2001/02:L371 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (V, S, C, FP, MP)
Motion 2001/02:So495 av Matz Hammarström m.fl. (MP)
Lagutskottet bet. 2001/02:27*
Lagutskottet bet. 2001/02:8
Protokoll 2001/02:120, onsdagen den 5 juni 2002*

Joint law on domestic partnerships

SOU 1999:104 Nya samboregler
Proposition 2002/03:80 Ny sambolag*
Motion 2002/03:L18 av Jan Ertsborn m.fl. (FP)
Motion 2002/03:L227 av Inger René m.fl. (M)
Motion 2002/03:L249 av Lars Leijonborg m.fl. (FP)
Motion 2002/03:L254 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (V, S, FP, C, MP)
Motion 2002/03:L275 av Helena Zakariasén och Matilda Ernkrans (S)
Motion 2002/03:L292 av Tasso Stafilidis (V)
Motion 2002/03:L325 av Börje Vestlund (S)
Lagutskottet bet. 2002/03:19*
Protokoll 2002/03:115, tisdagen den 3 juni 2003*

Discrimination

Motion 1992/93:A727 av Kent Carlsson (S)
Motion 1993/94:Ju615 av Eva Zetterberg och Elisabeth Persson (V)
Arbetsmarknadsutskottet bet. 1992/93:9*
Motion 1994/95:A702 av Stig Sandström m.fl. (V)
Motion 1994/95:K431 av Karin Pilsäter m.fl. (FP)
Arbetsmarknadsutskottet bet. 1995/96:3*
Protokoll 1995/96:19, onsdagen den 8 november
Motion 1997/98:A703 av Juan Fonseca (S)
Motion 1997/98:A712 av Ola Ström m.fl. (FP)
Arbetsmarknadsutskottet bet. 1997/98:6*
SOU 1997:175 Förbud mot diskriminering i arbetslivet på grund av sexuell läggning betänkande
Proposition 1997/98:180 lag om förbud mot diskriminering i arbetslivet på grund av sexuell läggning*
Motion 1998/99:A7 av Tone Tingsgård och Elisabeth Markström (S)
Motion 1998/99:A8 av Helena Bargholtz m.fl. (FP)
Motion 1998/99:A9 av Gudrun Schyman m.fl. (V)
Motion 1998/99:A10 av Dan Ericsson m.fl. (KD)
Motion 1998/99:A703 av Margareta Andersson m.fl. (C)
Motion 1998/99:A722 av Lars Lindblad m.fl. (M)
Motion 1998/99:K330 av Sofia Jonsson och Åsa Torstensson (C)
Motion 1998/99:L336 av Mikael Odenberg m.fl. (M)
Arbetsmarknadsutskottet bet. 1998/99:4*
Protokoll 1998/99:62, onsdagen den 3 mars 1999*
SOU 2006:22 En sammanhållen diskrimineringslagstiftning
Proposition 2007/08:95 Ett starkare skydd mot diskriminering*
Arbetsmarknadsutskottet bet. 2007/08:7*
Motion 2007/08:A353 av Ann-Christin Ahlberg m.fl. (S)
Motion 2007/08:A364 av Birgitta Ohlsson (FP) m.fl.
Motion 2007/08:A375 av Börje Vestlund m.fl. (S)
Motion 2007/08:So335 av Lars Ohly m.fl. (V)
Motion 2007/08:U304 av Barbro Westerholm och Birgitta Ohlsson (FP)
Protokoll 2007/08:117, torsdagen den 22 maj 2008*
Protokoll 2007/08:122, onsdagen den 4 juni 2008*

Insemination

Ds. 2004:19 Assisterad befruktning*
Proposition 2004/05:137 Assisterad befruktning och föräldraskap*
Mot. 2004/05:L29 av Martin Andreasson m.fl. (FP)
Mot. 2004/05:L30 av Yvonne Andersson m.fl. (KD)*
Mot. 2004/05:L31 av Patrik Norinder (M)
Lagutskottet bet. 2004/05:25*
Riksdagens protokoll 2004/05:133, fredagen den 3 juni 2005*

Gender neutral marriage

Mot. 1997/98:L417 av Tanja Lindeborg m.fl. (V)*
Mot. 1997/98:So677 av Johan Lönnroth m.fl. (V)*
Lagutskottet bet. 1997/98:10*
Lagutskottet bet. 1998/99:18*
Motion 1998/99:L402 av Yvonne Ruwaida (mp)
Motion 1998/99:L407 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (v)
Motion 1998/99:L410 av Fredrik Reinfeldt (m)
Motion 1998/99:L424 av Tuve Skånberg (kd)
Motion 1998/99:Ju709 av Barbro Westerholm m.fl. (fp)
Lagutskottet bet. 1999/00:16*
Motion 2000/01:L404 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (v)
Motion 2000/01:L407 av Yvonne Ruwaida m.fl. (mp)
Motion 2000/01:L422 av Tuve Skånberg (kd)
Motion 2000/01:Ju724 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (v, s, c, fp, mp)
Lagutskottet bet. 2000/01:13*
Motion 2001/02:L258 av Gudrun Schyman m.fl. (v)
Motion 2001/02:L260 av Tuve Skånberg (kd)
Motion 2001/02:L274 av Kjell Eldensjö m.fl. (kd)
Motion 2001/02:L285 av Helena Zakariasén (s)
Motion 2001/02:L287 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (v)
Motion 2001/02:L326 av Elisebeht Markström m.fl. (s)
Motion 2001/02:L369 av Ann-Kristine Johansson (s)
Motion 2001/02:L371 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (v, s, c, fp, mp)
Lagutskottet bet. 2001/02:8*
Mot. 2003/04:L308 av Tuve Skånberg (KD)*
Mot. 2002/03:L254 av Tasso Stafilidis m.fl. (V, S, FP, C, MP)*
Lagutskottet bet. 2003/04:22*
Protokoll 2003/04:104, onsdagen den 28 april 2004*
Protokoll 2003/04:105, onsdagen den 29 april 2004*
Lagutskottet bet. 2004/05:14
SOU 2007:17 Äktenskap för par med samma kön*
Proposition 2008/09:80 Äktenskapsfrågor*
Civilutskottet bet. 2008/09:19
Riksdagens protokoll 2008/09:95, onsdagen den 1 april 2009*

Consitutional amendment

Prop. 2009/10:80 En reformerad grundlag*
Konstitutionsutskottet bet. 2009/10:19*
Konstitutionsutskottet bet. 2010/11:KU4
Prot. 2009/10:127, torsdagen den 27 maj 2010
Prot. 2009/10:130, onsdagen den 2 juni 2010*
Protokoll 2010/11:20, onsdagen den 24 november 2010

Appendix 2 Time line over the major events between 1933-2010

Sexual frame of understanding

1937 The Government proposes revisions of the Penal Code, but not the paragraph around homosexuality

1944 The Riksdag votes to remove the criminal offence for homosexuality for persons over 21. Homosexuality becomes a mental disease.

1971 A private member's motion proposes that the age of maturity for homosexual relations should be the same as for heterosexual relations.

1977 A Governmental commission of Inquiry concerning "the situation for Homosexuals in Sweden" is appointed.

1979 A private member's motion to remove homosexuality as a disease is voted down in the Riksdag. Later the same year the National Board of Health and Welfare removes the disease classification.

1987 The government presents a bill based on the 1984 report. It contains suggestions for improving the situation including a special law for homosexual domestic partnerships.

2001 Homosexuality is protected against discrimination HomO – the Ombudsman for Gays and Lesbians is created.

2001 Homosexual couples are allowed to adopt children together.

2004 Lesbians get the right to artificial insemination just as heterosexual couples.

2009 A gender neutral marriage law is passed. The distinction between straight and homosexual relations disappears.

1933 A Private member's motion suggests removing "fornication against nature" from the Penal Code

1941 Two Governmental Commission of Inquiry reports concerning "the socially dangerous manifestations of homosexuality" are handed to the government

1951 The Kejne Commission investigates accusations of a "homosexual league" amongst high ranking Swedish officials. The Minister of Church affairs is forced to resign due to his involvement in the police investigation.

1973 The Standing Civil law committee states that cohabitation amongst two persons of the same sex is "a fully acceptable form of cohabitation" in the eyes of society. The statement is an answer to another private member's motion that homosexuals should be allowed to have a registered partnership.

1978 The age of maturity is lowered from 20 to 15 for homosexual relations. The same as for heterosexual relations.

1984 The commission report concerning "the situation for Homosexuals in Sweden" is presented.

1991 A commission to investigate registered partnership is appointed.

1994 A temporary majority in the Riksdag initiates and votes on a new law on registered partnership. The government is bypassed. Homosexuals are allowed the same rights as married couples but does not have the right to conduct the ceremony in the church or to have mutual children.

2003 Gender neutral law on domestic partnerships

2008 A joint discrimination law replaces several separate discrimination laws including the one for homosexuals.

2010 The Swedish constitution is amended to include protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Differentiation

Harmonization

Differentiation

Harmonization

Emotional frame of understanding

Appendix 3 Word list

ENGLISH

In alphabetical order.

B

Bestiality

C

Child Care Act

Civil Law Committee

Comments, statement of opinion

Committee initiative

Committee opinion

Committee on Civil Affairs

Committee on the Constitution

Committee on Justice

Committee on the Labor Market

Committee on Social Affairs

Consultative procedure

Council on Legislation

D

Disease Prevention Act

F

Fornication against nature

G

Government bill

Governmental Commission of Inquiry

I

Incitement to ethnical or racial hatred

L

Law on domestic partnerships

Law on domestic partnerships
for homosexuals

M

Marriage Act

O

Ombudsman Against Discrimination
Because of Sexual Orientation

P

Penal Code

Private member's motion

SWEDISH

Tidelag

Barnavårdslagen

Första lagutskottet

Remissyttrande

Utskottsintitiativ

Utskottsutlåtande

Civilutskottet

Konstitutionsutskottet

Justitieutskottet

Arbetsmarknadsutskottet

Socialutskottet

Remissförfarande

Lagrådet

Smittskyddslagen

Otukt mot naturen

Proposition

Statens Offentliga Utredningar

Hets mot folkgrupp

Sambolagen

Lagen om homosexuella sambor

Äktenskapsbalken

Ombudsmannen mot diskriminering på grund av
sexuell läggning (HomO)

Strafflagen från 1962 Brottsbalken

Motion

S

Standing Law Committee	Lagutskottet
Swedish Board of Health (until 1968)	Medicinalstyrelsen
Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare (from 1968)	Socialstyrelsen
Swedish Federation of LGBT-rights	Riksförbundet för sexuellt likaberättigande (RFSL)

T

Terms of reference (of a commission of inquiry)	Kommittédirektiv
Travaux préparatoire	Förarbete

R

Research officer	Utredare
Reservation (appended to a committee report)	Reservation (i utskottsbetänkande)

POLITICAL PARTIES

Listed after the Swedish abbreviation.

BF/C

Farmer's league <i>From 1957</i>	Bondeförbundet (BF)
Center Party	Centerpartiet (C)

FP

People's Party <i>From 1990</i>	Folkpartiet (FP)
The People's Party – Liberals	Folkpartiet liberalerna (FP)

KDS/KD

Christian Democratic Unity <i>From 1987</i>	Kristdemokratisk samling (KDS)
Christian Democratic Societal Party <i>From 1996</i>	Kristdemokratiska samhällspartiet (KDS)
Christian Democrats	Kristdemokraterna (KD)

H/M

The Right <i>From 1952</i>	Högern (H)
Right Party <i>From 1969</i>	Högerpartiet (H)
Moderate Coalition Party <i>From 2003</i>	Moderata samlingspartiet (M)
New Moderates	Nya Moderaterna (M)

MP

Green Party	Miljöpartiet de Gröna (MP)
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NYD

New Democracy

Ny Demokrati (NYD)

S

Social Democratic Worker's Party

Socialdemokratiska Arbetarpartiet (S)

SKP/VPK/V

Communist Party of Sweden

From 1967

Left Party – Communist

From 1990

Left Party

Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti (SKP)

Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna (VPK)

Vänsterpartiet (V)