

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The transformation of Sweden into one of Europe's leading industrial nations has changed in running the reformation. In the late nineteenth century, Sweden experienced a reformation. It was marked by the emergence of strong popular movements involving the free churches, the temperance and women's movements, and above all the labor movement. In 1917, the first Social Democrats entered the government of Sweden. Universal suffrage was introduced for men in 1909 and for women in 1921. During 1930's after Social Democrats rose to power, plans for a welfare state were drawn up and put into effect after World War II (Gouvernement, 2016).

In the postwar era, Social Democratic government resumed office under Per Albin Hansson. Although the Social Democratic party led the government, Social Democratic has close cooperation with other Democratic Party. After series of reforms were carried out in the 1940s and 1950s all of Democratic Party cooperation together laid foundation of the Swedish welfare state, then at the same time there were calls for a modernization of the 1809 constitution.

A new instrument of government that stated all public power derived from people who are selected as members of parliament in free elections. The head of state still monarch although in name only this instrument adopted in 1974 and in 1979. An amendment to the order of succession gave male and female heirs an equal claim to the throne so according to the amendment the next in line to the throne is Princess Victoria, not her young brother, Carl Philip.

In 2003, one of the political parties in Sweden decided to openly declare want to ended "gender system" in Sweden. Social Democratic believed that the uneven distribution of power and resources between women and man was not the result of a coincidence. Then, Swedish government started to implement feminist norms in it's domestic policy through action plan for gender equality and this plan called for the feminist government. Since that time, Sweden has been known as the feminist government in the world, this means the major priority in resources allocation and decision making of Sweden government is gender equality where women and men have the same power to shape society on their own life.

Sweden government as the feminist government ensures that women and girl can enjoy their fundamental human rights both nationally and internationally. A feminist government also ensures that gender equality is brought into policy-making on a broad front, both nationally and internationally (A feminist government, 2015).

Nowadays, the problems of gender in the world are still increasing. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union Women in 2015 (Women in parliaments, 2016), the number of women's contributions to the politics in the worlds were still less than men's contribution. Women in the parliamentary was only 22,7 percent and men was 77,3 percent; women member of government was 17,7 percent and for men was 82,3 percent; Women Heads of state was only 6,6 percent and men as Heads of state was 93,4 percent; Then for Women Heads of government was only 7,3 percent and for men was 92,7 percent as Heads of government.

According to United Nations (UN) women, women continue to participate in labor markets on an unequal basis with men. In 2013, the male employment-to-population ratio stood at 72.2 percent, while the ratio for females was 47.1 per cent. Globally, women are paid less than men. Women in most countries earn on average only 60 to 75 percent of men's wages(Women, 2016). Gender inequalities in time use are still large and persistent in all countries. Especially women in developing countries, if women paid work and unpaid work are combined, women work more than men and they also tend to have less time for leisure, education, self-care and political participation. More than fifty years, each day men in every country spend time on leisure more than women because each day women spend more their time on doing unpaid housework.

Reports about the humanitarian conditions in international level highlight increase in gender-based and sexual violence against women which were totally contradictive with what had already applied in Sweden domestic policy. Many women are forced to live in public places, such as train stations, bus stations, etc. where some of the actors are people who have fought in the ongoing conflict. In the conflict area such as Syria, the girls and women are raped and held in sexual slavery. Furthermore, as the impact of armed conflict, women who were supposed to be protected faced serious abuse including extrajudicial executions, kidnapping and torture.

Seeing those conditions, Sweden government that has already succeed applying domestic policy and achieved gender equality in domestic level started to put concern in the international scope including the case in Syria under the new minister of foreign affairs, Margot Wallstrom. However, when Sweden tried to implement feminist norm in its' foreign policy to support international humanity, at the same time, Wallstrom also indirectly denounced certain countries as the world's human rights violator and made the relations between Sweden and those countries became worst although that country had important role in Sweden economic. It put Sweden in dilemmatic position to choose whether to continue its' decision to implement foreign policy for supporting humanity or to maintain the relation between Sweden and other countries for economic purposes.

Finally, Sweden government implemented Swedish Foreign Service action plan for feminist foreign policy 2015 – 2018 including focus areas for 2016 in 2015.

B. Research Question

From the explanation above regarding the decision of Sweden adopts feminist norms in its foreign policy, then the question emerged is:

Why did Sweden government adopt feminist norms in foreign policy?

C. Theoretical Framework

In the study of International Relations, there will be various understandings and arguments surrounding one international phenomenon. There will be also various forms of the perception and paradigm informing the answer to analyze an international phenomenon. In analyzing the reasons of Sweden Government implementation feminist in foreign policy, the writer use constructivism theory.

1. Constructivism Theory

Constructivism is the claim that significant aspects of international relations are historically and socially constructed, rather than inevitable consequences of human nature or other essential characteristics of world politics (Thaddeus Jackson & H.Nexon, 2002).According to

constructivism philosophy, the social world is not given: it is not something 'out there' that exist independent of the thoughts and ideas of the people involved in it (Robert & Georg, Introduction to international relations theories and approaches, 2003). It is not an external reality whose laws can be discovered by scientific research and explained by scientific theory as behaviorists and positivists argue. The social world is an inter-subjective domain: it is meaningful to the people who made it and live in it, and who understand it precisely because they made it and they are at home in it (Robert & Georg, Introduction to international relations theories and approaches, 2003).

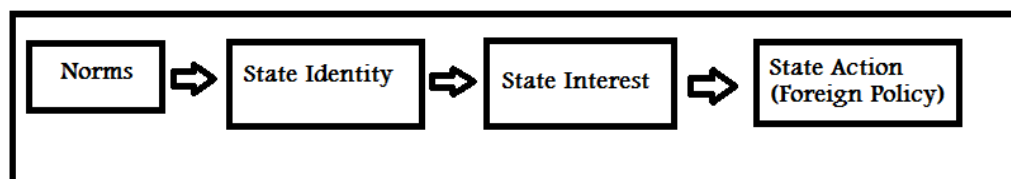
The social world is in part constructed of physical entities, but it is ideas and beliefs behind those entities which are most important: what those entities signify in the minds of people. Shares constitutes and express the interest and identities of certain people: the way that a group of people conceive of themselves and think of themselves in their relations with other group of people who are deemed to be in some significant ways different from themselves. In short, National Identities are constituted by distinctive inter-subjective beliefs which only extend a certain distance in space and time and no farther (Robert & Georg, Introduction to international relations theories and approaches, 2003).

According to Peter J.Katzenstein (J.Katzeinstein, 1996), interests are constructed through a process of social interaction. The concept of

norms is to describe collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors with a given identity. In some situations norms operate like rules that define the identity of an actor, thus having "constitutive effects" that specify what actions will cause relevant others to recognize a particular identity. In other situations norms operate as standards that specify the proper enactment of an already defined identity. In such instances norms have "regulative" effects that specify standards of proper behavior. Norms thus either define (or constitute) identities or prescribe (or regulate) behavior, or they do both (J.Katzeinstein, 1996).

According to Ted Hopf(Hopf, 1998), the identity of a state implies its preferences and consequent actions. A state understands others according to the identity it attributes to them, while simultaneously reproducing its own identity through daily social practice. Any state identity in world politics is partly the product of the social practices that constitute that identity at home. In this way, identity politics at home constrain and enable state identity, interests, and actions abroad (Hopf, 1998)

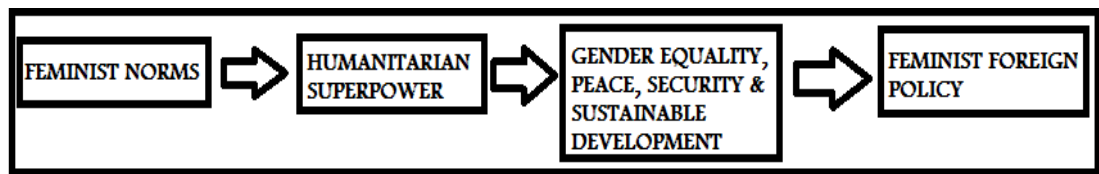
Figure 1.1-The scheme of conventional constructivist approach



Source: The Concept of State Identity in International Relations: A Theoretical Analysis(Maxym, 2003)

Constructivist theoretical formulation claimed that the social environment determines forms of the identity of the actor. Then, the identity will determine the interests of the actor, and the interests will determine a form of the behavior, actions or policies from the actor. From the explanation above about constructivism theory, it is related to the process of Sweden implementing feminist in foreign policy

This theory could be implemented by analyzing the reasons of Sweden government adopt feminist norms in foreign policy.



Feminist norms are the norms which expect gender equality as its proper behavior. Feminist norms were constructed by Sweden government and the society to achieve gender equality and prosperity. However, due to these feminist norms, the form of the Sweden identity has been changed into a 'humanitarian superpower'. Humanitarian superpower means an extremely powerful nation that having concern for or helping to improve the welfare and happiness of peoples, especially one capable of influencing international events and the acts and policies of less powerful nations. Then, Sweden's identity as a humanitarian superpower determines the interests of the Sweden's government, which in turn guide state behavior, actions or policies. In 2014, Sweden governments were

declared to implement feminist foreign policy. A feminist foreign policy is a foreign policy that focuses on gender equality, such as strengthens women's rights, representation and access to resources.

D. Hypothesis

The following hypothesis that could be put to explain the reason of Sweden in using feminist as its foreign policy is due to the desire of Sweden to spread feminist norms to achieve gender equality which is essential for the fulfillment of the government's other objectives and identity.

E. Scope of Research

The research is limited to find out the reasons of Sweden implementing feminist in foreign policy and to conduct a proper analysis to this problem, the important events are highlighted since 1960 to 2016. When women and state became very much interconnected in Sweden and Sweden government implemented feminist foreign policy agenda. This limitation is to enable the writer to stay focused and to facilitate research and data collection.

F. Method of Writing

The method of the research is qualitative method and this research will cover with two kinds of relevant data and/or information. First, the official statement released by Sweden government or its agencies. Second, research material that is used in the form of secondary data, such as books, journals,

documents which have been published as well as the other references that are considered relevant, properly sourced from printed and electronic media.

G. Purpose of Writing

The purpose of this research is to identify the reasons of Sweden implementing feminist in foreign policy in 2015. This research is addressed as the requirements of the writing thesis for achieving the Bachelor of International Relations from the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, and to all readers who have interest in feminist to contribute on analyzing gender equality issue in worldwide.

This research also aims to encourage the policy makers to have more concern about gender equality, and as a lesson the importance of gender equality to create world peace, security and sustainable development.

H. System of Writing

This undergraduate thesis provides analysis in systematic order by separating the analysis into several chapters. Every single chapter is a coherent body of analysis in order to answer the question that is generated previously. The system of writing the thesis consists of five Chapters, namely:

Chapter I

This chapter constitutes introduction, containing the background problems, formulation of the problem, the framework hypothesis, thought-provoking,

objective research, the scope of writing, the purposes of writing, the methods of writing and the system of writing.

Chapter II: This chapter describes feminism and gender inequality in worldwide today.

Chapter III:

This chapter describes feminism in Sweden.

Chapter IV:

This chapter examines the analysis of Sweden feminist foreign policy adoptions.

Chapter V:

The last chapter of this thesis consists of the overall conclusion of this undergraduate thesis. The conclusion will consist of the summary of all explanation generated from the previous chapters.