



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

A FEMINIST MILITARY? THE SWEDISH CASE

An ideational analysis of the perceptions of security that have shaped the role of the Swedish Armed Forces and their current and future military strategic guidance and defence.

Alexandra Axelsson

Master's Thesis: 30 credits
Programme: Master's Programme in International Administration and Global Governance
Date: 21 September 2020
Supervisor: Joakim Öjendal
Words: 19351

Abstract

This thesis aims to contribute knowledge to the current and contemporary debate on the concept of security in relation to feminism, by seeking which ideas that have shaped the role of the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) and their current and future military strategic guidance and defence. Based on the theoretical framework of Feminist Security Theory and Classical Realism in International Relations, this case study seeks to identify these ideas in the SAF's strategic documents and interviews with SAF Officials. To achieve this aim qualitative textual analysis and the VDP-triad of ideational analysis are utilized, identifying core characteristics of feminist theory and realism as ideal types, which are then further categorised into a methodological framework. The results of the analysis showed recurring traces of feminist thought in the empirical material, reflecting the SAF's willingness and ambition to broaden their security-thinking by (theoretically) including gender perspectives. Analysis of the interviews with SAF Officials proved that many are still struggling to understand the relevance of gender issues in relation to the SAF's work, in turn mirroring traces of classical realist thought manifested in the "on-ground" security thinking and practice of the SAF.

Keywords: *Gender, Military, Swedish Armed Forces, Security Studies, Feminist Security Theory, Classical realism, Ideational analysis*

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Introduction	4
1.1 Research Problem & Aim	6
1.2 Research Design & Analytic Scheme	8
1.3 Disposition	10
2. Literature Review	10
2.1 Swedish Military Transformations: A Brief Background	10
2.1.1 The Total Defence concept and the SAF today	11
2.2 Gender and the Military	12
2.3 Research Gap and Contribution	15
3. Theoretical Framework	16
3.1 Feminist Security Theory	16
3.2 Classical Realism	18
4. Empirical Material & Methodological Approach	20
4.1 Empirical Material	20
4.2 Semi-structured interviews with SAF Officials	21
4.3 The Case Study Approach	21
4.4 The VDP-Triad of Analysis	22
5. Validity, Reliability & Limitations	24
5.1 Validity and Reliability	25
5.2 Limitations	25
6. Results	27
6.1 Values/Value Judgements	27
6.2 Descriptions/Judgements of Reality	31
6.3 Prescriptions/Practical Proposals for Action	36
7. Summary of Results	40
8. Discussion	41
8.1 ... Would you do it?	42
8.2 Conclusion & Proposals for Future Research	45
9. References	46
10. APPENDIX	53

1. Introduction

“Would you do it? Would you make the effort to study a new perspective if you knew that you could achieve greater situational awareness than you ever had before? Would you make the effort to learn about this perspective knowing it was relevant to all social interaction, including war and conflict, if you knew you could improve your unit’s chance of success, improve the lives of many and make sure they would be better protected and able to participate in shaping their own future?”

Lena P. Kvarving and Rachel Grimes (2016)
"Why and how gender is vital to military operations"

In 2014 the world’s first self-defined feminist government was formed in Sweden, becoming the first state ever to publicly adopt a feminist foreign policy (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2016). The declared ambition was to become the “strongest voice for gender equality and full employment of human rights for all women and girls (Regeringskansliet, 2015). The policy is founded on the broad idea that *gender equality is central to security* (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2018). It specifically reaffirms the important role of women and their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, as well as to ensure that women and men “have the same power to shape society and their own lives (ibid; Gerome, 2016:13). Moreover, the Swedish framing of a feminist foreign policy interacts with contemporary international discourses on human security by questioning, security for *whom*? Hence, with a broader and more inclusive notion, the quest has been to redefine security with a greater focus on women and girls and to challenge embedded patriarchal power relations and practices (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamund, 2016).

In January 2017, a debate article written by the Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfven was published on the website of the Swedish Government Offices. Its title was “*Sweden’s security must be seen in a broader perspective*” (Regeringskansliet, 2017a). In the article, Löfven argues that the most important task for the State is to make sure that Sweden maintains its peace, freedom, and security. It was published in the aftermath of the latest release of Sweden’s National Security Strategy report, which presents the direction, framework, and definitions of perspectives, national interests, and core missions of the Swedish security policy agenda (Regeringskansliet, 2017b).

As the nation and the world at large is increasingly facing a wider set of threats, Löfven states in his article that it's time to “broaden the security policy-thinking”, by scaling up the national defence strategies and staying alert to international and national security developments (Regeringskansliet, 2017a). Similar statements regarding implementing a “broader security thinking” has also been identified in a military context, concerning the work of the Swedish

government's military agency, the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF). In several documents discussing the work of the SAF (such as military and operative doctrines, propositions outlining frameworks and guidance of various context, etc.) the ambition to “broaden the security-thinking” has become increasingly recognized (see for example Försvarsmakten, 2016; Ds 2017:66:14; Regeringskansliet 2017a; Regeringskansliet 2017b; Försvarsmakten, 2019:11). While broadening the Swedish security thinking seems to be high on the agenda, recent government-led responses based on perceived notions of increased insecurities, also shows signs of re-prioritising the protection and security of its borders (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2018). According to feminist scholars, this serves to legitimise Sweden’s militarisation of national borders, at the possible expense of gender-just protection both beyond and inside its borders (ibid).

While the ambition to integrate broader perspectives of security within Swedish security policy and military defence is evident, its implications are less clear. What does a broadened security-thinking and military agenda mean in practice? How can it be understood using a gender-sensitive lens by asking what ideas and perspectives of security do the notion of a *broader* security-thinking rely on, and in relation to what and whom?

The concept of security has long been referred to as an “essentially contested concept” (Gallie, 1965). International security has traditionally been defined in realist terms, where (in a nutshell) power is measured in military strength, and priority is given to state-centric conceptions of security (Newman, 2001; 2016). Early feminist IR scholars questioned these conventional realist understandings of security and the frames which defined studies of war and militarism (see for example Tickner, Enloe, Spike Peterson, Sylvester (as cited in Tripp et al. 2013). Their critique was then further developed by the following generation of feminist scholars, such as Sjoberg, Shepherd and Cohn (as cited in Davies, & True, 2018). The central and constant question for all generations of feminist security scholars, likened with that of human security advocates, is *whose* security are policymakers seeking to ensure; is it that of the State, of its people, or women (in particular)?

As previously noted, Sweden’s feminist foreign policy is founded on the idea that gender equality is central to security. In turn, this “idea” is embedded in the broader global efforts to promote gender equality in the international arena, which Sweden committed to by adopting the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 in 2000 (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2016). One of the key actors in terms of ensuring that a gender perspective is continuously implemented in the Swedish practice and understanding of security is the SAF. But what the rising ambition to further “broaden the security thinking” means in practice and what it implies for gender relations in a military context, is very much still open to

question. When it comes to a changing security environment, the ambition to foster more inclusive ideas of security that have been progressing since the end of the Cold War runs the risk of slowly becoming replaced by more traditional ideas of “real” security issues, as defence organisations slowly return to primarily focusing on protecting national borders. How gender perspectives are continuously implemented and framed within the practice of the SAF as well as how it is understood as a part of future problem representations (and solutions), thus requires further inquiry.

1.1 Research Problem & Aim

The importance of understanding the changing character and gendered nature of the state and security is believed to be more pressing now than at any time since the post-Cold War period (Agius, 2018). In response to factors such as globalization, economic and environmental crises, inequality, and ideological challenges that intend to reverse gains in gender equality, the rise of a more masculinist state represents a cause for concern (ibid:14). While Sweden for a long time has been considered a “humanitarian superpower” (by itself and many abroad) the SAF, like most military organizations, has been described as “one of the final bastions of masculine organizational culture” (Egnell, 2014:50). It was one of the last institutions in the country to promote gender equality (Sundevall, 2011) and the organization's level of female participation has been lower than in many other European countries (NATO, 2016). Although the Swedish society as a whole can be described as one of strong societal support for women’s rights and gender sensitivity, strong organizational resistance to such values has traditionally characterized the Swedish military (Egnell, 2014). Simultaneously, Sweden is presented as a “progressive” nation/state whose citizens hold values, rights, and freedoms considered “extreme in the eyes of others”, thus in need of protection by the SAF (Strand & Kehl, 2019).

In the intersection of these forces, several questions emerge. What does “broadening the security agenda” mean in practice, who does it include/exclude and how (or if) have these ambitions been translated into viable policies in a military context? The relationship between theory and practice concerning the efforts to widen security perspectives while still ensuring that the SAF is relevant, effective, and focused on the security objectives set out by the State, thus remains problematic. Therefore, by using the theory of classical realism in IR as a contrast to feminist security theory, this thesis seeks to understand which ideas and perceptions of security that are currently embedded within the “security-thinking” of the SAF. The aim is thus to identify which underlying ideas and perspectives of security that can be interpreted as shaping the role of the SAF and the formulation of their current and future military strategic guidance and defence, using a feminist lens.

Research Question:

This study aims to contribute knowledge to the current and contemporary debate of the concept of security from a feminist perspective. To achieve this aim, the thesis examines the SAF's process of mainstreaming gender into its practices and perceptions of security, in light of the evolution of the Swedish security policy debate. To interpret which ideas and perceptions of security that have shaped the role of the SAF and their current and future military strategic guidance and defence, this thesis will examine strategic documents, reports, and interviews conducted with SAF Officials. As such, the analysis is guided by the following research question:

Which general ideas and perceptions of security are manifested in the Swedish Armed Forces' strategic guidance and current articulation of future military defence?

The empirically-based ideas and perceptions of security that are in focus in this thesis will be gathered from mainly two documents, each providing a respective time-perspective. One describes the SAF'S *current* military direction for 2016-2020, in their Strategic Guidance¹ whereas the other document is a so-called Future Force Study² of 2016-2018 which provides their *current articulation* of the SAF's *future* military structure and defence (up until 2035). Together these documents form the basis for both current and future plans and direction and thus presents the framework for how the SAF's work should/will be carried out. These documents and their relevance will be further introduced and justified in chapter 4. Additionally, I have conducted interviews with the SAF military personnel that have been selected based on either being part of creating the said documents and/or engaged in the process of mainstreaming gender into the organization.

While there exists an extensive amount of literature and analysis regarding feminist thought in IR and security/military policy (see Sjoberg & Via, 2010; Tickner, 2011, Kronsell, 2005; 2012) specifically in the case of Sweden since the adoption of a feminist foreign policy (see Egnell, 2014; Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2016; 2018) the current presence of gender in the SAF's security practices, reports and guiding documents displaying their role and responsibilities is far less closely analysed. In a similar vein, the ambition to broaden security thinking and how that ambition can be understood from a feminist perspective is still open to further research. Given these shortcomings, this study will seek to contribute to the literature

¹ *Försvarsmaktens Strategiska Inriktning 2016-2020 (FM SI).*

² *Försvarsmaktens Perspektivstudie 2016-2018 (PerP).*

by seeking which ideas and perceptions that are manifested in the SAF's guiding documents by using characteristics of Feminist security theory and Classical realism as *ideal types* (Lindberg, 2018). As such, I will attempt to answer the research by utilizing qualitative text analysis and the theoretical model of *the VDP-triad*, which will be explained in the following section.

1.2 Research Design & Analytic Scheme

In the following thesis, ideas and perceptions of security will be analyzed with qualitative text analysis and the so-called *VDP-triad of analysis* (Lindberg, 2017:92). Following the evolution of the Swedish security debate, perceptions will be collected from the SAF's published reports that have shaped two of their most recent, extensive documents called *the Future Force Study 2016-2018* (assessments for 2035) and the *Strategic Guidance 2016-2020*. Behind these documents are actors such as the perspective planning group (PerP-group) in the SAF, advisory defence committee (ADC) (Försvarsberedningen), high-ranking military personnel, the Swedish government, and the parliamentary defence committee (Försvarsutskottet). Combined they can be considered as mirroring the held perceptions of the relevant actors. The selection of empirical material was based on three specific factors. They share the commonality of being (1) based on analyses of the surrounding world, (2) centralized around the development and future development for the SAF (both short and long-term), and (3) the fact that they provide a summarized description of core values, interests and strategies that constitute the framework of the Swedish military defence. In addition to the empirical material, I have consulted primary sources through semi-structured interviews with the SAF Officials. The respondents were selected based on them either being part of creating the said documents and/or engaged in the process of mainstreaming gender into the organization. Details about the empirical material and interviews in terms of selection and limitations will be further presented and justified in chapter 4, sections 4.1 and 4.1.1.

To identify which ideas and perceptions that are present in the documents it requires a systematized approach of classification of the content. This categorization can then be utilized to interpret which perspectives and ideas of security that are manifested in the texts (Esaiasson et al. 2017). For the categorization and classification to make sense throughout the research, and to generate results that are understandable for the reader, the paper uses an analytic scheme (Lindberg, 2017). The analytic scheme is based on the so-called VDP-triad. The VDP-triad combines the value dimensions, the descriptive dimensions, and the prescriptive dimensions of ideological content. These can then be shortened and translated into codes, as illustrated below;³

³ In his methodological approach and elaborated description and analysis of the VDP-triad, Lindberg refers to the previous work of world-leading scientists and philosophers within the discipline of social science such as Talcott Parsons and Jürgen Habermas (see Lindberg, 2018).

1. Values or value-judgments: Fundamental moral values or philosophical views of man, nature, and society (**V**)
2. Descriptions and judgments of reality: General descriptions, criticism, analyses, accounts, and judgments of the times and the situation (**D**)
3. General principles and prescriptions for action: Prescriptions, recommendations or practical proposals for action (**P**)

The VDP-triad makes up the structure of the central theoretical model and framework of the analytical scheme, as presented in **figure 1** below. In the next phase of this method, the empirical material will be analyzed systematically by using this template of questions as a guide. To conduct the systematic analysis, the specified questions are used to code the content in the documents. Coding, in terms of this paper, implies manually marking (highlighting) the passages from the material which can be interpreted as responding to the posed questions about values (V), descriptions (D), and prescriptions (P). By highlighting the relevant parts of the documents in this way also makes it easier to overlook and comprehend the findings (Esaiasson et al. 2017:229).

Figure 1. Analytic Scheme

Questions:	Key Words:	Code
What ideas/principles are presented? (Values)	Values/Value judgments	V
How is the reality/situation presented? (Descriptions)	Descriptions/Judgements of reality	D
How are the solutions/strategies presented? (Prescriptions)	Recommendations/Practical proposals for action	P

The next step of this method is to formulate *ideal-types* (generalizations of thought patterns of different idea traditions) based on the established theoretical framework, which will serve as the “analytical tools” for sorting the material. In turn, this enables the analytical process to find

However, these fundamental ideas will not be further explored in this thesis due to limitations in scope and wording. Lindbergs formulation and interpretation of the ideational analysis provides a comprehensible and suitable approach for the aim and purpose of this thesis and is therefore presented as the central source of this method.

answer(s) to the central research question and consequently reach the aim of the thesis. The entirety of these elements will be further explained and justified in chapter 4 section 4.3.

1.3 Disposition

After this introductory section, the outline of the thesis will proceed accordingly; chapter 2 is divided into three subsections, firstly providing a contextual background, followed by a literature review, and lastly, a discussion on the identified research gap and contributions is provided. Thereafter chapter 3 provides a presentation of the theoretical framework based on *feminist security theory* and *classical realism*. A description of the main empirical material and methodological approach follows in chapter 4. Chapter 5 provides a discussion about the validity, reliability, and limitations of the thesis. In chapter 6 the results of the analysis are presented, subsequently followed by a summary and compilation of the results in chapter 7. Chapter 8 presents the final discussion and analysis of my findings where I address the central research question of this thesis. The final section provides some brief concluding remarks and reflections as well as proposals for further research.

2. Literature Review

The purpose of this section is to provide a contextual background of the history and politics of the SAF and present an overview of the research field on the topic of gender in the military. As such, the chapter is divided into four subsections; the first section briefly covers the history of Sweden's non-alignment policy and the process of transformation that took place at the end of the Cold War. This is followed by a review of the structure of the SAF in terms of its civil-military relations, with a specific focus on the *total defence* concept (Totalförsvaret). Thereafter an overview of the research field on the topic of gender issues in a military context and the process of implementing gender perspectives within the SAF is provided. Once the background and literature review has been established, the fourth and final section presents the identified research gap and contributions.

2.1 Swedish Military Transformations: A Brief Background

The Swedish policy of neutrality (*neutralitetspolitik*) was adopted at the end of the nineteenth century, originating as a consequence of its involvement in the Napoleonic Wars in the 18th and 19th centuries (Egnell, 2014; Malmberg, 2001). Although it had been established for almost a century it was not until after the second world war that military nonalignment, along with the policy of neutrality in wartime, became truly established in Sweden's foreign policy (Möller

and Bjered, 2015). It continued to navigate Sweden's foreign policy during the Cold War, but the ending of the East-West conflict in the 1990s caused the Swedish military policy to undergo a radical transformation (ibid). The SAF, who had previously been constructed as a conscripted force focused on protecting the territorial borders of Sweden against foreign interventions, was heavily downscaled, professionalized, and directed towards expeditionary operations abroad (Strand & Kehl, 2019). Subsequently, Sweden's role as an officially non-aligned and "neutral" actor geographically wedged between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, was transformed (Agius, 2011). The country's close collaboration with the EU and NATO became increasingly emphasized and the SAF participated in military interventions and peacebuilding efforts in Afghanistan and Libya (Strand & Kehl, 2019; Agius, 2018). As the discourse surrounding neutrality had shifted, Sweden signed a declaration of solidarity and commitment to European collective defence (Ministry of defence, 2009) and shortly after accepted the Lisbon Treaty obligation of mutual aid and assistance to the victim of armed aggression (Art. 42(7) of the Treaty on European Union). Neutrality was thus exchanged for solidarity as the country assumed "joint responsibility for the security of Europe and the ability of the EU to promote peaceful and democratic development" (Ministry of Defence, 2015:1–2).

In most policy circles and academic literature, this change made sense since Post-Cold War neutrality had lost much of its rationale, and Sweden's peacekeeping strength suited EU security (Agius, 2018). Sweden continued to build a strong defence industry, ultimately becoming one of the world's largest weapons exporters per capita (SPAS, 2020). In Sweden's most recent declaration of defence policy for 2016–2020, there is no longer an emphasis on the country's nonalignment and eventual neutrality, but instead acknowledging solidarity and collective defence as essential factors for ensuring security for the nation as well as in the region (ibid).

2.1.1 The Total Defence concept and the SAF today

One of the significant elements of the Swedish understanding of military strategy is that war and defence of national territory are not seen as solely a task for the military. Initiated in the 1940s (Kucera, 2018:152) all parts of the Swedish society and all able citizens, were required to embrace the responsibility of defending Sweden. In the Defence Resolution of 1963, this complex task and understanding of a national defence were referred to as "*the total defence*" (Kucera, 2018). In Swedish law the concept is defined as "all activities preparing the society for war" and consists of both military and civil defence (Sweden, Government Offices, 2018). A total defence thus refers to a whole society's approach to national security, which is intended to deter a potential enemy by raising the cost of aggression and lowering the chances of its

success (Wither, 2020). The concept has characterized the defence posture of several non-aligned states (although not solely) during the Cold War, such as Switzerland, Finland, and Yugoslavia (ibid). The military dimension of a total defence concept is normally characterized by a defensive military posture intended to deter by denial (FOI, 2018) while the civil defence is the authority responsible for ensuring that the Swedish population is resilient and to maintain vital societal functions in the event of an attack (FOI, 2020).

As previously noted, during the decades following the Cold War, the general extent of the SAF was heavily reduced and almost all total defence planning was scrapped (Salonius-Pasternak, 2018). This has been called the “postnational⁴” version of the SAF, which in 2010 turned into an All-Volunteer Force primarily focused on international peacekeeping. This enabled an increased focus on human rights, protection of civilians, and the UNSCR 1325, in favor of more traditional art of war-making (although never removing war-fighting as the primary activity (Egnell, 2014; Kronsell, 2012). However, in 2015 after less than a decade of primarily conducting expeditionary operations abroad, the Swedish Government ordered the SAF to refocus on territorial defense as well as to increase its *operational effectiveness* and warfighting capabilities (Government Bill, 2015:1). Military spending was increased and a partial, gender neutral conscription was reinstated as well as a reactivation of the total defence concept (Military Balance 2019:79, Swedish Government Offices, 2018; Strand & Kehl, 2019).

The territorial (re)turn and rearmament process has been continually motivated through perceptions about increasing tensions in the Baltic Sea (see e.g., Government Bill 2015, 22–23). The Russian government’s aggression in and against Ukraine, its illegal annexation of Crimea as well as the increased number of Russian military exercises and activities close to (sometimes even crossing) Swedish territorial borders, have become increasingly called upon and condemned by political and military elites (Government Bill 2015, 22–23). Russia has (re)emerged as the main adversary in Swedish defense policy, presented as constituting the greatest cause of instability in the Baltic Sea region. As such, Sweden’s immediate and long-term peace and security is perceived as threatened, placing the protection of Sweden’s territorial borders back at the top of the agenda for the SAF.

2.2 Gender and the Military

Gender mainstreaming measures adopted by armed forces have gained increased scholarly attention for how they ascribe meaning and relevance to military institutions, perform national identities, and order international politics (Strand & Kehl, 2019). By definition, *gender*

⁴ A “postnational defence organization” is defined as a more cosmopolitan-minded defense and military that pays less attention to the defence of the home territory and more to the security outside of its borders (Kronsell, 2012)

mainstreaming means achieving gender equality by assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, and programmes in all areas and at all levels (Kronsell, 2012) while increasing female recruitment and representation is referred to as *gender balancing* (ibid).

Military institutions are considered important actors in questions of gender, based on their role in performing and securing state sovereignty and in relation to the argued connection between soldiering, masculinity, and heterosexuality (Bulmer 2013:140, Strand & Kehl, 2019). According to Annica Kronsell (2005), vital knowledge about gender relations can be gained through the study of military and defense organisations since such institutions of hegemonic masculinity tend to represent and reify specific notions of masculinity in ways that make it the norm (Kronsell, 2005; Kronsell, 2012). Such institutions can be approached through feminist methodology, for example, by using critical analysis to question which ideas and preconceptions that appear as “normal” in institutional practice and by listening to the voices of those who challenge the norms of hegemonic masculinity by engaging in daily institutional practice (Kronsell, 2005).

To provide equal opportunities for partaking in the military is being increasingly called upon in Western European defense discourses (Bulmer, 2013) and previous scholars conclude that military institutions hold crucial positions in these processes and notions of becoming “gender-friendly” (Kronsell, 2012). However, the word “gender” is not (as commonly misunderstood) the equivalent of membership in biological sex classes (Sjoberg, 2011). Gender is a system of symbolic meaning that creates social hierarchies based on perceived associations with masculine and feminine characteristics (ibid). As markers of progress, scholars argue that gender-conscious militaries contribute to performances of national “Selves” and simultaneously discipline external “Others” through (the threat of) armed violence (Strand & Kehl, 2019). Consequently, this enables militaries such as the SAF to represent themselves as the protectors of these values (as gender-protectors), in turn rationalizing and enabling the process of re-territorialization and rearmament (ibid).

Approaching the concept of security within militaries using feminist theoretical lenses and methodologies have been conducted in many different ways. Feminist research in this topic asks very different questions about “security” and frequently uses very different methodologies to answer them. Carol Cohn has examined underlying ideas and conceptualizations of security, war, and military contexts using linguistic analysis, cultural analysis, and qualitative ethnographic methods to help answer her questions. Annica Kronsell, also studying the military, has investigated the culture of hegemonic masculinity in the Swedish military, revealing a profound silence concerning gender. This led to her conclusion that hegemonic

masculinity is so deeply entrenched in military *thinking* and *practice* that it has become normalized (as cited in Tickner, 2011:577-578).

A scholar who has specifically studied the process of implementing gender within the SAF is the Swedish professor Robert Egnell. In his latest book, Egnell concludes that like most military organizations, the SAF has been characterized by its masculine organizational culture, hesitant to perceive gender issues as a relevant matter for the military (Egnell, 2014). According to him, the process of integrating a gender perspective in the SAF has been driven by mainly two factors. Firstly, the directives from the Swedish Government, motivated by the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000 and its following National Action Plans (NAP). Secondly, changing the SAF's normative environment was driven by the realization that integrating a gender perspective in international operations could contribute to enhancing military effectiveness (Egnell, 2014). This was reflected (in part) by the new Military Strategic Doctrine of 2011, discussed therein under the heading "Gender - an example of effects-based thinking" (Försvarsmakten, 2011; MSD12). However, to successfully implement gender perspectives within an organization of robust cultural resistance to these issues (Egnell, 2014), a strategic decision was made to focus on gender as a means for *operational effectiveness*. The logic behind using this approach, which knowingly went against the advice of many women's rights groups, was to prove the operational utility of a gender perspective and the professionalism and competence of Gender Field Advisors. The idea was to build trust and acceptance within the SAF and thereby "gain access to the organisation" (Egnell, 2014:51). Once accepted a platform could be built from which the work towards broadening aspects of UNSCR 1325 and women's rights could be more successful (ibid). Some of the measures taken on behalf of integrating a gender perspective as a means for "operational effectiveness", was to recruit Senior Gender Advisors, Gender Focal Points, conduct training of trainers by deploying Gender field advisors in the area of operations, appointing women soldiers in dialogical roles in Afghanistan, initiating Genderforce⁵ and creating the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM) (Egnell, 2014; Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2018).

Although the SAF's actions have proved positive progress, previous research based on interviews conducted with SAF personnel notes that the organization has had an emotional, rather than professional, approach to dealing with issues of gender (Egnell, 2014). As gender issues are perceived as being far removed from the core military tasks, and therefore based on political priorities or the civil part of the total defence rather than the military ones, reactions

⁵ Genderforce is established as a non-profit security organization with the aim to fight and prevent acts of Sexual and Gender Based Violence in conflict and post-conflict situations in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions in this area. See <https://www.genderforce.com/> for more information.

often stem from negative instinctive emotions instead of professional and objective analysis of the issues at hand (ibid). This de-emphasized conception of the importance of gender issues, in combination with these negative emotional responses, means that many officers are even reluctant to carry out direct orders related to gender issues (ibid, 2012; 2014:71).

Using the UNSCR 1325 and mainstreaming gender as a tool for achieving increased military effectiveness has also become subject to criticism by feminist thinkers and women's rights groups. As expressed by Dianne Otto; "Resolution 1325 does not refer to addressing the structural causes of women's inequality (. . .). De-linking gender mainstreaming from the goal of gender equality is a very effective way to remove any feminist political content. Moreover, Resolution 1325's single reference to conflict "prevention" is in the context of increasing the representation of women in mechanisms aimed at prevention, as if "more women might do the trick" (Otto, 2009:21).

2.3 Research Gap and Contribution

As noted by Egnell, for successful implementation the narrative surrounding the WPS and gender mainstreaming agenda matters greatly. Presenting gender-based reforms as necessary for operational effectiveness has yielded more acceptance than a rights-based approach, where the armed forces have been conjured to embrace the UNSCR 1325 because "it's the right thing to do" (Davies & True, 2018). This does however also reflect the problematic association of issues of gender with soft normative power (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2016). Due to this association, these perspectives have long been perceived as "not an issue for the military" based on its inability to confront aggression, hardcore security issues, and threats emanating from actors such as hostile states and transnational terror organizations (ibid).

In Sweden, gender mainstreaming has become increasingly validated as an important feature in the military sphere and as established above, concrete actions have been taken, especially in terms of more aiming for more diverse recruitments and establishing gender advisement roles. Feminist thinkers do however remain critical of the way military and security actors has acted to implement the UNSCR 1325, arguing the resemblance of an "add women and stir" approach (Cohn, Kinsella & Gibbings, 2004) which fails to appropriately challenge the existing structure and culture of the military organisations. Further illustrating this dilemma is the SAF's pursuit of including gender perspectives into its practices but having to re-package it into a different concept for it to become accepted and legitimized.

It seems as though the question not yet answered by existing research is what, in terms of feminist and gender perspectives, *is* perceived as an issue for the military and to what extent have these values and perspectives of security become manifested in the work of the SAF? To

address this gap, this thesis seeks to contribute to the field of feminist security studies in relation to military policy by analyzing the SAF's current articulation of its strategic guidance and future defence strategies. To interpret which ideas that are embedded in the empirical material, this thesis uses a bipolarization of security perceptions based on the theoretical framework of feminist security theory and classical realism. This will be presented in the following chapter.

3. Theoretical Framework

The following section will present the theoretical framework central to this thesis. Firstly, the concept of security from the perspectives of feminist IR scholarship, the development of *Feminist security theory*, and its main principles will be presented. Following this section is an overview of the international IR theory of *Classical realism* and its main principles, based on the political philosophy of Hans Morgenthau.

3.1 Feminist Security Theory

According to feminist scholars, today's world is historically remarkable for its level of globalized militarism (Enloe, 2016:1). To make sense of it, either if one chooses to support it, critique it, or possibly challenge it, requires relevant and reliable skills and knowledge (Enloe, 2016). Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, feminist scholars had started to critique mainstream IR theories such as realism and liberalism, arguing that there was a masculinist bias in the field and that IR's omission of gender in their analysis was highly problematic (Enloe, 1989; Williams, 2017). Challenging the lack of women in international security policymaking and the masculine nature of the state and security agencies nationally and globally, they asked the central question: *whose* security are policymakers seeking to ensure? (Tripp et al. 2013:10).

For over two decades feminist IR scholars ranging in perspectives from critical, liberal, poststructuralist to postcolonial (amongst others) have succeeded in problematizing state-centric notions of security (Sjoberg and Via, 2010). As the field developed in the 1990s, it moved on "add women and stir" approaches to making gender a central category of analysis (Williams, 2017). Feminist scholars increasingly started to focus on security broadly defined, which led to the emergence of feminist security studies and ultimately, Feminist Security Theory (Blanchard, 2003). Within the framework of IR, feminist security theory introduced gender as a normative position and analytical tool for understanding international relations and the current world order (True, 2004). By using this approach to question the role of states as adequate security providers and analyze power and military capabilities differently from conventional IR scholars. In turn, this challenged perceptions of a State's military capacity as

an automatic assurance of individuals, particularly women's, security⁶ (Tickner, 1997). Feminist security scholars claim that inequalities, which decrease individuals' (particularly women's) security, cannot be understood using conventional tools of analysis. As expressed by Ann Tickner; "theories that construct structural explanations that aspire to universality typically fail to recognize how unequal social structures impact in different ways on the security of different groups" (Tickner, 1997; see also Ackerly, Stern & True, 2006).

A broader conception of security encompasses elements such as human security, domestic violence, economic security, social security, and environmental security as well as the security of the state. But rather than focusing on states and the causes and consequences of war, feminist security scholars focus on what goes on during war and on individuals, both civilian and military, and how their lives are affected by conflict (Tickner, 2011:577). They examine different meanings of (in)security; seek to demonstrate how militarized masculinities (a combination of traits and attitudes that are hyper-masculine, hegemonic, and are associated primarily with the military) (Whitworth, 2004; Enloe, 2000) are deeply embedded in military institutions and strategic thinking (Tickner, 2011); and argue that the way policies about national security are framed and the language used in formulating them, is important in legitimating certain policies and delegitimizing others (ibid:578).

Feminist security theory has subverted, expanded, and enriched notions of security for more than a decade by making at least four "theoretical moves" (Blanchard, 2003). The main features of the theory can thus be summarized into four questions that challenge existing norms and understandings of security that have dominated the field of traditional IR. The first question challenges the *nonexistence and irrelevance of women in international security politics*, engendering or exposing the workings of gender and power in international relations. This entails the recovery of women's experiences, the recognition of gender-based exclusion from decision-making roles, and the investigation of women's invisibility in international theory. Secondly, feminist security theory questions *the extent to which women are secured by state "protection" in times of war and peace*. The third question contests discourses wherein *women are linked unreflectively with peace*, arguing that the identification of women with peace must be balanced by recognition of the participation, support and inspiration women have given to war-making. The fourth and last question addresses the fact that *gendered security practices address only women* and have started to develop a variegated concept of masculinity to help explain security. (Blanchard, 2003). As Sjoberg (2010; 2011) makes the case for in her research;

⁶In terms of men being the winners in the competition for resources for social safety nets on which women depend disproportionately to men, as definers of an ideal type of militarized citizenship, usually denied to women (Tobias, 1990), or as legitimation of a kind of social order that can sometimes even valorize state violence (Tickner, 1997).

gender has to become a central factor in studies of international security and not remain a subcategory of the field of security studies. Gender analysis is necessary, conceptually, for understanding international security. It is important for analyzing causes and predicting outcomes and it is *essential* to thinking about solutions and promoting positive change in the security realm. (Sjoberg 2009; see also Sjoberg 2006; Sjoberg and Martin, 2010).

3.2 Classical Realism

The theory of Realism has significantly influenced both the practice of world politics and the academic study of IR (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020:130&135) and has therefore become one of the most well-established theoretical perspectives in the field (Stearns et al. 2013). There are several different strands of realism in IR; such as classical, neorealism, structural, offensive, and defensive realism. Classical realist thought stipulates that states' international behavior and interaction are principally guided by their pursuits of self-help, survival, security, and their maximization of national interests defined in terms of power (Aggestam, Bergman-Rosamond & Kronsell, 2019). It is most strongly associated with the work of twentieth-century thinkers such as E. H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau, whereas this thesis places most focus on the political philosophy of Morgenthau.

Classical realism is a state-level theory which believes that all states ultimately seek power and are driven by their desire to achieve national interests (Frankel, 1996). It seeks to identify unchanging and objective laws of politics, grounded in human nature, and squarely faces the tension between the demands of morality and those of politics. *Animus dominandi* - the desire to dominate, is believed to be the main cause of conflict (Morgenthau, 1967). To understand both the subtleties of Morgenthau's original concepts of realism in relation to other strands, as proposed in the second edition of his highly influential *Politics Among Nations* (1954), realism in this thesis will be understood and discussed in the shape and form of the following assumptions;

Firstly: *The state is the central actor on the world stage.* Secondly; *The natural state of international politics is anarchic.* Anarchic not in the sense of a war of all against all, but that there is no legal authority to bind a state when it perceives that breaking any agreement with other states is in its interests. Thirdly; *all states ultimately seek power* and fourthly: *the intrinsic nature of the human actors who control the states that cause states to behave as they do.* The fifth assumption tells us that in their pursuit of security or power, *states will conduct politics and adopt policies according to a rational framework.* Rationality does however not always mean success, since information is not always available, and the available information is not always accurate. The sixth and final assumption is the *utility of force.* More specifically, that

the ability and willingness to use force when perceived to be necessary, is an integral part of statehood. They rely on the use of force or on the threat to use force to protect their interests and enhance their security (Frankel, 1996).

Realist theory in IR has become subject to much critique, accused of being an “immoral” and “antagonistic” doctrine in IR. Holding true to the realist tradition in political science, Morgenthau did consider human nature to be egotistical and driven by a lust for power (Donnelly, 1992:86). However, he also strongly emphasized political morality and to reconcile the imperatives of morality and national survival by asserting that while the national interest must be protected, it must always be subjected to strict moral limits (Murray, 1996). For Morgenthau, a man who was nothing but a “political man” would be a beast, for he would be completely lacking in moral restraints (Morgenthau, 2006:15). Further he argued that:

“Political realism does not require, nor does it condone, indifference to political ideals and moral principles, but it requires indeed a sharp distinction between the desirable and the possible, what is desirable everywhere and at all times and what is possible under the concrete circumstances of time and place” (Morgenthau, 1945).

Morgenthau thus believed that political action is a struggle between the lust for power and the desire for moral behavior (Cozette, 2008:669) where the key is to find the balance between realist concerns and moral ideals to spur political action (ibid). The driving principle for statesmen in pursuing the national interest must be that of doing the *lesser evil* as much as possible (Morgenthau, 1962) and that good policies are the result of both power and moral considerations (Cristol, 2009). The national interest in the eyes of Morgenthau’s classical realism is thus itself instilled with morality: politics is as much as a struggle for the definition of good and evil as it is about power (Cozette, 2008). War may be necessary, but moral constraints still apply.

Although classical realists such as Morgenthau concentrate primarily on international relations, their realism can also be applied to domestic politics. There has been a renewed interest in classical realism, and particularly in the ideas of Morgenthau (Williams, 2005). Rather than being seen as an obsolete form of pre-scientific realist thought, superseded by neorealist theory, his thinking is now considered to be more complex and of greater contemporary relevance than was earlier recognized (ibid:2005).

By building a theoretical framework based on feminist security theory and classical realism as presented above, I have established contradicting metatheoretical lenses through which the material will be analyzed. The next section will introduce the methodological

approach and chosen analytic process that has been applied and provide a further explanation of the central empirical material.

4. Empirical Material & Methodological Approach

4.1 Empirical Material

Approximately every five years (since the beginning of the 21st century) the SAF releases a study called the *Future Force Study*. The Future Force Study constitutes an essential basis for the direction of the following defense policy preceding 2020. Although the results of the study do not provide a finalized plan or request for direct funds, the study proposes long-term focus points and necessary means for immediate decisions and actions. As such it provides a vital step in the preparations for the following defense alignment period. The study has been requested from the government as a way to enhance planning and to ensure a constant horizontal approach concerning potential risks, threats, and future challenges that could affect Sweden and thus prepare an effective defence. The Future Force Study consists of various analyses of future military strategic trends, conflict, and response environments looking 20 years into the future (Future Force Study, 2016-2018). It presents a set of developed “concepts” which defines and justifies the SAF’s role, relevance, and requirements based on the estimated image of the future security environment. Its objective is to formulate a formal proposal for the future role, tasks, and actions of the SAF based on what the future (is estimated) to hold and require from a military defence perspective. In other words, the Future Force Study lifts its gaze beyond the current direction/alignment of the security environment to understand and prepare for future risks and necessities (Future Force Study, 2016-2018).

Alongside the Future Force Study, another key document formulated by the SAF is their *Strategic Guidance*. The most recent release covers 2016-2020 and outlines the general direction, purpose, vision, and long-term goals for operations, products and organization for the SAF. The direction is based on various analyses of the surrounding world and adjusted to the framework of mandate, assignments, and allocated financial means given by the current government. The combination of these two documents thus forms the foundation and “justification” of both current and future plans and direction for the SAF. In conclusion, these particular documents were selected based on providing descriptive and relevant content in relation to the aim and purpose of this study

However, even though these specific documents were chosen based on their understood relevance to this thesis (since they are representative of/based on a large number of studies, analyzes, and reports) it could be questioned if they make up a sufficient amount of material

from which one can interpret and create generalized perceptions of security. To address this factor and strengthen the validity of the results, I used a complementary method for data generation: interviews with SAF Officials. This method will be addressed below.

4.2 Semi-structured interviews with SAF Officials

In order to both identify and contextualise the concept of gender mainstreaming in relation to ideas and perceptions of security, I conducted semi-structured interviews within SAF Officials (Ayres, 2012). The general aim of these interviews was to 1) answer specific questions about the SAF's the process of implementing a gender perspective and their efforts to "broaden" their perspectives of security (particularly through training and/or education) and (2) direct me towards specific reports, projects for gender implementation, or guiding documents that I had failed to identify myself. In turn, this was what led me to choose the specific documents that became central to my analysis (they were considered most relevant among the respondents). Both aims should be understood in relation to the challenges resulting from my main method for data generation identified above. In total, I interviewed five SAF officials. Due to circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic, I could not travel to Stockholm and therefore the number of interviews were fewer than planned and conducted over the phone. These interviewees were selected based on the information and experiences they were deemed to have, not because they represented a particular group or sample (see Patton 2018 on "expert sampling"). In cases where I have used citations from an interview, these have been translated from Swedish into English. Lastly, I want to point out that even though these interviews do not constitute the main material used in the thesis, they serve as complementary empirical material contextualising the process of mainstreaming gender in relation to the strategic security-thinking in focus.

4.3 The Case Study Approach

The classic case study consists of an in-depth inquiry into a specific and complex phenomenon (i.e., the case), set within its real-world context (Yin, 2013). The purpose of a qualitative case study is thus to perform an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single unit to understand a larger class of (similar) units and, ultimately, to understand what the case is a case of (Gerring, 2004:342; Merriam, 1998:16; cf. Gerring, 2007; Collier and Mahoney, 1996). Within case study methodology, two forms of analytic generalization for examining empirical studies as suggested by previous scholars is 1) ideal-typologizing; in this study pursued through the VDP-triad of analysis, and 2) positioning; in this case through the application of

contradicting metatheoretical lenses reflecting different ideas and potential discourses embedded in the material (see Yin, 2013).

The phenomenon under investigation in this case is the concept of security in a military context, seen through a feminist lens. The case is therefore Swedish military policy, where the SAF serves as the empirical object. This case study is what can be referred to as an *interpretive* case study, through which I aim to interpret the data by developing conceptual categories which then either supports or challenges the assumptions made regarding them (see Chetty, 2013:42 for McDonough & McDonough, 1997).

The scope of the study is depth at the expense of breadth; the case is likely to be representative of a Scandinavian context but not a global one and therefore the case suffers from some contextual sensitivity. The purpose of the study is however not to derive general explanations based on this particular case, but rather to produce contingent generalizations of a case of this specific interest. Generalizing the results to small states in a Scandinavian context is likely to be valid since they share common civil-military structure (in terms of their total defence concepts) and their commitments to implement the values embedded in the UNSCR 1325 and mainstream gender through their defence organizations.⁷

4.4 The VDP-Triad of Analysis

The method utilized in this paper is qualitative text analysis. Qualitative data and text analysis is essentially about detection, through tasks such as defining, categorizing, theorizing, explaining, exploring, and mapping (Huberman & Miles, 2002:309). The methods used for qualitative analysis therefore need to facilitate such detection and to be of a form that allows certain functions to be performed. These functions will vary depending on the research questions being addressed, however, the general functions required to apply this methodological approach include factors such as; defining concepts, understanding internal structures, creating typologies, categorizing different types of attitudes, behaviors, and motivations (Huberman & Miles, 2002). Within the doctrine of qualitative text analysis, there are many different approaches and techniques for analyzing empirical data. The method that I have chosen is specifically applicable when aiming to understand and identify ideas that shape and/or motivate policy-making is the so-called “VDP-triad in Ideational Analysis” (Lindberg, 2018), which was introduced at the beginning of this paper (chapter 1). The aim of qualitative analysis of ideas and ideological content is to identify, interpret, describe and analyze the specific ideas and the specific ideological content inherent in as in this case; established modes

⁷As expressed in Denmark’s National Action Plan for implementation UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security 2014-2019 as well as in the Norwegian Government’s Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security (2019 - 2022).

of thought residing in the language use of, for example, public institutions, organizations or social fields as well as in ongoing public debates or ideational struggles (Lindberg, 2017:88). This methodological approach can be used to contribute to a better knowledge of the patterns and ideas and ideologies inherent in the communication and discourse around us and as well (Lindberg, 2017).

The stylized generalizations of thought patterns of different idea traditions (such as feminism, nationalism or liberalism for example) can be referred to as “morphological reconstructions” or *ideal types*. Each of these has its own biased view of the world or ideological tale as well as a value-loaded system of core ideas and key concepts together with an ideologically colored vocabulary and language use. Hence different idea traditions and their ideal types describe, explain, and interpret the world in different ways. The task of this methodological approach is to identify and describe the ideas and ideological content, irrespective of it being true or false, but instead to present as truthful a picture as possible of the actual thinking and reasoning.

At the beginning of this paper, the systematized approach of classification of the content through the VDP-triad and thus the method for categorizing the interpretation of the empirical material was explained and illustrated with figure 1 (see chapter 1). The next step in this method is to formulate ideal-types based on the established theoretical framework. In this element, the theories serve as analytical tools for sorting the material and placing it within a suitable respective theory. Simultaneously it helps to sort out irrelevant material that doesn't fit into the analytic scheme. Subsequently comparing the ideal-types with the chosen object of analysis, in this case the SAF, (Esaiasson et. al. 2017:141) the characteristic features of the object(s) can be captured. In turn, this can help reveal to what extent the observed reality resembles the typified characteristics of the theoretical abstraction (Esaiasson et al. 2017).

Realist ideal types have been frequently used in previous research (see for example Brommesson & Ekengren, 2013: 6-7) and are therefore rather simple to formulate in an analytic scheme. Although Feminist Security theory has been subject to large debate, it has not been approached as frequently through this specific method. Therefore, I have intended to anchor my formulated ideal types on the thorough theoretical foundation presented in section 3.1 and 3.3 of this paper. The finalized analytic schemes of ideal types are illustrated in Figure 2 and figure 3 below. These schemes provide a clear “chart” of the polar schools of thought, showing how they correspond to the opposite characteristic of the other. In turn, this facilitates the research process by keeping the systematic analytical steps in order which avoids confusion for the author as well as the reader (Esaiasson et. al 2017:144). In the following section the VDP-triad of values, descriptions, and prescriptions as presented in chapter 1, are further elaborated

and used as a design to define *ideal types*. These ideal types, previously described in the section covering my choice of method, are thus based on the theoretical framework of Feminist Security Theory and Classical Realism. These ideal types have then subsequently been compiled into an analytic scheme, as presented below;

Figure 2, Feminist ideal types

Feminist Security Theory	Characteristics
Values/Value Judgements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender analysis is essential for understanding security - Gender is not a “women’s issue”
Descriptions/Judgements of reality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Militarized masculinity is deeply embedded in military institutions and strategic thinking - Unequal social structures impact in different ways on the security of different groups (women are not a homogenous group) - Women are often unreflectively linked to peace
Prescriptions/ Practical proposals for action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Use gender as an analytical tool within IR and security contexts - Promote gender equality

Figure 3, Realism ideal types

Classical Realism	Characteristics
Values/Value Judgements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - States' self-interest precedes issues of a moral nature - All States ultimately seek power
Descriptions/Judgements of Reality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - States are the central actors on the world stage - Rational state actors pursue their national interests - The natural state of international politics is anarchic
Prescriptions/Practical proposals for action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensure the survival of the nation - Achieve national interests - Use force or the threat to use force to achieve national interests

5. Validity, Reliability & Limitations

In the following section a discussion about the validity and reliability of this thesis will be provided, followed by a discussion of its limitations.

5.1 Validity and Reliability

To achieve reliable results with strong validity, systematic errors (conceptual validity) as well as unsystematic errors (reliability) need to be absent (Flick, 2009; Maxwell, 2002; Huberman et al. 2012). To achieve high conceptual validity, the thesis has sought to establish the correlation between the theory and operationalization (see sections 1.1 and 1.2). The validity of the research is thus dependent on the theoretical definition to be coherent with the operational indicators (Esaiasson et al. 2017: 60-61). In terms of data quality, as noted above, there is little concern about the reliability and validity of the chosen empirical material due to their source being the SAF. However, the origins of the data do need to be explicated, in a way that makes it possible to check what is a statement of the subject and where the researcher's interpretation begins. In this thesis, the documents are written in Swedish and the extracts used in this analysis have therefore been translated. This is important to note since translation can cause potential misinterpretations. To be as accurate as possible every quote has been pasted in its original language as a footnote.

To avoid random errors and ensure that the analytical tools are accurately used and not simply present in the paper, a careful and systematic process has been applied (Esaiasson et al. 2017:64). By establishing a systematic analytical scheme and a framework for categorization, classification, and coding and a thorough explanation of how the method is applied, the thesis seeks to minimize these potential risks and to create as reliable conclusions as possible.

Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that the documents at hand cannot be completely derived/separated from its context. Since the extent of this thesis only allows for a narrow focus and limitations in time and scope, using only fragments and extracts from the document can cause misleading statements or misinterpretations (Esaiasson et al. 2017). As a researcher, it is therefore important to find the balance between looking closely at extracted fragments while not losing sight of its wider context and purpose. This issue can be addressed by continuously questioning my interpretations of chosen fragments and making sure that they are reasonable given the larger content and context of the entire document (Esaiasson, et al. 2017:230).

5.2 Limitations

A qualitative content analysis based on the VDP-triad of ideational analysis allows for examining the data for both explicit and implicit statements, thus allowing the analysis to make inferences from the subtext and not purely assess political statements at face value. Using this type of data and analyzing it through this method can highlight the presence of ideas and

perspectives of security that have shaped the role of the SAF and their current and future military strategic guidance and defence.

The complementary semi-structured interviews were conducted both to identify and contextualize the concept of gender mainstreaming in relation to ideas and perceptions of security. In turn, this builds on previous research by telling us something about how far the SAF has come in terms of using gender-sensitive lenses and if this is embedded in the ambition to understand security from a broader perspective. The selection of respondents for the semi-structured interviews conducted for my study does however have its limitations, as the interviewed SAF Officials cannot be representative of the entire SAF but only reflect those available who either had been part of creating the chosen empirical documents or specifically involved in the process of implementing gender perspectives in the SAF's work. As available respondents were male only, this not an active choice but a random selection. The fact that all respondents were male does not specifically affect the purpose of this thesis since my aim is not to examine the *experiences* of gender within the SAF, but ideas and perspectives of security that reside "within" the process.

To situate the SAF within the feminist versus traditionalist understanding of security, choosing to use *feminism security theory* and *classical realism* enables the study to identify traces of each idea in the material and thus gain a better understanding of the extent to which they have influenced/shaped its content. There are however many more possible theoretical approaches that can be utilized when analyzing idea patterns. As such, I want to clarify that realist or feminist ideas are far from the *only* ideas that could be interpreted as having shaped the ideas and perspectives of security manifested in the SAF's documents, where for example liberal and cosmopolitan theories are frequently used when conducting similar studies (see Kronsell, 2012; Kucera, 2018). Choosing theories that constitute "extreme opposites", such as feminist security theory and classical realism, and specifically using the original philosophy of classical realism instead of a more modernized version, leads to a "bipolarization" of security perceptions. Thus, it is not to facilitate a type of "strawman argument", but to consciously create polar ideal types that can help explain the outcome of the analysis (Esaiasson, 2017: 141).

The limited scope of this thesis only allows for a limited amount of material to be collected and analyzed, and therefore it is important to acknowledge the boundaries of its generalizability. However, by showing how the research sample can be representative in terms of the context of this study, it remains worthy of academic inquiry and still capable of generating valid results. The Swedish case is of special interest both because of the nation's self-image and its reputation as a champion of gender equality, its ambition to broaden its security thinking, and its efforts to "remake" the image of the SAF as a bastion of masculinity

into a gender-friendly organization. I have also chosen *not* to delve into the current discussion on Swedish arm trade and exportation, an otherwise large discussion subject to much critique from feminist scholars in relation to the Swedish feminist foreign policy. Due to the limited scope of this thesis and the fact that this topic could constitute a thesis on its own, it will not be in focus in this specific research.

Finally, since the structure of the Swedish military is centered around its civil-military relations in the form of a total defence concept, it is also important to note that in this thesis I focus on the military part of the defence and less on the civil. As the aim of my thesis is to address the concept of security in a *military* context from a feminist perspective, it remains the object of my analysis. While I will not be discussing the role of the civil defence in-depth, it is however inevitable to consider the full implications of a total defence concept since understanding what responsibilities the civil defence has can help explain which responsibilities that the military defence has not.

6. Results

The SAF's Future Force Study of 2016-2018 and Strategic Guidance for 2016-2020 have been analyzed in the order of the outlined ideal types of *Feminist Security Theory* and *Realism* and their extracted characteristics; values, descriptions, and prescriptions. The empirical material will be presented with quotations from the documents and extracts from interviews followed by a discussion. There is not an equal number of quotations from each document under every category, since the aim has not been to find an even number of paragraphs that match each theory. On the contrary, the documents and interviews have been read and conducted with the intention to see *if* there are parts that can be interpreted as responding to the ideal types of either theory. To further clarify the presentation of the results, each section follows the structure of the VDP-triad. Throughout this section the quotations from documents will be referenced as the *Future Force Study, 2016-2018* and *Strategic Guidance, 2016-2020* and extracts from interviews as *Personal Communication, 2020*.

6.1 Values/Value Judgements

“If the enemy is on the other side of the bridge and a hundred civilians are standing on the bridge - you will still blow up the bridge. There is no broader thinking than to "win the peace". And what that really means is never really questioned.” (Personal Communication, 2020).

The formulated ideal types that characterize the values which shape and motivate the political thinking of classical realism have been summarized into two general objectives. That *all states ultimately seek power* and that a *State's self-interest precedes issues of a moral nature*. In an interview with one of the SAF's personnel, the respondent discussed the difficulty of ensuring and defining morality in military situations and the issue of understanding what "broader" thinking actually entails. According to the respondent, the morality of a situation is often two-fold. The respondent argues that the SAF (considering the situation in the quote) would undoubtedly blow up the bridge. This could thus be interpreted as reflecting a security thinking that relates to the classical realist idea where States' self-interest (to stop the enemy) precedes issues of a moral nature (to not harm civilians). However, it could also be argued that by sacrificing the few to "win the peace" and thus benefit the many, is also moral in terms of achieving the greatest good for the greatest number. Morgenthau's idea of classical realism puts forth that doing the lesser evil is sometimes a necessary means and that "man cannot hope to be good but must be content with not being too evil" (Morgenthau, 1945:13). The idea of "winning the peace" based on this strategy could thus be interpreted as "rational" based on the indication that the SAF would not pursue a normative agenda at the expense of the country's vital national interests (such as security and prosperity).

Prioritized goal: For citizens to see us as a guarantor for the country's freedom. We depend on being closely attached to our citizens in order to fulfill our responsibilities and to receive support in crisis situations and war. Reliable confidence is built on knowledge and realistic expectations. The combination of an increasing presence and broader participation from various parts of our society, our communication must contribute to increasing the knowledge about our role across the entire conflict scale. (Strategic Guidance, 2016-2020:16)⁸

The extract from the SAF's Strategic Guidance of 2016-2020 inserted above states that the SAF is striving towards becoming an accountable organization, where the society and its individuals perceive them as the guarantor of their freedom. Feminist security theory seeks to demonstrate the importance and value of using gender analysis to understand matters of security. One of the main characteristics of the theory is, as previously established, to question the extent to which individuals (especially women) are being secured by state "protection" in times of war and peace. What differs in feminists perceptions of security and more specifically, insecurity, is that the state is implicated in the ways that women become "the objects of masculinist social control

⁸ "Prioriterat mål: Medborgarna ser oss som garant för landets frihet. Vi är beroende av stark förankring hos medborgarna för att fullgöra vår uppgift och få stöd i olika krislägen och krig. Ett stabilt förtroende bygger på kunskap och realistiska förväntningar. I kombination med ökad närvaro och breddat deltagande i samhällets olika delar ska vår kommunikation bidra till ökad kunskap om vår roll över hela konfliktskalan".

not only through direct violence but also through ideological constructs, such as “women’s work” and the cult of motherhood, that justify structural violence, inadequate healthcare, sexual harassment and sex-segregated wages, rights, and resources (Peterson, 1992). Although these aspects of security are traditionally understood as issues or aspects of society that goes well beyond the military sphere, the point that feminist security scholars try to make is that conceptualizations of security based on the threat of a military conflict or war, constitutes a very limited set of “fears”. Being a guarantor of freedom and security is a grand ambition, but perhaps it remains unclear if this ambition refers to security as defined by territorial integrity or a broader sense of the word. This discussion could be furthered by the following statement:

“We defend Sweden and its national interests, our freedom and the right to live as we choose⁹” (Future Force Study, 2016-2018:3)

The quote above presents the first sentence in the preface of the SAF’s “Future Force Study”, written by Supreme Commander Micael Bydén. Bydén initiates the report by presenting the heart and soul of the SAF’s missions, the core values that constitute their current and future work. He states that values such as peace and freedom cannot be taken for granted, but that the nation must always be prepared to defend and fight for these values. The liberal thoughts underpinning the statement seems to assume that there is a joint understanding in the society of what freedom is and what it constitutes. This cosmopolitan like assumption and understanding of security draws on an underlying idea of freedom and security that supposedly means the same for everyone. But such freedom and rights, enabling Swedish citizens to live as they choose (those who can) are not necessarily territorially conditioned. From a realist perspective it could be argued that they are since a potential attack could greatly affect their way of life if it meant that people had to hide or flee. Feminist security theory instead argues that what constitutes value judgments in terms of security (such as freedom and the right to live as one chooses), depends on who is included and who is left out in security analyses. As argued by Laura Sjoberg: “If we were to re-envision security as starting from the perspective of individual women’s lives, it would change not only what security is, but how it is conceptualized, operationalized, and acted on.” (Sjoberg, 2009). In conclusion, the paragraph can be understood from a realist perspective based on its framing/representation of the SAF as the protectors of these values, constructed as being under threat from external military aggression. In turn this helps legitimize the use of military means *in order to* protect them, as well as to demonstrate their utility and relevance.

⁹ “Vi försvarar Sverige och landets intressen, vår frihet och rätt att leva som vi själva väljer.”

“There is still a lack of expertise, which results in a lot of male “guessing” (kill-gissning¹⁰). Although they have familiarized themselves with the concept of gender mainstreaming, it is so broad and comprehensive, which fails to provide clarity to those who doubt its relevance. The lack of understanding of why it is important to integrate it required training that not only talks about sexual violence in international operations but breaks down the meaning of the concept to demonstrate its relevance on the national level within the SAF and the military. Here, expertise is necessary to support the training and provide answers to the questions where as of now, a lot of guessing appears. (Personal Communication, 2020)

The paragraph above is extracted from an interview with one of the chief executives of the SAF’s Land Warfare Centre (LWS) (*Markstridsskolan*), a center for education, development, and training, the efforts made towards strengthening gender perspectives were discussed. The LWC trains the SAF’s future chiefs and army units in ground combat with the help of advanced training facilities including simulators and develops methods, regulations, personal equipment, and weapon systems (Försvarsmakten, 2020). During the interview, the respondent began by describing the implementation of a new education program that all combat schools have had to develop in order to meet the government's new requirements for mainstreaming gender. The initiative was driven by a NATO-led course that the SAF chief personnel had partaken in, so-called “gender training for trainers”. The only problem with implementing the course in Sweden was that “at first, the context of the course did not resonate with the Swedish military. It didn't seem to be of sufficient relevance in a Swedish and military context” (Personal communication, 2020). The NATO-led course had presented important content but on a broad and somewhat “basic” level such as “don't commit any sexual assaults during a war-time och military operation” (personal communication, 2020). Due to this, the LWC was tasked with developing new course material, less focused on the international framework (such as UN resolutions), and more on installing greater situational awareness in a national context. Instead, the LWC created a “gender education package” with simulated situations and interactive practices and discussions. Since the term “gender mainstreaming” did not resonate well with the military personnel, the general agenda for the courses was instead presented as “problematizing civil situation assessment” (*att problematisera civillägesbedömningar*) (Personal communication, 2020). The concept of gender training was thus transformed into something that could more easily become accepted within the military and was titled with “in-depth civil situation assessment in national operations”. Reformulating gender training as problematizing civil situation assessment was crucial, to “successfully persuade the targeted groups who had

¹⁰ Swedish slang for "men who are **guessing** with absolute confidence that they are totally 100% correct but with an actual lack of expertise as they are in fact just guessing (Wikipedia, 2020)

difficulty understanding the relevance of gender awareness and skills in relation to their work” (Personal communication, 2020). Continuing on the same interview:

“We need to spend more time assessing and understanding the civil situation, to increase our own cultural understanding in both national and international operations, but above all in a Swedish context. We often think that we have a very good idea of the cultural situation in Sweden, but we tend to generalize, and we are far from being as aware as we think that we are.” (Personal Communication, 2020)

In the former paragraph, the interview with the LWC Official indicated that the lack of expertise is an issue when it comes to training and implementation of gender perspectives within the military defence. This in turn leads to guessing, and perhaps inaccurate information or simply not enough information to establish why these perspectives are relevant. However, the ambition to apply and even to disseminate the concept of gender mainstreaming to clarify and increase understanding of its implications and relevance in a national and military context (as the quote states), indicates a willing attempt to implement a broader security thinking. As such it reflects an awareness of valuing gender analysis to understand security, in line with feminist security theory. However, the remaining resistance and unawareness discussed by the respondent above (both paragraphs) also represent the central struggle between what can be argued as realist perceptions of what is relevant for the military, in terms of adopting policies according to a rational framework, while the feminist theory instead perceives gender as inherent in understanding security (either as included or excluded) making it impossible to “remove” in the first place. Thus, although the SAF ambition is clear, when faced with a set of issues and perspectives that seem less traditional, it becomes less obvious why it is relevant for the military and in that process, gender continues to remain a secondary concern.

6.2 Descriptions/Judgements of reality

“For me, creating the course was a real eye-opener in terms of learning and talking about these perspectives. It made me think about these issues more in-depth and reflect more on the impact it has and especially that it has an operational effect on the work that we do. Also, it made me realize that there is so much research made proving how much of a difference it can make to consider these perspectives”. (Personal communication, 2020)

A part of feminist security studies and feminist security theory is focused on examining and understanding different meanings of (in)security. They aim to demonstrate how the reality of international security is characterized by militarized masculinity (a combination of traits and attitudes that are hyper-masculine, hegemonic, and associated primarily with the military)

which they argue *is deeply embedded in military institutions and strategic thinking*. Many important steps have been taken by the SAF, towards implementing a gender perspective into their security practice and the military organisation as a whole. These steps have been successful, specifically in terms of conducting training and continuously striving to find relevance in a Swedish and military context. SAF's strategic decision to re-conceptualize gender training into a matter of operational effectiveness, and as in the case of the LWC course "in-depth civil situation assessment in national operations", this approach has proved to be successful before. As established by Egnell's research (2014), the strategy of approaching gender mainstreaming through the means of increasing operational effectiveness was a way to "get inside" the organization. Reconceptualizing it by using a language that could better fit military terminology, enabled gender mainstreaming to become more "representable" in a military context. This phenomenon can thus be interpreted as illustrative of the feminist security theory argument of militarized masculinity as deeply embedded in military institutions and strategic thinking. Although changing the title is not equivalent to "masculinizing it", however the need itself to change it illustrates the difficulty of legitimizing gender mainstreaming due to its otherwise feminine connotation, which has tended to automatically be seen as issues less relevant for the military.

The SAF Official's "eye-opening" experience due to increased awareness of different perspectives could be interpreted as confirming how much ideas about gender are affecting how security and military strategic thinking is produced and practiced. As argued by feminist security theorists, using these perspectives makes it possible to challenge militarized masculinities embedded in military strategic thinking by highlighting the differentiated *effects* on women, which in turn can help ensure equal treatment and recognition as men. Problematizing situation assessment in national and international operations to include different perspectives, cultural differences, and various protection needs, can be argued as taking that step forward. It allows security as a concept to become questioned, opening up the possibility of applying gender analysis in the process of assessing the civil situation. The intention behind the remaking of the course LWC training illustrates increased acknowledgment of the importance of problematizing security even in a national context, recognizing that even though Sweden is considered by itself and many others to be a humanitarian superpower, there is still much to learn.

"The military strategic development of the major players, which is based on analyzes of which circumstances are favorable and unfavorable and which can be used to achieve strategic objectives. Actors gradually adapt their strategies to take advantage of the

opponent's weaknesses. Changes in strategy often take a long time, which means that it is important not to get behind”¹¹. (Future Force Study, 2016-2018:18-19).

The paragraph above is extracted from a chapter in the SAF’s Future Force Study presenting the future operating environment of 2035, based on assessed developments in security policy and military technology. In the second sentence of the paragraph it reads that States develop military capacities based on the assessments of their opponents' weaknesses and adjust according to how it can be used to their advantage. In Morgenthau’s classical realism, the reality of IR is that States are the main power players, and the natural state of international politics is anarchic. Since there is no hierarchically superior in an anarchic state, there is no coercive power that can resolve disputes, enforce the law, or order the system of international politics. Thus, realists respond to the anarchic world system by assuming a "self-help" doctrine. In other words, they can only rely on themselves for their security and therefore they have to stay alert and adjust to potential changes.

In an anarchical system, the basic motive of a state's behavior is survival, which they see in relative terms; holding that the increased security of one state will necessarily lead to a decrease in the security of others. Thus, States are forced to constantly take into account that others might have more power than them or are planning to gain more power, forcing them to do the same. This leads to competition and, as expressed by Morgenthau, a continuous struggle to increase power and capabilities. The articulation of the quote above can thus be read as both a description of reality as well as a prescription for action, and it can be interpreted as mirroring classical realist standpoints. However, this argument could be countered with the fact that Sweden is not at all adhering to a “self-help” doctrine, since it is fully open to receiving and giving military support with regards to the declaration of solidarity and commitment to European collective defence. Yet this commitment was based on the perceived insufficient power military capacity of the SAF alone, and therefore a partnership was strategically beneficial for ensuring the survival and security of the Swedish state, thus perhaps less driven by a sense of morality in terms of “helping thy neighbor”. The content of the paragraph (and the motivation behind the commitment) can thus be interpreted as twofold, both mirroring security thinking similar to the realist “self-help” approach, while also demonstrating a policy influenced by rationality *and* morality.

¹¹ “Den militärstrategiska utvecklingen hos de större aktörerna, vilken utgår från analyser av vilka omständigheter som är gynnsamma respektive ogynnsamma och vilka som kan utnyttjas för att nå strategiska målsättningar. Aktörer anpassar successivt sina strategier för att utnyttja motståndarens svagheter. Förändringar i strategi tar ofta lång tid vilket innebär att det är viktigt att inte hamna i efterhand.”

“It is basically a matter of human rights that both women and men can be given the opportunity to participate on equal terms in peace and state-building. In the long run, it can be considered crucial for the legitimacy and credibility of a nation-state and its defense forces. Diversity in the Armed Forces' personnel composition also strengthens the ability to ensure the different protection needs of several social groups in crisis and war¹²”. (Future Force Study, 2016-2018:63).

A similar argument was pursued in another context expressed in the SAF's Strategic Guidance document:

“The Swedish Armed Forces is an inclusive organization and our diversity on both the organizational and individual level is a strength¹³” (Strategic Guidance, 2016-2020:12).

Feminist security theory contests discourses where *women are linked unreflectively with peace*. It argues that the identification of women with peace must be balanced by recognition of the participation, support, and inspiration women have given and can give to war-making. The perceptions of reality that stem from feminist security theory has challenged traditional undermining perceptions of women to not “fit in” in contexts of military and war, but instead automatically linking women with peace. In 1994 Warren and Cady wrote; “Women are combatants and military personnel; women are political leaders, protesters, and grassroots organizers; some women believe in just-war theory and others are pacifists; women are hostage-takers and hostages-women” (1994). In other words, arguing that women “fit in” in the ways that men “fit in”.

Looking at the quotes above through the feminist security theory, lens it could be interpreted as (at least) twofold. In the first quote above extracted from the Future Force Study, the SAF presents the opportunity to partake in peace and state-building as a human right, equal to women and men. It argues that this is a vital prerequisite for both the credibility and capacity of the nation's defence forces. Although it emphasizes equal opportunity to partake in peace-making more than it does war-making, it states that men and women are equally important for the task and that diversity is necessary for the SAF to understand different needs of protection. Thus, it could be argued that the SAF is acknowledging the importance of not situating women as peacemakers, but rather the importance of equal participation for ensuring credibility, inclusiveness and legitimacy. The second quote, extracted from the SAF's strategic guidance in a section titled “together”, furthers this standpoint by highlighting that *diversity* and *inclusiveness* are the SAF's strengths.

¹² Det är i grunden en fråga om mänskliga rättigheter att både kvinnor och män kan ges möjlighet att delta på lika villkor i freds- och statsbyggande. I förlängningen kan det betraktas som avgörande för en nationalstats och dess försvarsmakts legitimitet och trovärdighet. Mångfald i Försvarsmaktens personalsammansättning stärker också förmågan att se till flera samhällsgruppers olika skyddsbehov i kris och krig.

¹³ Försvarsmakten är en inkluderande organisation och vår mångfald på det organisatoriska och individuella planet är en styrka

Secondly, the statement could be interpreted as a “right-based argument” which is utilized to pertain to women’s increased representation in peace processes as a matter of fairness (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2018). Yet, these arguments also reflect a broader depoliticized global strategy of simply “counting” women and “adding” them to peace negotiations, without questioning the militarised infrastructure and power dynamics that underpin such negotiations. Rather than politically contesting prevalent gendered power structures and hegemonic masculinities, women’s inclusion in peace processes is often constituted within the language of “smart” peace diplomacy and efficiency and as such reducing the political dynamics of the process.

“At all levels of conflict, the Swedish Armed Forces have the ability to contribute to supporting society, safeguard the civilian population* and as well assist with protecting important societal infrastructure and supply chains within and to the country”¹⁴ (Future Force Study, 2016-2018:15).

“*The civilian population may have different needs for protection during a crisis or conflict. Deconstructing the image of civil society in gender and age - women, men, girls, and boys - makes these diverse conditions visible and facilitates planning from a broader perspective on security, safety, and health. This also prevents potential preconceptions of which population category that constitutes the norm.”¹⁵ (Future Force Study, 2016-2018:15).

In Feminist Security theory, descriptions and judgments of reality are based on the acknowledgment of how *unequal social structures impact in different ways on the security of different groups*. In the Future Force Study, the SAF presents a horizontal perspective and proposes a suitable future structure for the organization (based on the current defence policy direction but also by gazing beyond the nearest future). The quote above is extracted from a section in the study related to *accountable grey-zone management*. A “Grey-zone” is a period referred to as a state between peace and war¹⁶. The quote states that “at all levels of conflict, the SAF can support the Swedish society and to safeguard the population”. Following this statement is a footnote that problematizes this statement by acknowledging the need to deconstruct the image of the civil population since different groups of individuals have different needs for protection during a crisis (or grey-zone period). It problematizes the image of civil society as one coherent and homogenous group. By asking what “safeguarding the *civilian*

¹⁴ *I alla konfliktnivåer har Försvarsmakten förmåga att bidra till att stödja samhället, värna befolkningen* samt bistå till skydd av samhällsviktig infrastruktur och försörjning inom och till landet.*

¹⁵ **Civilbefolkningen kan ha olika skyddsbehov under kris eller konflikt. En uppbyggnad av civillägesbilden i kön och ålder – kvinnor, män, flickor och pojkar – synliggör dessa förhållanden och underlättar planering utifrån bredare perspektiv på trygghet, säkerhet och hälsa. Därigenom motverkas också eventuella föreställningar om vilken befolkningskategori som utgör norm.*

¹⁶ Definition retrieved from the SAF’ research institute’s (FOI) report *Gränsproblematik och hybridkrigföring – påverkan på energiförsörjning*. Available at: <https://www.foi.se/rest-api/report/FOI-R--4590--SE>.

population” actually means it also questions *whose* security is being talked about and how (based on the diversity of needs) should the SAF act to achieve it.

Feminist security theory argues that the way policies about national security are framed, and the language used in formulating them is important in terms of legitimating certain policies and delegitimizing others (Tickner, 2011:578). The SAF concludes that disintegrating the image of what constitutes a civilian population to ensure the inclusion of broader perspectives of security, safety, and health, will enhance their work. The statement also advocates for the dissemination of preconceptions of which group constitutes the norm. This approach to military strategic thinking could be argued as promoting a more inclusive formulation of strategies. Breaking down the word “the civilian population” illustrates that the SAF acknowledges the effect that resides within the language and that problematizing it is relevant to their work. Although it is “only” inserted as a footnote, it is still an important recognition, reflecting a similar “reality” as feminist security theory. Trying to gain a better understanding of (in)security by acknowledging that society is not a “homogenous group” of individuals helps to promote a more progressive platform from which the SAF can develop their future defence and security strategies.

6.3 Prescriptions/Practical proposals for action

“The Swedish Armed Forces requires more females. The proportion of females who are interested in and applying to a military post needs to increase. Female engagement in the military is an important starting point. An increased proportion of women implicates a broader foundation of competence which increases the attractiveness and is expected to increase operational capability. Successful gender mainstreaming, including established quantitative goals regarding the proportion of women/men, is essential¹⁷.” (Strategic Guidance, 2016-2020:57).

The overarching goal and motive for feminist security theory (and feminism in general) is to promote gender equality and, amongst other objectives, challenge the nonexistence and perceived irrelevance of women in security politics. The extracted paragraph above can be interpreted from two perspectives. Firstly, the moral of the security thinking present in the quote can be read as increasing the number of women within the SAF, and mainstreaming gender into the organization's practices, is more than just an ethical imperative; it is also a strategy to increase operational capacity and gain broader capacity. Becoming a more attractive workplace for women and increasing female engagement in military activities is expressed as an essential

¹⁷ *”Försvarsmakten behöver fler kvinnor. Bland kvinnor behöver andelen intresserade av och sökande till en militär tjänst öka. Kvinnors drivkrafter för ett militärt engagemang är en viktig utgångspunkt. En ökad andel kvinnor medför en breddad kompetensbas som ökar attraktionskraften och förväntas ge en ökad operativ förmåga. Ett framgångsrikt jämställdhetsintegreringsarbete, inklusive fastställda kvantitativa mål avseende andel kvinnor/män, är en grundförutsättning.”*

criterion for successful gender mainstreaming. However, the statement also reflects an understanding of gender mainstreaming that is justified based on its instrumentality and ability to improve operational efficiency, rather than its normative commitment to gender equality and feminist transformation of security politics. As a result, this could cause the implementation of gender mainstreaming to become “light” and highly fragmented (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2018; Daly, 2005).

Feminist scholars argue that when efforts to mainstream gender mostly focus on representation and increasing women’s participation in peace-making processes, it fails to seriously challenge prevalent gendered asymmetric power relations and structures in global politics (Aggestam & Bergman-Rosamond, 2018). The quote above describes an increase of women as a prescription for action towards gender mainstreaming, which thus could be interpreted as tending to reflect an underlying assumption about gender as a “women issue”. When masculine identities and their part of the gendered dynamics of international conflicts are left untouched (Aggestam & Rosamond, 2018) it runs the risk of simply “adding women” as a policy initiative for the sake of gender mainstreaming rather than questioning and contesting the gendered political power logics that underpin them (ibid).

“The former (and present) strive for societal relevance has previously led to the SAF and its role and understood responsibility to become weakened. FM's raison d'être is based on being able to execute violence upon the government's request. This is the mandate of the military function and this is how it should be. Including too many perspectives can become problematic in that it complicates the definition and distinctness of the SAF's role and relevance. Too many perspectives and it will weaken the effectiveness and purpose of the organization. It creates a confusion in terms of demands which in turn complicates both accountability and crisis management (. . .) The political environment has to consider the military domain and its limitations”. (Personal communication, 2020).

The classical realist prescriptions for actions (understood in broad terms), is to ensure the survival of the state and to use force or the threat to use force to achieve national interests. As previously established in this thesis, due to perceived threats to Sweden’s immediate and long-term peace and security, Swedish defence policy has returned to prioritising the protection and security of its own borders. The detected rationale in the above paragraph, is that including broader and more inclusive and gender sensitive perspectives of security is seen as interfering with the understood purpose of the SAF - its purpose being to achieve national interests and if necessary, protect the country with the use of force. In turn, this could be understood in the light of Morgenthau's distinction between “what is desirable everywhere and at all times and what is possible under the concrete circumstances of time and place” (1945).

Since the strive for societal relevance is being weighed against remaining reliable as a security provider, it could thus be interpreted as mirroring the classical realist belief of the struggle between the lust for power and the desire for moral behavior. A classical realist would thus argue that in the end, states should try to find the appropriate balance between power and morality as they strive towards their central goal - *achieving the national interest*. Simply pursuing a moral agenda could (as the respondent is arguing) causes the SAF to become a weak and ineffective actor unable to further any interests at all and therefore they can only amount to limited perspectives in its security practices. This “separation of interests” is an interesting contrast to feminist security theory, which instead rejects the analytic separation of explanations for insecurity based on the identification of security with state borders. Tickner argues, “violence at the international, national, and family levels interrelated, ironically taking place in domestic and international space beyond the reaches of law” (Tickner, 1992:58 &193) and thus dividing societal relevance and national safety means misunderstanding security itself. Moreover, they argue that alternative approaches to the very idea of conflict and security (in contrast to realist ideas) if understood and taken seriously by policy-makers, could in fact have profound consequences for how defence forces will be structured, conflict and violence will be understood, intelligence gathering will be conducted and military operations would be planned and implemented (Egnell, 2014:34).

“The Swedish Armed Forces will strive to implement an equality perspective into the organization. This will be carried out following regulation (2007: 1266) with instructions for the Swedish Armed Forces and the government's national action plan for women, peace, and security. This task represents an important approach and method both during international peace-promoting operations and in the national defence. Gender equality in military operations can help achieve the general goals for equality in the society as a whole”¹⁸. (Strategic Guidance, 2016-2020:73).

“In a broader perspective, through gender equality analysis, contribute to an in-depth assessment of the civilian situation to highlight and, if possible, mitigate the repercussions of military activities on the civilian population following international humanitarian law”¹⁹ (Strategic Guidance, 2016-2020:73).

The first and second paragraphs above are both extracted from the SAF’s Strategic guidance document, below section 5.12. titled *gender equality in military operations*. The section presents the ambition and importance of SAF’s work with integrating the values and principles

¹⁸(Similar statement made in the Strategic Guidance report on p. 16, 19, 20, 73, 79)

¹⁹ I ett bredare perspektiv genom jämställdhetsanalys bidra till en fördjupad civillägesbild, i syfte att belysa och om möjligt mildra den militära verksamhetens återverkningar på civilbefolkningen i enlighet med internationell humanitär rätt”.

of human rights, such as the agenda for women peace and security, into their military organization. The below paragraph is an extract from an interviewee with an SAF's Official.

“During the SAF's large exercises, there are now gender advisors and gender focal points present. But questions and doubt still remain among a large part of the SAF personnel; Why? What are they going to do there? What is the need in a national context? There is still no basic understanding of the impact of a broader security thinking and gender perspective in a military context. How to “marry it” with the military by changing the concepts and learning in what context do we present the concept for them to be perceived as relevant to those who are reluctant to legitimize it as such. So, it still needs a lot of work” (Personal Communication, 2020).

The content of these joint paragraphs could be interpreted as mirroring the gap between political rhetoric and practical implementation that constitutes the central issue of this entire thesis. According to the first and second paragraphs, the SAF's approach to integrate gender equality and perspectives, is not only important as a mind-set but as an actual method in all operations, both internationally and within the national defence. The statement also reads that the SAF wants to adjust their methods based on different protection needs. Although there are a great many varieties of feminism, all feminists agree that the domination/subordination of women exists is morally wrong and must be eliminated. As previously established, the primary goal and prescription for action in the feminist security theory is the promotion of gender equality. The SAF's thoroughly formulated ambition to promote gender equality thus mirrors an understanding of security that perceived gender equality as essential even in a military context.

While the ambition is clear, implementation is less so. The latter paragraph is taken from an interview with an SAF Official from the LWC, involved in the development of the gender training and courses (section 5.2). Their tasks were, as previously mentioned, to conceptualize gender mainstreaming and, as expressed by the respondent, to “marry it” into a military context. To marry it thus meant reframing it, into “in-depth civil situation assessment in national operations”. Although straying from using the word “gender” the content of the course has aimed towards applying gender as an analytical tool in a security context. The goal has been to disseminate perceptions, preconceptions, and misconceptions about who is being secured and how it can be achieved. However, the recurrent issue seems to be that there is still not enough expertise on the subject to establish a legitimate framework that makes sense for the majority of SAF's military personnel even though their guiding documents are commanding it. A framework that goes beyond “gender balancing” (Kronsell, 2012) by simply “adding” women and instead aims for gender mainstreaming, by questioning the dynamics and mindsets that are resisting the change in the first hand. Feminist have previously expressed criticism

towards the SAF in terms of its focus on “operational effectiveness” (Egnell, 2014), where matters of gender becomes a tool for the military rather than a push for structural change. However, as expressed by a former Gender Field Advisor, this tactic has served as a way to “gain access to the organisation” by building trust and acceptance, which appears to remain a necessary method.

7. Summary of Results

Realist value judgments were not explicitly expressed in the documents, although it was possible to find value-laden statements with traces of realist ideas. For example, while the belief that “all states ultimately seek power” was never clearly expressed, the idea that the State’s self-interest precedes issues of a moral nature could be identified in the analysis of the interviews with the SAF’s personnel.

Feminist value judgments, such as the importance of applying gender analysis to understand security and that gender is not a “women’s issue”, was not explicitly emphasized in the documents. However, in the interviews with SAF personnel, the process of implementing a gender perspective through training and education to enhance the SAFs work reflected values and ideas relatable to those of feminist security theory. Several paragraphs also emphasized the importance of equal opportunities and that equality is a prerequisite for the legitimacy of the organisation. In turn, this could be perceived as an attempt to demonstrate that the SAF doesn't see gender as a “women’s issue”.

Realist descriptions of reality were partly identified in the material, such as in the expression about military strategic thinking among States as the power players on the political stage. Although not expressed explicitly this could be interpreted as mirroring a belief of an anarchic state of international politics where states have to adapt their strategies to utilize their opponent’s weaknesses for the sake of maintaining power and not “getting behind”.

Feminist descriptions of reality were partly explicitly expressed, in terms of recognizing how different groups in society perceive security differently and have different protection needs. In the interviews with the SAF Officials the importance of including more perspectives as well as problematizing ideas of security that are deeply embedded in military institutions and strategic thinking within the SAF were also recognized.

Realist prescriptions and recommendation for actions were not explicitly expressed in the documents, while the priority of achieving national interest, ensuring the survival of the nation and the use of force appeared more generally in the document where the SAF’s strongly emphasizes the importance of working together, both nationally and internationally, to ensure

the security and survival of the nation. Rather than describing strategies in terms of using force or the threat of force the documents promote strategic communication, international cooperation, deterrence, and abstaining from war as important features of their work to ensure security.

Feminist prescriptions and recommendations for action were explicitly expressed in the material, specifically in terms of placing weight on the importance of including women and increasing female participation and engagement in military activities. Promoting gender equality is presented as an essential factor for the SAF’s development, for enhancing their capacity, effectiveness as well as their “attractiveness” as an employer.

Figure 4. Summary of Results

Ideal-types	Classical Realism	Feminist Security Theory
Values/Value Judgements	Not explicitly	Not explicitly
Descriptions/Judgements of Reality	Yes, partly	Yes, partly
Prescriptions/Practical proposals for action	Not explicitly	Yes

8. Discussion

Through qualitative text analysis and the so-called “VDP-triad” of ideational analysis, the ambition of this thesis has been to identify and interpret ideas and perceptions existing in established modes of thought residing in the language use of the SAF’s current strategic guidance and their current formulation of a future defence. In the previous chapter, the results of the ideational analysis were established and summarized. The following chapter provides an elaborate discussion of those results. The first section will present an analysis of the findings presented in chapter 5, followed by a discussion on how the findings can be used to answer the overarching research question of this thesis. The final section provides a brief presentation of my concluding thoughts and reflections as well as a proposal for future research.

8.1 ... *Would you do it?*

“... or would you risk neglecting it, jeopardize overlooking the consequences it has for planning and execution of military operations, education, pre-deployment training, intelligence, analysis, your own and others safety? Would you knowingly disregard international obligations? Would you gamble with the chances of the operation making more harm than good by neglecting the knowledge that comes from this perspective? Or would you be outraged if an enemy discovered your neglect and used this perspective against you?”

Lena P. Kvarving and Rachel Grimes (2016)
"Why and how gender is vital to military operations"

The purpose of my research has been to gain a better understanding of the SAF's security-thinking based on the articulation of their current and future defence strategies and direction, and by using a gender-sensitive lens. A gender sensitive lens allows for posing the central question that all feminist security scholars ask, namely *whose* security is policymakers are seeking to ensure as well as *how* they are trying to achieve it. As such, this thesis has inquired how the SAF's process of implementing a “broader” security thinking can be understood from a feminist perspective. The aim has been to understand how gender is valued, framed, and how it is understood as a part of future problem representations (and solutions). A part of this thesis's central problem, presented in section 1.1, is that in the upswing of more traditional, commonly perceived as “real”, security issues, there is a risk that the space for matters of gender becomes limited. As the security environment is changing, the SAF has returned to being a defence organisation primarily focusing on protecting the nation's borders. Based on this analysis it does however seem as though the ambition to foster more inclusive ideas of security has not necessarily been reduced. Staying true to the Swedish reputation of being a champion for women's rights, it is clear that the SAF continuously strives to implement gender perspectives into their practices. But to further discuss and problematize my interpretations, first I will return to the general research question guiding this thesis; *Which general ideas and perceptions of security are manifested in the Swedish Armed Forces' strategic guidance and current articulation of future military defence?*

The results of the analysis showed recurring traces of feminist thought, and it illustrated an awareness of the importance of including a broader set of perspectives to improve their practice of security. However, while the documents proved a clearly expressed ambition and willingness to theoretically include gender, the interviews gave the implicit expression of more realist-like ideas by, for example, stating that a large part of the SAF personnel still perceives gender as irrelevant to their work, and that inviting “too many” perspectives results in an

ineffective military. In other words, although feminist thoughts were more explicitly valued in establishing the SAF's current framework for security "thinking" and practice, realist ideas were identifiable as well. In turn, these results illustrate the remaining idea-struggle between traditional perceptions of security versus a broader conception of its meaning that resides in the SAF's articulated security-thinking. By this, I mean that even though gender perspectives have managed to become established/manifested in the SAF's (written) security-thinking, on-ground legitimacy and acknowledgment of gender issues as relevant for the SAF, is still limited.

To further this discussion, it is relevant to consider the history and background of Swedish security policy. As established in the background section by Strand and Kehl (2019) since the Cold War, Sweden's politics of protection has been to "remake" the image of the SAF as part of an effort to disentangle its former neutral profile through more robust military applications, whilst embodying a peaceful and gender-friendly self-narrative. But when it comes to questions of security, sovereignty, and identity seen through a gendered lens, tensions and contradictions do inevitably emerge. The Swedish state has claimed the label of good international citizenship. Yet claims to progressiveness show signs of becoming limited once traditional binaries (such as weak/strong, moral/immoral) are engaged, which are partly demonstrated by how protection is articulated and enacted in the empirical material and the interviews. In the struggle between making rational decisions versus being a moral actor, as the interview with the SAF Official developing the LWC course for gender training pointed out; namely that military personnel are still struggling to see how gender perspectives are relevant to their work (Personal communication, p.42-43). Furthermore, this confirms the fact that the ambition to include a gender perspective has not yet become thoroughly established *within* the organization, and the transformation has yet to "reach its core".

By trying to re-make the image of the SAF and transform the trademark of being a "bastion of masculine organizational culture" into a modernized, gender-friendly, and diverse institution, the struggle thus reflects an "outside-in" approach. The image of the SAF has come a long way in their process of change (in terms of how they are marketing themselves) - but internally it seems as though they are still struggling to catch up. In turn, this is fueled by the perceived risk of losing relevance and efficiency, as was demonstrated by the SAF Official by stating that the SAF's "strive for societal relevance has previously led to the SAF, its role and understood responsibilities to become weakened" (Personal communication, p.40). Morality in this case (if defining fighting to include gender perspectives on all levels as the "moral path") is thus being weighed against what is considered as more rational in a time of increasing threats and worsening security environment. This rationality was understood through Morgenthau's classical realist philosophy and his distinction between "what is desirable and what is possible"

in relation to the prevailing circumstances (1945). In the broader context of security policy and its reluctance or willingness to include gender perspectives, it boils down to a separation of the meaning of security - as either realistically driven *or* gender-sensitive. When applying gender is perceived as a risk rather than an asset, it becomes a question about risking to become a weak and ineffective actor, unable to provide any aspect of security at the expense of fully committing to a moral agenda. To “win the hearts and minds of the society” thus comes with the additional risk of losing all relevance, neglecting the fact that considering these perspectives could also strengthen the organization.

Another interesting reflection is the emphasis on the importance of protecting Swedish values “the freedom and right to live as we choose”, mirroring the discussion held by Strand and Kehl (2019). In terms of relevance - at times of war, it is easy for the SAF to become one hundred percent relevant. Further reflecting another idea-struggle manifested in the material is thus the issue of purpose during peace-time - how does the SAF stay relevant? As previous scholars note, the “progressive” image of Sweden mirrors a nation/state whose citizens hold values, rights and freedoms considered “extreme” in the eyes of others. By constructing themselves as “protectors” of these values and for citizens to see them as the “guarantor” for the country's freedom (Strategic Guidance, 2016-2020:16), it helps to legitimize military means to defend those rights, and simultaneously create relevance and utility for the SAF. Moreover, representing themselves as the protectors of the Swedish freedom, rights, and gender “exceptionalism” they also construct an image of these values as if they are under threat from external military aggression. Consequently, this can be interpreted as confirming what previous research suggests - that this approach contributes to rationalizing and making possible the ongoing reterritorialization and rearmament of the SAF (Strand & Kehl, 2019).

Another aspect of considering gender issues and implementing broader perspectives of security is also related to what is perceived as included in the SAF’s responsibilities, concerning the total defence concept. As mentioned earlier in section 5.2 of this thesis, understanding what responsibilities the civil defence has can help explain which responsibilities that the military defence has not. It could thus be argued that it is not all up to the military defence, and that it is perhaps more relevant for the civil defence to focus on these issues. As established by Egnell (2014), for a long time the SAF has perceived gender issues as irrelevant tasks for the military and to be delegated onto political priorities or the civil part of the total defence. Thus, reactions have often stemmed from negative instinctive emotions, rather than professional and objective analyzes of the issues at hand (*ibid*). This could be reflected in the interview with the SAF Official, who argued that too many perspectives will cause the SAF to become weak and ineffective and that the “political sphere has to consider the limits of the military” (Personal

communication, p. 40-41). However, as shown in the material, gender mainstreaming has become increasingly validated as an important feature in the military sphere as is continuously expressed in the analyzed documents. Specific emphasis is placed on recruiting more women as it creates “a broader foundation of competence (. . .) which in turn expected to increase operational capability” and effectiveness. Thus, the fact that gender *is* an issue for the military defence and not solely for the civil defence to integrate/consider, is becoming difficult to contest.

On the other hand, feminist scholars such as Dianne Otto (2009) have expressed criticism towards using mainstreaming gender as a tool for increasing military effectiveness. Increasing the representation of women in mechanisms aimed at prevention is not a sufficient solution, simply “adding” women won't do the trick (Otto, 2009). However, among the SAF's goals and prioritized as formulated in the material does reflect ambition and willingness to implement gender perspectives in ways that run deeper than simply “adding women”. Instead, the SAF shows awareness considering the importance of deconstructing images of what constitutes “civil society” and preconceptions of who constitutes the “norm”, to increase understanding of different needs for protection. They seek to promote gender equality and establish a military organisation whose capacity is based on diversity and inclusiveness, and where gender dimensions are included in all phases of the SAF's operations now as well as in the future.

At the beginning of this chapter, the quote extracted from Lena P. Kvarvings and Rachel Grimes (2016) handbook on why and how gender is vital to military operations asks; *Would you do it?* Hypothetically asking the SAF if they would, in terms of inviting new (gender) perspectives to achieve greater situational awareness and increase their capacity as a military organisation, it seems as though the answer is clearly **yes**. However, the implications of “saying yes” are undoubtedly very complex, and there is still a long way to go before that “yes” is as solid as it (hopefully) can and will be.

8.2 Conclusion & Proposals for Future Research

It seems clear that the first step to any successful implementation starts with taking matters of gender seriously. Implementing gender perspectives in military operations and strategic thinking at all levels requires the different actors to be educated and trained on what gender is and specifically, as proven by the case of the SAF, to truly understand how it relates to their daily work. This thesis has sought to contribute to an increased understanding of which ideas and perceptions of security have shaped the role and formulation of the SAF's current and future military strategic defence and direction. The main conclusions of this thesis were that

the analysis showed clear signs of the SAF's willingness and ambition to "broaden its security-thinking by (theoretically) including gender perspectives. However, interviews with SAF Officials proved that many still don't see the relevance of gender issues in relation to the military's work. By analysing a selection of guiding documents and interviews with SAF Officials using a feminist lens, I hope that this thesis has also succeeded in bringing the reader slightly closer to understanding the process of mainstreaming gender into a military organisation, and the possibilities as well as its difficulties that come with it.

In conclusion; processes of organizational change are complex. Concerning institutions with organizational culture(s) characterized by long traditions of masculinized norms and perceptions of security running deep within the structures of their existence, it greatly affects the change process. Therefore, it is important not to forget that every step towards recognizing gender as a fundamental factor in understanding and practicing security, is a win.

Future Research

In terms of future research, a suggestion could be to target more operational factors by applying process-tracing methods to address how and where feminist perspectives and gender issues are being included/excluded when producing material from the SAF as well other authorities, such as the Swedish Government offices, or the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB). In turn, this would also turn focus towards the civil part of the total defence and their role in constituting gender-aware crisis management and civil defence strategies. In this thesis the respondents were male, thus a suggestion could be to interview those who are fighting to challenge prevalent gendered asymmetric power relations and structures (within the SAF) such as women, LGBTQ persons, and other individuals who do not constitute the traditional norm in a military context. In turn, this would contribute to gaining a better understanding of their personal experiences of how SAF's struggle to become more inclusive and gender-friendly has affected those who are supposed to feel included, and how these changes are felt within the organisation.

9. References

Ackerly, B. A., Stern, M., & True, J. (2006). *Feminist methodologies for international relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Aggestam, K., & Bergman-Rosamond, A. (2016). Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy in the Making: Ethics, Politics, and Gender. *Ethics in International Affairs*, 30:3, 323–334. DOI:10.1017/S0892679416000241
- Aggestam, K., Bergman-Rosamond, A., & Kronsell, A. (2019). Theorising feminist foreign policy. *International Relations*, 33(1), 23–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117818811892>
- Agius, C. (2011). *The Social Construction of Swedish Neutrality: Challenges to Swedish Identity and Sovereignty*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Agius, C. (2018). Rescuing the State?: Sovereignty, Identity, and the Gendered Re-articulation of the State. In: *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations*. Oxford University Press.
- Ayres, L. (2012). Semi-Structured Interview. In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by Lisa M Given. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Bulmer, S. (2013). Patriarchal Confusion? Making Sense of Gay and Lesbian Military Identity. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 15 (2): 137–156. DOI:10.1080/14616742.2012.746565.
- Brommesson, D. & Ekengren, A. (2013). What happens when a new government enters office? A comparison of ideological change in British and Swedish foreign policy 1991–2011. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48:1, 3–27
- Blanchard, E. (2003). Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory. *Journal of Women Culture and Society*, Vol. 28. No. 4. The University of Chicago.
- Chetty, L. (2013). Innovative Interpretive Qualitative Case Study Research Method Aligned with Systems Theory for Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation Research: A review of the methodology. *African Journal of Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation Sciences*, 5(2), 40-44. DOI:10.4314/ajprs.v5i1.7
- Cohn, C., Kinsella, H. & Gibbings, S. (2004). Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6:1, 130-140, DOI: 10.1080/1461674032000165969
- Collier, D & Mahoney, J. (1996). *Insights and Pitfalls: Selection Bias in Qualitative Research*, 49:1 World Politics.
- Cozette, M.. (2008). What Lies Ahead: Classical Realism on the Future of International Relations. *International Studies Review* 10 (4): 667-679.
- Cristol, J. 2009. “Morgenthau vs. Morgenthau? ‘The Six Principles of Political Realism’ in Context.” *American Foreign Policy Interests* 31 (4): 237-244.
- Daly, M. (2005). Gender Mainstreaming in Theory and Practice. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*. 12, no. 3 (2005): 433–450. 438–440.

- Davies, S. E., & True, J. (2018). *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190638276.001.0001>
- Donnelly, J. (1992). "Twentieth-century Realism." In *Traditions of International Ethics* edited by Terry Nardin, 85-111. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Dunne, T. & Schmidt, B. (2020). Realism. In: Baylis, J., Smith, S & Owens, P. *Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations*. (Eight Ed). Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Enloe, C. (1989). *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Enloe, C. (2000). *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Enloe, C. (2016). *Globalization and Militarism*. United Kingdom: Roman and Littlefield.
- Egnell, R. (2014). *Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organizational Change. The Swedish Model*. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Esaiasson, P., Gilljam, M., Oscarsson, H., Towns, A.E. & Wängnerud, L. (2017). *Metodpraktikan: konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*. (Fifth Edition). Stockholm: Wolters Kluwer.
- Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research Fourth Edition*. SAGE Publications Inc. ISBN 978-1-84787-323-1
- Frankel, B. (1996) Restating the realist case: *An introduction, Security Studies*, 5:3, 9-20, DOI: [10.1080/09636419608429274](https://doi.org/10.1080/09636419608429274)
- Gallie, W, B. (1965). Essentially contested concepts. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 56, 1956, pp. 167–198.
- Gerome, R. (2016). PREVENTING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE THROUGH ARMS CONTROL - The Swedish arms trade and risk assessments: does a feminist foreign policy make a difference? *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (IKFF)*. 1st Ed. 24 p.p. Available at: <https://ikff.se/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/swedish-arms-trade.pdf>
- George, A & Bennett, A. (2007). *Case Studies And Theory Development In The Social Sciences*. 10.1017/S1537592707070491
- Gerring, J. (2004), What is a Case Study and What is it Good For? *American Political Science Review* 98:2
- Gerring, J. (2007). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Huberman, A. M., & Miles, M. B. (2002). *The qualitative researcher's companion*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412986274

- Karving, L., P. & Grimes, R. (2016). Why and how gender is vital to military operations. In *PfPC SSRWG and EDWG*, (Geneva: DCAF and PfPC, 2016). Handbook on Teaching Gender in the Military.
- Kronsell, A. (2005). Gendered practices in institutions of hegemonic masculinity, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7:2, 280-298, DOI: 10.1080/14616740500065170
- Kronsell, A. (2012). *Gender, Sex and the Postnational Defense*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kucera, T. (2018). *The military and liberal society: Societal-military relations in Western Europe*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis group: New York.
- Lindberg, M. (2018). The VDP-triad in ideational analysis. Toward a general theory of ideological thought-content in social and political communication, debate, thought and language - beyond the concepts 'ideology', 'culture', 'belief-system', 'discourse' and 'policy': Part I. *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 120(2), 277-359
- Lindberg, M. (2017). *Qualitative analysis of ideas and ideological content*. In: Boréus, Kristina and Bergström, Göran (Ed.), *Analyzing text and discourse: eight approaches for the social sciences* (pp. 86-121). London: Sage Publications.
- Malmberg, M. af (2001). *Neutrality and State-Building in Sweden*. Wiltshire: Palgrave.
- Maxwell, J. (2002). Understanding and validity in qualitative research. In Huberman, A. M., & Miles, M. B. *The qualitative researcher's companion* (pp. 36-64). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412986274
- McDonough, J. & McDonough, S., (1997). *Research Methods for English Language Teachers*. London: Arnold.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Morgenthau, H., J. (2006) [1948]. *Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace*. 7th ed. Revised by Kenneth W. Thompson and W. David Clinton. Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Morgenthau, H., J. (1962a) [1946]. *Scientific Man vs Power Politics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1962b). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Murray, A. (1996). The Moral Politics of Hans Morgenthau. *The Review of Politics*, 58(1), 81-107. Retrieved September 8, 2020, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1408493>

- Möller, U., & Bjered, U. (2015). Swedish Foreign Policy: The Policy of Neutrality and Beyond. In Pierre, J. (2015). *The Oxford handbook of Swedish politics*. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199665679.013.25
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). (2016). *Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations to the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives*. Available at: https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2018_01/1801-2016-Summary-NR-to-NCGP.pdf
- Newman, E. (2001). Human Security and Constructivism. *International Studies Perspectives*. vol. 2, 239–251.
- Newman, E. (2016). Human Security: Reconciling Critical Aspirations With Political ‘Realities’. *The British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 56, Issue 6, pp. 1165–1183.
- Otto, D. (2009). The exile of inclusion: Reflections on gender issues in international law over the last decade. *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, 10(1), 11-26
- Peterson, V., Spike. (1992). Security Sovereign States: What Is at Stake in Taking Feminism Seriously? In *Gendered states: feminist (re)visions of international relations theory*
- Salonius-Pasternak, C. (2018). *The Defence of Finland and Sweden, Continuity and Variance in Strategy and Public Opinion*. Retrieved 2020-08-13 from: https://www.fii.fi/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/bp240_the-defence-of-finland-and-sweden.pdf
- Statskontoret. (2017). *Myndigheternas arbete med psykologiskt försvar*. Retrieved from: <http://www.statskontoret.se/globalassets/publikationer/2017/201705.pdf>
- Sjoberg, L. (2006). *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Sjoberg, L. (2009). Introduction to Security Studies: Feminist Contributions. *Security Studies* 18 (2): 183–213.
- Sjoberg, L., & Martin, J. (2010). Feminist Security Theorizing. In *International Studies Encyclopedia*, ed. R. Denmark. London: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sjoberg, L., & Via, S. (2010). *Gender, war, and militarism: Feminist perspectives*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger
- Sjoberg, L. (2011). *Gender and International Security, Feminist Perspectives*. 8. 119-124. London: Routledge.
- Steans, J., Pettiford, L., Diez, T., & El-Anis, I. (2013). *An Introduction to International Relations Theory: Perspectives and themes*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

- Stern, M., & Öjendal, J. (2010). Mapping the Security—Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence? *Security Dialogue*, 41(1), 5–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010609357041>
- Strand, S., & Kehl, K. (2019). A country to fall in love with/in”: gender and sexuality in Swedish Armed Forces’ marketing campaigns, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 21:2, 295-314, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2018.1487772.
- Sundevall, F. (2011). *Det sista manliga yrkesmonopolet: Genus och militärt arbete i Sverige 1865-1989*. Stockholm: Makadam, 2011.
- Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS). (2020). *Försvars och säkerhetspolitik*. Retrieved from: <https://www.svenskafreds.se/vad-vi-gor/forsvars-och-sakerhetspolitik/>
- Tickner, J., A. (1992). *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. Columbia University Press
- Tickner, J., A. (1997). You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists. In *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 4, 1997, pp. 611–632.
- Tickner, J. (2011). Feminist Security Studies: Celebrating an Emerging Field. *Politics & Gender*, 7(4), 576-581. doi:10.1017/S1743923X11000377
- Tripp, A., Ferree, M., & Ewig, C. (Eds.). (2013). *Gender, Violence, and Human Security: Critical Feminist Perspectives*. New York; London: NYU Press. Retrieved July 27, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qfk5d
- True, J. (2004). Feminism. In *International Society and its Critics*. Oxford University Press.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (1994). *Human Development Report*. New York: UNDP. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/>
- Warren, K., & Cady, D. (1994). Feminism and Peace: Seeing Connections. *Hypatia*, 9(2), 4-20. Retrieved August 24, 2020, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3810167>.
- Whitworth, S. (2004). *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Williams, M. (2005). Hans Morgenthau and the historical construction of Realism. In *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations, pp. 82-127. Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, K. (2017). *Feminist Security Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wither, J., K. (2020) Back to the future? Nordic total defence concepts. *Defence Studies*, 20:1, 61-81, DOI: 10.1080/14702436.2020.1718498
- Yin, R. K. (2013). Validity and generalization in future case study evaluations. *Evaluation*, 19(3), 321–332. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389013497081>

The Advisory Defence Committee

Ds 2019:8. The Advisory Defence Committee. *Värnkraft*. Stockholm: Ministry of Defence

The Swedish Armed Forces (Försvarmakten)

Swedish Armed Forces Future Force Study. (2016-2018). *Perspektivstudie: Tillväxt för ett Starkare Försvaret* (FM2015-13192:15). Stockholm: Försvarmakten.

Swedish Armed Forces Strategic Guidance (2016). *The Swedish Armed Forces Strategic Guidance 2016-2020* (FM2015-1597:12). Stockholm: Försvarmakten.

Försvarmakten (2011). *Militärstrategisk Doktrin 2011 (MSD12)*. Stockholm: Försvarmakten.

Försvarmakten. (2016). *Militärstrategisk Doktrin (MSD16)*. Stockholm: Försvarmakten.

Försvarmakten. (2019). *Försvarmaktens underlag för försvarspolitisk proposition 2021–2025* (FM2019-20164:6). Stockholm: Försvarmakten

Försvarmakten. (2020). The Land Warfare Centre. Available at: <https://www.forsvarsmakten.se/en/about/organisation/training-units-schools-and-centres/land-warfare-centre/>

The Government Offices (Regeringskansliet)

Regeringskansliet. (2015). *Swedish Foreign Action Plan for feminist foreign policy 2015–2018 including focus areas for 2016*. Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Regeringskansliet. (2017a). *Sveriges säkerhet måste ses ur ett bredare perspektiv*. Retrieved 2020-04-27 from: <https://www.regeringen.se/debattartiklar/2017/01/sveriges-sakerhet-maste-ses-i-ett-bredare-perspektiv/>

Regeringskansliet. (2017b). *Nationell Säkerhetsstrategi*. Retrieved 2020-04-27 from: <https://www.regeringen.se/informationsmaterial/2017/01/nationell-sakerhetsstrategi/>

Government Bill. (2015). *Regeringens Proposition 2014/15:109: Försvarspolitisk inriktning Sveriges försvar 2016–2020* [Government Proposition: Directions for Defense Policy Sweden's Defense 2016–2020]. Stockholm: Ministry of Defence.

The Swedish Defence Research Agency (Totalförsvarets Forskningsinstitut, FOI)

FOI. (2018). *The Six Functions of a Threshold - An Attempt at Conceptual Analysis*. Available at: <https://www.foi.se/rest-api/report/FOI%20Memo%206321>

FOI. (2019). *Kunskapsbehov För ett Totalförsvaret i Förändring*. Stockholm: Totalförsvarets Forskningsinstitut Available through: [FOI-R--4770--SE](#)

FOI (2020). *Civilt Försvaret*. Stockholm: Totalförsvarets Forskningsinstitut. Retrieved from: <https://www.foi.se/forskning/krisberedskap-och-civilt-forsvar/civilt-forsvar.html>

10. APPENDIX

Appendix 1: General Interview Guide

All interviews in this thesis have been conducted in Swedish. Here follows an example of a general interview guide translated into English, broadly containing the main themes of each semi-structured interview.

Prologue

- The interviewer states the aim of the research project
- Account for why I want to interview the person(s) in question
- Account for the interview process, including asking permission about recording, transcription and ensure that the interviewee knows that all potential citations or references to the interview will be anonymized

Introduction

- Tell me about your job at the SAF and your particular department including your responsibilities, particular documents and strategies which guide your daily work.
- Tell me about the process of implementing gender perspectives within the organisation and what has been your (if involved) role in that process.

Main/thematic part

- **National security strategy & inclusion of more perspectives**
 - Sweden's national security strategy of 2017 states that Sweden acknowledges the evident need to broaden the military spectrum and include more definitions/perspectives on security than has previously been done.
 - What has this meant for the work within the SAF, in terms of values, goals, and ambitions (in relation to expanding the security perspective) which are expressed in the report?
 - How would you describe what the SAF's work looks like in terms of broadening the perspective of what constitutes " the civil society"?
- **Knowledge & Expertise**
 - In many of the SAF's reports (especially in the SAF's supporting background document for the Defense Policy Bill 2021-2025) that the national defense is based on the fact that the civil and military defenses are united and that their capabilities are interdependent. In the FOI's report on the Total Defense "Kunskapsbehov för ett totalförsvaret i förändring" it states that a common knowledge base is required when talking about threats, about who is to be protected and in what way, etc.

- Considering who is to be protected and in what way - which perspectives are considered in the military defence's assessments and analyses which then becomes part of the future force study?
 - In the process of military analysis building the framework for the SAF's military strategic defence - which would you say are the main priorities?
 - What constitutes "gender-training" for SAF personnel and how does it work?
 - In relation to the expressed ambition in terms of "broadening" security perspectives, it implies that more perspectives need to be included especially in terms of definitions of what constitutes the protection of the "civilian population" and their need of protection (civilbefolkningen).
 - What do these ambitions mean for the role and relevance of the SAF and your work as a military organisation?
 - Why is it necessary, you think, to include these aspects (in terms of applying these perspectives in the SAF's military strategic thinking and security practice?)
- **Epilogue**
 - Tell me about the future prospects about implementing gender perspectives within the SAF
 - Tell me about potential challenges ahead
 - Do you have anything to add?