Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy

How can a feminist approach to foreign policy be understood?

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Abstract

This purpose of this thesis is to get a further understanding of what Swedish feminist foreign policy constitutes through a critical discourse analysis. By using gender mainstreaming strategies and feminist IR-theories as a theoretical framework for analysis, key aspects from these approaches are examined within the Swedish feminist foreign policy. This thesis mainly focuses on how the concepts of gender and feminism are understood, framed and linked in the policy. Four guiding models are used to categorise the Swedish approach to gender and feminism. Official documents, speeches and debate articles are analysed. The empiric material shows that more or less all approaches discussed in the theoretical framework, are reflected in the discourses on Swedish feminist foreign policy. Conclusions drawn highlight this, but also how the Swedish approach uses gender as a tool to achieve other central goals, that are not always directly connected to the goal of gender equality. This points towards an "efficiency"-approach that is likely to be further used in the feminist approach to foreign policy. However, a stronger political and critical approach is likewise visible, and is understood as more of a normative trait in the policy – reflecting a stronger transformationalist approach to foreign policy.

Keywords: Gender, gender analysis, gender mainstreaming, feminist foreign policy, feminist IR-theory, Swedish feminist foreign policy
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1 Introduction

Much was said when Sweden in 2014 made a "radical" policy change and became the first nation to proclaim a feminist foreign policy. By some scholars it is described as part of the Swedish normative entrepreneurship related to the evolution and legacy of the Swedish self-identity as a moral and humanitarian superpower, whereas by others as part of a broader global change and pattern of efforts to advance gender equality, stemming from the Women, Peace and Security agenda (Alwan & Weldon 2017:1; Jezierska & Towns 2018:58,62; Aggestam 2016, interview; Aggestam & Bergman 2016:323; Egnell 2016:565). The "feminist" foreign policy is distinct from gender mainstreaming that has received much consensus, and instead carries with it more controversial politics with the aim of, to a greater extent, challenge power hierarchies and gendered institutions that have defined foreign and security policies (Aggestam & Bergman 2016:324; True 2015b). While some scholars argue that this new approach to gender equality follows an "efficiency"-approach, others also highlight the visibility of a "human rights-democratic"-approach (Ibid; Lorentzen & Hansen 2016:3). This thesis focuses on these distinct approaches of gender mainstreaming strategies as well as feminist IR-theories, aiming to understand how the Swedish government incorporates them in their FFP.

The Swedish Foreign Minister Margot Wallström has expressed that an FFP simply works towards gender equality and the inclusion of women who have been systematically forgotten and excluded, reflecting the writings of Cynthia Enloe and the famous expression "Where are the women?" (Enloe 2000:7). Moreover, Wallström has stated that the Swedish FFP is based on the concept of "Smart Power" by Joseph Nye (Alwan & Weldon 2017; Nordberg 2015). Three R's make out the feminist toolbox, embodying the core content of the Swedish FPP; Rights, Representation and Resources. Focused on rights, the first pillar aims to advocate and promote women's rights as human rights, including protection from gender-based violence and discrimination (Regeringskansliet 2015a:13). "Representation" stands for the participation and influence of women in decision-making at all levels and across all areas, particularly in peace processes. Finally, "Resources" aims to focus on a more equitable redistribution of income and natural resources, to promote equal opportunities for women and girls to enjoy human rights.

Visibly, much emphasis is put on human rights. But how stark is this emphasis in the entirety of the action plans and other forms of discourse by the Swedish government regarding the FFP? To be explored in this study is how the Swedish government approaches gender and feminism. The variety of approaches within feminism implies that different directions can be taken when conducting a feminist foreign policy. Karin

Aggestam and Annika Bergman Rosamond argue that a feminist approach to foreign policy in theory signals a commitment to feminist ethical principles of inclusion, human security, cosmopolitan norms, global justice and peace, guided by a feminist framework of cosmopolitanism and human rights (Aggestam 2016, interview; Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond 2016:326). Previous research has positioned Sweden as a liberal feminist approach to foreign policy, looking at the political presence of women, the integration of women in the military and international feminist advocacy and activism (Alwan & Weldon 2017:5-6,11-13, 24). Inclusion and participation in the Swedish foreign policy focuses on peace processes and is according to scholars framed as "smart" and "efficient" diplomacy (Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond 2016:327).

An interesting question is then, why Sweden argues to strive for the three Rs', does Sweden systematically follow a "rights-equity-approach" or an "efficiency-smart-approach", and how is this visible? Looking at the foreign policy declaration from the spring of 2015, Robert Egnell argues that the rights- and instrumental-approach and goals are mixed in the Swedish FFP, as focus is put both on strengthening women's rights and making way for the sustainable peace and development (Egnell 2016:570,572). The instrumental approach, he explains, can be linked to an essentialist framing of women as natural peace-makers, reproducing gendered norms and roles. Equality, rights and more power-positions for women are goals by themselves, that however are used as instruments to achieve other goals – namely security and development (Egnell 2016:572). At the same time, this approach is presented as relevant since it brings with it benefits such as the feminist approach not being pushed aside as something new or irrelevant far from the traditional areas of politics (Ibid). Critique however exists towards the instrumental approach, as the integration of gender and women often, as an example, is put forth as a solution to sustainable peace, creating extreme expectations instead of problematising high military spending (Otto 2010:107).

Pragmatism is as a result also highlighted as central in the Swedish approach to FPP, standing between "soft" and "hard" power, concerning critics who understand militarism as a cause for further victimisation and patriarchal ways of protection, whereas advocates argue that the pragmatic stand leads to more efficient diplomacy (Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond 2016:330). Most of these authors however also clarify that contradictory decisions and actions are nothing new in politics, and that there is a clear difficulty in combining economic, military and strategic interests with human rights and the gender-sensitive approach (Egnell 2016:564,578; Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond 2016:329).

1.1 Purpose and research question

The Swedish feminist foreign policy works towards gender equality and the full enjoyment of human rights by all women and girls through systematic gender mainstreaming implementation throughout the foreign policy agenda (Regeringskansliet 2016a). However, using the word "feminist" is an ambitious step, as it signals a strong political commitment to gender equality different from the commitment expressed in gender mainstreaming policy discourse (Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond 2016:328; Lorentzen & Hansen 2016:3). As a result of the Swedish Foreign Policy still being a work in progress, exactly what it is has not yet been fully clarified (Alwan & Weldon 2017:2). Thus, the purpose is to further make an input in the literature on FFP through a gender analysis, problematising gender and feminism and how these two concepts in this case are linked in the Swedish FFP, using gender mainstreaming categories as the theoretical framework and background for operationalisation. The study intends to capture the discussion on for example which groups the Swedish FPP focuses on, how gendered institutions are problematised and which distinct approaches within feminism this reflects. The aim in this study is two-fold; 1) clarifying what approach is reflected when discussing gender – a rights-democratic approach or more of an efficient-essentialist approach, and 2) clarifying which feminist approach that is reflected, looking at liberal, radical, intersectional and critical feminism.

How are gender and feminism mirrored in the discursive approach to FFP by the Swedish Government? What types of specific understanding is reflected in the approach to FFP and how does the Swedish government define gender and feminism as part of their feminist foreign policy?

1.2 Case selection

Using discourse analysis entails that this essay will be of interpretative nature, with the intention to understand, describe and explain the process of the four years of Swedish FPP and what can be expected to follow (Halperin & Heath 2017:5,336). The nature of the research problem is furthermore a process-tracing and the research design is shaped by a qualitative single case study on a policy-relevant problem, that will allow for a closer examination of the link between gender and feminism in the Swedish FPP. This will also allow a higher level of conceptual validity, followed by the aim to identify discourses which best represent theoretical concepts (George & Bennet 2004:19). Followed by discourse are meaningful implications, which makes this FFP an important subject to study, as it affects how we understand and perceive aspects of the

world (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:72-73). The theoretical analytical tools are used to investigate how the feminist approach differs from gender mainstreaming strategies, that both enjoy much consensus but at the same time have received much critique from feminists. Gender mainstreaming constitutes a strategy that this "new" strategy thereby should both be related to and differ from. Thereby, it is a theory-oriented case study, as the theoretical framework guides the analysis to finally also reach a conclusion that will say something about where Swedish FFP stands in relation to feminist IR-theory, which approach that is reflected and to what degree (George & Bennet 2004:8). Sweden is the only case existing with an FPP and has not been subject for much research, which constitutes the motivation for the case selection. Previous research has placed the Swedish FPP within a liberal feminist-approach, within a framework of cosmopolitanism and human rights as well as in between a human rights and instrumental-approach (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond 2016:326; Egnell 2016).

Process-tracing is chosen due to the possibility to catch the complexity of Swedish FPP in detail, from the years 2014-2018. The study is mainly focused on two of the responsible ministers that are Margot Wallström and Isabella Lövin – Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of International Development Cooperation, increasing the possibility to interpret the image that the Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy aims to present. Discourse analysis has been chosen and considered as more suiting than for example content analysis, since different forms of discourse from distinct settings will be analysed. These include guiding documents, speeches and articles, representing a comprehensive coverage, as different aspects can be brought up in distinct settings and formats, countries and events (George & Bennet 2014:13). As a result, the credibility of this study is increased as patterns and results will come from a larger and wider range of material that, despite limited ways to generalise due to one sole existing case of FPP, will increase the possibility to find results that could indicate what feminism in foreign policy can resemble and where FPP is heading.

The empiric material analysed is mainly retrieved from the Swedish Foreign Office. Documents analysed include; the Swedish Foreign Service action plan for feminist foreign policy 2015-2018 including focus areas for 2016 and 2017 (Regeringskansliet 2015a,2017a), the action plan for the implementation of global development (Regeringskansliet 2016a), examples of the implementation of three years of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy (Regeringskansliet 2017b), The Swedish Mediation Network for Women (Regeringskansliet 2017c) as well as the Fact Sheet on The Swedish Mediation Network for Women (Folke Bernadotte Academy 2016a). Eight speeches from different settings that are analysed include; UN Human Rights Council (Wallström 2015a), an international forum on effective development, New York (Lövin 2015a), an event co-hosted by the FBA (Wallström 2015b), IHEC in Cartage (Wallström 2016a), UNSC briefing (Wallström 2017a), Lund University (Wallström 2017b), UNSC council debate (Wallström 2017c), and Stockholm Forum on Gender Equality (Wallström 2018a). Finally, a range of debate articles written by mainly the ministers Wallström and Lövin are analysed from sources such as Svenska Dagbladet, The Guardian, Dagens Nyheter and Göteborgs-Posten.

2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework is to a large extent based on literature by Jacqui True, who discusses gender analysis, gender mainstreaming and feminist IR-theory. Four models that the author calls models of gender mainstreaming are here used for the operationalisation together with the feminist IR-theories, to grasp some key aspects of the Swedish FFP. Gender mainstreaming is in this essay argued to be a strategy that Swedish FFP can both be related to and show similarities with, but which it must also show traces of distinction from, to live up to the label "feminist" foreign policy. The operationalisation will be done using the following models; Gender-as-difference model, gender-as-sameness model, gender-as-intersectionality and transformationalist model, where the last model particularly accentuates and, in this case, is used to see the more "political" and perhaps clearer distinguishing normative feminist-approach in the FFP, compared with the three previous models that reflect a more descriptive approach to understand how "gender" is both understood and framed by the Swedish Government. This is further discussed in this and the next chapter.

2.1 Gender analysis

From a discourse theory perspective, language is used to construct our social reality, thus language is not neutral (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:2; Fischer 2003:60). V. Spike Peterson and Anne Runyan define gender as "the socially learned behaviours, repeated performances, and idealised expectations that are associated with and distinguish between the proscribed gender roles of masculinity and femininity" (2010:2), emphasising the understanding of masculinity and femininity as socially constructed categories. Feminists refer to asymmetrical social constructs of masculinity and femininity as opposed and criticise these dichotomies in international relations, as they look into how gender hierarchies are reproduced in IR-theories, naturalising forms of power. Using a gender-lens then becomes appropriate to critically analyse masculine assumptions and forms of power (True 2005a:222; Ellerby 2011:32-33).

A gender analysis is pursued as it is a theoretical tool used to uncover existing bias in central concepts such as power and security, undermining the divisions between the individual, state and international system that are preconditioned by masculine traits, specifically rationality – excluding femininity and women (True 2005a:223). True holds that from a feminist perspective, it is not about producing security to women but

about highlighting the biased construction of the central role of, for example, the military for the national security, or nuclear proliferation that is believed to thwart war.

Gender is a term that has been used and described in different ways by scholars, however within international institutions, policymakers often refer to women's issues when talking about gender issues, reflecting the discourse theory perspective that gender is not understood as neutral or applied so (Cohn 2013:3; Whitworth 2008:392; True 2002:7). With gender-mainstreaming being used as a strategy by global actors, a question for feminists is how these actors use gender, something that must be critically analysed, to understand how discussions are a means and to what ends (Whitworth 2008:401). Gender mainstreaming is by the UN defined as "applying a gender perspective in all policies and programmes so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively" (United Nations 1995:116). Gender mainstreaming aims to critically analyse and reconstruct processes of policy formulation from a gender-differentiated perspective and represents an attempt to establish a gender-equality perspective across all policy areas and to include a perspective of how the policy affects gender inequalities (True 2003:369,371). Furthermore, True explains that the purpose is to eliminate obstacles to the exercise of women's rights and eradicate all forms of discrimination of women – something many feminists argue is contradicted by the method itself (Whitworth 2008:400; True 2010:10). Therefore, it is of interest to use gender mainstreaming models as background for the theoretical framework and analysis, against which which a feminist approach can be measured.

According to the critical feminist perspective, gender-mainstreaming has reached some achievement in policy rhetoric and renewed the commitment to encourage the empowerment of women, but at the same time it has reinforced traditional embodied gender norms (True 2010:20-21). Moreover, it has used women's rights, participation and productivity as a means to achieving goals that are only indirectly connected to these previous goals, such as international development and security. Gender mainstreaming from this point of view, lacks transformational power, and rather might entrench prevailing gender norms. Concerning the WPS agenda, critical voices argue that organisations focus on gender discussions and gender inclusion to increase the efficiency of existing policies, resulting in a gender perspective that does not problematise or question bases of policies. One example are militarised responses to conflict that are not problematised or intended to be altered, since attention only is directed at how women and girls are affected (Whitworth 2008:402; Orford 2002:281). Sandra Whitworth argues that this turns the term "gender" into an instrument for problem-solving goals, thereby not transforming actions or institutions. The usage aims to further develop these but not to change them. "Power" is then eliminated and term "gender" becomes depoliticised.

These critical arguments are aimed towards gender mainstreaming, which is then a contested strategy, that by some scholars and actors is considered as too narrow and technical, whereas it by others is highlighted as broader and efficient. In this study, models of gender mainstreaming are viewed and used as broader formats where

feminist IR-theories are integrated, to form a theoretical framework that is also used as the tool for operationalisation. They are thereby used as categories, to identify how the Swedish Government understands gender and feminism - how the Government conceptualises gender and feminism and how the two concepts interact in the Swedish FFP.

2.1.1 Models of gender mainstreaming

Jacqui True discusses these following models of gender mainstreaming implementation; *gender-as-sameness model* is explained as an example of the "add women and stir"-approach, where gender issues are added into existing frameworks that are not challenged and where masculinity/men are not questioned as gender neutrality is emphasised (True 2015b). The inclusion of women is in this approach often directed towards areas where their exclusion has systematic, such as in armed forces, but then expects women to simply correspond and fit in to the masculine relationship to militarisation and male norm, instead of challenging them.

Differences between women/femininity and men/masculinity is emphasised in the *gender-as-difference model*, highlighting the distinct but equally important consideration. Essentialist traces is distinctive here and thereby the maintenance of gender stereotyping, for example in the view of women as natural peacebuilders (True 2015b). Thus, the inclusion and importance of women is justified by making the reference of as an example, peaceful and caring feminine innate qualities that in the military could have "a civilising effect" preventing sexual violence. Inclusion is framed and justified by expectations of contributions of unique feminine insights, qualities and inputs, more than by a democratic right.

Gender-as-intersectionality model does not present integrationist intentions like the two previous models, but instead highlights the complexity of gender relations. Race, class, ethnicity and sexuality are taken into account and related to gender. True mentions that revelations of this type of gender perspective within peace-and conflict analysis demonstrates that women are not targeted with sexual and gender-based violence in the same way, because disempowered ethnic and/or minority groups more often make out a main target than state or dominant armed groups.

Finally, *transformationalist model* presents a critical voice to existing frameworks, calling for a transformation of gender relations. One example is the mainstreaming of gender analysis in the 2013 Arms Trade Treaty – leading to the inclusion of a gender criterion meant to prevent the arms exportation to areas with an increased risk of sexual and gender-based violence.

2.2   Feminist IR-theory

Methodologically, feminists use different strategies and ways to theorise, and there is thus not one common voice or view on what the world looks like, neither on how to best study it (Whitworth 2008:393; Sisson Runyan & Spike Peterson 2014:74; True 2008:16). Normatively the views also differ on how gender can be applied to IR-studies. However, feminism within international relations is quite homogeneous according to Whitworth, as both share the curiosity of power. Feminists argue we can only get an understanding of power by examining people – and gender (Whitworth 2008; Enloe 1996:186). Furthermore, feminists within IR aim towards alternative and richer models of agency that seize both production and reproduction, different takes on rationality and security (True 2005a:225; Egnell 2016:567). Regarding the concept of security, the feminist approach includes sexual, domestic and structural violence, poverty and climate threats. True, Aggestam and Bergman Rosamond clarify that ethical commitments to inclusivity, self-reflexivity and attentiveness to relational power is what distinguishes most feminist perspectives on international relations (True 2008:12; Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond 2016). Feminists apply the terms 'gender' and 'patriarchy' when analysing how situations have been shaped to exclude women from the international political arena, arguing that this constitutes barriers for the equal access to power positions in world politics (Ruiz n.d:2-3).

2.2.1   Liberal, radical, intersectional and critical feminism

Nearly all forms of feminism include the perspective of promoting women's rights as human rights, but according to some scholars this is particularly emphasised in *liberal* feminism**,** especially civil and political rights (Alwan & Weldon 2017:13). Included here are for example formal equality in law, representation in elected office and appointed positions of leadership (Alwan & Weldon 2017:7). Regarding policy, focus in liberal feminism lies in the integration of women into existing institutions, and differs from other kinds of feminism as it is very focused on political institutions. Liberal feminists highlight the equal capacity of reason of women and (Whitworth 2008:393). Liberal feminism shares many similarities with *gender-as-sameness model*, as the focus lies on the institutional inclusion of women, lacking the problematisation of these gendered institutions – resulting in an "add women and stir"-approach.

On the other hand, *radical* feminism does not focus to the same extent on the participation of women in the public sphere, but more on the patriarchy and its impacts, relations of inequality between women and men as well as how men throughout history until today seek to control women through the control of their sexuality, roles in reproduction and in society (Whitworth 2008:394). Women and men are perceived as essentially different, for example men as a group are more aggressive whereas women

as a group are more nurturing, however, some point to biology and others to socialisation. Regarding representation, there is a common understanding with liberals on that women should be represented in positions of power – but not grounded on an equality-rights based reason, but because women bring forth different points of view to politics – such as emphasis on cooperation and peace. Here we could find statements in line with "more women – more peace". Liberal feminism does signal more of a rights/democratic approach than radical feminism, where the inclusion of women is significative due to the contributions they can bring forth, resulting in an essentialist emphasis, as well as heavy expectations. Therefore, this approach is included into the *gender-as-difference model* for the operationalisation and analysis.

Intersectional feminism reflects the third model and highlights that societal expectations and conditions of people that depend on structures of gender, class, race, ethnicity and sexuality, while also their needs, interests and challenges differ due to these circumstances (Narayan 1998:86; Mohanty 1998:73). Therefore, situations of women and men must be analysed from their specific context, to avoid an essentialisation of a group as homogenous, ignoring diversities, failing to fully understand the issues of women and men (Mohanty 1998:68; Lugones 2008:4). An FFP, Aggestam and Bergman Rosamund argue, must take account of women's distinct needs and suffering of subordinated groups in war and conflict (Aggestam & Bergman Rosamund 2016:332).

Critical feminists look to expectations on women and men and what is regarded as appropriately feminine or masculine behaviour and roles by examining prevailing gender norms (Whitworth 2008:396). True describes critical feminist theories as sceptical of the positive effects that international normative regimes arguably have, that instead might reinforce than challenge ideas and practices, which also leads to reproduction of both violence and oppression (True 2010:1). One example that she brings up are that gender mainstreaming policies in international development and security might reinforce the traditional gender relations, hindering the transformative course of action to take place. This approach takes into account how the strategy has used women's rights, participation and productivity as a means to achieve goals only indirectly connected to them, such as development and security (True 2010:20-21). Therefore, this approach is reflected in the transformationalist model, where a normative stance is more visible, together with a stronger political, critical stance.

3   Method

Using the method of process-tracing, attempts are made to trace the links between gender and feminism throughout the years that the Swedish FFP has existed, by examining different sources to observe how these concepts are framed in for example policy, and how these framings and values are in fact evident in other types of discourse (George & Bennet 2004:6). This study is of descriptive nature with the aim of understanding, describing and explaining the link between gender and feminism in the Swedish FPP through a discourse analysis. An interpretative approach is taken in relation to the social world, as the intention is to analyse how a concepts and approaches are discursively constructed. To do this, we must understand the significance that agents give to their goals and values (Halperin & Heath 2017:41,336).

In this case this is central, as the aim is to further understand what goals the Swedish government strives to achieve when talking about the three R's and how gender and feminism are presented. Language constitutes a central aspect to formation of identity and the formation of social relations, visible as Sweden was the first nation to proclaim an FPP, building on its brand as moral and humanitarian superpower, as well as using the term feminist, a theory that highlights patriarchal social relations. The aim here is consequently, to analyse the discourse in constructing the social relations (Bergström & Boréus 2005:305; Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:62). Discourse analysis therefore also constitutes the theoretical background, as it can be understood as a theory of the relation between language and reality, while as a method it is a means to analyse discourses, finding important elements in the empiric material that consists of discourses, and what is attributed to them (Halperin & Heath 2017:337). Discourse analysis is here used to highlight power relations – the gendered relations, and to highlight, in a constructivist manner, what is emphasised and not by political actors.

More specifically, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used, as it questions the structures of societal inequality, illuminates unequal relations of power, that are also created and reproduced by discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:77,2; Halperin & Heath 2017:339). The role of the author is naturally important to mention and reflect upon, as although this study intends to be unbiased, this critical approach is not neutral (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:64). Reliability can be at risk by using (critical) discourse analysis, as the researcher enjoys space for interpretation due to abstract ideas that are analysed (Bergström & Boréus 2012:42). However, by making the study as transparent as possible with regards to the analytical tools and material, the intention is that other researchers can reach the same results, thus requiring a neutral stand by the researcher as well as the case of referring to values without making value judgments (Ibid; Halperin & Heath 2017:58).

3.1   Operationalisation

The content from the theoretical framework is used to examine the link between gender and feminism. By combining method and theory, an interrelated analytical framework can be created, specific to the aim and question of the analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:86). Four models are used as guiding concepts and categories and gender analysis constitutes the theoretical glasses through which the empiric material will be analysed. Building on the models presented by Jacqui True, these are used to identify characteristics and to classify certain concepts – in this case to understand how discourses are gendered (Bergström & Boréus 20212:150). Validity is increased, as the categories and theory are very intertwined, through a selection of central values and ideas (Ibid; Esaiasson et al. 2012:59).

The categories are summarised here; *gender-as-sameness model, gender-as-difference model, gender-as-intersectionality model* and *transformationalist model*. As previously discussed, the first model is linked to liberal feminism and a rights-approach that reflects a focus on institutions and legal rights, the second of a radical approach with a broader conception of the problems of gender inequality and a reflection of the essentialist/efficiency-approach. The third model relates to intersectional feminism including a deeper understanding of social dimensions in gender, where the inequalities are embedded in terms of deeper content. Finally, the last model reflects critical feminism that, similar to the radical approach takes into account prevailing gender norms and expectations, but also a stronger political stance regarding the reinforcement of prevailing gender relations through strategies of gender mainstreaming, that from this point of view lacks transformative power.

While the previous models are more descriptive, this last model could be understood as more of an ideal-type or more normative where the stronger feminist and political stance that Aggestam and Bergman discuss, is prominently visible. Thus, it is through a combination of these four models, that a link can be found between gender and feminism. To capture the grading and connection of gender and feminism, and what is visible in the Swedish foreign policy, these guiding categories are used in the operationalisation.

4   Analysis

4.1   Gender-as-sameness model

"Human rights are also women's rights" (Wallström 2016a) is an understanding often presented. Regarding emphasis on legal measures and rights, Wallström argues it is fundamental to aim for prohibition, regarding for example gender-based discrimination, domestic violence and forced marriages. Equal rights to inheritance and access to education are also mentioned as crucial, reflecting the focus on formal equality in law found in liberal feminism This can also be linked to the statement that "Gender equality is not a 'women's issue', it is an issue of human rights and of development" (Ibid), which also links the contribution of gender equality to other global goals, reflecting the second model. The issue of sexual reproductive health and rights (SRHR) have been similarly promoted; "as a health, gender, and rights issue" (Regeringskansliet 2017b:14), which would be linked to this first model and liberal approach due to the focus on human rights. Moreover, sexual and gender-based violence will by the Foreign Service be combated through law, as the Government will collaborate with the International Criminal Court (ICC) and strengthen national capacities to combat impunity for these crimes (Regeringskanliet 2015a:6-7). Focus on taking legal measures is also visible when it comes to the visibility and strengthening of women as economic actors, as an emphasis is made on establishing contact with legal actors to improve the economic rights of women (Regeringskansliet 2015a:15).

The R for Representation is by Wallström discussed as "influence over agenda-setting" and policy (Wallström 2016a), where the lack of women is highlighted. "Whether in foreign or domestic policy, or economic decision-making, we see that women are chronically under-represented in positions of influence" (Wallström 2017b). One example is presented by Wallström on Mali: "While the 30% quota law is a welcome development, women are still largely excluded from the political sphere; just as they are from bodies related to the implementation of the peace agreement" (Wallström 2017a). Reflected is the emphasis from liberal feminism and the first model regarding a sphere where the exclusion of women has been systematic. Looking at the under-representation of women, Sweden has "taken action to increase women's representation and participation in the discussion, negotiation, drafting, interpretation and implementation of resolutions and key documents on disarmament and non-proliferation". Visibly, a strong emphasis is put on including women in different parts and levels of policy-processes (Regeringskansliet 2017b:8).

The increased inclusion of women in peace support operations where they have previously been excluded, especially in leading positions, is emphasised together with the inclusion of a gender perspective in conflict studies regarding peace operations and resolutions. The Foreign Service aims to promote the participation of women as actors by supporting "women leaders, women's rights activists and relevant civil society organisations" (Regeringskansliet 2015a:7). Increasing the agency of women and girls by promoting their rights and opportunities to form civil society organisations and emphasising their visibility as actors is mentioned, as well as providing forums for their voices to be heard. An institutional focus can be detected, but it here lies on civil society-level, and not much on higher levels (Regeringskansliet 2015a:8). However, the liberal approach is also visible when the Foreign Service expresses the aim of enabling more women to access political office, understood as the governmental level, thus enabling these women to participate in high politics.

Reflecting the radical feminist approach, the fact sheet on Swedish Women's Mediation Network highlights that the role of women as actors for peace historically has been overlooked and underrepresented, but that they have been present and contributed to peace and security (Folke Bernadotte Academy 2016b). Referring to research that presents a positive correlation between inclusive peace processes and the sustainability of peace agreements, The Swedish Women's Mediation Network was created due to the systematic underrepresentation of women in peace making processes, and "is prompted by the knowledge that women's meaningful participation in peace processes increases the likelihood of peace agreements being reached and sustained" (Regeringskansliet 2017c; Folke Bernadotte Academy 2016b:1). The inclusion of women is directed to an area where the exclusion has been systematic. Moreover, it is "guided by international law, human rights and rule-of-law" (Ibid). Thereby it reflects the democratic approach, as a sustainable but also legitimate peace process can be understood as stemming from an inclusive agreement where all levels are interlinked, and where the number of women mediators should be increased in both high-level processes and other tracks (Ibid; Folke Bernadotte Academy 2016b:2).

Referring to a "systematic" underrepresentation, the expression could be understood as both a radical and a critical stance towards the effects of patriarchal structures that have excluded women from this sphere. Despite arguing for the inclusion of women, many times it is not emphasised as to where they are to be included, instead formulations such as "systematically increase the participation of women in peace processes" or "strengthen the participation" are often visible (Lövin 2016a). Furthermore, this is often expressed referring to reaching a sustainable peace, but what many times is lacking, from a critical feminist stance, is a challenging, or a step away from the "add and stir-approach". As has been mentioned, this is not always the case. Statements such as "We will continue our work to make women part of peace processes on all levels" (Wallström et al. 2018), are also very present. However, a lack of the critical feminism-approach is still often visible, as current forms of diplomacy are not further criticised. The transformationalist approach is missing for example when the MFA expresses that research on how weapons affect girls and women, boys

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and men must be made, as well as on how arms export affects global development (Regeringskansliet 2016a:3-4). No clear intention to transform the militarisation is visible, as it aims to solely investigate how it affects people, as explained by Whitworth and Orford.

4.2   Gender-as-difference model

The action plans for Swedish FFP state; "Gender equality is a goal in itself. But it is also essential for the achievement of the Government's other overall objectives, such as peace, security and sustainable development" (Regeringskanliet 2015a; Regeringskansliet 2017a). Similar statements include the framing "We know for a fact that increasing gender equality has a positive impact on food security, extremism, health, education and various other key global concerns" (Wallström 2016a). For this reason, it is often argued, gender equality and human rights-efforts are of such great importance. Gender equality is furthermore framed as a "catalyser" for economic development and crucial for combating poverty (Wallström & Lövin 2015). The efficiency-approach is also clearly visible in statements such as "Women's representation is not just a question of fairness; it is a matter of effectiveness and of increasing the probability of a lasting peace agreement" (Wallström 2017a). Finally, and during more recent years, science and numbers are increasingly referred to; "Because let's not forget the overwhelming evidence that gender equality is not only fair, but also of benefit to society. It has a positive impact on economic growth, health, education and peace" (Wallström 2018a). This first part is categorised in the second model and radical feminism, as focus lies in the contributions that will follow from the inclusion of women, reflecting an efficiency-approach.

Within the UN, Sweden has actively pursued the issue of preventing sexual violence in conflict, as the understanding of its wide occurrence against mainly women and girls has been recent. Discourses like these reflect the radical approach, as sexual violence can be linked to the control of the body. According to Wallström and Söder, this is furthermore linked to their work to strengthen the active engagement of women regarding peace and security, since a sustainable peace only can be achieved if all competence is included, touching upon both the democratic and efficiency-approach (Wallström & Söder 2015). The ministers argue that the active participation of women in peace processes has "shown to be a strong contributing factor to if the peace is permanent", both within a nation and with regards to neighbouring countries (Wallström & Lövin 2015), and they refer to scientific proof when arguing that their policy is not only fair, but also smart (Wallström et al 2016; Wallström & Holguín 2016; Wallström 2015b).

Furthermore, policy documents highlight the link between SRHR and sustainable development not only for women and girls, but also for society as a whole

(Regeringskansliet 2017b:14). SRHR-issues are framed as an investment for families as well as reconciliation and the rebuilding of society (Lövin 2015b). Moving from the focus of institutions and instead towards the intimate and personal – reflecting the radical approach, a concrete example of the accomplishments of Swedish FFP is the inclusion of sexual and reproductive health rights in the UN resolution on child, early and forced marriage (Regeringskansliet 2017b:4). This too reflects the efficiency-approach as "Exercising control over your own body" (Lövin 2015a), is framed as a key to economic development, because girls who become pregnant are forced to quit school – creating a cycle of poverty for their children. Statements like these correspond to the second, radical approach, where emphasis again is put on the contributions of the inclusion of women or of including a gender perspective. This right is explained as a basis for democratic and economic development (Lövin & Regnér 2015).

Focus on the patriarchy and its impacts as well as the control of women and gendered understandings of the state is also visible in the following parts; "The will to control the body is in its most extreme form visible in fundamental groups such as ISIL, that use sexual abuse to cause fear and control territory" (Wallström et al 2015; Wallström & Lövin 2015). Moreover, the struggle of women's rights and the rights of LGBTQ-people is according to the ministers visible in international negotiations where these rights are viewed as a threat towards the nation-state and their vision of society. What could be understood from this, is that security must be understood differently, as women "can vote, but are not allowed to decide who to marry, who to have sex with or when to have children" (Ibid), which naturally means they are not allowed to enjoy and participate in society on the same conditions as men.

Women as agents of change in low-carbon development and climate change and their expertise must be harnessed according to the action plan from 2015, that also aims to contribute to the identification, analysis and sought of the positive impact in trade from women's economic empowerment (Regeringskansliet 2015a:8). Wallström further argues that the active presence of women in peace processes is a strategic issue for international peace and security – being both right and smart (Wallström 2017d; Wallström 2017b). "Research shows that peace agreements have a 35% bigger chance of lasting if women have participated in the negotiations" (Wallström 2018b). It is argued that "In addition to the rights perspective, yet another way could be to emphasise the efficiency and sustainability of investing in gender equality, increasing employment rates and strengthening the human capital of entire societies" (Regeringskansliet 2015a:18;2017a:15). Making clear that they do emphasise the rights-approach, it is also clear that gender equality is not only right, but again, also efficient.

"Partly because it is the right thing to do, but also because, when women and girls can educate themselves and find a job they like, they bring economic development. This pays off: if every country matched the most gender-equal country in its region in terms of access to the labour market, the global GDP would increase by 11%. Gender equality can truly be the key to ending poverty" (Lövin 2016b).

The framing in this quote speaks for how Sweden often uses a smart-approach in their approach to gender and feminism in their FFP. Gender equality is here framed as a tool for economic development. However, of course, for this to happen, structures of the labour market must drastically change from masculine assumptions on rationality to a feminist understanding of rationality, which would reflect not only a radical approach, but also a liberal and critical approach. A stronger emphasis on this could however understood as lacking. Another number is presented by Lövin, stating that the global GDP can increase with 26% until 2025 if women and men become equal, framing gender equality as not only right, but rational to strive for, together with women and girls' human rights (Lövin 2017b). Finally, the smart-approach is visible in the famous slogan "more women – more peace" (Wallström 2017c), used by Wallström who argues that the empowerment of women and girls is a clear example of smart politics, as it "transcends the divide between hard and soft security that enables effective and sustainable peacebuilding" (Ibid; Wallström 2016b), as well as ensuring that "gender quality is not just a matter of women's rights, but also, more importantly, a matter of ensuring peace and security for all" (Ibid). What could be perceived here is an essentialist trace regarding the inclusion of women – as it forms a binary division between hard security that stems from traditional approaches to IR and soft power, that stems from the inclusion of women. This type of argumentation can be perceived as further reinforcing traditional gender norms and understandings of power as well as attributions to masculinity and femininity.

4.3   Gender-as-intersectionality model

The action plans aim to combat all forms of violence and discrimination as well as promote the full enjoyment of human rights by all women and girls (Regeringskansliet 2015a). "Safeguarding human rights also implies a responsibility to fight racism and discrimination. Building sustainable societies requires inclusive participation of all individuals, regardless of their origin, religious beliefs, political or sexual orientation" (Wallström 2015a). Here, an intersectional understanding of discriminatory barriers and challenges becomes visible. At the same time, the inclusion of capacity and understanding of needs of different groups in society is highlighted as crucial for the achievement of sustainable peace, why it is argued that local female peace builders must be empowered (Regeringskansliet 2017c). Similarly, FBA writes that it recognizes that women are not a uniform group, and that the importance of women's and civil society's perspective on conflicts are of great importance (Folke Bernadotte Academy 2016b:1). The same is reflected in the action plans for FFP, stating that;

"these analyses will take account of the fact that women and girls are not homogeneous groups, but have differing identities, needs, influence and living conditions. The analysis must therefore consider other factors besides sex, such as age, place of residence, socioeconomic status, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability, level of education, belief and religion" (Regeringskansliet 2015a:16; 2017a:13).

Furthermore, it also argued that an analysis of the power relations existing regarding different groups in different contexts must be made (Regeringskansliet 2015a:16). Clearly, an understanding of the complexity of the terms power and gender is present, thus not resulting in gender becoming depoliticised.

In contrast to what authors argue is often the case using gender to refer to women, Sweden often emphasises the importance of involving men and boys to achieve gender equality (Regeringskansliet 2015a). An interesting aspect that might not be common internationally regards the combating of gender-based violence, which includes assistance to support centres for vulnerable women, but also "work with perpetrators". Here, the importance of all genders to reach a gender equality and no discrimination becomes evident (Regeringskansliet 2017b:7). Moreover, the Foreign Office will work to ensure that international actors apply an intersectional perspective to gender equality analyses, increase expertise and prevention efforts to (…) combat discriminatory rules, norms and stereotypes surrounding gender, gender identity, gender expression and sexual orientation" (Regeringskansliet 2017a:14). These are not efforts directed towards only women, which is also highlighted by Wallström in Lund, stating that an analysis of how situations and developments affect men, women, boys and girls is completely necessary (Wallström 2017b).

Human rights of women and girls is specifically emphasised regarding humanitarian situations (Regeringskansliet 2015a:5). The participation and empowerment of women and girls within humanitarian crises and in situations where they must flee and are refugees or migrants, are mentioned as a group whose full enjoyment of human rights the Foreign Service aims to enhance (Regeringskansliet 2015a:5; Regeringskansliet 2017b:4). There is an understanding of the link between the breakdown of social structures and the increased violence against women and girls, that follows women who flee, all the way to the refugee-camps (Lövin 2015b). This is further visible in the sentence "draw attention to the risk of women and girls who are refugees or migrants being subjected to sexual and gender-based violence, becoming the victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes, and being pushed into child marriages and forced marriages, and prostitution" (Regeringskansliet 2017a:5). The economic condition is considered a cause for the coercion of prostitution, trafficking and child marriage, that in some crises has tripled teenage-pregnancies. Altogether, these statements highlight that women are affected differently depending on their circumstances.

In a debate article, Lövin and Sidibé explain that the number of girls and young women with HIV is much higher than the case for boys, and that the lack of gender

equality and the sexual violence of men against women increases the spread of HIV, as the inequal power-balance relationship becomes clear when men often believe to have the right to decide over the body of women and when to have sex (Lövin & Sidibé 2014). The authors make clear that the economic and social situation affects the possibility of women to say no and to demand that condoms are used for the protection against infections. Examples mentioned are that girls can see sex as their only means to receive grades or clothes (Ibid; Lövin 2017a). As a result, women and girls are not lumped into one homogenous group. How they are affected by different aspects depends on their life circumstances. Poverty and the fact that girls and women are regarded as less valuable and/or belong to minority-groups, are explained as determining factors for the probability to survive a pregnancy (Lövin & Regnér 2015). For this same group of women and girls who are refugees or migrants, another gender-perspective is visible, as access to health care, water, sanitation and hygiene is to be improved, which is of major importance within aid, as feminine health products and needs cannot be forgotten, which is however often the case (Ibid; Lövin 2015b). How SRHR is often lacking in the implementations of humanitarian actors is furthermore brought up by Lövin, who argues that this is a matter that cannot wait as it is a central need of protection, dignity and support of women and girls. These formulations reflect not only an intersectional approach, but a critical approach, as it highlights how current forms of aid are gender-blind.

Some clearer explanation on specific groups of people is visible on the issue of sexual rights without discrimination, where child marriage, sexual harassment in schools and LGBTQ rights are mentioned (Regeringskansliet 2015a:11). One group that often stands out is LGBTQ-people, who apart from the mentioning of "women" and "girls", is emphasised when it comes to the visibility and strengthening of the role as actors (Regeringskansliet 2015a:17,18; Regeringskansliet 2017a:7,14,15). They are also mentioned as a group especially vulnerable and targeted in times of war and conflict, as well as a group whose perpetrator often enjoys impunity (Wallström & Lövin 2016a). Swedish FFP specifically expresses the advocacy for "the full enjoyment of human rights by women, girls and LGBTI people", for example through the adoption by UN Human Rights Council of a resolution on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, also including gender and age disaggregated data, again emphasising people from an LGBTQ-community (Regeringskansliet 2017b:4).

Looking at the foreign policy concentrated on global development, it argues that the policy should reflect a rights-perspective together with a perspective of "the poor"; their interests, needs and preconditions, as well as the equal value of all stands as basis for actions taken (Regeringskansliet 2016a:1,9). Moreover, it expresses that a central part of the implementation will stem from analysis identifying how these rights for poor women and men can be strengthened. This is also expressed in other documents, for example regarding entrepreneurship and employment of women, specifically resource-poor women (Regeringskansliet 2017b:13). Finally, their conflict analysis also reflects a broader feminist understanding of the security concept, involving the description of

how climate change affects poor countries and people harder, where women are a particularly vulnerable group, as they do not have the resources to adapt to change. This is explained as an increased risk of conflict between groups and states, why the pursuit of sustainable societies must begin now (Regeringskansliet 2015a:8; Regeringskansliet 2016a:4; Regeringskansliet 2017b:4).

4.4   Transformationalist model

The link between the spread of weapons and sexual violence is highlighted and the Foreign Office will be assisting in the implementation of obligations under the Arms Trade Treaty, that as previously mentioned is meant to prevent the arms exportation to areas with an increased risk of sexual and gender-based violence (Regeringskansliet 2015a:6). Approaches to tackle the violence against women and girls are for example through combating destructive masculine norms, involving men and boys in efforts to combat violence against women and girls in close relationships (Regeringskansliet 2017b:6; Regeringskansliet 2017a:5). A critique on the issue of small arms and light weapons is thereby visible, as Sweden furthermore has enabled research and policy documents to be developed, as well as taken initiatives for international negotiations, to improve the knowledge about the link between these arms and gender-based violence (Ibid). Similarly, the transformationalist approach is visible as the Government Offices articulate that they have "carried out extensive efforts to highlight the link between destructive masculine norms, violence and conflict", one example is by supporting advocacy efforts at men and funding a study on masculine norms in the DRC (Regeringskansliet 2017:7). Here, a critical stance is visible, as masculine norms and militarisation are problematised.

Human rights for all women and girls is emphasised for the prevention of violence against women and girls in both peace and conflict situations, where again, a link is highlighted between conflict and increased gender-based violence, which is a reason for the involvement of men and boys in the preventive work and why they too, must be involved in efforts to combat "destructive masculinity" (Regeringskanliet 2015a:5-6). Furthermore, the Foreign Service "will counteract norms and attitudes that make it difficult for people to enjoy their sexual and reproductive rights. Men and boys will be included in this work" (Ibid). The inclusion of men and boys in the change process is understood as crucial to bring about real and sustainable change to achieve new power relations. What is understood as obstacles are thereby "discriminatory gender norms", that hinder people from achieving their full potential and contributing to positive social development, reflecting the critical understanding that highlights how these also reproduce violence and oppression (Regeringskansliet 2017a:11).

Gender-based and sexual violence are also specifically highlighted in the context of terrorist groups, and the policy aims to, together with different actors, counter

"violent extremism, radicalisation, recruitment and destructive masculinity" (Regeringskanliet 2015a:6). This reflects a critique against masculine roles and norms regarding security. Measures to combat sexual and gender-based violence together with a gender perspective are integrated into humanitarian operations and the humanitarian reform process, demonstrating a critical stance and the need to change them (Regeringskansliet 2017b:5).

Critique of masculine gender norms is also visible as the Foreign Service "will promote a gender-equitable division of unpaid housework and care work" – problematising the current gendered division of unpaid work (Regeringskansliet 2015a:9). This is further visible in the intention to "counteract norms and attitudes that obstruct girls' and young people's access to sexual and reproductive rights. Men and boys may usefully be included in these efforts" (Regeringskansliet 2015a:10). Again, it is emphasised that men and boys are understood as crucial for a real and sustainable change, to achieve gender equality but also, to create new power relations (Regeringskansliet 2015a:14). What can also be understood as an intention to transform gender roles and gendered responsibilities, is the work with the HeForShe campaign and the promotion of 'Swedish Dads' photo exhibition by the Swedish Institute (Regeringskansliet 2017b:12). What is more, the Foreign Service expresses that "Opportunities for people to achieve their full potential and contribute to positive social development are hindered by discriminatory gender norms" (Ibid). Therefore, the analysis of the Foreign Service strives to highlight "how norms of masculinity and femininity are constructed and change (…)" (Ibid), presenting a clear ambition to look into prevailing gender norms, reflecting the critical feminist approach.

One solution to gender inequality in the action plan from 2015 is found in the chapter "Analysis and data collection", where it is stated that the Foreign Service will constantly consider how operations can help to increase gender equality and enhance the full enjoyment of human rights by women and girls" (Regeringskansliet 2015a:14,16). Here, in contrast to several other parts of the policy, these goals are not presented as a means to reach other goals. The gender analysis that is to be conducted by the Foreign Service, is thereby made with the goal of reaching gender equality and human rights and is to be mainstreamed into all parts of planning and operations, reporting and monitoring.

Similarly, the transformationalist approach is visible in the demand to "pursue active organisational and human resources policies that create non-discriminatory organisational structures and promote gender equality, including more women in leadership positions", as well as the demand to "allocate resources to promote gender equality and the rights of women, girls and LGBTQ people, including human resources and expertise for action on gender equality" (Regeringskansliet 2015a:17). These two demands reflect a critique against current gendered structures. Important for the implementation of an FFP, is targeted skills development, which is expressed as necessary to "ensure that potential change agents in leadership positions receive training on gender equality and women's and girls' rights" (Regeringskansliet 2015a:19). What is highlighted, is that an "add women and stir"-approach is not

enough, but that an institutional change must occur for gendered practices to alter, which can be achieved through a different understanding of gender equality and rights. On a national level, a systemic nomination of Swedish women to international positions as well as gender knowledge and expertise is assured, by using secondment programmes as an instrument for promoting gender equality (Regeringskansliet 2015a:20). Again, by urging that gender-equality experts are needed, the policy indirectly argues that the understanding, structure and actions of institutions must change (Regeringskansliet 2016a:4). However, this is not clearly or specifically so formulated.

Ambitions for transformation regarding the view on prostitution, violence and exploitation of vulnerable people is also visible through the Swedish legislation prohibiting the purchase of sexual services (Regeringskansliet 2017b:5; Wallström 2018a). Sexual violence is understood as a weapon to divide societies and ignite fear within populations. Furthermore, groups aiming to reduce the opportunity for women to participate in politics, to have economic independence and access to health demonstrate that the struggle for gender equality is not a "soft issue", but a matter of life and death. What has been witnessed until now, in forms of violence and oppression, is therefore explained as a human rights scandal, that furthermore hinder a sustainable development of all of society (Wallström & Lövin 2015). A feminist perspective, it is argued, is a requisite for sustainable development (Ibid). The combat against what is perceived as male and female, that constrain women and girls, specifically also constrains the work against HIV, which is brought up by Lövin and Sidibé (Lövin & Sidibé 2014). Lövin argues that with the feminist policy, a certain responsibility follows, which is to take a clear stand and raise their voice against injustices (Lövin 2015b). "In order to break the status quo and make the world a better place, we need gender equality. The fantastic phrase 'women's rights are human rights' must become the spine of all our political work" (Wallström 2017b). One specific area mentioned by Lövin is humanitarian aid, where she argues that gender-perspectives have been missing due to for example, the view that issues of SRHR are not linked to saving lives, while the case is the complete opposite (Lövin 2015b). Thus, it both makes clear that humanitarian situations affect women and men differently, but also that a gender perspective is lacking in this area, representing a challenge to the current frameworks of humanitarian aid.

Not only the inclusion of women and girls is emphasised in the designs of early conflict warning mechanisms, systems and analyses, and preventive measures of violence, but also their experiences (Regeringskansliet 2017a:6). Wallström writes that she in Colombia heard many experiences of women, where she was further convinced that women should not only be included and regarded as victims, since they form part of the solution as actors with the capacity to form the conflict resolution and participate in the framing of a peace agreement (Wallström 2015c). Gender roles and gendered expectations are thereby again highlighted, emphasising that the oppression of women within the area of peacebuilding must end. When talking about sexual violence, Wallström mentions that "we tend to view it as inevitable, unspeakable and as a lesser

crime" (Wallström 2017c), but that to achieve real result for the WPS-agenda, we must work systematically with a gender perspective, reflecting the critical approach arguing that a transformation must take place regarding the understanding of sexual violence. Moreover, Lövin argues that "We cannot fall in the trap of only talking about how to "protect women" but must talk about women's power and influence" (Lövin 2016c). Again, prevailing gender roles are problematised, and the agency of women highlighted. Wallström highlights the low participation and the failure to "effectively engage and meaningfully involve women". Related to this is that the peacebuilding initiatives taken by women seldomly are linked to formal peace processes, that women are excluded from and where instead; "we see all-male teams of experts analysing and defining priorities for peace and security" (Wallström 2015b). Clearly, what has been done so far is not enough, and has not led to a change of gender roles in the area of diplomacy.

5   Conclusion

In this final chapter, some main conclusions are drawn from the analysis and presented. Feminism in foreign policy was previously discussed as an approach that could be used in distinct forms, as several approaches within feminism exist. This has been reflected in the implementation and discursive practice of the Swedish feminist foreign policy, as many examples of discourse could be positioned in the different models and approaches. Focus lies not only on for example inclusion of women for human rights purposes, but also on critical viewpoints on humanitarian aid and human security that are discussed from a critical feminist and gender-sensitive perspective by the Swedish Government. However, these are also framed as objectives to be reached through the inclusion of women and gender equality. From the analysis it is visible that one statement often fits into not only one, but several approaches at the same time. Thus, the guiding models that have been used to grasp key concepts, often become fluid and very intertwined in foreign policy practice and discourse.

Regarding how and in what ways gender and feminism interact, the discussion on gender and gender equality in the Swedish foreign policy is quite developed, while a discussion on feminism is not visible almost at all. Instead, feminism is more of a nondescript concept in the FFP and not very much used or developed in discussion, the approach is presented and summarised under the three R's and mainly as raising our voice against injustices when mentioned as a "feminist approach" explaining what a "feminist" foreign policy entails. Corresponding to the second approach and model, gender is very often framed as a tool to reach other goals. Perhaps using the introduction of the action plans for FFP where it is stated that gender equality is an objective in itself, the remaining space is to large extent used to push the smart and efficiency-approach, which is, of course effective as it points to attractive reasons for why other nations should pursue a similar foreign policy. Included here is for example the benefit that follows economically, the increased possibility for a lasting peace, and so on. Despite criticism, what could therefore be expected to follow in future feminist foreign policies, is the visibility of this approach to, and framing of gender and feminism. This represents a specific form of how to "sell" a feminist approach to foreign policy, that if other nations follow in proclaiming feminist foreign policies and if it reaches a higher level of consensus within the following years, could develop towards a stronger emphasis on the human rights-democratic approach.

On the other hand, what is not very visible is an accentuated and direct essentialist approach to gender, due to the lack of clear framings of women as for example natural peacebuilders. Women are often highlighted as crucial for a lasting peace, thus reflecting the instrumental and efficiency-approach as mentioned. Still, there is no clear

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trace of framing women in an essentialist way, and that other goals can be reached due to these different gendered characteristics. This entails that the policy to large extent avoids reproducing gender stereotypes regarding masculinity/men and femininity/women, highly relevant for the transformationalist and critical approach. More discussed are gendered norms, where focus is put on masculine norms that are understood as defining institutions, power relations and violence, each understood as obstacles to gender equality, women's rights, but also to reaching sustainability in other goals. The problematisation of prevailing masculine norms that exclude femininity and women is presented with the aim to change the institutions, also reflecting a more critical and political stance, and thereby the transformationalist approach. At the same time, the liberal feminist approach, focusing on precisely institutions and policy is evident, where the discourse does not challenge existing frameworks. Again, how intertwined the approaches in the Swedish policy discourse are, here becomes evident.

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