Arms export in feminist Sweden
A Study of Swedish Arms Exports in the Context of Feminist Foreign Policy

Arms export, feminist foreign policy, militarism, masculinity, discourse analysis
Abstract
This dissertation concerns motivations of the Swedish arms export since the implementation of feminist foreign policy in 2014 until it was discarded in 2022. It contributes to knowledge on the intersection between feminist foreign policy and arms export. Using tools of textual mechanisms, this dissertation has a discursive approach and turns to government justification to explore how the Swedish government and its representatives have motivated arms export. The theoretical framework consists of militarism and gendered language. The findings of the dissertation include narratives on securing the defense capability of the Swedish Armed Forces, maintaining technological competence and references to foreign policy to create legitimacy for arms export. The dissertation also finds that masculinity is used to motivate armament and arms export and language use constructs meaning for motivating and justifying the Swedish defense industry and arms exports.
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1. Introduction

Despite the image of Sweden being a humanitarian superpower, Sweden ranks between 10-21st place in global exports of military equipment in the last ten years according to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) (n.d.). Between 2018 and 2021, Sweden ranked between 13-15th in the world (Ibid.). This discrepancy between the arms export and the national identity as democratic, humanitarian and peaceful has been subject to debate and research in attempts to understanding how a country advocating peace and human rights can be one of the largest exporters of military equipment per capita (see for example Jackson, 2019; The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (Svenska Freds- och Skiljedomsföreningen), 2018; SVT, 2021).

Up until the recent application for NATO membership, Sweden has been regarded and presented itself as a militarily non-aligned country, and the neutrality has been linked to the export of military equipment. As argued by Larsson, the emergence of the modern production of military equipment in Sweden stems from the Cold War era, when in order to stay non-aligned, Sweden produced military supply instead of purchasing from either of the Cold War blocs. The arms production industry was a partnership between “Swedish Armed Forces (Försvarsmakten, the central customer), the Defence Materiel Administration (FMV, the acquisition agency), the Defence Research Institute (FOI, the R&D agency), and the industry (wherein the largest producer, Saab, became uniquely anchored in the domestic procurement system)” (Larsson, 2020, p. 29). In order to legitimize this large expense in times of the Cold War, the government allowed for the industry to export military equipment (Ibid., p. 30), which arguably have blurred the lines between the private and public. The defense industry and the government along with its representatives are closely connected in what resembles a military industrial complex with linkages between the elite politics and the production in question (Stenlås, 2008). With blurred lines between the private and public, Swedish arms are not only produced to supply its own force, but also for export.

In 2014, the Swedish government implemented a unique feminist foreign policy that aimed to promote gender equality and human rights in its international dealings (Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). The policy’s core objectives were to integrate comprehensive gender perspectives into all areas of foreign policy and to ensure that women's rights and interests were prioritized in Sweden's interactions with the global community (Ibid.). The
implementation of the feminist foreign policy was an unprecedented, and was based on three pillars of rights, representation and resources, drawing on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 agenda on women, peace and security (Aggestam and Bergman-Rosamond, 2016, p. 324). This resolution and moreover the feminist foreign policy contains disarmament and non-proliferation as strategies for contributing to human security and rests on claims made in feminist security studies; a field which has highlighted the importance of including the security of individuals and not just states when examining and discussing security (Sjoberg, 2009). Challenging the idea of who is subject to security, what means used to secure them and what threats are being taken into consideration, feminist contributions have broadened the understanding of security and bridged security studies and feminist analysis and presented the argument that even “secure states often contain insecure women” (Ibid., p. 198).

The academic attention that has been given the Swedish feminist foreign policy has regarded the ethical opportunities and challenges faced with constructing it and the norm entrepreneur aspects (Bergman-Rosamond & Aggestam, 2016). Other research has examined feminist foreign policy as a tool to mediate in conflict situations and the prevention of conflict and violence (Aggestam et. al., 2016; True, 2015). However, despite the policy’s feminist goals of global disarmament and non-proliferation, less attention has been given the Swedish arms export and the Swedish government has continued to export arms to countries with poor human rights records (The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society, 2023). This phenomenon raises the critical question of how the Swedish feminist government and its representatives has motivated and justified its arms export since the implementation of the feminist foreign policy, despite the notions of disarmament and non-proliferation.

2. Purpose and research question
The aim of this master’s dissertation is to contribute knowledge on the intersection between feminist foreign policy and arms trade. In examining different discourses motivating arms export, this study will add to the body of literature on the link between feminist foreign policy and arms export, by looking at Sweden as an example of a feminist arms dealer to provide insight in the potential tension between arms export and feminist foreign policy seen in other countries, such as Canada and the Netherlands as well (Vucetic, 2017; True, 2015). It also places the Swedish case in the wider international relations (IR) debate of how states can
be forces for good, supporting human rights and conflict resolution, yet have large military expenditure as well as participating in arms transfers and military operations. This contradiction is not limited to the Swedish case, but also includes other liberal, Western states like the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and in this way contribute to the field of arms transfer and control regimes.

Moreover, this study differs from other academic work in its discursive approach to government justification of the defense industry. The motivation of the defense industry is studied with a Foucauldian approach, applying Doty’s (1993) methodology for a post-positivist perspective suitable for foreign policy, utilizing her three concepts of textual mechanisms: presupposition, predication and subject position. Moreover, where others have turned towards ethical considerations contained in the feminist foreign policy, and the quantitative extent of arms dealings, this dissertation takes one step further by looking at a very specific period, and perceiving the actor, the Swedish government, as a multifaceted actor, including its representatives in the analysis to make sense of export control. In this thesis, the justification of arms production and export is understood as something made possible and regulated not only by the government, but also its representatives, such as governmental agencies and bi- and multilateral agreements. This study also differs from other academic work within the field of arms production and export with its feminist understanding of security and the relationship between masculinity and weapons, as well as its intention to capture a spectrum of militarisms to deepen the understanding of the motivations of arms export in the Swedish governmental discourse.

The findings of this study are of utmost importance to the field of international relations as they aim to shed light on the potential tension that exists between a feminist foreign policy and arms trade. Moreover, this dissertation wishes to contribute to the field of feminist IR studies by analyzing how the ethically informed and human security-based policy coincides with security interests. Often, the question of arms export is mentioned in discussions and documents on feminist foreign policy, but it is seldom addressed with depth. Following prominent writers on feminist foreign policy, there seems to be some tension between the ethical considerations in foreign policy and the more pragmatic reality and “the question how a state, claiming to pursue a feminist foreign policy, handles such tension between ethical considerations and national military security interests is challenging and interesting to study”
(Aggestam et al., 2019, p. 28), meaning this dissertation picks up the trail where prominent writers encouraged further investigation.

Overall, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the existing scholarship on feminist foreign policy and address how feminist foreign policy goals can be compromised in the pursuit of economic gains and security interests. While there are existing studies that examine the relationship between feminist foreign policy and arms trade to some extent, this research specifically focuses on Sweden’s feminist government and its motivation for arms trade, and in doing so seeks to examine how the government itself have, in the period during with the feminist foreign policy was launched and implemented, solved the puzzle of motivating its arms export. The research question is thus formulated as follows:

How did the Swedish feminist government motivate arms export from the implementation of the feminist foreign policy in 2014 until it was discarded in 2022?

This dissertation is outlined as follows: the next chapter gives a review of previous literature on feminist foreign policy to situate this study in relation to what has already been done in the field. It also includes approaches deemed important to conceptualize the arms production and export, including articles on the potential tension between arms export and feminist foreign policy, dual-use products and the export control regimes. Following the literature review, the next chapter lays out the theoretical framework for this dissertation. The theoretical framework consists of two overarching themes; one regarding how studying the language of defense intellectuals can uncover gendered aspects, suggesting that there is a relationship between armament and masculinity and the other regarding how different militarisms can be identified to comprehend and explain social representations of defense politics. The discursive approach is introduced in the fifth chapter, starting widely by explaining how this dissertation makes sense of a Foucauldian perspective, to then narrow down a more practical method based on textual mechanisms for discourse analysis. The chapter then goes on to explain how the method is operationalized by combining the textual mechanisms with the theoretical framework. Next, the empirical material is presented. Before the analysis is presented, chapter seven provides a framework for the Swedish export control, accounting for legislation and guidelines, what agency is responsible for overseeing production and export permits and the democracy criterion. Next follows the analysis in the seventh chapter titled
Results. Finally, the dissertation is briefly summarized and the conclusions are presented in the last chapter.

3. Literature review

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on feminist foreign policy, as well as approaches to conceptualize the arms production and export.

3.1 Feminist foreign policy

Previous research on feminist foreign policy has mapped the background for it (see Egnell, 2016) and attention has been given female participation in mediation and peace negotiations (see for example True, 2015). Some research has been concerned with the opportunities and challenges that comes with implementing it, with regards to norm entrepreneurship, ethics and the prevention and mediation of conflict (see for example Aggestam & Bergman Rosamond, 2016). As argued by Aggestam et al. (2019), “feminist international relations (IR) theory contributes to the theoretical advancement of feminist foreign policy”; a statement that implies that there is a need for further investigation within the field this dissertation contributes to. Moreover, the authors argue that feminist IR differs from other fields of social science and can shed light upon “a broader set of questions about states’ efforts to place issues of intersectional relevance on the global agenda through inclusive and localised dialogue.” (Ibid., p. 24), situating feminist foreign policy, including but not limited to the Swedish case, within the field of IR. This highlights how implementation of feminist foreign policy “signals a departure from traditional elite-oriented foreign policy practices and discourses towards a more inclusive foreign policy” and that states implement ethically informed foreign policy to a larger extent (2019, p. 28). The authors present a feminist critique of states seldom denouncing militarism as part of the pro-gender norm promotion, which is where this dissertation picks up the baton. Aggestam et al. place their analysis of feminist foreign policy within a field of norm entrepreneurship and although noting that there are tensions between national security interest and ethical policy and bringing up the Swedish arms transfers as an example, (Ibid.), there is little actual analysis made by them regarding this tension. How governments handle this tension is, according to Aggestam et al. worth studying, particularly with reference to theoretical feminist IR, and this dissertation...
recognizes that there is more to be done and carries on by turning to the discourses justifying arms export under feminist governing in Sweden and beyond.

In another article, Aggestam and Bergman Rosamond write of how ethical aspirations might reflect the pursuit of good international citizenship and applies an ethical approach to theorizing feminist foreign policy, concluding that “ethical foreign policy conduct does not entail obliterating national interests, but involves mediating those within consideration of the needs of distant others, with women and other marginalized groups frequently being the targets of Sweden’s feminist foreign policy conduct” (2019, p. 45-46). Here, the focus lies within the structure of the feminist foreign policy itself, with the conceptualization of the three R’s making up the empirics of the article, and the argument presented by the authors is that “the tensions between normative and interest-driven contents of feminist foreign policy reflect how pragmatism in foreign policy is exercised by political elites” (2019, p. 39). What this suggests is an important departure point for this dissertation: ethical aspirations and pragmatism in foreign policy are not necessarily aligned and thus worthy of academic attention (Ibid.).

3.2 Arms production and export
The potential tension between arms trade and feminist foreign policy has been previously researched by Vucetic (2017). In an article concerned with feminist arms dealers, Vucetic conducts a historical-comparative analysis of Canada’s arms exports since the 1980s quantitatively in order to compare Canada to Sweden and the Netherlands (Ibid.). Just like Sweden, Canada implements a feminist foreign policy and Vucetic situates his research by highlighting arms deal of Canadian light-armored vehicles to Saudi Arabia in 2015-2016, calling it a “scandal” as liberal Trudeau had promised to cancel this deal (Ibid.). Trudeau’s Liberal government didn’t cancel the deal, however, which leads Vucetic to the question of whether “Liberal and Conservative governments [are] equally inclined to facilitate exports of Canadian-made military goods, including goods going to “risky” destinations” (Ibid., p. 504), setting out to find if there has been any historical difference between Canada’s conservative and liberal governments in terms of arms trade and export control. Vucetic (2017) uses a measure of political terror scale (PTS) to create categories of “bad”, “very bad”, “good” and “very good” human rights records to historically compare arms transfers. His findings conclude that there is little variation between the periods of liberal and conservative
governments (Ibid., p. 514). In most periods, exports to countries categorized to have either bad or very bad human rights records are below 5 percent (Ibid.).

The general pattern in Vucetic’s study is that most weapons are transferred to countries with good or very good human rights records and the most important takeaway is the indication that Liberal and Conservative governments have similar records and Vucetic states that Canada, Sweden and the Netherlands have a similar record of transfers to countries categorized as “bad” or “very bad” human rights records (Ibid., p. 505). As his findings suggests that Liberal and Conservative governments grant export permit for military goods in a like manner, along with the similarities found between Canada and Sweden, one could raise the question of how feminist foreign policy and arms transfers can be reconciled. If Liberal and Conservative governments of Canada are quite equally inclined to facilitate export to countries with poor human rights records, the steering of the export permit regime regarding military goods and services is of great interest to examine, which is part of what this dissertation will do with the Swedish case. Following Vucetic’s findings, this dissertation turns to the export control regulation and regime to uncover what discourses justifies arms export and recognize that the regulatory writings are political in the same way the government is, as they represent the government in this matter. In this way, this dissertation contributes to existing literature on feminist arms dealers.

Larsson has written about the Swedish arms production and export, arguing that the defense industry and arms firms “have found a niche in ‘civil security’” (2020, p. 43), which has generated an ambiguity between civil, military and dual-use technologies and products. Emanating from the fact that arms firms are increasingly interested in civil security technologies, Larsson makes the case that this shows how technology is inseparable not only from social struggles, but also from language, power and authority, as he studies the blurred intersection between civil and military in the defense industry (Ibid.). In support of his argument, Larsson highlights the fact that some technologies are developed to be used in the civil sphere but can also be used as components in defense products, calling into question how legal frameworks should be designed to deal with these cases and suggesting that this phenomenon hinders effective regulation (Larsson, 2020). To illustrate the complexity of the niche of civil security, Larsson points to R&D (research and development) funding, both from government grants and European Union projects. In doing so, Larsson (Ibid.) calls attention to how the arms firms can disguise the purposes of their operations and production
by underlining development and innovation which has a naturalizing effect making arms firms appear as part of any other kind of sector, and how there is an aspect of a “socio-political façade” when it comes to civil security. For this dissertation, that socio-political façade is of particular interest, and follows Larsson’s argument that this façade conceals the practice of developing products to prepare for and partake in war. The socio-political façade is understood as a decoy, emphasizing interest in human rights instead of war.

There has been much research concerned with arms trade and what is of particular interest for this study is to provide some background of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) as it provides a further understanding of arms transfer control regimes and arms control. In addition, the body of literature on the ATT places the issue of arms export in the wider IR debate about global governance. Stavrianakis has concerned herself with arms export in multiple articles, and one claim she makes is that the ATT has had a legitimizing effect on liberal militarism (2016). Stavrianakis argues that liberal, Western states historically have been the world’s largest military spenders and as well as producers and exporter of arms, and now claims that the ATT brings new responsibilities on export control for governments, even though the arms export of the same countries continue to contribute to violations of human rights. She makes this claim in contrast to what she refers to as dominant accounts of the ATT -accords that state that the ATT is based on human security norms (Ibid., p. 3-5). This is the very center of her argument: stating that the ATT emerges from and aims to contribute to human security has a legitimizing effect on war preparation. “This legitimating function of regulatory regimes has been uploaded into the ATT in the way it introduces a balancing act in which states can weigh the risk of human rights violations against the interests of peace and security and justify exports in the name of the latter” (Ibid., p. 2) Stavrianakis writes, and notes importantly that the ATT is a trade regulation, not a disarmament treaty and that voices advocating disarmament are in minority such as Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, WILPF (2016, p. 5).

4. Theory
This chapter provides the analytical framework for the dissertation, starting with feminist IR and the relationship between masculinity and weapons. This is followed by a review of typologies of militarism and how conceptualizing militarism in multiple ways with different characteristics is fruitful for this dissertation.
4.1 Masculinity and weapons

Feminist research and theory have suggested that the connection between masculinity and weapons is a way of expressing legitimacy in global politics (see for example Cohn, 1987; Duncanson and Eschle, 2008; Nagel, 2000), which helps to capture the puzzle of the complexity between feminist foreign policy and arms export. The theoretical framework of this dissertation starts in Carol Cohn’s analysis of the discourse of defense intellectuals (1987). Cohn argues that there is a sexualized imagery in the Cold War nuclear debates and asks “[i]f disarmament is emasculation, how could any real man even consider it?” (1987, pp. 693). This feeds into the idea of how security is gendered and thereby requires feminist study, which this dissertation is an example of, as it turns to the potential tension between an ethically informed feminist foreign policy and the idea of what security armament and arms production provides. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, the question of disarmament as emasculation helps in understanding the relationship between masculinity and weapons, which is fundamental for this dissertation. In her article, Cohn emphasizes the role of the language used by the defense intellectuals during the conference she attends and identifies different ways language is used to create legitimacy with reference to gender and sex (Ibid.).

One way of speaking about weapons is what Cohn refers to as technostrategic language, and although her reasoning concerns discourse on nuclear weapons being branded as ‘clean bombs’, this notion is important as it provides the idea that there are discursive mechanisms that conceal meaning and that these can create legitimacy for armament. Cohn argues that calling nuclear weapons “clean”, using technostrategic language, disconnects the aftermath of the weapons, removing the victims and the harm done to them by said weapons from the discussion. Imagery of burn victims is not part of the conversation. Instead, “[t]echnostrategic language can be used only to articulate the perspective of the users of nuclear weapons, not that of the victims” (Cohn, 1987, p. 706), which is important for this dissertation as it captures the discursive practice of creating distance between the speaker, here the defense analysts, and the consequences of possessing and using weapons. As Cohn puts it, “speaking the expert language not only offers distance, a feeling of control, and an alternative focus for one’s energies; it also offers escape - escape from thinking of oneself as a victim of nuclear war” (Ibid., p. 706). Following this, the technostrategic discourse allows for perceiving yourself as a planner and an actor with control. Using technostrategic or expert language also
is an expression of masculinity by relying on “images of competitive male sexuality” (Ibid., p. 694), which Cohn shows are connected to power and violence (Ibid). For this dissertation, technostrategic and expert language lends itself to better comprehend how the Swedish government and its officials can make sense of the arms production and export. Cohn’s understanding of expert language serves as a measure for understanding the discourse on Swedish arms production and export by revealing what presuppositions and predications are brought up.

Another aspect of Cohn’s iconic article is that of the evocative language. Setting out to find sexual subtexts, Cohn also identifies gendered discursive practices that are of a more suggestive character that furthers the understanding between masculinity and weapons. Instead of finding disguised sexual undertones in the language of the defense intellectuals, Cohn finds highly sexualized language and imagery used by the analysts, ranging from discussions on missile sizes and the sexual possession of the phallos-shaped missiles (1978, p. 695). For this dissertation, Cohn’s argument of how the discourse on weapons and armament is gendered and sexualized serves as a tool to, in the same spirit as Cohn at this conference, set out to investigate whether there are any sexual subtexts in discourses of how the feminist Swedish government and its representatives motivate the arms export. Emanating from Cohn’s argument of sexualized and gendered discourse, this dissertation will investigate if there are any codes that signify masculinity and, if so, how these codes can be understood as a strategy to create legitimacy for arms export or if not at all.

4.2 Typology of militarism
The other tool for analyzing the potential tension between Sweden’s feminist foreign policy and its arms export in this dissertation is a typology of militarism which will be used to categorize statements to identify shifts and continuities in the discourses found. Security is central to IR and, as argued by Stavrianakis and Stern in connecting security to militarism, “Security (its practice, performance and promise) seems to be everywhere and nowhere, as well as always and never” (2018, p. 1). Stavrianakis and Stern states that while security is gradually making its way into other areas and disciplines than IR, the limits of what security can explain and the dialogue with other critical IR concepts tends to get lost (Ibid.). Stavrianakis and Stern makes the claim that militarism, “broadly understood as the preparation for war, its normalisation and legitimation” (Ibid.), has been overlooked because
of the emphasis on security studies. This dissertation uses Stavrianakis and Selby’s definition of militarism as “the social and international relations of the preparation for, and conduct of, organized political violence” (2013, p. 3) and the considering of militarism as “an abiding and defining characteristic of world politics” (Ibid.). With militarism being a broad concept, this dissertation utilizes different variations within the concept, guided by discussions on typology of militarism. Mapping different militarisms offers the possibility to ask more open questions to the statements by the government and its representatives in analyzing the political discourse motivating arms export.

Mabee and Vucetic (2018) start with what they refer to as exceptionalist militarism, which has given rise to current critical security study debates and the theoretical strand of securitization. While recognizing that this is a useful concept to capture militarism, they also want to add three more ideal types of militarism to diversify the typology of militarism, which are nation-state militarism, civil society militarism and neoliberal militarism (Ibid.). Nation-state militarism is defined as a default condition, placing the state as a legitimate authority, characterized with civilian control to some extent over armed forces and state-led territorial defense and planning thereof (Ibid., p. 101). Civil society militarism is reminiscent of the nation-state militarism but is characterized by more blurred lines between civilians and soldiers (Ibid., p. 102). As dissertation is not concerned with the type of topics or cases civil society militarism is applicable to, this militarism will not be included in the theoretical framework. Neoliberal militarism emphasizes marketization, and economic liberalizations influence on military activities (Ibid., p. 103). As argued by Mabee and Vucetic, “The expansion of the ideas, institutions and practices of neoliberal capitalism certainly transformed the social forces mobilized in military power” (Ibid., p. 103), which is reminiscent of the argument of a dual liberalization process presented by Joana and Mèrand (2014). This dissertation will utilize two ideal types presented by Mabee and Vucetic (2018) as categories for statements in the empirical material to make sense of how militarism is part of the discourse in the justification of arms export by combining them with the textual mechanisms offered by Doty (1993), which is explained in the following chapter on methods.

Moving along to Joana and Mèrand (2014), the departure point for their analysis is that no society can renounce militarism, even democratic ones, as budgetary efforts contain active choices for defense and thus could be interpreted as consent to liberal militarism. In reviewing the history of militarism as an academic concept, Joana and Mèrand (2014) argue
that there is a need for a developed typology regarding liberal militarism, requiring distinctions to describe the full variety of liberal militarisms, with regards to their claim that the last 30 years has been characterized by a twin liberalization process in Western liberal democracies. This transformation is characterized by three perspectives. Joana and Mérand again: “The first one insists on the civilianisation of military organisations. The second one relates to the demilitarisation of the state. The third one addresses the marketization and privatisation of defence activities.” (2014, pp. 178-179), and with regards to this suggests three models of liberal militarisms: Westphalian or ‘professional’ militarism, functional militarism and moral militarism. The varieties of liberal militarism are illustrated in a diagram of liberalization processes, with economic liberalization on the x axis and political-cultural liberalization as the other process on the y axis and argued to be the main features of the Western countries’ transformation in defense policy (Ibid., p. 185). Joana and Mérand understand these processes as distinct and coincident in the time period reviewed, affecting Western democracies unevenly, thus calling for three different kinds of liberal militarisms.

![Diagram](image_url)

*Figure 1: Varieties of liberal militarism since the end of the Cold War. (Joana & Mérand, 2014, p. 185).*

Starting with the first model, Westphalian militarism, Joana and Mérand understands it as the departure point for Western states, reaching back as far as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in their argument. In characterizing this model, Joana and Mérand points so limited liberalization in terms of defense policy, with conscription and a defense sector “sheltered from democratic procedures” (2014, p. 186) and monopoly of violence as well as territorial defense and a self-sufficient military (Ibid.). In Westphalian militarism, the most significant characteristic, albeit not unique is that “defence policy is aligned with national interests” (Ibid.). Although this dissertation is not concerned with the structure of the military
organization or recruitment, there is an important characteristic in the Westphalian militarism, i.e., the self-sufficiency, as the claim provides insight as to the origin of the Swedish arms industry.

Turning to the more modern liberal militarisms, the second model suggested by Joana and Mérand is the functional militarism, “characterised by a high degree of economic liberalisation and a low degree of politico-cultural liberalisation” (Ibid.) and, as implied by its name, functionality determines military budgets, organization and resources. What is of importance for this dissertation, the functional militarism suggests that procurement policy relates to the economic liberalization, which can be expressed through military equipment as part of market logic and state-owned firms being privatized (Ibid.). The other liberal militarism on the rise in the 1980s and onward is the third model, moral militarism, which in contrast to functional militarism “is characterised by a high degree of politico-cultural liberalisation and a low degree of economic liberalisation” (Ibid.) and Joana and Mérand provide the Scandinavian countries as evidence of moral militarism. At heart lies international legitimacy and humanitarian law, which relates to the ethically-based feminist foreign policy. In moral militarism, “the organisation and the use of the state’s military means are politicised in ways that may sometimes go against the implementation of functional solutions” (Ibid.), which is a useful notion for this dissertation as it circles an approach for examining a potential tension between feminist foreign policy and the arms export. This dissertation utilizes these models as a strategy to comprehend what militarisms can be found in the governments and its representatives’ motivation of arms export.

To summarize, and in line with the theoretical concept on masculinity and gendered language, the conceptualization of militarism is used in the same manner, i.e., to look for codes that signify the different ideal types of militarism, and if so, how these codes can be understood as a strategy to create legitimacy, or if not at all.

5. Methods

This chapter accounts for the discourse analysis used, providing a brief introduction of the Foucauldian approach and describing Doty’s textual mechanisms as a practical discourse analysis. Subsequently, the chapter illustrates how I’ve gathered empirical material and how I’ve made practical use of the three concepts of textual mechanisms.
5.1 Foucauldian discourse

In order to analyze how the Swedish government and its representatives motivates and justifies the arms export, this study draws inspiration from discourse analysis, following Foucault’s idea of discourse as “practices that systematically form the objects of which we speak” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49 in Boréus and Bergström, 2018, p. 253). Essential for this dissertation is the understanding that language is not a neutral means of communication, and that language constitutes the social world and practices that is always constructed in this process (Boréus and Bergström, 2018, p. 255). As argued by Boréus and Bergström, Foucault didn’t provide an analytical tool to closely examine text with, and following their argument, Foucault is regarded as an inspiration for methodology, rather than the tool itself (2018, p. 258). Drawing on their interpretation of Foucault’s ideas, power and knowledge appears of great importance (Ibid.), which is fruitful for analyzing the ways in which the Swedish government along with its representatives in written texts make sense of feminist foreign policy as well as arms trade. This approach is suitable for examining how knowledge is created and reproduced and relates to who has the power to define truths through knowledge. This dissertation moreover recognizes the importance of intertextuality, that is the relationship between texts, and emanating from a postpositivist approach, it seeks to uncover systems of signification “based upon a set of text by different people presumed (according to the research focus) to be authorized speakers/writers of a dominant discourse” (Milliken, 1999, p. 231; Doty, 1993, p. 308).

5.2 Textual mechanisms

With regards to the Foucauldian inspiration being quite a blunt instrument, this dissertation turns to the Discursive Practices Approach as defined by Roxanne Doty (1993) and her research design of presupposition, predication and subject positioning as analytic categories or concepts in discourse analysis. In an article on discursive approaches, Doty suggests that foreign policy can be regarded as social construction and that statements in policy documents can be analyzed using her three concepts of textual mechanisms. The kind of research design suitable for this type of methodology are questions regarding what Doty calls “how-possible” (1993, p. 299). This is a useful approach to disassemble the political discourse of arms trade in Sweden and deconstruct the argumentation by examining statements by the Swedish government and its representatives in order to understand what is going on in the discourse,
as it tends to the matter of how the arms export is made possible in foreign policy. This methodology is accompanied by the theoretical framework presented above as a way of making sense of how the disassembled statements are representing the social reality.

Following Doty (1993), presupposition is understood as what is taken for granted in statements. “When one uses language, one is implying something about the existence of subjects, objects and their relationship to one another” (Ibid., p. 306), meaning that discourse analysis carried out in her manner needs to take background knowledge into account, and that these presuppositions can be found, as they are “textual mechanisms”. To explain this concept, Doty poses the simplistic, yet telling question of “have you stopped beating your dog?” to identify presuppositions; there is an object called dog, the person asked this has one and undertakes the practice of beating it and additionally that the enquirer presumes the right to ask this question. For this dissertation, the concept of presupposition is used to highlight what is taken for granted about the Swedish arms industry and Sweden as a nation, finding statements informed by the theory presented above. I will return to what this means in practice later in this chapter.

As for predication, Doty understands this concept as “attaching various labels to subjects” (Ibid.). Identifying predications, i.e., statements assigning attributes and qualities to a subject, is a useful tool for understanding how texts constructs the social world, as these statements constructs identities for subject and their capabilities (Ibid.). For this dissertation, the concept of predications is used to find verbs, adverbs and adjectives attached to nouns about Sweden as a nation and its defense industry in the government’s justification of arms export. This dissertation explores how the predications found are a way of justifying the arms export. As with the concept of presuppositions, I will return to the methodological practicalities for this mechanism later in this chapter.

The last concept Doty introduces as part of a discourse analysis is subject positioning. Subject positions are understood as a subject’s relationship to other subjects, and what kind of subject is determined by its position to other kinds of subjects (Ibid.). “Presupposition and predication, in addition to constructing subjects and objects, establish various kinds of relationships between subjects and subjects and objects” (Ibid.), and “opposition, identity, similarity and complementarity” (Ibid.) are important types of relationships subjects can position themselves through. Doty gives an example of how ‘woman’ and ‘man’ can be
understood as oppositional because of the attributes attached to them, and to show that the relationship can be hierarchal, as one subject’s dominant position is highlighted in relation to a deviant, other subject (Ibid.). For this dissertation, identifying subject positions serves to understand the construction of an attitude of the self, possibly by positioning the self towards ‘other’. By uncovering what subject positions the Swedish government and its representatives places themselves in, this dissertation attempts to explain how the arms export is justified. Finally, as argued by Doty these three concepts enable an analysis that captures both the obvious and the less visible through textual mechanisms, allowing for practices in the social world (Ibid., p. 308). The identification and uncovering of these statements, be it obvious or less perceptible ones, along with the notion of intertextuality also offers the possibility to distinguish a dominant discourse (Ibid., pp. 308-309).

5.3 Empirical material
The gathering of the empirical material for this dissertation included a lot of search engines and mapping the Swedish regulation, as well as what agencies were responsible for what part of the arms production and export control and which ones to consider as representatives of the government. As the material was not delimited beforehand and sometimes not obvious, I stated four operationalizable questions to work with in gathering material:
In what places is the feminist government justifying and motivating its arms export?
What part of the government and what governmental bodies and agencies deal with arms export and control?
After establishing what government bodies and agencies deals with arms export, who is being asked questions about it?
What determines an agency to be considered a representative of the Swedish government and how/why are they useful in the matter of arms export?

These questions made it possible to encircle the government and its representatives and comprehend how the relationship between the government and the defense industry was structured. This made me able to establish what governmental ministries that are central for the research question of motivating arms export, the Ministry for Defense, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry for Enterprise. Using the government’s website, I used the respective ministry’s search engine to find all content, including accreditation, article, information material, international development cooperation strategies, legal documents,
press releases, reports, speeches and statements, published in the time period of October 2014-2022 guided by the research question, to find statements regarding the arms production and export. I found then that the Ministry of Enterprise could be removed from my selection as they did not publish any material on the defense trade. Thereby, this dissertation delimits to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry for Defense. Particularly interesting was the annually published Communication on Strategic Export Control regarding military equipment and dual-use products published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Additionally, I turned to parliamentary committees and found that the Committee on Defense, the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Industry and Trade were useful places to look for the justification of arms export, as these committees, although representative of the Riksdag and not the Government, prepares matters and guidelines that are of importance for governing Sweden.

Moreover, I turned to the Swedish Government Official Reports (Statens Offentliga Utredningar, SOU), particularly the 2015 investigation on sharpened export control on military equipment, SOU 2015:72, as this investigation was often mentioned in the Strategic Export Control Communications and thus considered to be of intertextual importance. Furthermore, this investigation suggested a democracy criterion that was legislated and adopted in 2018 by the Riksdag (The Foreign Affairs Committee's report 2017/18: UU9), which makes the investigation viable empirical material. In navigating the structure of the arms production and export, I found the following agencies to be of importance for answering the research question of arms export, and to be considered representatives of the government because of their status as agencies and their assignment given by the government: the Inspectorate for Strategic Products (ISP), the Swedish Defence Materiel Administration (Försvarets materielverk, FMV) and The Swedish Defence Research Agency (Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut, FOI). With both these agencies, I looked for material using the search engines on their respective websites to find material related to foreign policy and arms production and export.

Finally, I also gathered material from less official sources, as I found that it might be favorable for the Government to not address the issue of arms export in official documents. These include argumentative text on newspaper websites. This dissertation assumes that the justification of arms export also happens in website articles and newspaper debates.
The empirical material consists of documents, communications, speeches, articles, etc. published by the government and its representatives in the years 2014-2022 during which Sweden implemented a feminist foreign policy. In this dissertation, the Swedish government and its representatives denotes two ministries as part of the government (the Ministry for Defense and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs) and utilizes Larsson’s (2020) understanding of the actors making up the defense production industry limited to the ones concerned with governing the arms export (the R&D agency Defense Research Institute (FOI) and the Defense Materiel Administration (FMV)). The Swedish Armed Forces is not considered a relevant actor as they are the customer of the arms export and thereby not a representative relevant for the justification of arms export, and the industry too is not considered a relevant source as they are not part of the government and therefore not helpful in examining the feminist government’s motivation. I will return to what every representative’s assignment in later in this chapter.

At heart of the dissertation are the annual Statements of Government Policy published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These are foreign policy documents presented by the current Minister for Foreign Affairs and in the period investigated, these were Margot Wallström (2015-2019) and Ann Linde (2020-2022). The Statement of Government Policy of 2014 is not included in the empirical material as it was published before the launch of feminist foreign policy, which was in October (Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2019, p. 6). As mentioned above, every year the Government publishes a Communication on Strategic Arms Control, which also is of great importance to this dissertation, as it summarizes the situation of that year’s arms export and presents guidelines for arms export. Another important Government Communication is the one regarding Sweden’s feminist foreign policy (Govt Communication 2019:20:17) as it provides the framework for what feminist foreign policy includes, and some of that relates to the case of export control, foreign and security policy, trade and agency. Moreover, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs published a Handbook on Feminist Foreign Policy in 2019, along with an action plan that are part of the empirical material, as they, just as with the Communication, have sections providing insight to the Government’s justification of arms export.

An important event in the period this dissertation is concerned with is the implementation of a democracy criteria in the arms export control regulation in 2018. With regards to the importance of the stricter regulation in export control, this dissertation uses the Swedish
Government Official Report SOU 2015:72 as part of the empirical material, as well as the Government Bill based on the findings and recommendations of that investigation, Govt Bill 2017:18:32. The relevance of this material is motivated that it offers an extensive description of making sense of the Swedish defense industry and its purpose. The relevance of the SOU is furthermore motivated through the Committee terms of reference, which is the legal document in which the Government appoint a state inquiry to investigate a matter with points of departure for the inquiry (Kommittédirektiv in Swedish). Despite that the Government themselves are not investigating the matter, the fact that they appoint a certain committee serves as motivation for relevance, along with the fact that the findings in the report served as background to the later proposed Government Bill.

Governmental officials, such as Margot Wallström who is considered the key launcher of feminist foreign policy, also appear in media and other information outlets. As previously recognized, this dissertation also considers these outlets to be of importance to cover the spectrum of governmental justification. Mapping these outlets were quite complicated and I recognize that I have not captured the full scope of media debate and argumentative texts regarding arms export. With regards to intertextuality, I’ve chosen to include texts that are often referenced by other texts.

Returning to the agencies considered to be representatives of the Swedish government, this dissertation is, as mentioned above, interested in two agencies: the R&D agency Defense Research Institute (henceforth FOI) and the Defense Materiel Administration (henceforth FMV). FOI is a government agency under the Ministry of Defense conducting research on defense and security (FOI, 2023). Most activities are commission-funded (Ibid.). Swedish regulation states that “The Defense Research Institute is tasked with conducting research, method and technology development as well as investigative work for the total defense and in support of disarmament, non-proliferation and international security” (SFS 2020:1235). FOI themselves, on their website, define their operations as follows: “We strengthen Sweden's security now and in the future through knowledge-building activities and in more knowledge-applying activities. FOI is a carrier of knowledge and expert support in defense and security” (FOI, n.d.). For this dissertation, it of course is impossible to cover everything published by the FOI and furthermore, most of their publications cannot aid in answering the research question of how they as a government representative are justifying the Swedish arms export. What is of interest to this dissertation is not the research conducted by FOI, but rather their
making sense of the defense industry, of Sweden and security. The empirical material retrieved from FOI therefore consists of their annual reports from the years 2014-2022, following the research question.

The Swedish Defense Materiel Administration (FMV) is the acquisition agency, tasked with ensuring that the Swedish Armed Forces are equipped to practice and defend Sweden (FMV, 2023). FMV, too, is an agency directly under the Ministry of Defense and deals with procurement and sales. Furthermore, FMV “works with support for Swedish defense exports in two ways, by being the state's representative in intergovernmental defense exports and by handling export support applications from the Swedish defense industry in which the industry can request help from the state in various export-related issues” (FMV, 2020). This role of the agency is of particular interest for this dissertation as it concerns arms export quite directly and as a government representative FMV are part of the narrative and discourse of justification of arms export. The empirical material is limited to the annual reports, however there are only reports published throughout the years 2017-2022 on their website. To balance this, other material from their website is of interest, particularly their descriptions of how they work with defense exports found on their website (FMV, 2020), as well as a brochure published in 2022 on their operations.

As described in this chapter, this dissertation consists of a varied material intending to capture as much of the motivation of arms export as possible. Official sources from the government and its representatives are at heart and are partnered with argumentative texts by significant government officials. This chapter has accounted for what is considered empirical material for this dissertation, as well as why it is and why other outlets and agencies are excluded. To simplify for the reader, Figure 2 displays the selection.

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<tr>
<th>Official sources from Government</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry for Foreign Affairs</td>
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<td>Defense Research Institute, FOI</td>
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<td>Ministry for Defense</td>
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<td>Defense Materiel Administration, FMV</td>
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5.4 Discourse analysis “in practice”
When all the material was gathered, I began looking for statements which could answer the question of how the feminist government justified and motivated its arms export during the time that the feminist foreign policy was implemented. This was part of the analytical process and combined the theoretical framework with the textual mechanisms found in Doty’s article (1993). I embrace Doty’s methodology by operationalizing each theoretical concept in all three textual mechanisms. In every document I looked for presuppositions, predications and subject positions, informed by traces of different militarism, gendered language and technostrategic language. In practical terms, this meant to look for presuppositions emanating from the theories presented about militarisms and then Cohn’s ideas on armament and masculinity, and how this is signaled through gendered and technostrategic language. In the same manner, I looked for predications emanating from the theoretical framework of militarisms and theoretical assumptions of armament and masculinity. Finally, I looked for subject positions originating from the theories of multiple militarisms and Cohn’s perspective on masculinity and armament.

To show how this dissertation operationalize the methodology provided by Doty, this section presents how text is coded. Starting with nation-state militarism, statements relating to and mentioning state authority and military capability are coded as signals of nation-state militarism. For example, statements on security policy requiring a domestic defense industry are coded as presuppositions which construct justification. When Sweden is ascribed attributes of a credible defender, this is an example of how meaning is constructed through predication. The subject position of Sweden as a promoter of peaceful development is an example of nation-state militarism and produces meaning in relation to other states engaging in violence.

Statements relating to and mentioning of words such as competition, market, international cooperation are coded as signals of liberal militarism. Presuppositions informed by liberal
militarisms include for example statements connecting the domestic defense industry to international competition as a way of justifying export through economic rationality which accounts for functional liberal militarism. Predications include statements of Sweden as feminist and attractive cooperator, which constructs meaning of moral liberal militarism, and subject positions informed by liberal militarism include the position of feminist, as well as international do-gooder. These predications and subject positions offer the possibility to access the attribution process informed by liberal militarism. Statements relating to and consisting of technical language on weapons are coded as expert language. The expert is an example of a subject position when coding statements, and an example of presupposition is the high level of technology in the defense industry and the need to maintain this level. Statements on armament and protection are coded as masculinity. Presuppositions include for example sentences motivating armament with regards to the ability to defend and the capability of the Swedish Armed Forces. Coding of Sweden as protector of national borders or humanitarian values is an example of a predication informed by the theoretical concept of masculinity. Following this, the protector is a subject position offered through the attribution.

6. Swedish arms export control

Before diving into the analysis of how the Swedish government motivates arms export, the reader should be provided with background on arms export control. These laws provide the framework for which the government can motivate the arms export, but do not include any argumentative or justifying statements and are thus not considered to be empirical material. However, as the reader later will find, references to the export control is recurrent in the empirical material. Current statute on arms export in Sweden is regulated in Military Equipment Act (SFS 1992:1300) and the Military Equipment Ordinance (SFS 1992:1303), as well as in an annually published precept on strategic export control. In addition, export control is also regulated in “guidelines and principles on exports of military equipment decided upon by the Government and approved by the Riksdag” (Government of Sweden, Govt Comm. 2021/22:114, p. 7). There are also bi- and multilateral agreements in place, such as the Arms Trade Treaty (Government of Sweden, Govt Bill 2013/14:190) and commitments to the European Union as a member state (EU Council Common Position 2008/944/CFSP, 2008). The second criterion in the EU Councils’ Common Position states, in great likeness of the Swedish democracy criterion that “Respect for human rights in the country of final destination as well as respect by that country of international humanitarian law” (Ibid.).
Returning to the domestic regulation of arms export control, the Military Equipment Act, section 1, states that “military equipment may only be exported if there are security or defense policy reasons for doing so, and provided there is no conflict with Sweden’s international obligations or Swedish foreign policy” (SFS 1992:1300, 1 §). Moreover, the same section states the Inspectorate for Strategic Products (ISP), tries for licenses and “examines questions about permits, prohibitions, exemptions in individual cases and certification according to this law” (SFS 1992:1300, 1 §). The ISP is the responsible licensing agency for military equipment and dual-use products and “[a]s an independent authority, the ISP is tasked with assessing licence applications independently in accordance with the whole regulatory framework” (Skr. 2021/22:114, p. 7). When needed the Export Control Council (Exportkontrollrådet, EKR) assists in interpreting the guidelines, and the council consists of officials from the different parties in the parliament (Skr. 2021/22:114, p. 33). The ISP report the total of arms export to the government, and this statistical report makes up the foundation for the annual Communication Strategic Export Controls – Military Equipment and Dual-Use Items (Skr. 2021/22:114, p. 4). In addition to this, the ISP is responsible for providing information regarding military equipment and dual-use items to the European Union and other multilateral export control regimes Sweden has committed to, as well as provide support for the Government Office’s participation or participate on behalf of them in said multilateral export control regimes (SFS 2010:1101, 2 §).

As mentioned above, a democracy criterion was adopted in 2018. The background to this criterion stems from a 2011 decision in the Riksdag to have the Government investigate a possible, sharpened legislation on arms export to undemocratic states. The Government appointed a committee to investigate the matter in 2012, the Military Equipment Export Review Committee (Krigsmaterielexportöversynskommittén, abbreviated KEX), with the mission to submit a proposal on stricter export control of military equipment to non-democratic states and relating sub-issues to this, and additionally submit proposals on systems of sanctions in the export control (The Foreign Affairs Committee's report 2017/18:UU9). The committee submitted their suggestions in the Government’s Official Report SOU 2015:72, that resulted in bill 2017/18:23 Sharpened export control of military equipment. The SOU stated that existing legislation should remain, i.e., that there was no need for a new law, but that the examination of export permits should be guided by the
democratic status of the potential receiving state, as well as the state’s respect for human rights (Ibid.).

7. Results
This chapter accounts for the results in the dissertation and is structured to follow the theoretical framework. Every section in this chapter relates to a theoretical concept, with the overarching theories being militarisms and gendered language. Every section is structured through Doty’s concepts of textual mechanisms – presupposition, predication and subject position.

7.1 Militarism
This section is parted into subsections dedicated to the three different ideal types of militarism, i.e., nation-state militarism, civil society militarism and liberal militarism.

7.1a Statements suggesting nation-state militarism
To refresh the readers memory, nation-state militarism refers to the default condition in which the state is a legitimate authority, leading the territorial defense. The most obvious, although important to note nonetheless, is the presupposition of an external threat. Without the security threat, there is no need for a state to protect its territorial borders, and thereby no need for armament. Support of this claim can be found in this dissertation’s empirical material since one common narrative identified is that the Swedish defense industry provides the Swedish Armed Forces with its defensive ability through their supply of military equipment.

One way this is expressed is with reference to the origin of the Swedish defense industry and Swedish neutrality politics: “The foundation of the modern Swedish defense industry was laid during the Cold War. Sweden’s neutrality politics, as it was designed after the Second World War, was based on a total defense with a strong defense force and strong national defense industry, which developed products that were adapted to Swedish needs” (Government of Sweden, 2017a, p. 23). This kind of narrative is useful for understanding the motivation of arms production, which is where the story of arms export begins. The connection between the defense industry and the security policy is of great importance here
and is manifested in the bill: “The aim was that Sweden would minimize the dependency on foreign suppliers. The defense industry thus became an important part of the Swedish security politics” (Ibid.). As for nation-state militarism, this narrative relates to the state as the legitimate authority, meaning that if the state legitimizes the practice of manufacturing military equipment, it is considered a legitimate industry. Interestingly, the reference to the origin of the modern Swedish defense industry could be understood as a way of legitimizing the industry today. If it was legitimate at a certain time, presumably it could be considered legitimate today as well. By explaining that the emergence of the defense industry is natural and reasonable, the Government can reference to this for justifying the same practice in the period of 2014-2022. This narrative contains the presupposition that the defense industry has a natural place in Swedish security politics through the connection to the neutrality politics, which is strengthened with the historical explanation and reference to the Cold War era.

The same section in the bill moreover states that the industry “gave Sweden the opportunity to in times of crisis and war manufacture, adapt, maintain and extend the life of equipment for the defense’s needs” (Government of Sweden, 2017a, p. 23) and that “export of military equipment, that during this time was limited, was part of securing the capacity to develop and produce equipment adapted to the needs of the Swedish Armed Forces” (Ibid.), which can be understood as another presupposition relating to the nation-state militarism as it references assuring the capability of the SAF. Once more, the emphasis on the relationship between the defense industry and the Government, here with the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) being the representative of the Government. The presupposition here is that the industry is dependent on the SAF as the central customer and that the strategy of ensuring their capacity rests upon the arms production and the possibility to export when necessary. This is a narrative I will return to in the section on liberal militarism, as it continues to be expressed in statements regarding current justification of arms export.

The observation of the Government referencing to the emergence of the Swedish defense industry moreover is of particular interest with regards to intertextuality and finding a dominant narrative. With very little modification, the very same sentences in the 2017 bill are also found in the annually published communications on Strategic Export Control on military equipment and dual-use products both prior to and after the publication of the bill, except for the 2016 communication. There are small shifts in the phrasing, most of them of little value for constructing meaning. One worth mentioning is, however, that the bill states that
dependency on foreign suppliers should be *minimized* (Government of Sweden, 2017a), whereas the communications, with the exception of the 2016 communication, all state that Sweden had the ambition to be *independent* on foreign supply (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2014; 2015; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021). This small choice of wording might not be significant but should be considered part of the dominant narrative in the Government’s motivation in illustrating the emergence of the modern defense industry in Sweden, being that dependency should be limited.

That Sweden had the ambition to be independent is one way of perceiving Sweden, which feeds into the textual mechanism of predication. The section claiming ambition of independence regarding military equipment also includes assigning Sweden attributes of neutrality. The bill notes an importance change in predications, with the ending of the Cold War signifying a change towards cooperation, with “growing need for materiel cooperation with like-minded states” (Government of Sweden, 2017a, p. 23). This is used as an argument for the prominence of arms export, i.e., not only manufacturing but also trading. I consider this to be part of the nation-state militarism still, although a step towards a more liberal militarism, with economic and politico-cultural liberalization. What makes me consider this change in predication is that part of the argument still contains the importance of the state being the legitimate authority: “At the same time as the defense industry was attributed an important defense and security policy role, the need to pursue a restrictive arms export policy in harmony with Sweden's endeavor to promote peaceful development in our surrounding world was emphasized” (Ibid.). The predication identified is Sweden as a promoter of peaceful development, and this is claimed in relation to a strict export policy on military equipment. As illustrated above, making claims of legitimacy in the past serves a purpose in the present. The Government here presents the argument that strategic export control always has been strict, and that Sweden has been able to remain a promoter of peaceful development because of this. This is one of the ways the defense industry works as a security and foreign policy asset.

The most important narrative found in the nation-state militarism in the empirical material of this dissertation is that of the external threat presupposing a defense capability which is ensured by the Swedish defense industry. After establishing that the Swedish defense industry has an almost natural place in Swedish military history, originating from moral policy of non-alignment characterized by strict export control, this narrative can be seen in
current statements by the Government and its representatives as well. The importance of export is found in the SOU 2015:72: “Munitions exports are a prerequisite for Sweden to be able to maintain a domestic defense industry” (Government Official Reports, 2015, p. 299) and “The possibility of exporting munitions is a prerequisite for competence and capacity within Sweden to be maintained to develop and manufacture munitions for the Armed Forces” (Ibid.). These two sentences have a legitimizing effect on the arms export, with the argument being that the defense industry postulates the capability of defending the Swedish territory. Using Doty’s textual mechanism, this dissertation considers this a clear expression of presupposition. Another clear statement of the presupposition is the following: “Security policy developments in recent years have reinforced the need for a domestic defense industry with the ability to develop materiel systems, and close cooperation in the field of defense materiel within Europe and between Europe and the US” (Government of Sweden, 2017a, p. 24). In this statement, the Government expresses that the current security situation calls for the domestic manufacturing of military equipment to be up to date and develop military materiel. It also calls for international and regional cooperation in the developing of these products. This should be considered a presupposition for legitimizing the arms export.

The recognition of an external threat to the state presupposes defense of the territorial borders, which can be understood as a reason for armament. The connection between armament and defending territorial borders from an external threat might seem like an obvious observation, especially when applying a perspective of nation-state militarism. The ways this is expressed, however, might be a little less perceptible, which is why the discursive approach provides understanding to this issue. Turning now to the annual Statements of Government Policy by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, discourses on security expresses concerns of external threat. The 2016 statement on foreign policy states clearly that “Sweden’s security policy remains firmly in place. Our military non-alignment serves us well and contributes to stability and security in Northern Europe. It presupposes an active, broad and responsible foreign and security policy in combination with a credible national defense capability” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2016, p. 1). The very same message is found in the Statements of Government Policy from 2017 throughout 2021. This reoccurring section contains a predication – military non-alignment – and that a presupposition for security is, among other things, a responsible foreign and security policy, as well as a credible national defense capability. These straightforward sentences are a way of motivating armament and taking into account that the Swedish defense industry provides some of that armament, the
credible national defense capability rests upon the Swedish arms production. Once again, as seen above, legitimacy for the defense industry is constructed. The 2016-2021 declarations of foreign policy links to the narrative of military equipment manufacturing and trade as a mean to ensure non-alignment. This is echoed in the Government Official Report on Stricter export control: “The domestic defense industry has for a long time been considered an important security policy asset for Sweden” (Government Official Reports, 2015, p. 228). Following nation-state militarism, Sweden as a legitimate authority sanctions the domestic defense industry in this statement and the motive used is that arms production and export is important for the security policy.

The matter of the external threat is often expressed in vague terms in the Statements of Government Policy as “insecurity in the nearby area” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2015, p. 8), “tensions in the immediate area” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2015, p. 1), “the security policy situation in Sweden’s immediate area and Europe has over time deteriorated” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2021, p. 3). Despite the vagueness, subject positions can be identified with regards to nation-state militarism. In various Statements of Government Policy, there has been mentioning of Russia’s invasion of Crimea Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2021, p. 4; Government of Sweden, 2017, p. 4) and Russia’s suspension of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty for disarmament (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2019, p. 7). Meaning is produced in these statements of Russia, the armed and violent Other, which constructs Sweden, the Self, as a condenser of illegitimate violence. The subject position ascribed to Sweden is that of a humanitarian and peaceful state, and even though this is not expressed explicitly, this meaning can be found in the contrast to the subject of Russia as aggressive and arms-bearing. The 2022 Statement of Government policy differs slightly, approaching it from a perspective of nation-state militarism. The declaration’s initial and reoccurring focus is the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which tints almost all statement regarding security policy. Here, it is more visible that Sweden is ascribed a subject position that stands in contrast to an Other, Russia, condemning their invasion.

This subsection regarding nation-state militarism has utilized the textual mechanisms found in Doty to display and examine how different statements by the Swedish government and its representatives are used in the justification of arms exports. Important take-aways are that a common narrative is the historical reference to the origin and emergence of the modern Swedish defense industry as what granted the possibility for non-alignment and neutrality.
politics in the Cold War era. This narrative finds its way to current discourse and this dissertation concludes, with regards to nation-state militarism, that this mechanism is a way of creating legitimacy for arms export.

7.1b Statements suggesting liberal militarism
This subsection examines in what way the Government’s and its representatives’ justification of arms production and export can be understood as neoliberalism (Mabee & Vucetic, 2018), as well as how the motivation of the Swedish defense industry can be made sense of in terms of the two concepts within liberal militarism: functional militarism and moral militarism (Joana & Mérand, 2014). This is discussed through the textual mechanisms: presupposition, predication and subject position.

Starting with neoliberalism, what Mabee and Vucetic (2018) suggest is that the expansion of neoliberal capitalism as ideas, institutions and practices affects military institutions and military power. In order to apply this, i.e., neoliberal capitalism’s influence, to the justification of the defense industry, this dissertation turns once more to Joana and Mérand (2014) and their claim of a dual liberalization process in Western democracies in the post-World War II period. Following this, neoliberal capitalism is understood as economic liberalization and politico-cultural liberalization. Now, turning back to the Swedish defense industry, neoliberal militarism is found in statements relating to the marketization of military equipment. As the reader might remember, the section on nation-state militarism emphasized the historical referencing to the expansion of the defense industry as a way of claiming legitimacy. Picking up the track here, applying the concept of neoliberal militarism open for further understanding. The Government Bill 2017/18:23 states that “decreasing national defense resources contributed to the fact that the importance of exports and international material cooperation for the maintenance of the defense industry increased over time” (Government of Sweden, 2017a, p. 23) in the period after the Cold War. This sentence suggests that export of military equipment was necessary to ensure the continuing existence of the defense industry, which when using the textual mechanisms can be understood as a presupposition. Export of military equipment is a presupposition for the capability of the Swedish defense industry, with regards to neoliberal values of international cooperation, which is a way of the Government to justify the arms export. As shown in this paragraph, this narrative is found in the more historical approach expressed by the Government to create
legitimacy, by referencing to the emergence of the modern defense industry. The next paragraph situates this mechanism of legitimacy in current times.

The Government Official Report on Stricter Export Control, SOU 2015:72, expresses explicitly that “munitions exports are a prerequisite for Sweden to be able to maintain a domestic defense industry” (Government Official Reports, 2015, p. 229). This sentence constructs the meaning that the arms export is justified by a government representative because the existence of the domestic defense industry rests upon it. By expressing the need for arms export this pronouncedly naturalizes the practice of export and can be seen as a strategy for the government to create legitimacy. What the presupposition can be understood as, if taking it one step further, requires having two ideas in mind at the same time: the combination of the nation-state militarism and the liberal militarism gives a series of justification. The defense industry’s capability warrants the SAF’s capability, i.e., Sweden’s ability to defend its territorial borders and arms export warrants the defense industry’s existence and development.

As found previously when identifying statements suggesting nation-state militarism, the Government attach importance of the domestic production of military equipment to the ability to defend its own borders. Even when approached from a liberal perspective, the role of the state is still important and “socio-economic liberalization does not necessarily lead to the weakening of the nation state” (Mabee & Vucetic, 2018, p. 13), which is why the state’s involvement in the defense industry deserves attention. The Government Bill 2017/18:23 provides two reasons for state involvement that with the operationalization of Doty’s textual mechanisms can be understood as presuppositions for the arms export. The first reason relates to global competition and maintaining international standard; “Export is considered to strengthen the [defense] companies’ opportunities to maintain a strong, competitive level of technology and the competence required to maintain and sustain the Swedish Armed Forces’ materiel system” (Government of Sweden, 2017a, p. 24). The second highlights the economic motive; “The export can also lead to opportunities for cost sharing and thus lower costs for sustainment and further development for the Swedish Armed Forces” (Ibid.). The emphasis on the defense companies’ ability to compete internationally, along with the cost sharing argument is important in understanding the Government’s justification of arms export and relate to the concept of functional (liberal) militarism. These claims indicate that the Swedish defense industry is part of the global market and thereby must act accordingly to ensure
product quality to compete, but also to ensure the maintaining of development for the sake of the SAF’s development capabilities. More importantly, these two sentences in the bill can be understood as statements suggesting functional (liberal) militarism, as economic rationality informs the defense policy (Joana & Merand, 2014, p. 186). Statements by the Government and its representatives’ that justify arms export by relating to market dynamics are considered to be signs of functional militarism. The political justification lies within the economic rationality, reasoning with the fact that pure self-sufficiency is so expensive that the only way to guarantee national security is to export arms. This narrative utilizes the functionality, as the export is made sense of as what warrants the SAFs ability to acquire expensive defense materiel. Notably, and in contrast to the Cold War narrative previously uncovered, this narrative finds exports to be what secures territorial defense, not only the production of military equipment.

One subject position offered in the declarations on foreign policy is Sweden’s positions as an EU member. This is coded as liberal militarism with reference to the emphasis on cooperation. “Sweden’s voice in the world becomes stronger together with other EU member states” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2015, p. 1), “Sweden’s security begins in Europe” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2019, p. 1) and “Sweden will not remain passive if another EU Member State or a Nordic country suffers a disaster or an attack” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2019, p. 5) are some of the sentences signaling the Government’s position as an EU member. At first sight, this might not seem all too important with regards to the research puzzle regarding the justification of arms export, but parallel to this positioning, arms trade happens. “Fifty-eight countries, as well as the EU, received deliveries of military equipment from Sweden in 2019” (Government of Sweden, 2019b, p. 6) one of the communications on Strategic Export Control states. Additionally, the R&D agency, FOI, is in part funded by EU (FOI, 2022, p. 8). The subject position of Sweden as an EU member is supported by ascribing Sweden traits of being an attractive cooperator. The attribution process of good cooperator is found in the Government Communications on Strategic Export Control: “An internationally competitive level of technological development contributes to Sweden continuing to be an attractive country for international cooperation” (Government of Sweden, 2017b, p. 11). The meaning constructed in this statement not only ascribes Sweden the attribute of being an attractive country for international cooperation, but it also motivates the arms export. By maintaining technological competence in the domestic defense industry, Sweden assures international cooperation. This presupposition is also found in the Government Bill on
defense policy orientation 2016-2020 that clearly states that “[i]n order to be able to participate in international research collaborations and gain access to defense-related research results, it is of great importance that Sweden is a competent and credible research partner” (Government of Sweden, 2015a, p. 102).

The narrative of the Swedish defense industry’s capacity and development is common in the Government’s justification of arms production and export. “Furthermore, exports contributed to a more even utilization of the industry’s development and production resources, which was a prerequisite for the preservation of competence and capacity in the country” (Government of Sweden, 2017a, p.23), the Government bill on more stringent arms export states. This statement constructs the presupposition that arms export is a necessity for maintaining competence, which constructs the defense industry as an innovative industry. Moreover, “The defense industry has also been considered a factor for Sweden’s international reputation as a strong and important actor in engineering and innovation” (Government Official Reports, 2015, p. 299) the SOU claims. This statement references the international status of Sweden and its domestic defense industry as technically advanced, ascribing Sweden attributes of innovative and well-developed in engineering. The subject position of Sweden as an innovative and competent developer of military equipment strengthens the motivation of arms export, as the defense industry is not only providing the Swedish SAF with advanced equipment to ensure the nation’s military capability, but also selling it because it is internationally competitive. Furthermore, this is supported in the annual reports of FOI, as their assignment is to work as an R&D agency. FOI’s annual report states that R&D “is a prerequisite for the Swedish Armed Forces to be able to maintain its operational capability and secure access to integrity-critical knowledge and strategic competence in Sweden” (FOI, 2022, p. 16). The government finances R&D to develop the defense industry and thus ensure the nation’s military capability. This is a narrative that contains characteristics of nation-state militarism, as it is referencing the SAF’s capability, but it should also be considered as constructing meaning of technological development as important for competing in an international market. Another example of a statement connecting the international market, competition and the Swedish defense industry is found in a web article on arms export on FMV’s website, stating that “[t]he armed forces’ need for materiel is not sufficient to maintain a competitive Swedish defense industry. Exports and collaborations are required to create the conditions for defense industrial competence in Sweden.” (FMV, 2020). Along
similar lines, this statement emphasizes that export is necessary to create competence in the defense sector.

Where functional liberal militarism is characterized by economic liberalization, moral liberal militarism is guided by political values and norms which can contradict the economic rationality. The distinction sheds light upon the feminist foreign policy, as shown in the literature review as an ethically informed foreign policy, governed by moral, norms and values. As presented in the research puzzle, this dissertation seeks to provide insight as to how the potential tension between feminist foreign policy and arms export can be conceived of. The potential tension relates to the parts of feminist foreign policy which situate it with peace and security. As stated in the Government Communication on Sweden’s Feminist Foreign Policy, “[o]ne of the cornerstones of Sweden’s feminist foreign policy is that the work for sustainable peace and security must be representative and inclusive. The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security and its subsequent resolutions are central mechanisms for achieving this” (Government of Sweden, 2019a, p. 14). In this statement it is made clear that feminist foreign policy is connected to peace and security, which can be seen as signaling moral liberal militarism, highlighting the striving for peace and security, assigning feminist foreign policy, and thereby Sweden, the attributes inclusive and representative. With peace and security as a cornerstone of the feminist foreign policy, the issue of armament deserves special attention, turning to the Government’s and its representatives’ justification of arms export when feminist foreign policy is based on ideas of disarmament and non-proliferation. This is not to say that all feminism, including that of the Swedish government, is in opposition of the defense industry. Rather, the discourse on arms export contains presuppositions and predications of moral militarism that are part of the government justification, which constructs meaning to the subject position of feminist.

This dissertation finds that arms export is seldom brought up in material on feminist foreign policy, nor is feminist foreign policy often brought up in narratives on arms export. When security is discussed, it is often with reference to what great work Sweden does for promoting peace, for example in a web article on women participation to achieve peace by then Minister for Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström (Huffpost, 2016). Sweden and its feminist foreign policy are ascribed the predication of a mediator, which offers the subject position as a progressive peace-promoter. The construction of Sweden as feminist and peace-promoting is an important process in terms of discourse, because when establishing a subject position as
feminist, which Sweden should be considered doing successfully with regards to their international status, it can be hard to see other positions, such as arms dealer. To be able to establish the subject position of feminist, excluding arms dealing from the narrative might be to Sweden’s advantage. This is not to say that the exclusion of arms trade in narratives of feminist foreign policy is an active choice by the Swedish government, but this dissertation can conclude that the case of arms export is seldom discussed in relation to feminist foreign policy and that it might be beneficial to keep these separate. When military equipment is discussed, there are certain distinctions made and small arms are presented as the threat to security, especially for women and emphasis is put on Sweden’s contributions for gender equality in armament treaty and peace negotiations (Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, pp. 72-73). Sweden’s domestic defense industry is ascribed the attribute of being under strict control: “Sweden attaches great importance to preventing and counteracting gender-based and sexual violence in conflict and in society generally. One important aspect of this work is the strict control exercised over the export of military equipment from Sweden” (Ibid., p. 73). This statement connects violence and arms export yet highlights the strict control as a prerequisite for arms export. The strict control of arms export is also part of the government bill on feminist foreign policy (Government of Sweden, 2019a, p. 21). The presupposition for arms export is strict control and this use of language is part of legitimizing the export of military equipment.

The attributing process of assigning Sweden the predication of feminist contributes to the subject position of feminist and this dissertation have previously shown how neutrality politics and non-alignment are predications that have legitimized the domestic defense industry. Similarly, the feminist foreign policy could be seen as a legitimizing strategy, and not in contradiction to arms export. Emanating from liberal militarism and moral militarism, the subject position of feminist could be seen as warranted by the domestic defense industry. Sweden has the possibility to be feminist because it can maintain technical competence to protect its territorial borders through the defense industry. The position of progressive is ascribed because the defense industry is a presupposition for feminist foreign policy, just as with the neutral foreign policy of the Cold War period, seen to how the government justifies arms exports.

This subsection on liberal militarism has operationalized the textual mechanisms of presupposition, predication and subject position to highlight statements that motivate arms
export. Central to the analysis was functional liberalism and moral liberalism, utilizing these to emphasize the government and its representatives’ argumentation for maintaining a technologically advanced defense industry to assure international cooperation. The subsection also addressed the feminist foreign policy, understood as constructing meaning to Sweden and the domestic defense industry, finding that distinctions and strict control of exports are language use that contributes to the justification of arms export.

7.2 Gendered language and masculinity
This section provides the results from the other overarching theoretical theme, regarding masculinity and weapons. It draws on Cohn’s (1987) argument that masculinity and weapons are connected which can be detected in discourse on defense. This section discusses how technostrategic language is used to create distance to create legitimacy for armament and demonstrates how the narratives in the empirical material should be considered gendered and what that means for the justification of arms export. The section is structured into subsections, starting with armament, moving along to technostrategic language and ending with evocative language, discussing statements understood through a feminist IR perspective with gendered language and masculinity at heart. Every subsection is structured to analytically assess statements following Doty’s textual mechanisms of presupposition, predication and subject position.

7.2a Statements suggesting masculinity through armament
Following Cohn (1987), language used to discuss weapons is centered around the weapons themselves, requiring certain knowledge of the weapons and the arms industry. This creates legitimacy for these speakers, and other voices are silenced or dismissed through this mechanism, because there is simply no place for other narratives in defense discourse (Cohn, 1987). What is striking when applying Cohn’s perspective is how little attention the consequences of arms export is given, seen to the destination of the arms. The consequences of arms export are limited to narratives on what the defense industry means to Sweden. As shown in the previous sections on militarism, these include narratives on the Swedish Armed Forces defense ability, the Government’s ability to maintain foreign and security policy and the defense industry’s capability to sustain and develop competence. Even though these narratives are a result of applying the theoretical approach of identifying militarisms, these results circle important departure points for a gender-informed analysis, because the same
presuppositions can imply a different meaning when emanating from feminist IR perspectives.

Starting with the presupposition that the defense ability of the SAF rests upon cost-efficient arms procurement which motivates the export of Swedish arms, applying feminist IR can make sense of the nation’s ability to defend itself and protect its people as a gendered discourse. The presupposition feeds into the well-established feminist idea of protection as masculine. In this light, the arms export enables masculine territorial protection, sanctioned by the Government. The Government Bill 2014/15:109 on Defense Policy Orientation – Sweden’s defense 2016–2020 states that “The government believes that a fundamental starting point for the state’s involvement in export matters is that there is a clear connection to the operational capability of the Armed Forces” (Government of Sweden, 2015a, p. 101), which situates the Government’s participation in arms export as a validating presence assigned to make sure that the SAF have the capability to defend the territories. The defense can be understood as masculine, not only with regards to feminist IR as the masculine protector, but also with Cohn’s connection between masculinity and armament. The emphasis on the importance of the defense industry for Swedish security policy creates legitimacy for the armament: “Munitions exports are a prerequisite for Sweden to be able to maintain a domestic defense industry” (Government Official Reports, 2015, p. 299). When applying Cohn’s argument, legitimacy is created through masculinity. With armament being masculine, it becomes a legitimate practice and, thereby, the claim of arms export being a prerequisite for armament becomes a narrative that justifies the export.

Turning to another narrative identified above is that of the technical competence. Arms export has been motivated through statements by the Government and its representatives as a strategy of ensuring technological advances and innovation in the defense industry. The government bill on stricter arms control argues that “exports contributed to a more even utilization of the industry’s development and production resources, which was a prerequisite for the preservation of competence and capacity in the country” (Government of Sweden, 2017a, p.23). As I will return to later when discussing technostrategic language, the emphasis on what advanced weapon systems Sweden is offering is part of understanding the legitimacy of masculinity. In the matter of masculinity and armament, the focus of this subsection, however, the presupposition that the defense industry’s development and capacity rest upon arms export is also of relevance. Statements of competence and capacity in the domestic
defense industry serves to displace the consequences of that military competence. My interpretation of Cohn (1987), as presented above, highlights the importance of language about weapons builds upon said weapons, which means that it is not designed to include human suffering and violence. Using phrasing like “the industry’s development” and “preservation of competence” conceals the meaning of what that industry and competence result in.

7.2b Statements suggesting masculinity through technostrategic language
The technostrategic language refers to the abstract and technical language as a way of creating distance between the speaker and the consequences of the military equipment and defense policy (Cohn, 1987). What is of interest is the distance created by the Swedish government and its officials to justify arms export, turning to narratives of abstract language to displace the consequences of arms export and to technical language as a way of controlling what is part of the discourse on weapons. This section will also include how distance is created through making distinctions between different weapons in the justification of arms export.

Findings on the technostrategic language are centered around specifications of the arms produced and exported. The acquisition agency, FMV provides insight into the matter in their article on JAS 39 Gripen, the Swedish fighter aircraft produced and sold by Saab. FMV’s role as a governmental representative is to aid in intergovernmental arms export deals and state on their website that “The purpose of exporting the Gripen is to lower costs for the Swedish defense by having as many users of the system as possible share the costs” (FMV, 2022a), and as presented above, reduction in costs for the SAF is part of the motivation for arms export. Gripen E, the version currently being developed, has its own webpage on the FMW website, on which technical details regarding its strengths are presented, listing specifications such as what radar system is used (FMV, 2022b). An example of phrasing is that of the radar: “AESA radar. Can move inside the nose cone of the aircraft, thereby continuing to acquire target data while the aircraft turns after firing a robot”. This language falls into the category of technostrategic and can, following Cohn’s argument, be understood as a way of creating legitimacy, as this language belongs to those who speak it and can comprehend it, being constructed by modes of thinking in technological terms. Expert language offers the subject position of the expert, which is a way of creating legitimacy. FMV, as a government
representative, are positioned as experts, which happens in opposition to those who cannot speak the expert language.

Cohn furthermore shows that metaphors are used by defense intellectuals when speaking about weapons and that these metaphors are highly gendered. One distinctive example of this was found in the JAS 93 Gripen webpage as well. On the webpage, there is a video recording of FMV’s project leader on Gripen E, speaking about the technical advantages and opportunities in the new Gripen. The video visually consists of recording shot from the cockpit of the aircraft, of the pilot, aerial photo of the aircraft and of the project leader. There is a voice-over which is of particular interest in which the project leader says: “If Gripen E would be an animal […] I think it could be a puma [mountain lion], a fast predator… That can lie in wait and strike when needed or defend itself when needed. Now, I don’t know if pumas are especially intelligent, but a Gripen E is very intelligent” (FMV, 2022b) and then lists some technical specifications. This is a very clear example of how metaphors are part of the discourse and the use of the imagery of the mountain lion, the fast predator, arguably signals masculinity. The video continues with the project leader, in an attempt to explain the complicated intelligence system trivialize the aircrafts ability to communicate with each other, saying that the aircrafts can “share the knowledge with other aircrafts in the same coffee party [kafferep] chattering with each other” (Ibid.), which glosses over the function of the combat aircraft, as if it is all about a coffee party. This is an example of abstract language, creating distance between the speaker and the military equipment. He goes on, comparing the new Gripen E to its predecessor: “there are many different metaphors to use. Gripen C/D is a Nokia 3310, while we are developing an iPhone 14 that so far doesn’t exist’’ (Ibid.). This also relates to the technostrategic language, as understood by Cohn not only as a way of speaking, but also as a way of thinking about and making sense of military strategy constructed, inspired and saturated with technology. Even in the rationalizing by the project leader, technology is ever present, by using the imagery of old and new mobile phones. The expert language used in this video signals masculinity and can be understood as a presupposition for arms export, drawing on Cohn’s argument that it creates distance to the victimhood not only to the victim of violence, but moreover also conceals that the speaker, in her work of a nuclear war (1987, p. 706), but in this context could be applied to the preparation of armed conflict. Cohn refers to this as a kind of escape that puts the speaker in a position of a planner, i.e., someone who is in control. The position of an actor offers agency and a different
focus of what is really going on; the preparation for war or conflict. This should be considered a subject position of a planner.

Abstract language is as presented a way of creating distance between the speaker and victimhood, and another way this is expressed is found in the Government Communication on Sweden’s feminist foreign policy. It reads: “Under the feminist foreign policy, Sweden attaches great importance to preventing and counteracting gender-based and sexual violence around the world, in both conflict and peacetime. One important aspect of this work is the strict control exercised over the export of military equipment from Sweden” (Government of Sweden, 2019a, p. 21). The distance here concerns that of the Government and the defense industry and the presupposition is that military equipment can be exported if it is subject to strict control. By pointing to the fact that there is an agency that deals with granting export permits, the Government puts the responsibility on that agency, ISP. This is also found in a news article in which then Minister for Interior Morgan Johansson stated that the Saudi export deal of military equipment is not a matter for the Government, but for the ISP (Svd, 2018). The narrative contains the idea that the Government has done what it can in terms of ensuring a fair and humanitarian strategy for the arms exports. “The assessment should also consider the impact of the export on fair and sustainable development in the receiving country” (Ibid.), the communication states, which captures the intent of Sweden as an international do-gooder. This is echoed in the Statement of Government Policy from 2021 by then Minister of Foreign Affairs Ann Linde, arguing that with “feminist foreign policy and strong trade policy do we not only secure our own country but contribute to peace, security and development and democracy globally” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021, p. 1). This relates to the other textual mechanism of predication, with Sweden being an advocate for peace, security and development. This meaning construction also positions Sweden as humanitarian and peace-promoting, and the Other, for example Saudi Arabia, is an arms-purchaser that stands in opposition to the do-gooder Sweden.

7.2c Statements suggesting masculinity through evocative language
As for evocative language, the result is that there were no findings of it. Language of sexual character are not part of the government and its representatives justification of arms export.
8. Conclusion

The dissertation has examined the intersection between Sweden’s feminist foreign policy implemented in 2014 and its arms export. It reviewed literature on feminist foreign policy, focusing on its goals, opportunities and challenges and noted that while feminist foreign policy aims for global disarmament and non-proliferation, Sweden has continued exporting arms to countries with poor human rights records. The dissertation reviewed approaches to understand arms production and export, including the concept of feminist arms dealers, the ambiguity of dual-use products, and the legitimizing effect of export control regimes like the Arms Trade Treaty. Theoretically, this dissertation drew on Carol Cohn’s analysis of the language used by defense analysts to argue that there is a link between masculinity and armament, along with the application of a typology of militarism, including nation-state militarism and liberal militarism, to analyze different types of discourses used by the Swedish government and its representatives to justify arms export.

Sweden’s arms industry is closely tied to government and military interests. It originated to serve Sweden's Cold War neutrality policy and continues to be framed as necessary to ensure national security and defense capabilities. Referencing to the origin and emergence of the Swedish modern defense industry is used to create legitimacy in narratives in Government documents and serves to put the arms export in an almost natural light. Support for nation-state militarism was found in the expressed need to defend territorial borders are used to naturalize and legitimize arms production, and moreover, arms export is also framed as economically necessary to sustain the arms industry and thereby accommodate Sweden’s defense capability. In both historical illustrations and more current discourse, the arms export is perceived as a prerequisite for the capability and development ability of the Swedish Armed Forces. This is motivated through a narrative drawing on economic rationality found in functional militarism. A common narrative in government justification was the highlighting of the defense industry’s importance for technology, innovation and engineering. Arms exports are justified with reference to maintaining an advanced industry with high competence, and this competence is what warrants the territorial protection too, because it assures the defense capability of the Swedish Armed Forces. Moreover, arms production and export is not only subject to economic rationality, but also to moral militarism, and this dissertation shows how narratives can be parallel. The agency in feminist foreign policy can be exercised at the same time as arms export happens and external threats do not disappear.
because you have a moral foreign policy. Discourses which justify arms export draw on notions of masculinity and technostrategic language. This dissertation has shown how armament signals masculinity and how relying on masculinity creates legitimacy for the defense industry. It has also given examples of how technostrategic language is used to create distance between the arms production and its violence, and how experts can find agency in language to construct meaning of agency.

By examining the discourses identified, this dissertation has contributed to the scholarship on feminist foreign policy and critical security studies, bringing greater insights into the complexities of feminist foreign policy and its interplay with arms export. While the feminist policy aims to promote gender equality, peace and human rights, arms export remains a questionable practice and this dissertation has investigated the ways in which the Government has throughout the period of feminist foreign policy, justified and motivated the arms export. Insights from this dissertation are not limited to the Swedish case, but should be considered as an example of all nations can claim to be feminist and still export arms. Earlier this year, Germany launched a new feminist foreign policy, and with a well-established defense industry, future research could turn to the German case and examine what discourses that motivate their defense industry since the implementation of feminist foreign policy.
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