



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES

National identity and foreign policy

An analysis of the performative in Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy and the Swedish national identity

"The deconstruction of identity is not the deconstruction of politics; rather, it establishes as political the very terms through which identity is articulated" - Judith Butler

Abstract

Viewing Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) as a paradigmatically case of national identity formulation, this thesis overarching aim is to answer the following research question: to what extent is Sweden's national identity constructed through foreign policy? It assumes that there is a correlation between foreign policy and national identity, with background in earlier theoretical work of selected poststructuralists who all rely on the performativity theory of Judith Butler. It assumes that Sweden and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs have a self-perception of itself as feminist and gender equal. Thus, the intention of thesis is to get a further understanding of how the Feminist Foreign Policy can be understood as a performative act which constitutes the Swedish self-concept as gender equal. To explore the formulation of national identity through foreign policy from a critical perspective, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used as methodology. Data is retrieved by mapping out the linguistics, discourses and social practices through the methodology of CDA and Fairclough's three-dimensional model, while the theoretical framework of performativity is applied to interpret the results. Speeches and policy documents that address Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in an international context are examined, held or published by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström. The findings suggest that foreign policy is highly interdependent with the constitution of the Swedish national identity, brought out by the case of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy and Sweden's self-perceived identity as gender equal. By demonstrating the relation between the two phenomena, deeper and richer research is called upon.

Key words: *Feminist Foreign Policy; national identity; performativity; reproduction; critical discourse analysis; Sweden*

Table of content

1. Introduction	4
1.1. Research problem	4
1.2. Purpose	5
1.3. Research questions	6
1.4. Previous research	6
1.5. Research limitations	8
1.6. Disposition of thesis.....	9
2. Theoretical framework	9
2.1. National identity	9
2.2. Performativity	10
3. Methodology and material	12
3.1. Discourse analysis	12
3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis	13
3.3. Material	17
3.4. Implementation	18
3.5. Problematization of the method.....	20
4. Results and analysis	20
4.1. The three-dimensional model.....	21
4.1.1. Speeches by Minister for Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström	21
4.1.2. Performativity in policy documents presented by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.....	26
4.2. Performative states	30
4.3. The Inspirational Swedish Feminist Self	32
5. Concluding discussion and reflections.....	34
5.1. Why problematize Feminist Foreign Policy as a performative act?	34
5.2. What now?	35
6. References	36

1. Introduction

Feminism and gender equality are seen as a given approach in a modern welfare state, and that its policies are to affect both national and international political is self-explanatory according to the Government Offices of Sweden and the Swedish Institute. Gender equality is often described as one of the cornerstones of Swedish society and The World Economic Forums Annual Global Gender Gap Report has ranked Sweden as one of the top 5 countries, since the report was introduced in 2006 (Sweden, n.d.).

In 2014 the Social Democratic Party and the Green Party formed a feminist government, which is presented as a way to establish that gender equality is central to the governments priorities (Socialdemokraterna, 2014; Regeringskansliet, n.d.) The foreign policy was also declared feminist, and in October 2014 Sweden launched the world's first feminist foreign policy (henceforth FFP), with the Minister for Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström as frontman (Regeringskansliet, 2018). Wallström explains how the feminist foreign policy is a part of a modern, educated and smart view on global politics, and how Sweden is a model to take after (Mänsklig Säkerhet, 2016).

In this thesis, it is assumed that sovereign nation-states are subjects in constant constituting processes that are the ontological effects performative practices. The notion of performativity and the subject of the sovereign nation-state are correlated and the sovereign nation-state is considered as a performative body. Through repetitive, discursive performances the understanding of the material body is constructed (Weber, 1998:80). The Feminist Foreign Policy in relation to Sweden's self-perceived identity as gender equal is to be viewed as a case of identity construction formulated through the dictums that are performatively articulated and reproduced in foreign policy.

1.1. Research problem

The sovereign nation-state has for a long time been a core subject in the discipline of international relations. Questions of state identity has been raised and answered through terms like social construction and "the cultural" (Weber, 2002:266). Many scholars argue that the sovereign nation-state is a subject in process and is the ontological effects of practices which are performatively acted. The well-known work of Judith Butler on performativity has been

applied to the notion of the nation-state as a performative body by scholars such as David Campbell and Cynthia Weber, who has applied the theory to the study of international relations (Weber, 1998:78) Consequently, the identity of the subject is performatively constituted by the expressions that are said to be its results (Butler, 2006:34;Weber, 1998:89).

As shown above, gender equality is both explicit and implicit expressed as a part of Sweden's national identity, so how can we understand the feminist foreign policy as a performative act to reproduce this construction? Through poststructuralist theorists like Cynthia Weber and David Campbell, which are based on Butlers idea of performativity, I will do a critical discourse analysis of documents related to FFP to illuminate this correlation.

My hypothesis is that FFP is a form of performance in the construction of the subject *the Swedish state*. This thesis aims to analyze how we can understand this and the link between these phenomena. This is important since national identity and how we understand the construction of it is crucial to understanding global politics and the actors in the global arena. The study will contribute to further research in the field of IR since it can demonstrate how a foreign policy and a national identity is linked and interdependent in the case of Sweden. The focus on FFP and Sweden's identification with gender equality is chosen due to the controversy and media attention of the policy implementation and since it is the first country in the world to adopt this explicit feminist agenda. By using the word *feminist* it deviates from the more consensual gender mainstreaming (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2016:323-325). There is a subject that deserves and demands further research within the field of IR, and this thesis attempts to prove the extent of interdependence between the sovereign identity of the Swedish state and foreign policy, to demonstrate the importance of a deeper and richer exploration of the area.

1.2. Purpose

In line with Campbells exploration of how state identity is performatively reproduced and how state identity is written through foreign policies, the aim of this study is to analyze how Sweden reproduces and performatively practices its self-perception as a gender equal country, through looking at how the feminist foreign policy is articulated and presented to the rest of the world by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. By looking to this case study and viewing Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy as a paradigmatically case of national identity formulation,

this thesis consequently demonstrates to what extent foreign policy affect the construction of state identity.

1.3. Research questions

To accomplish the purpose with the study, the aim of the thesis has been broken down to one general and two sub questions:

To what extent is Sweden's identity constructed through foreign policy?

- How is Sweden's national identity as gender equal performatively practiced through foreign policy documents and speeches?
- How can the articulations of this identity be related to the formulation of the Feminist Foreign Policy?

1.4. Previous research

Social performances and the construction of state identities through performativity is seldom explored in the field of international relations (IR), but there is some previous research in the area which has helped me position myself and my study. In realism, which often is viewed as the mainstream IR-theory, the state is viewed as the key actor where sovereignty and independence is defining characteristics (Steans, Pettiford, Diez & El-Anis, 2010: 57). Realists might take notion of the nation-state as dominant in identity formulation but does seldom question or analyze the process of the construction of identity (ibid:69). But if we turn to poststructuralism, we find a theory that is in its core concerned with the function, dysfunction and role of language and is often used to question universalist narratives and the functions of discourse in IR (ibid:130).

There are only a few scholars who have applied the poststructuralist theory of the performative in the field of IR, even less on the formation of foreign policy. I reckon that in the same way it is important to deconstruct gender, age and other social constructions, it is relevant to understand how states identity is formed by structures and relations and how foreign politics can be understood as an articulated example and embodiment of the state's role on the global arena. Some poststructuralist theorist that has taken an interest in Judith Butlers idea of

performativity and the constitution of identities. Scholar's such as Cynthia Weber and David Campbell have drawn attention to the way states constitute themselves as subjects through the performance of discursive practices, which will be presented in the next chapter.

This case-study might be argued to have a rather narrow range, purpose and hypothesis. But even though the Feminist Foreign Policy was declared by the social-democratic government back in 2014, there is surprisingly little to find regarding research of the topic. Since the implementation there has only been a few scholars who have looked closer to the matters of FFP. One of the scholars who have done several studies and research in the area, such as FFP and Sweden's self-conception as gender equal is Karin Aggestam. In *Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy in the Making: Ethics, politics and Gender* (2016) Aggestam and Bergman-Rosamond argue that adding a research agenda on feminist foreign policy would provide an inducement for an appreciation of justice-based nations of diplomacy, protection and security in global politics. They also argue that this cosmopolitan ethics is interwoven with Sweden's self-identification as a humanitarian superpower that in turn is related to the history, evolution and legacy of the Swedish welfare state. Sweden has for many years advocated for international action to work preventative with root causes of conflict and the Swedish government has a self-perceived image of itself as humanitarian and feminist-oriented (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2016:326-332). Robert Engnell is another scholar who has contributed to the research of the Feminist Foreign Policy. In the article "Feministisk urikespolitik i teori och praktik" (2017) he uses a strategic theory to analyze the background and the implementation of the policy and concludes that the concept Feminist Foreign Policy has done a lot to put emphasis on the women's rights issues. But he also finds that there has been a continuity in the Swedish foreign policy since World War 2, where Sweden started to identify as an active part of the international community with a sense of responsibility (Engnell, 2017:571). Engnell also suggest that the biggest difference since the implementation might be the international reaction to the Swedish foreign policy. It appears to have had a greater impact that expected, which leads Sweden in a position where feminism must be used wisely, since the system interprets it as both encouraging and threatful. (ibid:584).

I find it interesting with the findings of both these studies, since it sheds light on how closely linked (feminist) foreign policy and the Swedish behavior and national identity is. The mentioned research will help me orientate myself and my study in the area. This since it in spite of the previous research and analysis made regarding the Feminist Foreign Policy and the

relationship between state identity and foreign policy, are blanks in the subject. My study will complement existing research, since there is, to my knowledge, no research made of FFP by studying the subject through a critical discourse analysis with a poststructuralist lens.

To explore how this policy shapes and is shaped by the Swedish state's performatively practiced self-conception as a gender equal state will contribute to the area since we will have a greater understanding of how a state's identity and actions are interdependent. The Feminist Foreign Policy in relation to Sweden's self-perceived identity as gender equal is to be viewed as a case of identity construction through the dictums that are performatively articulated and reproduced in foreign policy. This due to my will to analyze and contribute with a better knowledge regarding the link between text, discourse, social practices and power in relation to phenomena's such as the performatively formation of Sweden's feminist foreign policy.

1.5. Research limitations

I will narrow my study to just look at the government's perception, reproduction and performance of Sweden's national identity as gender equal. I will even limit my analysis to documents and statements produced by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Margot Wallström. I have chosen to focus on Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Wallström due to their responsibility for Sweden's foreign policy, development cooperation and trade policy (Regeringskansliet, n.d.). I will presume that Sweden's government presents and identifies itself as gender equal and my study will focus on this case and how this is done by looking at documents and statements done regarding Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy.

Acknowledgement of my position as a white, female student living in Sweden is essential to include in this study. I am aware of my standing as a part of the studied linguistics, discourses, social practices and reproduction of the Swedish self. Even if the theoretical framework and the methodology will help me view the identity construction of the Swedish sovereign nation in a critical perspective, I can never study these dictums truly objectively, despite my attempts to question and reveal the given dictums in the material in what is presented and accepted as the truth (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:28).

My role as an investigating student is therefore to utilize and emphasize the theoretical framework that this thesis proceeds from and accept that my personal background might be

limiting in the sense of appreciation and ability to distinguish constituted discourses and perception of reality and therefore question what might seem obvious. This will be present in my thoughts as an author during the whole of the thesis.

1.6. Disposition of thesis

With the research problem and purpose presented, I will continue with a briefing of the theoretical framework, why it is relevant and how it will be applied in this study. This will be followed by a short presentation of relevant previous research to help explain why this study is a complement to existing studies and to motivate the choice of research problem. After this section, the methodology and material will be presented, to explain the choice of material and how it will be studied. This will all lead to the actual results and analysis, where the method will be used to distinguish language, discursive and social patterns and the theoretical framework will be used to interpret these results. This part of the thesis will summit and study the findings and be put in a social context in the light of the theory. To summon up the findings of the study, a concluding discussion and reflections will complete the thesis where thoughts on future research will be included.

2. Theoretical framework

To understand the reason for, and to be able to make conclusions of the following critical discourse analysis of the material, I will look to poststructuralist theories regarding performing identity.

2.1. National identity

Social performances are a key concept in creating, establishing and propagating collective meaning. Despite this conceptualization and the metaphorical notions within IR, such as referring to world politics as a stage where states act and interacts, little attention has been paid to this intellectual idea among scholars. The concept of the 'nation' is described and conceptualized by scholars from all perspectives of IR-theories. But as Campbell is a central theorist in post-structuralist approaches that attends the matter of identity politics and the performative of states, his description of the nation will be a key to formulate the study.

Essential to Campbells notion of identity is the nation, understood as an effect of representational practices of national states (Laffey, 2000:432). This leads to states being in permanent need of reproduction and constant practices of representation to constitute their reality since they have no ontological foundation without it. States are therefor in a never-ending process of becoming (Campbell, 1998:12).

As a complement to Campbells viewing of the nation, this thesis will ground the concept of nation on de description of Hall (1996) as systems of cultural representations and regard the national identity as something that is created through discourse. Hall argues that national identities are constituted by cultural representations which in turn is creating meaning of the nation. The significance and identity of the nation is constructed through discourse like dictums about the nation. The identity of the nation needs to be constantly updated to suit the contemporary society (Hall, 1996:611-618).

2.2. Performativity

Performativity as a concept is the spine of Butlers work. The primary function was to understand the doing of gender, but it can be understood as a thorough theory of subjectivity. Her more recent books have shifted focus from gender to other part of politics, but the idea of performativity as a theoretical foundation is present. Butlers *Gender Trouble* and its telling about a particular performativity is arguably influential (Miller, 2007:222).

Furthermore, Weber explores the notion of sovereignty as a discursive practice and how it can be understood as performativity. She continues with explaining how Alexander Wendt as an example demonstrates how structuronist approach regards states as relational and generated by sovereignty and spheres of influence. Consequently, states are constituted by their position in a global structure of individual and political authorities (Weber, 2002:87-90).

In the poststructuralist approach there has been an attempt in studying international politics trough ‘identity politics narrative’, where Campbell has been a leading figure for the performative accounts of subjectivity (Laffey, 2000:430). Most consider foreign policy as the actions of the state and presume the existence of the state as a subject. But Campbell declines these assumptions and shed lights on how foreign policy is the means trough which a particular mode of subjectivity is reproduced rather than a response of a pre-given subject. This goes in

line with Butlers notion and Campbells dependence of Butler is clearly expressed in his work, thus his rejection of a link between performative constitution of an identity with a pre-given subject and the border between the internal and external in relation to the performative body (Laffey, 2000:432; Campbell, 1998:9). Butler is concerned about the recognition of the subject as socially constructed alongside the acknowledgement of the agency of the subject. Butler argues that there is a need of space for agency through the idea of the performative. The performative indicates a prior intention and a state's practice of representation constructs the sovereign identity. Subjects, such as states, are always constituted in and through discourse and performativity is the 'vehicle through which ontological effects are established'. Furthermore, the subject is an ongoing recurrence process and can never be a final product (Laffey, 2000:431).

Campbell uses the term *Foreign Policy* and *foreign policy* as different concepts, where foreign policy represents the discursive economy and Foreign Policy the state representation made possible by the conventional matrix of foreign policy (Campbell, 1998:69). Campbell uses Foreign Policy as a boundary producing political performance that enabled modes of representation that reproduces a particular mode of subjectivity. Furthermore, Foreign Policy is retheorized by Campbell as one of the boundary-producing practices which is performatively reproduced as a subject of the global political arena (Laffey: 2000:431). In his book *Writing Security* Campbell exemplifies how a state's identity is performatively reproduced by exploring how the United States identity has been written through foreign policies (Campbell, 1998:x). Campbell argues that there is a link between state action and the performatively reproduction of the US since subjectivity is influenced through representational state practices. This in turn forms a conceptualized community that creates an inside and outside. Foreign Policy understood as state-based serves to reproduce the constitution of identity and to control challenges of the identity. Thus, there is a crucial link between Foreign Policy and political identity regarding the nation state (Campbell, 1998:69). In this study hence forth, solely Campbells concept of *Foreign Policy* will be used as an analytic tool.

Furthermore, Butler argues that the tacit performative acts needs to be considered as a way to implement already authorized effects and as a social ritual. The tacit performative has a constructive power that can fix a practical sense to the body, or in this case, the state. This enables the subject to define what it is and to locate its cultural coordinates (Butler, 1997:179).

For Sweden and its government to establish themselves in the international arena, one could argue that the performative is essential to become a social being rather than a diffuse social quarter. The performative is influential rituals that are the very base of the formation and reformulation of the subject (Butler, 1997:160).

Foreign Policy has also been given a privilege in how it is a discourse of power where preeminent dangers to our society are formulated. Foreign Policy is a discourse that is “global in scope yet national in its legitimization” (Campbell, 1998:70). An assumption that must be made to be able to make this analysis is that meaning, and the social creation of the subject, is solely based and constructed through differentiation. Therefore there can be no statement about the self that is liberated from assumptions of the other. A declaration of the self, even if positive, always leads to a valuation of otherness. The valuation and differentiation do not necessarily lead to a demonization of the other, but the identity and formation of it is always dependent on difference, implicit or explicit (Campbell, 1998:70).

As demonstrated above, identity can be understood to be constituted in relation to another. Campbell motivates how Foreign Policy does not constitute state identity but is a reproduction of an unstable identity at state level and the containment of it (Campbell, 1998:71). In line with this claim the analysis and my study will focus on foreign policy, since it in a conventional way demonstrates how a state’s identity is maintained, performed and reproduced on the global arena.

3. Methodology and material

Having presented the poststructuralist foundation of the paper’s theoretical framework and the hypothesis of the Feminist Foreign Policy being a fundamental part of the reproduction of Sweden’s sovereign identity, this chapter draws upon where and how the latter will be analyzed and describes and motivates the paper’s main methodological choices to produce data.

3.1. Discourse analysis

The construction of reality, social identities and relations happens in the correlation between the individual and the society (De los Reyes, 2011:18). Through language we become rational creatures where we create, reproduce and normalize ideas regarding right and wrong, normality

and deviance. This affects our rhetoric where we legitimize these perceptions. What we see, associate and relate ourselves with are social and cultural ideas and practices, which are indoctrinated and seldom questioned. There is no given reality and by using discourse analysis we can distinguish what attitudes, elements and values are hidden in the language. Discourse is a certain way to talk and understand the world and the language can be seen as a machine that constitutes social values (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:7-16). Discourse analysis gives you tools to reach and explore the production of knowledge which the discursive practices rely on. This production of knowledge can be very powerful since it can be used to ascribe individuals and whole societies particular traits, to distinguish one from another. All human being speaks in discursive terms and understand their reality through discourse, but all people do not have the possibility to influence what discourses should be leading in our understanding and perception of the world (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:37). In combination with the mentioned theoretical perspectives I will use an approach of discourse analysis, where my focus is the language usage in the chosen documents. I want to, by studying the chosen texts, explore what truths are set to regime, what preclusion mechanisms are embedded and what self-perception can we distinguish when the Swedish government is speaking about Sweden as gender equal and progressive – what are they saying, how and by who?

3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

There are many branches within discourse analysis, where Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) or the second-generation discourse analysis is one. According to CDA the language is a social practice, which points to that the social context has a great relevance and that a text or speech cannot be analyzed without taking it into consideration. The discourse and the social is always in relation to another, one forms the other (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:357-377). CDA seems to be a good complement for the conceptualization and analysis of the process and articulation of the feminist foreign policy in relation to the performativity of the Swedish identity, and it aligns with poststructuralist epistemologies such as Weber and Campbells theoretical frameworks which is built on the bases of Butlers argument - that discourses creates the position of the subject and that the structures of the linguistics is the very key to the construct of the self (Butler, 2006).

As shown in the previous chapter, identity is also a discursive phenomenon, as representations of self and the other are co-constructed through language and other essential performances. It

involves acts of embodiment as the subject perform and display an identity, in this context how Sweden performatively practices the identity of a gender equal state through FFP. The CDA as a methodology and the theoretical framework of performativity will help me make a detailed analysis of the performatively practiced articulations of Sweden's national identity, since both are established on the same ontological foreground – the idea that discourses and identities are constructed (Bergström & Boréus, 2012; Butler, 1997:179) Consequently, identity is a fundamental concept related to discourse. It is embedded in socially constructed realities and tends to create and influence the context in which foreign policy operates. These discursive structures create, build upon, and perpetuate certain identities that provide us with the lens through which we develop and make sense of foreign policy initiatives.

As a researcher I will proceed in the hermeneutic methodology where I interpret chosen texts and draw my own conclusions to achieve a result. I have chosen the term 'text' as a reference to all social processes and properties of language, both written and spoken, in line with Faircloughs usage of the term (Fairclough, 2013:131). This will take shape though interpretation in relation to chosen concepts, theories and methods. Thus the analysis will be navigated through theory since the study of the discourses will be made with a theoretical lens, which leads us to identification and categorization of concepts simultaneously as interpretations are made. Therefor a correlation will be visible in the analysis. This type of analytic approach shows that a valuation is made based on a subjective perception of knowledge, since the theories are used as a tool to reach an understanding of Sweden's identity in relation to FFP (Gilje & Grimen, 2007:177-178).

Thus, the question is not if the dictums of the chosen texts is "the truth". But the aim is to distinguish a pattern that can be understood in some kind of epistemological reality. CDA as a method will not only help me to form an understanding of the reality and the social context as a consequence of performed identities and discourses, but also demonstrate how the social context is formed by other discourses such as nation-state and identity. Politics is defined as a battle of values between groups in the society, which is expressed in the language usage. Part of the language is about this battle of values and therefor the power balance is always present and a base in the study of linguistics and discourses (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:391).

This method will help me highlight the essential substance in the chosen study material trough an analysis of the material. A discourse analysis will let me problematize how a discourse

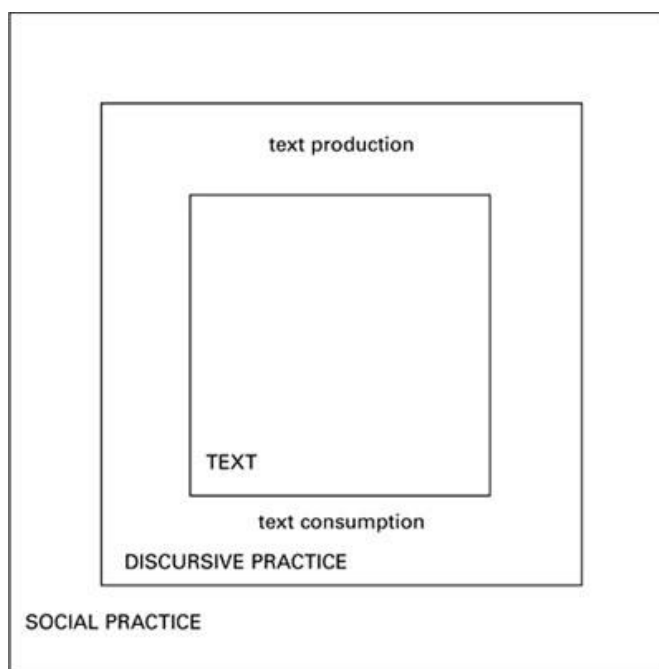
regarding Sweden gender equal identity is performed and takes shape through FFP. The focus on Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis will illuminate the society's internal fault lines where a discourse is a consequence of a type of society (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:374). In my study this can be used as a tool to demonstrate how FFP is reproducing a discourse of Sweden's self-perception as gender equal and how it is a consequence of the present social system.

Figure of Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis, retrieved from Philips and Jørgensen (2002:68).

Furthermore, I will study the discourse and social phenomena's through Fairclough's three-dimensional model, which is visualized in the figure below. This model contains three dimensions which are used as analytic tools for empirical research on communication and society (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:68). Fairclough's framework contains a number of different concepts that are interconnected in this complex model. In this study a simpler and adapted

version of the presented, based on Philips and 2002), Bergström and Fairclough

The first dimension model emphasizes social practice, as “text”. The focuses on the the text and is practice”. The third



model will be the books of Jørgensens (2000, and Boréus (2012) himself (2013).

of Fairclough’s language as a which is referred to second dimension interpretation of called “discursive dimension “social

practice” puts the discourse in relation to a broader social context (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:376-377). The method includes an analysis of the text as a form of linguistic description, whereas the relationship between the text and discursive process is a form of interpretation and an explanation is made while looking at the relationship between the discursive process and the social process (Fairclough, 2013:133). CDA and Fairclough’s three-dimensional model will be used as a tool to distinguish the resident linguistics and discourses in the documents explaining Sweden’s Feminist Foreign Policy and the consequences of it when put in a bigger social context (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:375).

In excess of the three-dimensional model CDA offers tools that can help study and interpret what the text is really saying. Tools such as modality, intertextuality and transitivity are used and through these tools you can deconstruct the language and get a more detailed analysis of the written word. The concept of modality refers to the study of how strongly something is expressed, emphasized and how phenomena are presented as the truth. Modality affects the constitution of the social practices in the discourse (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:87). Intertextuality is used to study the material in ways it reaches for legitimacy, how the text is composed and how other texts influence the material. In this case you can study how the Swedish government relates to international regulations, documents and policies, thus what intertextual chains that occurs (ibid:77). Transitivity aims to analyze what consequences the text result in, where you see what course of events and processes can be linked. Through this tool you can depreciate and ascribe people responsibility and emphasize the consequences

rather than the actions. In this case that could be how the Swedish government, Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Wallström brings up the negative consequences of gender inequality rather than looking to the reason of the problem. These tools will be used to deepen my analysis and to illuminate how the Swedish government motivates and legitimizes FFP and their position and identification as progressive and gender equal, thus how FFP is a performative of this self-perception. What words and concepts are used and what values lies within the resident discourses? Discourses viewed as a part of the construction of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and meaning (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:67), can facilitate the investigation of how some actors take advantage of discourses to legitimize their position and actions. What descriptions of the world and Sweden's identity are constituted as the truth in the context?

The aim in discourse analysis is not to analyze the reality behind the discourse but to study the discourse per se since a reality cannot be reached outside of the discourse. Thus, I can analyze the pattern in the spoken or written dictum and the social consequences of them, but not if the dictum is true or false. The main purpose of a critical discourse analysis is to demonstrate the connection between discursive practices and broader social and cultural practices, development and structures. The discourse therefor both reflects and contributes to social and cultural change and development. (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:84).

3.3. Material

The study material is collected from the Swedish government's website, where bills, action plans, reports, speeches and other documents can be found. There are many documents that have been published in relation to FFP, and I had to be selective in what material I want to analyze to reach the aim of this thesis and that fits the proportion of this study. The primary material is from four communicative events that I have chosen has been based on the documents and speeches where the context puts FFP and Sweden's role on the international arena in focus. Such situations are when Sweden annually presents their foreign policy strategy in the "statement of government policy", the publication of the feminist foreign policy handbook, and speeches by Margot Wallström. I will divide my analysis of the primary material into two parts, where in the first part I will look closer on how FFP is performed in the speeches by Margot

Wallström contra how it is performed in policy documents presented by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

In the first part I will do a critical discourse analysis of two speeches presented by Margot Wallström, one speech presented at Tunis Forum on Gender Equality (Government, 2019a) on the 24th of April 2019 and one from the Seminar on Feminist Foreign Policy (Government, 2019b) in Stockholm on international women's day 8th of March 2019. In the other part I will apply the same method but on policy documents published by Ministry for Foreign Affairs, where the Handbook on Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy (Government, 2018), published 24th of August 2018, and the Statement of Government Policy 2019 (Government, 2019c), presented in 13th of February 2019, is studied. I have chosen these four documents since I believe it is a good representation of how Sweden embodies its self-perception in international forums and documents. Some are solely focused on FFP and some are discussing the Foreign Policy in a broader sense, but FFP is embedded in it. They all are available in English and will be analyzed in English due to the aim of the study – How Sweden articulates its self-perceived identity through foreign policy to the global arena. All these speeches and texts are meant to demonstrate Sweden's approach in Foreign Policy and are contemporary and up-to-date in the area. They have all taken form under the same political power constellation, the present social-democratic government, but have been articulated or published within the last year. This timeframe is meant to fulfil the idea of making the most current analysis of the FFP and Sweden's articulated identity of today.

These four communicative events are the only ones to be analyzed in this study. It is important to stress that the material used in this essay are official documents published by the Swedish government, which affects how Sweden is represented since it reflects a very subjective and controlled tendency. Due to the essay's purpose, an understanding of the Swedish government's self-perception and reproduction of it through foreign policy, I argue that the material is the most relevant to answer the research question.

3.4. Implementation

A discourse analysis can take many shapes and forms, and the researcher often needs to adjust and develop the analytic tools from one of the main approaches in discourse analysis to make it compatible with the study in question (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 381). Since this study is

based on a CDA methodology, the material will be read through Fairclough's three-dimensional model, thus the analytic method and concepts from this model will be elevated when retrieving the data.

In the following chapter the prominent discourses of the texts will be presented and analyzed. The analysis will be on a rather simple level regarding the level of text, since its main focus is to deconstruct and pull apart the language usage and the constitution of a reality. This will demonstrate how the texts and speeches creates practices and modality in the things that are said and written. In the presentation of the analysis through the three-dimensional model, I will divide the analysis and results into two parts, one that examines the speeches presented by Sweden's Minister for Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström and the other that studies policy documents presented by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. This disposition is meant to show how the two different types of texts and communicative events might differ or might not. All documents and speeches attend the subject of Sweden's feminist foreign policy and will be analyzed based on Faircloughs three-dimensional model. The three dimensions are meant to be applied as a concrete discourse analysis of a communicative event. The model will be applied on the communicative texts to study the traits, the linguistics and the formality of the text (text), the production and consumption of the text and what discourses it relies on (discursive practice) and the broader social practice that the communicative event is a part of (social practice) (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:75). They are all intertwined, and the objective of a critical discourse analysis is to map out the links between the language and social practices (ibid:76).

Therefore, I have initiated both parts of *The three-dimensional model* with *text*, the textual sphere that determines the illumination of the choice of words, concepts and transitivity regarding Sweden's FFP in relation to the construction of identity and other relevant discourses. How these phenomena are used and phrased in these communicative events is significant to present how FFP is a reproduction of a discourse in the sense of CDA but also the theoretical framework of performativity. This will be followed by an application and analysis of the *discursive practice* that will contribute to an understanding of how the policy is presented to the reader/listener and interpretations regarding how it is presented in the way it is. Thus, a general critical discourse analysis where interpretations of what the policy's communicative goals will be presented in the following chapter. This is relevant in the sense of understanding why Sweden articulates the feminist foreign policy in this particular way and what identity they mediate and construct through this linguistic and discourse usage. The *social practice* sphere

of the communicative events will be also analyzed and presented as part of the three-dimensional model but will be further explored and interpreted in the light of the theoretical framework. The results of the methodology and the theoretical concepts of performativity will enlance in the analysis since they in this study complement each other in reaching the aim of the study.

It is important to emphasize that the analysis of the text and linguistics will include discursive analysis and vice versa, but it will be handled as two different dimensions and analyzed separately, in line with the model (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:68). All the spheres are intertwined, and the objective of a critical discourse analysis is to map out the links between the language and social practices (ibid:76).

3.5. Problematization of the method

As mentioned above, Fairclough's three-dimensional model has been adapted to fit the purpose of the study. This could be considered as a flaw in the method since it will be used slightly different in individual cases and might therefor be complex to apply. Another critique that has been discussed is the fact that the theoretical distinction between the discursive and the non-discursive is unclear as well as the dialectic relationship and how to empirically demonstrate it (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:89). Fairclough is not very generous with tools regarding on how to differentiate these concepts during an analysis and critiques emphasize how the discourse analysis does not contribute to new knowledge when there is only a few, particular texts and communicative events that are analyzed which is solely based on interpretations (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002: 89-92).

It is important to illuminate the fact that critical discourse analysis is an explanatory critique to further democratization through making people aware of how discourse functions as a social practice. It gives insight to the discursive practice that takes part in not only the usage of language and consummation of texts, but also the social and power relations that shapes and is shaped by discourse. According to Fairclough, the discourse analysts should recognize this and consider risk of public use of the research results (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:88).

4. Results and analysis

The discursive practices that maintains the social order and that can be distinguished in social change will be analyzed through the four concrete cases of language usage and communicative events that were mentioned above and will be understood as a part of the discursive order. The results of the discourse analysis will be presented below, together with an exploration of the performatively reproduction of the Swedish identity. A deeper reasoning and reading of the methodological results in relation to theory of performativity will be provided in the two final sections of this chapter.

4.1. The three-dimensional model

4.1.1. Speeches by Minister for Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström

Text

In the speeches that Margot Wallström presented at the seminar on Feminist Foreign Policy in Stockholm, 8th of March 2019 and in Tunis 24th of April 2019, we can analyze the construction of identity and social relations in the speech, by looking at how they construct the identity of themselves, the Ministry for foreign affairs and the Swedish government, and the rest, the audience and perhaps other foreign actors. The speech in Stockholm starts off with a welcoming of the audience and an opening line where Wallström immediately describes an act performed by Sweden which influenced a societal debate and later dads in Pakistan to take days off when they become fathers. This can be interpreted as a rather dominating promotion discourse and identity construction, where the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the audience is personalized through the choosing of words to address the audience. This is a way for the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Swedish Government to imply authority over their own and the audience's identity while constituting a "we" and "them" (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:89; Government, 2019b). Just by looking at the quotation from the speech below, we can distinguish these implementations and discourses.

"Excellencies, ambassadors, feminists, dear friends, When our embassy in Islamabad showed the photography exhibition 'Swedish Dads', they ignited a societal debate in Pakistan that influenced a decision which makes it possible for state-employed men to take ten days off when they become fathers." (Government, 2019b)

Furthermore, by just looking at this part of the speech, we can tell that a linguistic transitivity is made, where the event in question, the photography exhibition, leads to and is associated to a process, Pakistani societal debate and later increasing paternal leave for fathers employed by the state. According to Fairclough this can help us understand what ideological consequences different performances can contribute to (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:87).

The same transitivity and case are used in the speech held in Tunis, which was formulated in a similar way:

“You might have seen the photo exhibition ‘Swedish dads’, which has now become ‘Rwandian dads’, ‘Latvian dads’ and ‘Tunisian dads’. I know that this work has instigated debate and discussion in many countries – also here in Tunisia.” (Government, 2019a)

We can also distinguish categorical and objective modalities that is used in the speech, where interpretations are presented as facts. By using these types of modalities, the government through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, FFP and Wallström both reflects and promotes their authority. But by personalizing the identity of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the audience, and through ascribing identity traits in the material, a seemingly equal and personal relationship between the both is created (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:89). This sentence is an example of how it is used:

“Our feminist foreign policy works. It inspires others, and it delivers concrete results.”
(Government, 2019b)

Discursive practice

According to CDA there is a dialectic connection between communicative events, such as the speeches presented 8th of March and 24th of April 2019, and discourse orders. The order is a form of system, but since communicative events not only reproduces discourses but can also drive through change through the language usage, it is a structure and a practice (Jørgensen &

Philips, 2000:76). The discursive practice describes what the text production and text consumption is to the reader or audience. In line with many of Fairclough's analyses I will proceed from a linguistic starting point in the material in question and identify what discourses the texts is built upon, through interdiscursivity and intertextuality (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:86). Interdiscursivity is when different discourses and genres are articulated in a communicative event, where a new type of language use change boundaries in the order of the discourse and between different orders (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:73). It is clear that the speech is based on an interdiscursive approach, where different discourses are present. Words such as "victims", "unsafe" and "exploitation" in relation to women shows on a security discourse that is often present in foreign policy contexts, such as these sentences from the speech in Stockholm:

"I would also like to welcome everyone again to this commemoration of International Women's Day, and the launch of a new joint diplomatic initiative with France on the fight against trafficking for sexual exploitation." (Government, 2019b)

"... by supporting women's shelters and helping victims of trafficking to better lives, and by generously supporting sexual and reproductive health and rights." (Government, 2019b)

As an interdiscursive communicative event, this discourse is formed in relation to a neoliberal discourse as well. Fairclough describes neoliberal political discourse as one of the elements of new capitalism (Phelan, 2014). Throughout the text economic and market driven logic is presented as a given and trustworthy reason when it comes to implementing a foreign policy for women's right and inclusion. The World Bank, trade and business is explicit mentioned as something to work for in both of the speeches. It is presented as something that feminist foreign policy naturally means: that women should be included in the neoliberal system and discourse in the same way as men. As demonstrated in the two quotes below:

"Our support to the World Bank's 'Women, Business and the Law' report has contributed to important statistics about discriminating legislation. We played a crucial role when the WTO adopted its first declaration on gender equality and trade in 2017." (Government, 2019b)

"World finance institutions such as the World Bank talk increasingly about the role of gender equality in economic growth." (Government, 2019a)

A feminist discourse is also present throughout the speech, which is expressed through using the word “feminist” in the welcoming, as shown above, and by the references to Sweden’s Feminist Foreign Policy and the Feminist Policy in the Swedish Government. Feminism as a concept is not questioned or problematized once but is talked about as a given goal to aim for and indicates that Sweden already has reached it. This is visible in formulations such as:

“If we combine all the activities and initiatives that the Foreign Service and more than 100 embassies have undertaken, we can count many thousands of concrete measures from our feminist foreign policy” (Government, 2019b).

I would argue that these three discourse practices are all compatible in one discourse order, security, neoliberalism and feminist discourse practices are all reconcilable under the discourse order of foreign policy. Although the security discourse from realist approach and the neoliberalist discourse are established and seldom questioned.

There is also an intertextuality that can be seen in the speech, which refers to that the speech has snatches from other texts and how it in a sense of production gets down to how texts relate to each other (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:376). Wallström refers to reports and resolutions published by the UN, World Bank and WTO. Intertextuality designates the relation of communicative events and how it is built on earlier events, and you seldom start from scratch. Interdiscursivity is a form of intertextuality and the discursive reproduction and change can be studied through looking at the relation between the discourses in a discourse order and the relation between the discourse orders (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:77).

At this level of analysis, discourses are in relation to other discourses and the construction of global and national structures are seen at the same level and they both are characterized by the neoliberal political discourse. Interdiscursive analysis is a function that is helpful in integrating social and linguistic analysis with each other. A discourse order can be defined as a particular articulation of genres, discourses and styles. Since discourses are dialectically interconnected with other elements and internalized with each other even though they are different and a discourse is an element of a network of social practices it becomes an order of discourse (Fariclough, 2013:291). Interdiscursive analysis therefore opens up for textual analysis to be integrated into social analysis in a deeper sense (Fariclough, 2013:290).

Social practice

The text and discursive practice will now be placed in the third dimension, social practice. It is of great importance to illuminate the broader social practice that is the framework for the discourse analysis and the study material (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:84). In this particular case the propagation of women's rights issues and feminist policy is the broader social practice that forms the concrete material. In this case we can distinguish a promotion discourse (ibid) that helps spreading the feminist culture to foreign policy and politics in general – which is a social domain that often is understood to be formed by other heavy principles. It is in the examination of the relation between discursive practice and the social practice where we can find the conclusions of the study and where we can distinguish change and ideological consequences. Is the discursive practice reproducing the discourse order or is it contributing to social change? By seeing to these broader consequences of the text and discourse practice, we can understand the ideological, political and social consequences of the communicative act and if it strengthens and hides the discursive unjust power relations or challenges it through constituting reality in a new and creative way (ibid:90).

The feminist discourse practice in the foreign policy order is arguably a radical policy change but might be understood as a consequence of and embedded in the humanitarian discourse that has been urging for a global promotion of gender equality since the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 adoption in the year 2000 (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 323:2016). The feminist discourse can be seen to interact with the equality and human rights trend that today is regarded as a consensus in many parts of the globe, which has been implemented in many social and political domains. The word feminism and its policies are still rather controversial, but as Fairclough argues the discourse is socially implemented and discourse practices are always in a dialectic relation to social practices (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:83). These communicative acts, the speeches that are promoting and discussing feminist foreign policy, can therefore be read as a reflection and a contribution to the social, cultural and political change regarding equality and feminism on the global arena. But at the same time, it can be interpreted as a reproduction of the discursive practice in the discourse order that maintains the power balance of the world, through ascribing Sweden as gender equal while the implicit “other” is not.

This is clear in parts of the speeches presented by Wallström, for example in the following quote from the speech in Tunis, where we can see how a social practice is a reproduction of the order of the discourse.

“Tunisia is the right place for us to meet. This is a country where gender equality has made great progress. Almost half of your local politicians here are women. And your law on violence against women is commendable. You deserve our homage also in a broader sense. Over the last eight years you have made remarkable progress in the development of democracy, the rule of law and freedom of speech. Tunisia is on the right path, and I encourage you to continue along this route.” (Government, 2019a)

This lets us see that communicative events such as this speech, shape and are shaped by a fundamental social practice, in this particular case how Sweden’s national identity is formed and forming the social and international order. This quote implies that Sweden has the self-perception of being in a recognized international position, and therefore to homage Tunisia and to explicitly tell them that they are on the right path of development.

4.1.2. Performativity in policy documents presented by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs

To complement the speeches presented by Wallström I have chosen to look at the feminist foreign policy handbook, particularly the section “What is Feminist Foreign Policy?” and the Statement of Government Policy 2019, due to my purpose of the study. I believe by looking at applying CDA to this section of the handbook and the statement, I will be able to distinguish the discursive framework of FFP and therefor the approach and discourse that is implemented in their working strategy. Throughout this section of the document, there is a modality of truth telling. There are countless of sentences that claims that Sweden has contributed to women’s rights and empowerment in several ways. Also, objective and categorical modalities are seen, which shows on and contributes to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Sweden’s authority, since their interpretation of the world is presented as facts. Examples will be presented below.

Text

By looking at the features of this type of policy documents, we can distinguish how the discourses are realized through written word (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000: 87). In the handbook we can distinguish how the handbook as a policy document for Sweden’s foreign policy has a

rather institutionalized approach, compared to the speeches presented above. The more traditional language and policy structures are used and an authorized identity in relation to the reader is implemented. It is published on the Swedish governments website, has clear title that identifies the institution and the policy, and an elaborated table of contents followed by exoplanetary chapters. The traditional structures of government and policy documents is reproduced where formal words are used which contributes to creating distance between the institution and the reader while implementing an institutionalized identity which can be found in governmental policy discourses. An example:

“Essentially, Sweden’s feminist foreign policy is a working method and a perspective that takes three Rs as its starting point and is based on a fourth R. The implication is that the Swedish Foreign Service, in all its parts, shall strive to strengthen all women’s and girls’ Rights, Representation and Resources, based on the Reality in which they live. Sweden’s feminist foreign policy is a transformative agenda that aims to change structures and enhance the visibility of women and girls as actors.” (Government, 2018)

As mentioned earlier, there are several examples to be found in the text to show how objective modalities are used, where the reality of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs is presented as facts. Like these sentences from the handbook: *“Getting more women into business and trade is sound economic policy”* (p. 15) or *“Freedom from violence is a prerequisite for development.”*(p.22), *“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 local society and in children’s health and education. It is therefore not only right but also socially smart to invest in women’s economic empowerment.”* (p. 27).

All these sentences are presented as known facts and a truth that can’t be discussed, which shows that the writer agrees completely with this proposition and several discourses are therefore assumed to belong the truth.

Discursive practice

In the quotations above, discourses are implicit expressed but still some of them are rather easy to differentiate in the policy, by looking at just these sentences. A neoliberal discourse about economic growth and development as something unquestioned desirable is very present and distinct. A discourse about what femininity is expressed where they refer to women as bigger

investors in local society, children's health and education, which goes in line with the established discourse of women as nursing. A discourse of a gender binary approach is manifested by only referring to women and men and speaking about them as dichotomies.

Discourse analysis aims to analyze the relationship of discourse with two parts: relations between discourse and another social practices, and relations between the linguistics elements of social events and structures with social practices, including discourses (Fairclough, 2013:348). Discourses can be more or less part of the ideological, where ideological discourses being those that either preserve or transform power relations. But that means it is hard to define what is ideology and not. Philips and Jørgensen (2002) even questions if there are any discourses which do not affect power and dominance relations (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:75). In fields such as communications and cultural studies, there is a consensus that text and its meaning is partly interpretation. Fairclough and his critical discourse analysis agrees with this standpoint and goes in line with Antonio Gramsci's idea of hegemony and that "common-sense" is a result of negotiations of meaning which all social groups are a part of. Hegemony is therefore according to CDA both a dominance and an ongoing negotiation which results in a consensus regarding meaning. Thus, hegemony is inconsistent and incomplete, but the concept helps us to analyze how discursive practice is part of the bigger social practices and power relations (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:75-76).

"We see that a growing number of countries are being inspired and are following our lead. Sweden is a leader when it comes to giving greater attention to women, peace and security in the UN, the EU and the OSCE. Our network of women mediators is being expanded, and similar networks are being created, including in the African Union". (Government, 2019c)

Once again, we can distinguish an interdiscursivity, that is present in all of the communicative events that is studied in this paper. In this case there is a challenge of a patriarchal discourse, while a post-colonial discourse is visible as well. Women's rights and feminist foreign policy is promoted, which is rather controversial in the international relations discourse order, but in my position as a researcher I interpret a post-colonial tone where Sweden is presented as an inspiration and the female mediators in the African Union is considered as worth mentioning as a secondary actor, as "including in the African Union".

In the quotation above we can also see how the author of the speech draws upon other discourses, once again a neoliberal discourse is revealed referring to the UN, Security Council and international cooperation as something given, and a humanitarian discourse in the usage of human rights as something to justify and motivate Sweden's role on the council. As shown in the quotes from this section as well as earlier in the, there are no mentions of the imperialistic tendencies of the discourse, but neoliberalism together with international cooperation and consumerism is solely viewed as a positive approach to fight gender inequality. Neoliberalism is often perceived as a natural phenomenon and development, which is sustained by public discourses through politics, policy and media (Krzyzanowski, 2016:311).

Social practice

Discourse order is a term that has to be explored in the sense of social practice. Discourse order refers to how a text or discursive practice must be related to other discourses. Hence, it is essential to study how the discourse orders and constituted and explore what discourses the discourse analysis need to take into account (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:377).

The discourse production and its nature can be explained and understood in relation to social practices in which the text occurs. For example, Sweden is on the global scale part of a minority of states who are implementing a feminist approach within politics, both national and foreign. Other states and institutes at the same societal level might interpret Sweden and FFP as anti-patriarchal, against the predominating global structure of men over women, and by breaking it down by giving women more control and rights in contemporary society. But this mix of political discourses can be seen as a global feature of the societal order of discourse; neoliberal human rights discourse, since it entails more cooperative interactions and system. Thus, it can be interpreted as a discursive part of social and cultural changes that goes along with openness, democracy, individualism and gender mainstreaming but also consumerism to some extent. Several times in this part of the FFP handbook and in the Statement of Government Policy women's rights equals participation in businesses, trade, economic growth as demonstrated in the following quote from the handbook:

Gender equality also contributes towards economic growth by making use of the potential of both women and men. (Government, 2018:18)

Social practices are networked, and social change is the change in the networking of social practices. Thus, transformation in discourses, such as neoliberalism and new capitalism, can be analyzed by looking at changes or maintenance in network relations, both structural and scalar (Fairclough, 2013:291). The discursive practice is subject institutional and economic conditions, but to illuminate these links, it is according to Fairclough necessary to use other theories to understand the social practices in question (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:86). To shed light on the social practice in a broader sense, the next segment of this paper will draw upon the theory of performativity as to understand the findings of the critical discourse analysis.

4.2. Performative states

The three-dimensional model shows us how the linguistics in the level of text in the four communicative events articulates a range of discourses. I choose to divide the application of the model between the speeches and policy documents, due to my belief that there would be different findings in speeches and policy documents. But as the findings show, there was little that differed them. Similar language and discourses were used in all four communicative events. Furthermore, as critical discourse analysis explains and as mentioned earlier, discourse is part of larger social actions and the method is mainly used to explore the correlations of language use and social practice. To analyze the wider social practice, a theoretical framework is a relevant complement the discourse analysis (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:69-76). Since the reading of the four communicative events resembled, I will apply the theoretical framework to the findings of the three-dimensional model as a whole to interpret the results of the methodology. Quotations will continue to be presented in this and the following section, to facilitate the application of the theoretical concepts on the empirical findings.

Subjects, such as the Swedish state in this particular study, are constituted by an ongoing process through discourse and performativity (Laffey, 2000:431). In the following analytic discussion, this will be viewed in the case of Sweden's feminist foreign policy and the Swedish identity formulation, to answer the research question and give us an understanding of how states reproduce their national identity.

The poststructuralist tool box is essential when drawing upon identity politics in international relations and poststructuralist theorist and critical discourse analyst unify in the recognition of the importance of discourse. As demonstrated under the theoretical framework, identity is

crucial to discourse and vice versa, and the both are being consistently performed through the articulations of foreign policy.

As Campbell argues, the key to identity is through the nation, as an effect of representational practices of national states (Laffey, 2000:432). In the four communicative events, the speech from Stockholm March 2019, the speech in Tunis April 2019, the section in Feminist Foreign Policy handbook and the Statement of Government Policy 2019, representational practices are taking place in the name of the Swedish national state. Thus, state practices of representation constitute the sovereign identity, which leads us to the notion that foreign policy is the very reproduction of the subject (Laffey, 2000:431). Feminist foreign policy as communicative events in this context, is the mode of where the Swedish national identity is reproduced. Sweden as a subject to world politics is unstable in its being and is in constant need of repetition of discursive practices that constitute foreign policy. Sweden's national identity as gender equal is performatively produced and is closely linked to state action (Laffey, 2000:432).

Through Butlers notion of performativity Cynthia Weber applies a performative understanding of state sovereignty in international relations, and a further theocratization of representational practices can be made. States and sovereignty are discursive effects of performative practices, and the expressions that are said to be the result of the identity is actually the performatively constitution of the state identity (Weber, 1998:90-92). The Swedish identity of the state does not pre-exist performative articulations of the state. Sovereign practices and performative enactments such as Foreign Policy are obvious moments of when the state where the 'persistent impersonation that passes as real' occurs and the state insist on their sovereign subjectivity (Weber, 1998:92). Weber, with Butler as base, even argues that foreign policy is an effect of crisis of representation, and sovereign states are discursive reactions to foreign policy trouble. This due to the fact that subjectivity is a delusive response to representational crises. Foreign Policy is in a sense when the state acknowledges the fact that 'being' sovereign is an act of performatively practiced articulations (Weber, 1998:93).

With Butlers theory of performativity as a foundation, we can argue that the repetitive comes to represent the normative, regarding all types of subject bodies. Therefore, the sovereign national identity is not fixed but performed through representational practices that need to be repeated, and through the repetitive practice the state identity becomes normative, just as Sweden's identity as a gender equal feminist state.

As shown in previous section while going through the three-dimensional model, the speeches and documents present a Swedish self which is articulated as gender equal and an inspiration for other countries in the world. Transitivity is made in the communicative events, between Sweden's Ministry for Foreign Affairs concrete actions and with positive effects such as democratization. In all four of the communicative events transitivity such as these enounce the Swedish self-perception and what ideological consequences different performances can contribute to (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000:87). Even in the sense of the historical context, gender equality is used as attribute of Swedish identity since back in time. References of historically rooted identification traits might be explicit or embedded, and in many cases historic intertexts are used in creating the Self and the Other, through neoliberalism and orientalism (Brunner, 2013:158). As the Feminist Foreign Policy handbook claims:

The Swedish Foreign Service has extensive experience of working with gender equality issues. The internal work has focused on issues such as staffing policy, control and operational support, and the organisation strives to be at the cutting edge in the field. (Government, 2018:31).

This is a form of intertextuality that helps the representational practice to present itself as a fact, and to constitute an imagined community.

4.3. The Inspirational Swedish Feminist Self

The identity of the domestic, the “inside” of the state is the outcome of practices linked through discourses of danger located on the “outside”, which constitutes boundaries. Foreign Policy is thus a boundary-producing practice essential to both the production and reproduction of identity of the subject in question (Campbell, 1998:68-69). Through regulated performances, Foreign Policy is in its process of the identity of the state dependent on discourse of fear and danger. A notion of a “we” and what “we” fear (ibid:74). In regulated performances of Foreign Policy such as the analyzed communicative events in this study, it is clear that this linguistic tool is used as in the following quote:

“Sweden works to strengthen accountability and to combat impunity for violence against women and girls.” (Government, 2018:23)

There are implicit and sometimes explicit articulations of a dichotomy of the self and the other, and these constructions help the constitution of the actor the Swedish nation. When the subject produces the Self, a certain set of attributes and traits are ascribed to the Self while attributes naturally are tailored for the Other to identify with. Since the constitution of the Self and the Other is regulated by the self, the Other is differentiated and orientated (Brunner, 2013:155). In the quotation below there are distinct characteristics prescribed to Sweden:

“In a polarised Security Council, Sweden stood up for international law, human rights, gender equality and humanitarian responsibility. We put the connection between climate and security on the Council’s agenda. At the beginning of our term, Sweden was often a lone voice for women’s participation in peace and security efforts.” (Government, 2019c)

According to the Statement of Government Policy, Sweden stood up for humanitarian responsibility and often were a lone voice, naturally the Others were less so. Consequently, discourse and performativity is a practice of referencing. No articulations can happen in a vacuum but is always referring to something already known. To make a referencing to another narrative is only able to happen in relation to a historical context. Which is a type of intertextuality. In the speech by Wallström in Tunis, there is an explicit intertextuality while referencing to a narrative about the conservative rhetoric:

“Just think of the opposition to sexual and reproductive health and rights. Of threats to women’s rights activists. This has all come in the wake of democratic backsliding, justified by a rhetoric of conservative values – talk of gender roles that we thought belonged in the last century.” (Government, 2019a)

By orientating Sweden’s identity and Foreign Policy in this communicative event, Wallström facilitates to resonate to something already known by using the conservative rhetoric as a distantiation and something different from the Swedish self.

As evident above, Margot Wallström and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs articulated a feminist and gender equal identity, with attributes such as just, democratic, inspirational and important – pronounced through the feminist foreign policy. In the *previous research* section, these types of characteristics are manifested to have been articulated in communicative events regarding Sweden’s identity on the global arena for quite some time. Here it is clear that the repetitive

becomes the normative and we can demonstrate that there is potential of change and maintenance of social constructions and identities through foreign policy. Thus, the Feminist Foreign Policy is a performance of the Swedish national identity as gender equal and we can see a clear linkage between the discourse and practice where national identity is in correlation to Foreign Policy and communicative events as such. By viewing identity as an effect of repeated performances, especially security performances, a deeper understanding of how states reproduce themselves is enabled (Brunner, 2013:155).

Critical discourse analysis as a method and a critique intend to reveal how the discursive practice upholds the social world and relations (Philips & Jørgensen, 2002:63), which in this study helps us to see how the speeches and policy documents maintain the Swedish discursive practice of its self-perception and national identity. By using the methodology, we can contribute to social change and equal power relations in communication processes and society as a whole (ibid:64).

5. Concluding discussion and reflections

5.1. Why problematize Feminist Foreign Policy as a performative act?

Together with the methodology of the critical discourse analysis, I used the theory of performativity in the field of IR to understand how the (feminist) foreign policy can be viewed as a tool to performatively reproduce Sweden's national identity and to illuminate why it is important to deconstruct identities and problematize policies.

In critical discourse analysis-studies the importance of language is necessary to understand politics, but also the exercise of power (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:399). Questions about politics and power are very complex, like demonstrated in this study that even though there are discursive changes taking place there is a great deal of continuity. Discourses affects people's perceptions and actions thus it affects the power relations in society (Bergström & Boréus, 2012:409).

Throughout the results and analysis, we have been able to illuminate how linguistics and discourses are resident in these communicative events and therefore in foreign policy. With the interpretation of the theoretical framework of national identity and the performative, we get a

further understanding of the link between these discursive practices and the constitution of state identity. Thus, it is evident that Sweden's national identity is constituted by and constitutes foreign policy to a high extent. The thesis has demonstrated how we can analyze this process and through this paradigmatically case study, we have established how Sweden's national identity as gender equal is performed through foreign policy documents and speeches. By viewing the relationship of these phenomena's, we have also detected how the articulations of this identity is related to the formulation of the Feminist Foreign Policy.

Furthermore, foreign policies are always a reference to something that has been and cannot be understood without context but has to be translated to what they reproduce and perform. Sweden's history and role on the global arena is essential to Sweden's national identity today, since a large part of the identity construction is repetitive practices that takes its form in relation to what has been, as shown above. This is relevant to future research in understanding why Sweden was the first country in the world with an explicit Feminist Foreign Policy and how their power relations politically enable this which CDA touches upon. Consequently, this study is an attempt to problematize and deconstruct the Swedish national identity since the repetitive discourses and the construction of the self contributes to certain borders as Campbell, Weber and Brunnen proves and an exercise of power relations as the critical discourse analysis shows us.

FFP is a paradigm of identity construction that call for richer exploration. The Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy is an interesting policy that both performatively reproduce an existing identity construction while it also challenges to tackle the indoctrinated patriarchal global discourse.

The chosen method and theoretical framework applied to the material prove that FFP is an externalization of Sweden's national identity. Naturally it is not the only social practice that constitutes the Swedish identity, but this thesis shows how there is a strong correlation between the Swedish self-perceived national identity and foreign policy which cannot be disregarded.

5.2. What now?

The field of IR, the mainstream of realists has been disregarding the relevance of state identity, and the concept of state identity in relation to power should in my opinion be further explored. As the performativity theory and critical discourse analysis helps us to illuminate on this study,

there is are clear power structures that takes place in articulations of discourses and performatively constructing the self, that deserves to be studied further. Within this construction there are power dynamics and a construction of a 'we' and a 'them'. Further and deeper studies of the power relations would be interesting to read, and an analysis with a realist theoretical framework applied on the findings of this thesis and in relation to state identities over all need to be extended.

This study aims to approach a conceptual problem, which is a condition of not knowing or understanding something. To ask a question forces you to state what you do not understand but want to (Booth, Colomb & Williams, 2003:56-59). To pose a larger research question regarding Sweden's national identity on the global arena, we need to understand how it is formed and articulated by the very Ministry which represents the Swedish state and policies internationally. Thus, research has to begin with simple questions to lay the foundation of more complex studies, especially in areas of conspicuous assumptions and questions that has not been properly explored (ibid). Consequently, this thesis is an attempt to explore and evaluate the phenomenon of FFP in relation to the construction and performance of the Swedish national identity, whilst welcoming and hoping for future research to test, develop and extend the claims of this thesis and existing research of the area.

Therefore, I have been analyzing the discourses of documents related to FFP, since I want to understand how the Swedish national identity is performatively constructed as gender equal through FFP, in order to help readers and future researchers to understand the bigger and more important issue of how states self-images influence international politics. Because, if we do not know how and to what extent FFP is a part of the construction of the Swedish sovereign self-perception as gender equal, we cannot investigate its effects on Sweden's foreign policy and if it even might be a re-conceptualization of power or a part of a greater evolution and legacy of the Swedish self-precepted identity as a humanitarian superpower.

6. References

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