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**SWEDISH FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY AS A NORM CREATOR?
PERCEPTION OF THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT**

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Abstract:

The issues related to gender equality and human rights exist still around the world even though different efforts to tackle the issue have been carried out - and arguably some forces still exist that are trying to counter these efforts. Even some normative attempts have been made in order to tackle the prevailing conservative norms which are hindering the gender equality and human rights. However Sweden, as an actor, has implemented entirely feminist foreign policy, which is an unique attempt to counter existing conservative forces normatively in the world. Even when the uniqueness of Sweden in these issues is important, there is not much of studies about the perception of the Swedish government about the normative influence of the Swedish feminist foreign policy on gender issues and human rights, which makes this work very topical and which is the perspective in this work. It is important to start evaluating the work of state actors on gender issues on how they perceive their own activities in order to reassess the work towards the setbacks on gender issues and human rights issues. Author of this work has focused on assessing this problem in the work through answering to the question on how does Sweden view their influence in creating norms for other actors to follow with the feminist foreign policy. She uses speeches, documents and article to analyze the issue and a constructivist literature to create theoretical framework on norms. Also the study is focusing on the most recent data in order to observe the most current phenomenas on the issues. This study is using qualitative methodology, and more precisely discourse analysis as a method to analyze the data in the specific part of the work. From the final results in this work, we can say that Sweden sees itself as a norm entrepreneur aiming to create norms for other actors to follow by using feminist foreign policy as a tool. Sweden is pointing out the problems in prevailing norms and are attempting to make changes in to them which happens through promoting the norms of their own, related to gender equality and human rights. Norms of them are defining the basis of their own normative work and through explaining the inner reasons for them, they aim to justify their attempts. They also see that their work have had impact on changing the norms internationally.

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1. Introduction

The Swedish feminist foreign policy was adopted in 2014, being simultaneously the first country to adopt an entirely feminist foreign policy (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 6) and a first government in which every single ministry is contributing to the gender equality work through feminism (Government Offices of Sweden, n.d.). It is not easy to find entirely similar approach from any other country which would be having an entirely feminist government or even foreign policy which eventually makes Sweden very unique in this phenomena. However some similarities exist in other countries as well, as for example in Canada where there are some focus areas in their foreign policy in regards to feminism (Government of Canada, 2020). Sweden is characterizing the gender equality as being a part of a modern welfare state (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019e). The main goal of Swedish feminist foreign policy is to see gender equality thriving at some point in future and the work towards this goal is characterized by systematic work surrounded by objectives as an action plan and the framework of rights, resources and representation, provided for women (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a).

Even though some progress has been made on the gender equality issues, still discrimination exists structurally, since the enjoyment of the human rights fully is facing increasing opposition (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019d, p.4). The issues are including for example that the conditions and opportunities for females are weaker during their lives when for example some girls do not get education and are the ones that might be forced to get away from school, genital mutilation and child marriage are still the reality for some women and girls, girls are in some places getting less treatment on health issues, and less care and food, the salary tend to be weaker for women overall, girls and women are doing the most of the unpaid work in households and in some states there exist differentiation on how law effects men and women (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019d, p. 5). Even when some progress has been made on gender equality issues, there has been major setbacks on the issues in recent years, and the resistance, caused by conservative powers with emphasis on attitudes and norms that are enforcing gender stereotypes, is hard especially in the sexual and reproductive health and rights issues (ibid.).

The work on this topic seems to be topical since there are prevailing human rights and gender equality issues towards women and girls in the world, and when some setbacks has been experienced on these areas, it would be useful to analyze whether the existing ways of changing the traditional, conservative norms would be influential according to those who aim to create new ones. Sweden's uniqueness is the most intriguing area of analysis, because it seems to have taken the

strongest foreign policy approach in the world compared to any other country in the world, making it a very persuasive normative force towards existing conservative powers. By portraying the resistance, which is being caused by conservative forces on international norms, Sweden seems to be taking a role of norm creator towards the conservative norm upholders and that being said, it would be useful to study the Swedish view about their influence in creating norms for other actors to follow by using the feminist foreign policy as a tool.

This paper is focusing on the Swedish perception on how they are viewing their role as a norm producer by using the feminist foreign policy. This topic seems to be unique because the existing work has not been making so much of an in depth analysis on the perception of Sweden and its feminist foreign policy about the area of norms in their mind. Some studies exist on the area of Swedish feminist foreign policy such as the work from the security perspective on Sweden's feminist foreign policy by (Siilivask, 2019). Furthermore, another work exist which is studying the Sweden as a norm entrepreneur but the work is, however, focusing on how other actors of different states are viewing the Sweden's policies on the area (Sundström & Elgström, 2019). Author of this work take the perception of Sweden as a basis for this work, which is showing the essential differences to another author's work who is writing about the Sweden as a norm entrepreneur. In addition, the author of this work is writing about the more current phenomena making the topic more topical.

The aim of this study is to find out how Sweden sees itself as a norm producer through its feminist foreign policy. In addition, this work includes one prior research question and three sub questions, fulfilling the research aim:

1. How does Sweden view their influence in creating norms for other actors to follow with the feminist foreign policy?

Sub questions:

1. What kind of norms are represented in the Swedish feminist foreign policy?
2. Why do they have such norms?
3. How do they see others adopting those norms over the years?

Author of this work is studying the current phenomena to give more resent view on the Swedish perceptions. The data for empirical part of this work is derived from the most recent speeches, documents, and action plans of Sweden in order to make systematic analysis about the topic from different perspectives. Since this study has been made about the norms in mind, the constructivist theory is the most suitable tool for achieving a theoretical basis for this work. Constructivists have been studying norms and their impact. The method of analysis in speeches, documents and action

plans, is discourse analysis, in order to make connections to the norms and emphasize the intersubjectivity of norms. Discourse analysis would provide more in depth analysis as well about the topic, serving as a reasoning for the choice of the analysis method.

The introduction chapter will be followed by the theoretical overview and basis of the work which is consisting from chapters, explaining first that what constructivism is in general and this will be followed by a chapter introducing the norms on constructivist work. Theoretical chapter is being followed by the methodological chapter which author provided, in order to explain the methods and data in deeper manner. The author dedicated the next chapter to the empirical part which is answering the prior research question and aims through the research sub question and finally introducing the main findings where the sub questions are linked to the prior research question and aim. Last but not least there is the conclusion chapter after the empirical part which concludes this work and implicates the usefulness of this work extensively.

2. Theoretical chapter

This chapter outlines the theoretical overview of constructivism, which can be linked to norms and normative behavior of Swedish feminist foreign policy. Since the focus of this study relies solely on normative aspects in Swedish foreign policy, constructivism would be a useful tool of analysis when part of the scholars in the constructivist field have been focusing on norms related research such as Kardam (2004), Zehfuss (2002), and Goldstein & Pevehouse (2013). Constructivism is in general considered as an International Relations theory (Fierke, 2013, p. 188), and it is widely favored by many scholars in the field.

If Swedish Feminist foreign policy could be seen as a normative model for other countries to follow it would make the analysis from the perspective of constructivism crucial. Constructivist scholars has been identifying states' behavior and interests from the normative perspective (Björkdahl, 2002, p. 20), which makes this theory useful for the analysis. The aim is to find out if Sweden and Swedish foreign policy actors sees their foreign policy as a normative model for other countries to follow, which can be analyzed through the normative interests of Swedish feminist foreign policy. In addition the behavior of actors and states can be norms related in general according to constructivists which can also be important when analyzing the speeches and documents. This chapter about constructivism provides a basis to the empirical part since it introduces previous studies that can be applied to the following research.

This chapter starts by outlining the constructivism in general in the first few pages, which focuses on the aspects such as a brief history of the theory, the problem of defining what constructivism is and what constructivists has been focusing on such as identity, norms, interests, national interests, power, ally-enemy division, state interests etc., aiming to give a reader understanding on what is constructivism. This will be followed by sub chapter where there is more specific topic describing the constructivists theorists point of view about norms and normative behavior and aspects that can be linked to norms, which will be eventually linked to the empirical study.

2.1 Constructivism in general

During 1980s, questions started to emerge about the scientific methods and theories of International Relations and to what extend those were taking part in international power formation (Fierke, 2013, p. 188). Even some challenges started to arise against the assumptions in the IR theory studies from

a context of history in which ideas about Cold War were challenged by political actors (ibid.). When the Cold War occurred, more questions started which were referring to those changes, which finally led to the formulation of the IR field of social construction (Ibid.). The major reason for formulation of social construction was that the IR scholars faced a failed attempt to predict and explain the ending of the Cold War by using dominating IR theories as foundation which made those above mentioned questions more crucial (Ibid.).

Furthermore, Constructivists have been criticizing traditional theory of IR for its static material presumptions (Fierke, 2013, p. 188). Instead, the emphasis of constructivists has been on the opportunity of change and social dimensions of IR but their approaches have not been similar (Ibid.). Differences between constructivist scholars have been that some of them focus more on wider audience while also shaping their language related critique that could allow room for having dialogue together with scholars on mainstream approaches (Ibid.). Other part of constructivist scholars have been focusing on assessing the problem harder and criticizing more (Ibid.). However, these two approaches alongside gave place for constructivism in International relations (Ibid.). Constructivists in general says that debate in academia and politics arise in the cultural and historical conditions (Ibid.).

Constructivism, which is a fastly rising IR approach, wants to know how states are constructing their interests by having interactions with other states (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013, p. 86). Some scholars have been describing it rather as an approach than a theory, because in its essence, it doesn't say anything about IR (Ibid.). Still it can give understanding about the IR through its ideas about identity, norms, and social interactions and actually majority of explanations of international behavior on behalf of constructivists relies on the identity principle (Ibid.). The main interest of constructivism lies in the question on how interests of nations, threats of their interests, and their partnership with others is determined by actors (Ibid.). Constructivism also lays the field of IR in the context of social relations in broader manner which means that states do not only consider their interests through material needs but also based on interaction socially with other states for example (Ibid.). In addition constructivists considers power being part of IR (Ibid.).

Constructivists claim that there are changes and complexity in the identities of states emerging from states to states interactions and the socialization process tends to be the cause of these (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013, p. 87). Furthermore states could conceptualize other states in a way that danger of a security issue, rivalry on arms or other anarchy related effects would be absent according to debates among some scholars on the field of constructivism (Ibid.). Constructivists claim that the change from nationalist identities of European states to common identities of

European Union could be explained through norms, identity changes, regimes and institutions rather than anarchy, military force and political power (Ibid.). Also, threats what societies think to be prevailing, change when time goes on and similar dangers are neither universal nor timeless according to constructivists (Ibid.). There are changes in conventions and social norms which could have major effect on foreign policy (Ibid.).

For Luhmann, the main points of constructivism are that firstly, they are sensitive especially to the separation of the scale of action, the scale of observation and their relationship (Luhmann in Guzzini, 2004, p. 208). Secondly constructivists are holding an epistemological place, by highlighting the social construction of meaning (Guzzini, 2004, p. 208). Thirdly they have an ontological place, which is highlighting the social reality construction. (Ibid.).

According to constructivists, social world is affected by shared categories that we are using (Guzzini, 2004, p. 208). In fact, there are authoritative categories drawn from statistics, producing what are kept as important facts and those are working as a manner for understanding this world (Ibid.). Also humans are able to know about the attributions and have an impact on their own action while interacting with those attributions, when natural phenomena cannot (Guzzini, 2004, p. 208-209). It is called a "looping effect" (Hacking in Guzzini, 2004, p. 209) which is explaining the constructivists' emphasis on the identity in their writings (Guzzini, 2004, p. 209). In addition, constructivists are highlighting how crucial self-fulfilling prophecies are (Ibid.).

On the other hand, Hurd argues that the characteristics of constructivism are the social construction of interests, connection of agents and structures, logic behind anarchy and materialism related criticism which eventually makes the constructivism different than other fields of International relations (Hurd, 2008, p. 1). They have also answered to the important question in IR: how states come to the realization of who is the friend and enemy (Hurd, 2008, p. 1-2).

Highlighting relational and social construction of state identities and their willingness, is something what constructivism does (Hurd, 2008, p. 2). Besides, these approaches can be also useful if one wants to focus on cooperation, power politics conflict or another phenomena that is substantive (Ibid.). Thus, focusing on power cannot be connected solely to realism, which would be a false assumption, since all approaches of international relations have interest in power (Ibid.). Theory of realism, is however interested in power in material sense while constructivism puts its focus on social meaning which is linked to practices or objects (Ibid.).

The social construction of meaning is the initial idea of constructivism and it also gives the label of constructivism for the theory (Hurd, 2008, p. 3). The whole basis of social theory of constructivism is that the action of people toward objects comes from the meanings, coming from

objects (Wendt in Hurd, 2008, p. 3). In a world of social construction, patterns such as relationship between effect and cause, and also states are dependent on networks of practices and meaning that are constituting them (Hurd, 2008, p. 3). In addition those practices and meanings can be even somewhat stable, but those cannot be fixed and it would be wrong to get them mixed with constant objects (Ibid.). Patterns that seems to be predictable and clear can also change such as practices and ideas do (Ibid.).

It is also said that constructivism is challenging other approaches while the theory itself makes authors think different things about it and its meaning (Hay, 2016, p. 99). Constructivism covers plenty of different positions and even texts defining it are in many occasions lacking clearly given main claims (Ibid). Some people have been treating constructivism as ontology, normative theory, epistemology and sometimes even a methodology (Ibid.). In general, it is challenging to elaborate what is constructivism mainly because different people have different ideas of its meaning and those meanings has been also changing (Hay, 2016, p. 99-100).

The basis of constructivism is the idea of people being social beings and that we are as human beings dependent on social relations which are in fact making us humans (Onuf, 1998, p. 59). Social relations are constructing or making us what we are (Ibid.). On the other hand humans are shaping the world to what it is from the materials that are given by nature, which happens through interaction and activity with other people (Ibid.). The most crucial way of shaping the world is in fact talking with each other (Ibid.).

According to constructivism, human beings are creating the society and vice versa, society is creating human beings, which can be seen as a constant, two-way process (Onuf, 1998, p. 59). It is important to start studying the theory from the middle because human beings and society created each other and are already there while also changing (Ibid.). There is also a third element, called rules, in the middle of human beings and society (Ibid.). Rules, such as social rules or legal rules are creating the process which makes human beings and society constituting each other (Ibid.).

It is also said that the constructivism might locate itself in the middle of radical and rationalist approaches (Zehfuss, 2002, p. 2). This kind of middle ground approach is called relativist or reflectivist (Ibid.). Therefore it cannot be said to be surprising that the IR field has been gone through a constructivist turn (Checkel in Zehfuss, 2002, p. 2). Constructivism is also challenging the rationalist assumptions by noting about the international politics reality that doesn't change and in addition anarchy cannot be avoided (Zehfuss, 2002, p. 3-4). They also see that the social world is rather being constructed instead of given (Zehfuss, 2002, p. 4). In general states can be interested on themselves but they are still constantly defining again what it means and state identities can be

changing (Ibid.). Norms are in fact having impact on defining situations which leads to them having effect on the international practice in very meaningful manner (Ibid.). It is also important to appreciate the influence that norms or/and identities are holding which can only happen through exploring the intersubjective meaning (Ibid.). The constructivist way to emphasize the interpretations of meaning and focus on the impact of the change of practice rather than validating empirically the independent mechanisms explanations is getting more central (Ibid.).

Constructivism is important to the theory of IR and the development of it in future but there is not yet clear clarification on what is constructivism actually (Zehfuss, 2002, p. 6). In fact it has been explained, positioned, and defined (Adler in Zehfuss, 2002, p. 6) but the agreement hasn't been reached on what constructivism is (Zehfuss, 2002, p. 6). Part of the scholars includes constructivism to the non-mainstream approach when others are willing to use this term in more specific manner in a groups that includes approaches that are closely related (Zehfuss, 2002, p. 6-7).

Constructivists think that in international affairs, different interpretations, expectations and beliefs are unavoidable, and the importance of those is presenting the untenability of materialist position (Hurd, 2008, p. 4). There was some controversiality in international relations field early in the 1990s about the shift from materialist view to socially constructed but now there is a broad acceptance of it, leading the discipline to internalize the insight of constructivism heavily (Ibid.). Even international relations theories with materialist views are outright including two different ideas which are factors that are non-material and interests that are socially constructed which are both rather individual than collective ideas, but they are often claiming that in international relations the practical significancy of the content that is social is not that important when comparing it to the impact of brute material aspects, giving the neoliberal and neorealist research agendas the ability to keep up their main claims while recognizing the insight of constructivists simultaneously (Hurd, 2008, p. 4-5).

The central interests of scholars in foreign policy analysis and international relations has always included national interest and in this idea constructivists have been productive since their focus has been in the social content that is involved in international relations production, including interests of states (Hurd, 2008, p. 5).

What actually makes constructivism remarkable considering interests is that what are influencing the formation of interest, are social, and also interests tend to be drawn from identities (Hurd, 2008, p. 6). The social basis of interests includes all the means that identities and interests of actors can be affected by interactions of them with other actors and their social environment (Ibid.).

2.2 Theories referring to norms and normative behavior

Constructivist scholars are saying that the logic of appropriateness, that is powerful, exists as well (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013, p. 87). Such as in humanitarian intervention cases, intervention made by state military or military of states for the purpose of protecting citizens or another state subjects, might be hard to explain with using terms from realism or liberalism (Ibid.). For example how can be explained the situation when in 1992 United States sent troops to Somalia, which is a country with very small economic or strategic importance for US while Somalia experienced a political chaos and the mass starvation possibility (Ibid.). Constructivists might explain the situation by pointing out the changing norms regarding to which people are worth to protect (Ibid.).

Developing world has provided identity principles related examples too, as part of constructivists have claimed that states in Middle East, Latin America and Africa have changed or adopted policies in accordance to international norms, when the inner reasons was not to provide huge benefits, but since that was seen the way of action which is appropriate (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013, p. 88). One example from similar activity is that competing to establish bureaucracies that are science related or/and to start modernize the military technologically, has been one action that developing states has made in order (at least according to constructivists) to make a decision to use their scarce resources on that type of projects because they desire to become modern in accordance to international system (Ibid.). Although plenty of states building those science bureaucracies or advanced militaries have only very few scientists or enemies (Ibid.). Constructivists are highlighting that norms and identities have to be in use to make an explanation about this somewhat mysterious behavior (Ibid.).

In a time of worldwide communication and ease transportations there are multiple existing possibilities to answer to the question on how did international norms get to everywhere in the world (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013, p. 88). Some have argued that norm entrepreneurs were labeled by people, through writing, travel, and having discussions with elites, changing ideas and encouraging some kind of norms (Ibid.). Some of the others are claiming that the widely based NGOs and social movements as for the example movement on anti-apartheid encouraged to refine racial equality related global norm (Ibid.). Some of the rest are presenting how norms can be diffused by the international organizations of what is inappropriate and appropriate behavior (Ibid.). The driver of state behavior is in every case the new norms and ideas more than self interest and power (Ibid.).

Constructivism has obviously its critics as well, as any other theory or approach in IR has (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013, p. 89). Some suggestions from the side of realists have been that simply, norms are only covers for interests of state or for interests that are personal while liberals would argue that too small amount of attention is paid to the institutions and the power of politics inside them by some scholars in the constructivist field (Ibid.). Furthermore liberals and realists both are criticizing the difficulty of telling if beliefs and identify of person are actually genuine or just meant to be adopted for reasons that are strategic in order to get material benefits, like getting more membership, trade or aid for an organization that is exclusive (Ibid.). Even though such criticism exists, thinking of constructivism and its highlighting of identity principle is still going to be the core in the research of International relations for coming years (Ibid.).

In addition it would be worthy to mention again that (as it was mentioned in the first sub chapter of constructivism) constructivists tend to rapidly note that what states or societies think to be dangerous is neither timeless nor universal, and also they are highlighting the change in social conventions and norms and that those changes might have great involvement to foreign policy. (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013, p. 87).

Constructivists pay attention to the norms and common understanding of behavior that is legitimate, but also material factors have their role (Fierke, 2013, p. 190). They think that structures are not only constraining but they form the actors' identity as well (Ibid.). Logic of appropriateness is guiding the subjects inside the constructivism (March and Olson in Fierke, 2013, p. 190). If something is rational, it is legitimacy function too, defined by norms and shared values inside institutions or some other social structure, more than interests that are merely individual (Fierke, 2013, p. 190). Norms do not constrain behavior alone but they form actors' identities too (Ibid.). For example human rights related norms are restraining less because of considerations of power than because a constitutive character of states that are liberal democratic is human rights, increasingly and particularly at the level of international, the identity of states that are legitimate (Fierke, 2013, p. 190-191). Highlighting rule following and norms can be differentiated from rational behavior that is instrumental in that doing the right thing is what actors are trying to do more than optimizing or maximizing preferences given to them (Fierke, 2013, p. 191).

Constructivists claim that states or individuals, as they are social beings fundamentally, could not be distinguished from the normative meanings context which is shaping the possibilities that are there for them and in general who are they (Fierke, 2013, p. 190). In fact, the most importantly, the sovereignty concept is a constitutive and social category as far as the earlier

position for acknowledging the individual states' sovereignty is a mutual understanding and the concept approval (Ibid.).

Social world has been viewed as being constructed instead of being given which is resulting from acknowledging that the practice is having impact on the outcome (Zehfuss, 2002, p. 4). States are defining and redefining continuously what it means to be self-interested even though they might be that already and there might be changes in identities of them as well (Ibid.). Norms are providing help in defining situations and therefore having significant impact on International practice, but to value the impact of norms or/and identities, exploring intersubjective meaning is important (Ibid.).

The suggestion about that the state actions contribute to creating norms and institutions of life that is international, comes from the co-constitution related constructivist approach, and these norms and institutions have role in socializing, influencing and defining states (Hurd, 2008, p. 7). In fact actors and institutions can be both defined again during the process (Ibid.). It becomes rapidly clear while doing studies in international norms, that what states simultaneously concerns is to change the behavior of them to match and reconstruct the rules to accept their behavior (Hurd in Hurd, 2008, p. 7).

International norms are, at the same time, state actions' products and have impact on action of a state so therefore the idea about the international environment and state being constituted mutually is innate in the approach of constructivism (Hurd, 2008, p. 7).

The ideas distribution Internationally is the one determining the international structure in perspective of constructivists (Wendt in Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 894). The world is getting its structure, stability and order from shared beliefs, ideas and expectations about what is appropriate behavior (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 894).

Choice is not just having different options and preferences but also considering with constraint that is normative (Kowert, 2011 p. 33). We are thinking our choices in a way that we consider both our own, and others interests and desires but also from the perspective of proper behavior standards and believing the importance of those standards is what constructivists consider (Ibid.). International relations is worrying with what norms are mattering to the states' or other international actors' conduct and to whom, and when they matter considering identity problem, and what consequences those norms have. (Kowert, 2011, p. 35)

When investigating international norms, constructivists have attempted to exclude deontic or ethical perspectives in order to keep the outlook of social science and actually they wish not to promote certain moral outlook, and instead they decided to handle norms as they were ideas with effects that can be measured similar manner as wealth within states and the power distribution,

without, however, using metrics that are same (Kowert, 2011 p. 36). Result of this is entirely cognitive norms' definition as common understandings or ideas (Ibid.).

Constructivists are interested in language and shared beliefs, and obligation requires belief (Kowert, 2011 p. 37). However all beliefs are not normative and choices are not rational every time either (Ibid.). Emotion and language functioning gives normative force to some of the beliefs (Ibid.). Norms tend to be linguistic, cognitive and emotive phenomena (Ibid.).

It is not possible to understand without language functioning which by sharing our experience into categories, enables us to think and talk about it (Kowert, 2011, p. 38). There is no way that actions could speak if there was not meaningful words' categories (Ibid.). When language turns into speech, normative restrictions can be one perlocutionary consequence possibly and if there are some consequences that are perlocutionary in a speech, meaning that if it includes some effects on listeners, then this effect is partly normative (Ibid.). Normative effects in a speech could be classified into normative domains and speech acts (Kowert, 2011, p. 38-39).

The most direct types of statements that are normative might be those that gives other people behavioral instructions, and directives like that are typical things which we think as examples of normative speech (Kowert, 2011, p. 39). Those are attempts, aiming to make the world change by persuading the speech' target audience to behave in some particular manner (Ibid.). However all of the directives are not successful since some might not become received, while others can be simply ignored (Ibid.). Directives require authority every time, even though it might be or might not be accepted and recognized, in order to make the world change through other people's actions (Kowert, 2011, p. 39-40). Those are direct efforts to create obligations and obligation's recognition on the others side (Kowert, 2011, p. 40). Furthermore, commitments are the other class in speech acts, aiming to make the world change by putting it into some specific state of affairs (Ibid.). Difference of commitments and directives is that the first demands the speaker and not the audience to be successful on this purpose (Ibid.). Treaties and contracts in international and civil law are both speech acts that are commissive and the normative power in those cannot be questioned (Ibid.).

In current research there has been emphasis on the conceptualization and wider questions about the relationship of norms and actors, especially, if actors are reasoning about or through social norms (Hoffmann, 2010, p. 8). Part of the constructivists are stressing reflection and thinking that agents have the ability of reasoning about the multiple pulls on the possible behavior of them, and those pulls can be purely ideational/normative or those that are additional to strategic/material pulls (Ibid.). Who are the agents and what they want might be established by structures that are social,

but the agents preserve the capability of reasoning about social structures that are constitutive and they can make behavioral choices that are somewhat independent (Ibid.).

Socialization process has been examined as being contestation between differing systems that are normative and it has widened the analysis' scope to include efforts at socializing both weaker and powerful actors (Hoffmann, 2010, p. 12). Moreover recent studies of socialization are looking compliance with global norms as being process by which interaction of states happens with, as well as, their manipulation and even incorporation of ideas that are external in dynamic manner (Ibid.). The focus of analysis is turning to the socialization's targets and the agentic and the dynamic process whereby the interaction of actors happens together with the normative context of them (Ibid.). International norms are connected to circumstances that are local by actors that have the capability to manipulate and observe ideas from outside context that is normative and when doing that they vary the global norm's substance in order to create congruence (Ibid.).

Constructivists that have emphasis on the change of norms have just started to re-conceive dynamics of norms in a differing manner and the focus has been on the contestation in norm acceptors' communities (Hoffmann, 2010, p. 13). The core focus of this literature is in how actors are understanding the norms constituting them and it is thinking alternatively how actors reasoning through norms could reconstruct and contest norms that are gluing communities together (Ibid.). In addition norms experience flux and dynamism constantly and new norms are established every day when actors instantiate those through actions and beliefs of them. (Ibid.).

Laws that are gender sensitive might not become implemented if certain state institutions don't make any behavioral changes and if they are guided through norms sets that are different (Kardam, 2004, p. 97). Women might be also unaware of their rights even when laws have passed and even if women knew their rights, they can be powerless since there are competing gender related social norms that are promoting inferiority of women to men (Ibid.). To make gender equality planted to local and national levels, it requires open debate about the competing gender identities and norms, understanding, and different institutions promoting or advocating competitive thoughts about gender equality (Kardam, 2004, p. 97-98). If done in other way, states might just continue with doing something but very little to reassure monitoring committees that are global and aid agencies that are international (Kardam, 2004, p. 98). Constructivist approach can be helpful with this (Ibid.).

Constructivism is questioning state interests and don't accept those as shaped preferences by certain knowledge or beliefs but asks instead where state interests comes from to begin with and also the norms' social construction is not just accepted being a priori but instead they are examined

(Kardam, 2004, p. 98). Constructivist implications to regime of global gender equality are for example (according to author) showing ways for women's empowerment through constant intersubjective redefining, defining, and sharing gender norms that are global to the content of local by using local activism (Kardam, 2004, p. 99). Perspective of constructivism is necessary in order to explore constitutive rules' nature - applying and filling local context with global norms by taking analytical category of gender which is changing in accordance to institutions when time goes on (Kardam, 2004, p. 105).

Norms, from the perspective of constructivism, are in general thought being as a collection of collective expectations and intersubjective understandings about the states' and other actors' right behavior within a given identity or context (Björkdahl, 2002, p. 15). Separating ideas and norms from interests is flawed fundamentally regarding to constructivist perspective but instead norms and ideas are rather constituting interests, and therefore interests cannot be assessed separately from norms and ideas from the constructivist's point of view (Björkdahl, 2002, p. 20). Norms are also considered to create behavioral expectations about the behavior which is appropriate within international society (Ibid.).

In a foreign policy conduct, norms have a role and they are useful tool in improving our foreign policy understanding, since they help in defining purposes and goals of states (Björkdahl, 2002, p. 22). They are not establishing policy options that are clear though, but instead offer a general direction and vision and could be seen as giving road instructions for action of foreign policy of states (Ibid.). Norms are partly explaining the state's definition and individual interests according to constructivist theory, when however norms are not only impacting interests of actors but the manner in which the actors are connecting policy choices and their (actors) preferences (Ibid.).

The norm antipreneurs' approach the norms in a way that they would actually defend their existing norms by arguing that norm entrepreneurs would create norms with end results that are problematic morally and if still the norm entrepreneurs would be successful in pointing to the normative problem, norm antipreneurs could just start the new norm undermining, while norm entrepreneurs would point out to the existing normative problem and starts countering those norms with justificatory attacks, following with a established solution which is the new norm in essence (Bloomfield, 2015, p. 13-14).

3. Methodology

Author dedicates this section to the methodology, that is used in this work. At first, it is suitable mention that this work is using qualitative research method and the essential analysis of this work is being done with the discourse analysis, enabling to go deeper in to the topic with the analysis. Furthermore this work can be described as being deductive, since the author started with outlining the theoretical basis which was followed with the hypothesis, observation and confirmation. The essential timeframe for the analysis was not formulated exactly because the aim was to use the most topical documents, speeches and action plan in empirical part in order to give the view about the current phenomenas, and simultaneously differentiating this work from other authors that has been writing about the Swedish feminist foreign policy.

Qualitative methodology, and especially the discourse analysis allows the author to use sample that is smaller than in other approaches, which is why the author chose six documents as a number of sources to create a data sample. Author chose all of the documents from the website of the Government Offices of Sweden so that those sources would be as official as possible. Chosen documents included two speeches from incumbent foreign minister of Sweden, Ann Linde in United Nations institutions, both conducted in 2019, one speech from minister Linde for the parliament of Sweden (2020) in the form of statement of government policy, newly updated action plan (2019-2022) for feminist foreign policy, Handbook of Swedish feminist foreign policy (2018) and an article about what the feminist foreign policy has contributed to (2018). The choice of those particular sources was made for this work to make the analysis more representative so that the approach comes from different types of sources. Also the choice of those particular secondary sources was based on the fact that the communication of the Government Offices of Sweden is offering the most factual interpretations of their normative activities. To make the analysis more current, only the most current sources were sought.

The coding in this sample was done with structural coding to use the method-specific sub questions first to build the basis for the analysis for prior research questions and aim on the findings part. Those methods were crucial because the work is using the framework of Sweden as a norm producer, and constructivism as theory which both corresponds to the methodology well. The purpose of the discourse analysis is to find how things are being implicated through the language of the subject and this is what the author of this work is doing in the empirical part when trying to answer to the research sub questions with the specific implications of Swedish feminist foreign policy.

The constructivist theory was the most suitable one because it is describing the intersubjectivity of norms which comes from the person to person communication and the communication of Sweden, in particular can be characterized as communicating with different actors and being normative simultaneously. The theoretical framework outlined about the constructivism can be heavily connected to the activity of Sweden if they see themselves as norm entrepreneurs towards other actors. Constructivism also emphasizes the interest, values, culture, history and behavior in normative context which shows the essential basis of Sweden's normative work. Language, in particular with speeches is giving the implication of being normative at some parts according to constructivists, which is important while analyzing the Swedish feminist foreign policy views on their influence as norm creators. The most lifelike examples of constructivist scholars on the normative activities also correspond to the work well. Swedish feminist foreign policy activities seems to show that Sweden is aiming to change the existing norms and simultaneously being a norm entrepreneurs, such as normative aspects in constructivists tends to outline the activities of countries in general. Sweden is also aiming to trace the basis of the existing norms in the world to conservative forces, while even constructivists have been trying to find how the existing norms have been found.

Author uses government of Sweden as an actor who is speaking on behalf of Sweden who is itself seeing how their work on feminist foreign policy is being used and how effective it is. So in general it is important to see how government, who creates the foreign policy decisions, evaluates their own work in the area. Hence, all communication on behalf of Sweden in this work comes from the perspective of Government Offices of Sweden which is actively communicating about these issues to the public. So when this work talks about the activities of Sweden, it is communicated by the government of Sweden.

4. Feminist foreign policy

Sweden implemented a feminist foreign policy in 2014 while simultaneously still promoting both the human rights and gender equality which they were already doing in international and national level and in fact, Sweden claims to be the first country globally to adopt feminist foreign policy (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019d, p. 4). Sweden's government is also entirely feminist, and the first government associating itself as one in the world, which from the perception of Sweden, shows that gender equality is important for the government (Government Offices of Sweden, n.d.). Therefore the foreign policy of Sweden is also entirely feminist in its essence, covering the whole agenda of foreign policy (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 6).

The whole feminist foreign policy gets its foundation from Sweden being committed to the international agreements and law, from the national efforts through the policy of gender equality and from making sure that both women and men are promised to have same abilities to influence their lives and society (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019d, p. 7). The foundation for the Swedish feminist foreign policy has been built for several years, since the efforts towards gender equality can be traced back to the 1970s when the country implemented vast amount of critical reforms as for example benefits on childcare, individual taxation and parental leave that is gender neutral while the work extended on 1974 when the abortion rights were implemented (ibid.). Work extended itself in the year 1979 with the act on gender equality where the labour market became more equal, and in 1990s with a new method in gender mainstreaming (ibid.).

Sweden sees that their work on gender equality is caused by the political decisions and struggle, and civil society involved hard work and it wasn't just given but also the work on the context of equality is not yet over because challenges still exist (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019f). Furthermore, the Swedish views are that the gender equality, which is from their account a part of modern welfare state, is being part of human rights but also part of other areas such as representation, democracy and social justice while it has also effect on economy and labour market (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019e).

Global situation on gender equality has been getting better, and women and girls have better possibilities to actually enjoy human rights internationally through various means but still the regional differences exists and the progress is slow in some places as well (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019d, p. 5). Prevailing issues are the weaker conditions and discrimination against girls and women which can be seen in several occasions (ibid.).

The prior idea of Swedish feminist foreign policy is to enhance the representation, rights and resources of both women and girls globally, in order to make changes to certain structures and to make girls and females more visible (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 11). The feminist foreign policy includes six objectives, varying from the full enjoyment of human rights to the participation politically and in peace processes, which are aiming to create a world that is gender equal in general (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 19). The feminist foreign policy work is being characterized as a one which is aiming to at some point see the discrimination end when subordination is now happening to girls and women globally (Government Offices of Sweden, 2017, p .3). The setbacks in the work on human rights and gender equality issues are creating a greater importance for the policy (ibid.).

Sweden has used the feminist foreign policy in promoting the full enjoyment of human rights in for example different institutions of United Nations, with wide variety of issues including for example human rights and non-discrimination (Government Offices of Sweden, 2017, p. 4). As an addition Sweden has used their feminist efforts on European Union institutions, in Paris agreement on climate and refugees and on migrants issues that are related to girls and women (ibid.).

4.1 Norms represented in feminist foreign policy of Sweden

This chapter aims to answer to the first sub question, which is - what kind of norms are represented in the Swedish feminist foreign policy. Current foreign minister of Sweden claimed in her speech in the 74th session of UN general assembly that: "Human rights around the world are under attack. We must act against all attempts to weaken respect for human rights and to restrict their universality." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019a). This quote indicates that human rights that are universal, is an international norm. By bringing up that particular phenomena, foreign minister aims to implicate that this particular norm seems to be under attack and that it (human rights) should be preserved. She invites different other actors to tackle the ongoing phenomena by using terms "we", especially actors that served as a part of audience in her speech, given the context. She is saying indirectly that anything that is countering the universal norm of human rights are not the right thing to encourage. She uses negative characteristics about the powers that are attacking human rights. These aspects together creates a picture that human rights is an international norm that should apply to everyone universally, other countering norms should be avoided and this norm

should be strengthened together according to the foreign minister of Sweden. She also compares human rights with another phenomena.

Human rights related implications exists in other sources as well in the website of Government Offices of Sweden. Minister Linde, for example, claimed in United Nations Security Council debate, that sexual and reproductive health and rights serves as a part of human rights:

”We need to counter attacks on women’s human rights, including the sexual and reproductive health and rights, and we need to defend our multilateral achievements. Resources need to be committed. Messaging needs to be clear.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019b).

Again, she is bringing up the counterattack aspect which (indirectly) shows that according to minister Linde, anything that is against human rights, and sexual and reproductive health and rights should be avoided by attacking against those forces. This quote shows that human rights and sexual and reproductive rights are in the same normative category of human rights since she mentioned that SRHR are included in the human rights. Since human rights serves as a international norm that Swedish government supports, sexual and reproductive health and rights is also a normative implication itself. She uses again negative characteristics to describe the phenomena, which is that human rights are under attack. By mentioning multilateral achievements she implicates that these norms are enforced internationally as well. She also seem to again compare the human rights norm together with the other phenomena. She is also bringing herself normative instructions for the behavior of audience by saying that ”we need to counter”, ”Resources need to be committed” and ”Messaging needs to be clear”. Again this analysis is showing that Swedish feminist foreign policy takes human rights as a norm together with the sexual and reproductive health and rights and they want to enforce this norm by all means, including normative instructions even.

Human rights entails LGBT rights as well, at least according to Swedish feminist foreign policy which is considerably supportive towards the LGBT rights. Human rights and LGBT rights can be considered as separate norms too but also LGBT norm is a part of the norm about human rights since human rights covers several different other norms and human rights norm related category is wide. Swedish feminist foreign policy is also fairly modern in its approach regarding to feminist foreign policy and feminism in general. In a 74th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, foreign minister Linde argued that: ”Sweden will continue to be a strong voice for LGBT rights. No one should suffer discrimination, violence or oppression because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019a). In this quote minister

Linde clearly shows the support of Sweden towards these rights and simultaneously uses negative characteristics about any countering action. By saying that Sweden is LGBT rights' voice, she clearly says indirectly that Swedish foreign policy is also acting to enhance the LGBT norm in some arenas and trying to push their own interests to places. Quote also implicates indirectly that there is currently some sort of negative action towards LGBT rights and Sweden wants to contribute in changing this countering norm. As an actor of change, minister mentions Sweden, but since this quote is targeted to the audience in the context of the 74th Session of the General Assembly of the UN, it shows that she also aims to appeal to that particular audience too. By using this quote, foreign minister of Sweden aims to say that regardless of the work towards the LGBT norm, work is not yet over and that action is needed in order to change the prevailing situation. By mentioning specific negative characteristics she also in a way compares the negative situation to something better. This analysis shows that LGBT rights norm is a human rights norm and it is included in the Swedish feminist foreign policy strongly since countering issues are not simply tolerated. Also this LGBT norm seems to again be universal and therefore apply to everyone since she said that no one shouldn't suffer about those negative aspects.

Norms regarding to religious freedom exists as well in the Swedish feminist foreign policy and these religious related norms are also a matter of human rights norm. Minister Linde claimed in her speech in the 74th Session of the General Assembly of the UN that "Persecution of religious and other minorities occurs in many parts of the world; this is unacceptable. Sweden is strengthening efforts against antisemitism [...]" (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019a). This quote implicates that the feminist foreign policy takes the norm about religious freedom seriously and aims to combat activity that works against this norm, which is brought up by using negative characteristics about the acts against this norm. Also, religious freedom related norm seems to be compared indirectly to the ideal situation of Sweden (religious freedom norm) which they actively support. The support of this norm can be also seen since minister Linde says that Sweden takes part on combating antisemitism. Religious freedom related norm seems to be part of their national interests as well since Sweden is working towards combating antisemitism. Again this norm seems to be universal because Minister Lindes speech has been made in the context of UN general assembly and the target audience is wide. Hence, religious freedom norm is a part of human rights norms and Sweden clearly promotes this in it's foreign policy activities which can be seen from author's analysis here.

The Swedish foreign service action plan for feminist foreign policy 2019-2022 included a message saying that:

”The feminist foreign policy will inform all Swedish Foreign Service activities and contribute to global gender equality and the full enjoyment of human rights by all women and girls. The work is organised around three Rs: rights, representation and resources.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 4).

At first, this message tries to inform the targeted audience that human rights is a norm which is an integral part of the activity of Swedish foreign service which shows that this norm is promoted by the feminist foreign policy. Secondly it shows that human rights are somewhat universal since every girl and woman should enjoy human rights fully and it applies to all of them. However this sentence seems to address the membership category of women and girls particularly which shows that the main priority of the policy has been built around gender equality of women and girls, leaving out the rest of the population. Thirdly this quote also represents norms of equal representation and equal resources which seems to be important parts of human rights and gender equality in feminist foreign policy. The norm of the enjoyment of human rights fully happens to be also the first Swedish feminist foreign policy objective together with the norm about gender equality (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 6).

The Swedish feminist foreign policy action plan also aims to ensure the freedom from violence that are related to sexual, physical and psychological aspects with its second objective for girls and women (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 8). Especially, the Swedish Foreign Service action plan for feminist foreign policy 2019-2020 states that:

”The Foreign Service will call attention to the particular vulnerability of girls and women to sexual and gender-based violence by terrorist groups by pursuing these issues in international counter-terrorism forums and by supporting actors, including civil society organisations, that work to address violent extremism, radicalisation, recruitment and destructive masculinities”. (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 8)

This quote is bringing this analysis to the second norm in Swedish feminist foreign policy which is freedom from gender related violence which tends to be heavily connected to the norm about human rights and gender equality as well. The main claim in this quote is that Swedish feminist foreign policy promotes freedom from violence that is targeted to women and girls and therefore it shows that Swedish feminist foreign policy is promoting this norm in its foreign policy. It also uses negative characteristics about the countering phenomena which are destructive masculinity, radicalization and recruitment which is something that restricts the norm of freedom from violence, which draws the idea that freedom of violence should be the prevailing norm and those norms that are against this idea should be changed. It also compares these positive and negative phenomenas together which strengthens the idea that freedom from violence norm is the main target and Sweden

as an actor stands behind it. In addition membership categories are used, and it shows that the allies to support this norm are international counter-terrorism forums and civil society organizations which implicates universality of the targeted norm. The other membership category is the one that supports terrorism and other countering normative values.

The third objective in Swedish feminist foreign policy action plan states their support in promoting conflict prevention, peace building and resolution by girls' and women's contribution (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 10). The Foreign service action plan for feminist foreign policy 2019-2020, published by Government Offices of Sweden serves a valuable quote regarding to topic as well:

"The Foreign Service will promote the participation of women and girls as actors in peace processes, including by contributing expertise from the Women's Mediation Network and encouraging synergies between the Swedish network and other similar networks". (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 10).

Latter quote gives an impression that Sweden is supporting the norm of equal participation in peace processes by promoting Sweden's emphasis on female participation in several networks. This norm also serves as a national interest of Sweden. This quote also implicates that Sweden aims to be normative by communicating this issue to the audience. Indirect message is also included, saying that Sweden is supporting the norm of equal participation in peace processes by breaking the old stereotypes that restricts female participation in these processes. Sweden is using experts as an actors in this quote which shows that as an addition to public officials and politicians of Sweden, other authority is included in the message, making the message and claim stronger, which inevitably strengthen the idea that enhancing this norm is serious for them.

The fourth objective in the Swedish feminist foreign policy is that they want to enhance the influence and political participation of girls' and females' in all societal levels (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 12). The Swedish Foreign Service action plan for feminist foreign policy also mentions that: "The Foreign Service will promote women's and girls' representation, participation and influence in institutions, organisations and processes at multilateral, regional and bilateral level." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 12). The another important quote from the same action plan is that "In its Drive for Democracy, the Foreign Service will consider how Sweden can further strengthen and harness women's and girls' representation, participation and influence." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 12).

Quotes in the latter chapter shows that Sweden is promoting the norm of gender equality in general. In addition equal representation, equal participation and equal influence can be norms

themselves but they can be represented by one larger norm, which is democracy. Clearly the feminist foreign policy wants to highlight Swedish and western interests and values such as democracy is and democracy can be considered as norm itself. Also the equality in democratic norm related aspects shows that the equality and democracy tend to be somewhat universal since it is promoted in several different organizations and their levels. Membership categories are also applied indirectly by using democracy as one norm which is one of the categories itself (democratic countries) when the another category is the rest of countries that are not considered democratic. This again strengthens the idea that the norm of democracy is more valuable than the other options. By promoting equal participation, equal representation and equal influence Sweden also aim to indirectly implicate that change in international system should happen and more countries should adapt to these Western values related norms.

Objective number five includes that the feminist foreign policy will participate in the empowerment and economic rights of girls' and females' (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 14). More precisely this objective entails that:

"This is a matter of women's and girls' economic and social conditions through their life cycle, where important obstacles are discriminatory legislation, social norms and attitudes, and lack of access to resources, including land and technological and financial services." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 14).

This objective clearly proves that analysis about the norm of gender equality seems to be correct regarding to the Swedish feminist foreign policy and that the norm economic equality is represented too. Since the quote doesn't mention who are the girls and women that are part of the target audience, this should mean that these norms applies to everyone. It also aims to counter prevailing norms with their own economic and gender equality related norms by highlighting that prevailing social norms are obstacles which shows their own interest which is the typical western norm that they promotes. The quote also states that similar discrimination in legislative issues, and in attitudes and social norms actually exists and that those should be changed and the equality norm should be applied. The quote is bringing up indirectly the idea that the existing economic systems tend to be somewhat masculine in some areas which is implicating the importance of the change into the norm they promotes which inevitably includes women and girls as well. One interesting aspect in this quote is that the feminist foreign policy entails economic rights of girls and this normative aspect seems to be somewhat obscure, since the term "girl" usually means underaged person and even in

western countries no one who is not an adult, doesn't have full economic rights regardless of their gender.

The sixth, and the last objective is that the feminist foreign policy will support the sexual and reproductive health and rights (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 16) which is claiming that: "In 2020, the Foreign Service will continue to intensify its work to promote everyone's right to decide over their own body and sexuality without discrimination, violence, and compulsion" (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019c, p. 16). This objective shows that the Human rights and gender equality related norms applies to Swedish feminist foreign policy. In addition the sexual rights and reproductive health are both norms themselves. These norms are universal as well because the quote includes the term "everyone's right" which is implicating the universality. Also this quote is indirectly including LGBT rights to the norm about gender equality and human rights since the person's right to decide sexuality can include every kind of form. The quote is trying to change the norms that are against the promoted norm by showing negative characteristics of something else which are violence, compulsion and discrimination and also makes indirect comparison between gender equality norm and countering values.

It would be useful to bring up Sweden's feminist foreign policy attempts to prevent climate change as well since it is showing that the foreign policy is promoting the norm of the prevention of climate change which is immediately linked to the norms about the security and human rights as well since climate issues concerns every single sector in the world arena. Minister Linde mentioned in her speech that: "The conflicts, climate emergency and refugee flows of recent years show that events far from our national borders also affect us in Sweden." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2020, p. 1).

By using the word climate emergency, it brings up remarkably strong and negative connotations that there is a huge issue going on in the world, caused by climate change. Quote also shows that the norm of conflict prevention is on point and this is linked to the human security norm as well. Refugee issues are also human rights norm related issues. Essentially the claim is that there are remarkable international issues which needs to be prevented and this serves as a national interest of Sweden by being normative towards these issues.

4.2 Reasons for promoting those norms

Norms included in the Sweden's feminist foreign policy obviously contains some reasons why they are promoting those norms analyzed above which is why this chapter answers to the second

research sub-question "why do they have such norms?". Foreign minister Linde brought up in her speech that "Sweden's foreign policy is conducted with the aim of creating security in our country and around the world." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2020, p. 1).

This statement or claim shows that one of the reasons why those norms are promoted is that Sweden is trying to secure their own interests which is the norm of national and international security at this context. Since Swedish government is claiming that their whole foreign policy is a feminist foreign policy, we can assume in this context that this quote in regards to the foreign policy is implicating the whole foreign policy in general which also includes all of the norms that they are promoting which were outlined under the first research sub question. By using this claim, she also indirectly implicates that these norms are promoted to create security both nationally and internationally which shows that Sweden is also reasoning their attempt to create security in international arena with those norms and that they are promoting these norms to contribute to the international and national security attempts. This part of the speech also shows that there are some prevailing security issues that Sweden wants to contribute in by promoting their own norms which serves as one reason for promoting those norms. The quote also shows that minister Linde is fairly positive that Sweden has a capability to contribute to the international security which is the reason why their norms are promoted in the first place. Minister would not bring up the attempt if there was not anything to be done. One inner reason for promoting these norms can be that Sweden is trying to increase their national influence on international level.

Sweden's feminist foreign policy attempt shows that one of the reason for promoting these norms is that current international issues have effect in Sweden even though those are not directly going on inside the borders of Sweden (Government Offices of Sweden, 2020, p. 1). Minister Linde brought up in her speech that: "The conflicts, climate emergency and refugee flows of recent years show that events far from our national borders also affect us in Sweden." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2020, p. 1).

By securing the norms that they promote in their foreign policy, Sweden wants to increase their own security which is their essential interest according to the quote above. One reason for promoting these norms, such as human rights, common security and conflict prevention, is that these issues are simply happening and those issues needs to be countered which can be seen from the quote, since it would not be effective to raise nonexistent issues on the agenda. Still it is not easy to see the inner agenda. This quote can also show that Sweden aims to increase their national influence in international issues by promoting their norms and values which seems to be somewhat western values and norms related. By using the words "climate emergency" it shows that

something serious is happening which serves as a reason why they promote their climate change related norm, such as prevention of the climate change and human rights. By comparing the issues happening in national and international level minister Linde is strengthening their reasoning for norm promoting, and indirectly claiming that those international issues seems to have effect worldwide which is the reason for promoting their norms too.

International changes such as globalization is a cause of unpredictability according to the speech conducted by minister Linde, saying that: "The world is becoming increasingly unpredictable – and it's getting closer. The ongoing coronavirus outbreak shows how interconnected the world is." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2020, p. 1). This quote serves as an example on how Sweden's feminist foreign policy has been reacting to global changes and want to contribute to this change by using their norms' promoting. Also the unpredictability caused by globalization shows that norms need to be promoted but these norms can also change to something else really rapidly. The Covid-19 related comment implicates that globalization, which brings states closer together, can cause international pandemics that can change the prevailing situation which is showing that norms needs to be promoted but they can change very rapidly by some sort of black swan related situation which requires normative work from states, such as Sweden to have effect nationally and globally. The quote also implicates global vulnerability indirectly which is a call for action itself. By bringing this issue up in the context of government statement, it shows that some action is needed, especially because this quote is linked to their aim on creating security internationally and nationally.

During the above mentioned Government statement of foreign policy, minister Linde claimed in the context of aiming to create international and national security that: "International problems require international responses." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2020, p. 1). This quote is showing that norm promotion can be serving as an international response of Sweden in international issues. This also implicates indirectly that if there is some sort of ongoing problematic situation happening in the world, international cooperation is essential in norm promotion for example and that several states, including Sweden should be working to create solution which serves as a reason for Sweden's national interest in norm promotion and as a justification for interfering with normative agenda. In addition this quote is bringing up the idea that Sweden wants to have international influence for example with its feminist foreign policy related norm promotion. This quote is also normative in its essence since it aims to change the behavior of international actors by inviting them to cooperate together. Normative agenda to change the prevailing behavior can be also seen since this agenda is brought up in a government statement, aiming to represent

these foreign policy aims to the audience which is the parliament of Sweden in this context.

International responses implicate positive characteristics and this quote also includes membership category of "international" meaning that the membership for cooperation is highly inclusive if actors are willing to be likeminded about the issue and therefore the reasons for their norm promotion is international acceptance and influence.

Reasons for normative characteristics behind the human rights issues exists as well. As it was already stated in the analysis about the first sub question, Sweden is promoting the norm of human rights in its feminist foreign policy and now reasons for that particular behavior is being provided by the following analysis. The feminist foreign policy handbook included a text (in the context of the first objective which is the full human rights enjoyment), saying that:

"Discrimination against women and girls affects, among other things, their right to education, work, security, political participation, family life and control over their own bodies." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 20).

Latter quote is showing that the most essential reasons for Swedish feminist foreign policy to promote human rights is that they want to improve women's and girls' conditions in several issues and contexts. This is implicating that in essence, several problems exists that are the cause from discrimination and which are hindering the rights of women and this sets the course for action and needless to say, serves as a reason for promoting the norm of human rights. By setting negative characteristics about the existing discrimination related issue this quote aims to implicate indirectly that those issues needs to be tackled which can be done by promoting the norms the foreign policy of Sweden represents and hence represents the reasons for promoting this norm. Quote does not differentiate in where these issues exist in particular but full enjoyment of human rights implicates universality and if these issues are in fact universal, the course for action would be needed according to feminist foreign policy of Sweden and the universality of the norm of human rights in these problem areas provides the reason for promoting the norm. This claim seems to be somewhat stereotypical as well, showing that norm promoting is needed even when the issues have already existed for years. Reasons for norm promoting seems to be very wide in this context.

The Second objective stated in the handbook of Sweden's feminist foreign policy also suggests that there should exist the freedom from violence in areas such as sexual, psychological and physical (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 22). This serves as a norm of freedom from violence. The same handbook provides an inner reason for promoting this norm which can be seen in a textual part saying:

”All forms of violence against women and girls affect both the individual and society at large, and are a barrier to gender equality and development. In many conflicts, women and girls are direct targets of sexualised and gender-related violence. The perpetrators are rarely punished” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 22).

The prior reason for promoting the norm of freedom from violence includes that related issues are currently existing which are connected to the development and gender equality norm according to the Swedish feminist foreign policy. Also the reasons show that these issues have effects on both society and individual which can be the reason for possible action which is in this context promoting the norm of freedom of violence and countering the existing norms by aiming to change them. The reasons for promoting this norm also is that stereotypical membership categories ”women and girls” are affected by these issues, leaving out other possible targets from evaluation, but it shows that the main interest is in enhancement of the conditions of women and girls above all. Swedish norm promoting can be also seen indirectly in the sentence aiming to say that there would not be punishments for bad action which suggests that the reason for promoting the norms is that issues are not combatted without any alternative normative action towards those bad activities which also shows that Swedish actors wants to have influence on these issues, they have this influence as their interests, and that they wants to provide alternative course of action by bringing normative solutions and change existing norms which can be relatively masculine.

There should be an analysis about the third objective in the Swedish feminist foreign policy about participation in resolving, preventing and peace building (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 24) as well, explaining why this norm about equal participation in peace processes is placed to the Swedish feminist foreign policy. The handbook has implications on the related explanations as well:

”In countries affected by conflict, women work for peace everyday, achieving good results but often little recognition. Studies indicate that inclusive peace processes are the most sustainable, but formal and international peace efforts are still not informed by gender equality.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 24).

This claim is suggesting that women have lack of recognition is peace process which serves as the prior example on why Swedish feminist foreign policy is promoting the norm on equal participation in peace processes. Since women have the capability of achieving sustainable solutions, proven by authorities (which is studies or science in this context) the norm has to be promoted to show some recognition. This message includes indirect aim to normatively influence the current situation which is showing that the feminist foreign policy wants to promote the norm to increase Swedish influence in this issue area. Peace processes simply do not have place for gender equality norm at the moment

and this message aims to raise the issue on the international agenda which is also the reason and place for norm promoting. The message also promotes norms to change the stereotypes provided by masculine agenda, which aims to undermine feminine perspectives in the context of peace processes.

The next objective in the Swedish feminist foreign policy concerns influence and participation politically everywhere in society (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 25) which can be considered as a norm about gender equality and thus norms about equal participation and equal influence, for which this message was included: "The world's women are underrepresented on many levels – as voters, as politicians, as judges, as leaders in organisations, in industry and in academia. More equal representation benefits both society and individuals." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 25). This claim includes indirect explanations for promoting those above mentioned norms.

With this message, which is attached to the gender equality norm, Swedish feminist foreign policy argues that the norm of gender equality is being limited which is the end result from underrepresentation of women in several levels which is the inner reasoning for promoting the norm about gender equality in participation and influence. The issue is also global, since this message is bringing up the women of the world, which eventually shows that these issues can be found everywhere, which simultaneously helps justification of the normative behavior of Sweden in the context of gender equality. The reason for being normative on gender issues can be also seen indirectly in this message through the wording in the last sentence, claiming that enhancing the norm of equal representation leads to better society and well being which also represents the national behavior of Sweden as an actor. This is also a matter of democratic values and the norm attached to it because equal representation is part of the democratic values and Sweden clearly want to promote this norm in its foreign policy and therefore this message is justification and reason for promoting these norms.

Furthermore, the fifth objective in the Swedish feminist foreign policy concerns empowerment and the rights in economic aspects (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 27) which are connected to the norm of gender equality as well as to the economic equality norm, for which the following message helps in explaining why these norms are being promoted:

"When women participate in the labour market their economic empowerment increases, and a society's economic growth increases. Society also develops, since women, more than men, invest their income in the local society and in children's health and education." (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 27).

The most important reasons for Swedish feminist foreign policy to promote economy and empowerment related norms in the context of gender equality is that the participation of women is essential in order to boost economic growth and that their economic empowerment is simultaneously dependent on the participation of them. It has also impact on the development of society according to the policy which serves as a reason as well. The most important actors in promoting these norms seems to be women which serves as a membership category too. This message aims to indirectly implicate that if women do not participate in these areas, there would be relatively negative consequences and that should be avoided, which is also the reason for being normative. In addition the policy promotes the interests, values and culture of Sweden through their normative behavior which can be indirectly seen from this message and those are the inner reasons for promoting these norms together with aiming to enhance the influence of Sweden internationally with norm promotion. Women participation in economy are seen as a positive consequence in this message which is a reason for promoting the norms since it helps to enhance the situation of women in the worldwide arena. One reason is also that the economic empowerment might be currently limited according to the feminist foreign policy.

Last but not least, the sixth objective of Swedish feminist foreign policy is concerning the rights and health on issues that are related to the reproduction and sexual related issues (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 28) which includes and indirect explanation on why these norms are being promoted, which essentially is that:

”Sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) are human rights, and are essential to women’s and girls’ health and living conditions. SRHR involves every individual’s obvious right to decide over his/her own body, but also has a direct bearing on everything from level of education to social economics.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, p. 28).

Latter quoted message is essentially claiming that the norms of human rights are promoted in the context of SRHR because in their essence, those are human rights related issues. The reasons for promoting this norm also includes that these issues exists, Sweden wants to influence on changing those relatively masculine structures related norms, those issues are against their values, history and interests, it is justified by international agenda since the human rights norm seems to be within the global interests and normative behavior is needed to enhance the conditions on women. Moreover Sweden wants to promote their feminist characteristics with their agenda. These negatively characterized issues are giving them justification on interfering in national agendas and they also aim to have positive response with norm promotion.

4.3 Adopting the norms

Swedish government has communicated the results about the impact of Swedish feminist foreign policy and it seems to show that they believe in having successful results in several issues for which they have contributed to with their normative work. This part of the analysis is dedicated to the fourth subquestion seeking to answer to the question on how Sweden sees others adopting those norms with its feminist foreign policy. The contribution areas for which Sweden has been influencing with its feminist foreign policy can be loosely divided into categories such as organizations, states, law and other initiatives. However these categories are not exclusive, meaning that some contributions of Sweden can be related to other categories simultaneously. The categories has been made in particular for this thesis by the author in order to analyze the issue logically and profoundly. Every quote that has been brought up in this chapter corresponds to the constructivist ideas on norms since they all show how Sweden believe in having normative impact to other countries, organizations and other initiatives and that they claim that the ones subject to their influence has been changing their actions because of the Swedish contribution.

With this respect, Swedish government claims that they have had impact by contributing to the different issues and contents in organizational matters with its feminist foreign policy, as this message outlines it:

”Increased focus on women, peace and security in the United Nations Security Council: In 2017, women, peace and security were referred to in all Security Council presidential statements on crisis situations. This is an increase of 150 per cent since 2015.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b).

With this message in mind, it would be justified to put the United Nations in the category of organizations since it would be the most suitable one.

Because of the organizational status, this message would show that Swedish feminist foreign policy actors believe in having impact on organizations, such as United Nations, with its feminist foreign policy and the normative work and norm promoting attached to it. Clearly Sweden claims being successful in putting their norms about equality in peace processes in to the agenda of the United Nations, which is a proof of Swedish perception on the successful normative work in organizations. They also believes in influencing the work of UN with the norm of gender equality since they have categorized women separately to this message. In addition they also believe in being successful in appealing normatively to the authorities indirectly as well since mentioning the women happens to be in the official statements. Also their influence has been international with the

normative work. They believe in being normative towards the behavior of United Nations and successfully changing the previously existing norms as well. This also shows similarity to the constructivist theory on norms since Sweden believes in having impact on changing normatively the behavior of other actors and the other actor (UN) changed their behavior in accordance to the prevailing international demand. They also believe on putting their norms in the UN agenda which are related to violence subjected to women in conflictual situations and in getting results in peace and security issues.

Other organizations related examples exist too. Sweden claims that their feminist foreign policy has contributed to their norm promoting in following way:

”Enhanced EU efforts on gender equality and women, peace and security: Sweden has pushed through a new advisory function and plan for gender equality, and contributed to the EU’s follow-up of violence in conflicts and gender mainstreaming in its external crisis response.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b).

As we can observe, Sweden is implicating that they have had normative impact on other organization as well which is European Union. Again this is showing that the Swedish feminist foreign policy related norms such as equal peace processes, gender equality and human rights has been on the Swedish perception, put into the organizational agenda of EU by promoting norms, which shows again that Sweden is believing in having impact on adopting their norms to international organizations. By saying that they pushed through their gender equality interests and values related norms it is implicating some sort of negativity since pushing sounds as something has forced into the agenda with hard persuasion. Furthermore Sweden believes that their normative work by feminist foreign policy have had also impact on the EU in a way where the EU has implemented themselves a followup work and hence Sweden believes in having even further impact than the prior normative work by sort of inspiring the further work on the issue.

Latter quote is also something which goes alongside with the constructivist theory and norms inside of the theory because it is very similar to the situation where someone successfully persuades someone on a normative manner to change the behavior of another actor by for example verbal action which brings responsibility to the receiving end of the message. Also the receiving end, which is EU in this contexts, implements the norm in order to correspond the international demand or if it brings other benefits.

Swedish feminist foreign policy also promotes their contribution on the countries’ legislative changes which is implicated in this message:

”New legislation prohibiting the purchase of sexual services in several countries: Sweden cooperates closely with countries reviewing their legislation on the purchase of sexual services. In recent years, Ireland, France and the region of Northern Ireland have adopted legislation that is equivalent to that in Sweden.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b).

This message is one example about the Sweden’s perception of having impact on other countries with their feminist foreign policy by promoting their norms, which at this point means that these prior norms that they have promoted has been changed into laws according to Swedish perspective. Namely, these norms mean norms on human rights and sexual rights in this context. This perspective of Sweden in impacting other countries normatively shows that the impact has been wide on other countries, according to them, because of the implications on several countries, including even EU countries which usually tend to have relatively same norms and values in their interests. They also believe in having positive impact normatively on countries that have adopted their promoted norms into laws since they claim those laws being changed to something very similar to their own. Also this message is showing that the normative impact has not been solely the impact of Sweden and its feminist foreign policy since they bring up the cooperation in this context. This has some similarity to the constructivist theory on norms as well for the same reasons as was mentioned on the chapters dedicated on organizations.

Sweden has been seeing other countries adopting their norms that has been communicated in the Swedish feminist foreign policy and this example about Somalia serves as an example:

”70 per cent more women members in the Somali parliament: Sweden's work is considered to have contributed to the share of women members of Somalia's parliament increasing by 70 per cent in the 2016 election, and is now at 24 per cent” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b).

This shows that Sweden believes in having normative impact by their gender equality norms in Somalia, since they mentions receiving recognition from some unmentioned source which can be implicated from the word ”considered”. It essentially shows that they believe in changing those norms that might limit the female participation in political decision making processes and that has resulted in great improvements on the amount of increase in percent of females in the parliament. These gender equality related norms in equal participation in political decision making seems to correspond to the values of Sweden as well. However this message does not show how they believe in having impact entirely since it is not clear whether they for example contributed normatively by persuading legislative change or just by promoting the norms diplomatically and the results was achieved through people deciding to vote more women because of the efforts of Sweden. Still the message is clear in the most important part which is that they believe in having impact by their

norms to another country. This serves as an initiative as well. In addition they believe in spreading their norms about democracy since this is highly connected to western democratic values.

One of the other initiatives that has been lead to norm adopting in accordance to Swedish feminist foreign policy norms is for example:

”Increased consciousness of how trade policy decisions affect gender equality: Sweden has funded the development of tools to analyse the effects of trade policy measures on women and gender equality, which has been received with great interest internationally.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b).

This initiative shows that Sweden is believing in seeing others reacting to their norms related to the feminist foreign policy norms on gender equality in the area of trade issues which shows that Sweden believe in having impact on this area. They claim that their trade policy efforts related norms have received wide interest which could possibly lead to positive aspects. The essential idea is that they do not yet see anyone internationally adopting their norms directly on gender equality in this sense but they still believe that this could in future lead to better prospects. However, it is indirectly implicated, but they still at least believe in having some sort of impact on actors with their norms since the ones that have initiated in conducting those tools of analysis have to be somewhat likeminded in regards to their norms. Also this must include some national impact that people in there have adopted the gender equality norms in this sense and supports the funding of this.

Last but not least, Sweden has seen that their contribution in the initiatives on maternity issues have had importance on adopting their norms as this message shows:

”Sweden has intensified its work on sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR). One example is that a Swedish-backed programme is estimated to have prevented hundreds of thousands unwanted pregnancies and unsafe abortions in East Africa.” (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b).

This eventually shows that the Sweden sees that their contribution in this initiative has led to the situation where others have adopted these norms. This shows indirectly that they believe that their influence might have reduced the possible barriers that limits women preventing their unwanted pregnancies which can be done by promoting their own norms on planned motherhood issues and human rights in general. These barriers might include norms that were prevailing before the Swedish intervention that are against the Swedish interests related norms. Intensifying shows that they believe in doing lots of work on behalf of the issue which has finally according to them led to positive results. However this message does not show whether the work has been completed by

their opinion by providing safer abortions or preventing them by delivering some sexual protection in order to prevent the pregnancies in the first place. Sexual and reproductive rights are the ones that they promote as a norm which is attached to the human rights as well and their work with these norms seems to be having impact according to them. They might have created normatively a more positive environment for maternity issues and works as a authority to appeal to people normatively.

4.4 Findings

This is the part which is dedicated to the main findings outlined in the empirical part of this work and simultaneously provides the answer to the prior research question and links the empirical work to the research aim as well. The research aim throughout this work was to find out how Sweden sees itself as a norm producer through its feminist foreign policy. In addition the prior research question in this work was how does Sweden view their influence in creating norms for other actors to follow with their feminist foreign policy. To provide answers to the prior research question and to stick with the aim of this work, the empirical part above was answering to the research sub questions which now helps answering to the prior research question in profound manner.

All in all, Sweden is promoting the norms that are related to mostly gender equality, human rights, democracy and other norms that were related to these three norms including for example SRHR, equal participation in peace processes and decision making, freedom from violence, economic equality, security, freedom from discrimination and prevention of climate change.

These norms are promoted in the feminist foreign policy, because Sweden wants to increase their influence, increase security, enhance the conditions of female and girls, they want to replace old norms with new ones, especially the old masculine ones, diminish the discriminatory barriers that exists for women in SRHR issues, economy issues, violence, human rights and gender equality both internationally and nationally. Also they see that without any normative work, some issues would not be changing.

Sweden believes in having concrete occasions where they see the feminist foreign policy being a tool for having influence in creating norms for other actors to follow because they have listed their normative impact in different countries, organizations and other initiatives. They for example see their influence as a norm creator in United Nations where they helped the organization to add gender equality in peace processes and human rights in gender related violence in crisis situations in to the agenda of United Nations by changing their existing norms. In European Union they believe in helping to get similar issues to agenda as in United Nations but as an addition EU

did a follow up work regarding to the existing work for which Sweden believes in having impact as well. Moreover they also believe in having country level normative impact in different countries in regards to their legislation on purchase of sexual services, which caused some countries to change their legislation to very similar way than it is in Sweden. So norms helped to change norms and norm change led to change in legislation. This has close connections to the norm about human rights. Other initiatives in which Sweden believes in having normative impact are maternity rights in several countries by preventing many unwanted pregnancies while simultaneously possibly creating a more positive environment around the issue and reduce the barriers for women to decide over their own bodies. In addition Sweden sees its normative influence in getting more female members to the parliament in Somalia, increasing the amount by 70 percent. This again might have helped on diminishing the existing barriers for women to become political decision makers and to enhance the norm of democracy. So this is interconnected to gender equality and democracy norms as well.

Empirical chapter is also corresponding to the constructivist theory about norms because the work of Sweden is showing the similarity with the theory. Sweden clearly aims to create norms that other actors would follow, they attempt to change normatively the behavior of other countries and they see some countries changing their norms in accordance to the feminist foreign policy. In addition they use some normative speeches to make this work and they promote the values, interests, culture and history of them.

So to conclude, the way in which Sweden views their influence in creating norms for other actors to follow with their feminist foreign policy is that they influence the other actors in a way where their influence is based on the norms that are corresponding to their values, interests, culture and history and they want to make these norms as part of the influence area and to persuade other countries to change their norms in accordance to the feminist foreign policy related norms. The attempted influence is overall that they want other countries to adopt these norms as well. They also claim that they have some sort of influence to other actors because they have seen some actors to actually adopt these norms or at least to become interested towards them in general. Sweden in general sees the reasoning behind the attempted normative influence important in order to justify their attempts to be normative towards other countries and these reasons why these norms exist in the foreign policy in the first place serves reasons why they actually want to normatively influence these countries. These are the attempts and justifications to make the influence on normative change stronger internationally. They see that their normative influence would matter since prevailing issues require some sort of normative interference by someone with the values like Sweden to

change existing norms that might be somewhat masculine in general. It can be said that Sweden overall sees itself as a norm entrepreneur since it influences other actors by having influence in creating these international norms, has justification for doing so which comes from the international issues, and sees the results already from their activities.

5. Conclusion

This work is showing how Sweden sees itself as a norm creator for other actors to follow with their feminist foreign policy through analysis the documents, speeches and action plan that has been made the most recently. In a nutshell the main thing is that Sweden could be characterized as a norm entrepreneur with its feminist foreign policy, since it aims to point out to the issues in existing norms and aims to change them with active promoting of their own norms which are mostly human rights and gender equality related, and even Sweden implicates that they see themselves as norm entrepreneur.

Sweden is, at first aiming to promote norms with the feminist foreign policy that correspond to their own values, interests and culture which is an essential part of how they see themselves as norm creators, since these norms are defining the basis of their normative work and they see their norms as something that should be promoted in the first place while undermining the old ones. Without understanding the main norms that they promote in the feminist foreign policy, it is not possible to provide the Swedish perceptions to the prior research question. Main norm categories in the policy are human rights and gender equality, which includes other norms as well in the same category.

The reasons why Sweden is promoting their norms are that they want to overall influence other countries and create security and they see these reasons as justifications to interfere to other countries with their normative agenda. They provide these reasons essentially to communicate the national cooperation and to show the audience why their normative work is important to strengthen the message. They also believe that they have succeeded in their normative work through appealing to actors in organizations, countries and other initiatives to change existing norms, which is done by their systematic work on the area. They believe that they are appealing to for example UN, EU and specific countries such as Somalia. Furthermore, they have been contributing in initiatives such as maternity issues related help.

The essential difference of this work to the other authors, writing about the Swedish feminist foreign policy is that this study is making its case about the most current phenomena, and that this work is unique since the focus is on the perception of Swedish government instead in the view of other countries. The other authors writing about the similar topics were introduced, and honored in the introduction of this work. The Swedish feminist foreign policy is the most intriguing foreign policy and area to analyze on gender related norms since it is one of the kind internationally, putting the most effort to strengthen the rights of women. Analysis on how Sweden views itself as norm

creator through feminist foreign policy increases its importance, since the gender related progress is taking setbacks and now it is important to evaluate the work in the area profoundly to see how the existing methods in the world helps tackling the issues.

This work is relevant for the future studies about the Swedish feminist foreign policy, because the feminist foreign policy work of Sweden can be seen thriving in the future and if the policy kept on reflecting to the changing issues, the work needs further evaluation in future to keep it more on date. In general this work is setting the basis on the Swedish perception as a norm creator while analyzing the existing norms, reasons and concrete examples on how the government sees Swedish impact with feminist foreign policy. Study like this creates the basis on the existing Swedish and western norms related to gender equality, human rights and other norms attached to them, which can help if one is willing to study the western norms in wider perspective - or is about to make a case study about the Sweden and its norms as a whole. This study also helps future authors on the studies about norms if they want to create a comparative study about different states and their norms, and are willing to use Sweden as an example. Constructivist theory is important for this study, especially because scholars in this particular field have aimed to explain the norms and normative behavior and those studies creates together a framework for studies on norms. This framework helps to understand the characteristics of norms from the constructivist point of view and helps to identify norms in different settings of IR or in foreign policy level as the author of this work experienced. Constructivism as an theory is also suitable on discourse analysis. It is important to keep studying norms constantly because norms tend to be in constant flux, as constructivist scholars tend to emphasize, and if norms in fact changes the further analysis is needed. Studies about the gender equality related norms increase their importance now because the work on gender equality has been experiencing increasing resistance internationally meaning that this issue requires reassessment of the existing norms and their impact on state or organizational level in order to react to the resistance and to make feminist norms reach to everywhere. In essence, gender equality and human rights are obvious rights they need to be taken care of. Since this work analyzes the perception of Swedish government on how they sees the Swedish feminist foreign policy being normative one, further work on the topic might be able to analyze the normative impact of the feminist foreign policy on behalf of for example media or other actors such as international organizations.

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