Sweden’s Foreign Policy in General and in Afghanistan

A Post-Liberal Peace Framework?

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Abstract

The liberal peace framework has in the past two decades experienced an increased amount of criticism for its uniform strategies, with several alternatives being presented as a response. One such an alternative is the framework of the post-liberal peace. Although researched in multiple articles by various scholars, Richmond’s (2011) book *A Post-Liberal Peace* is the most extensive piece on the subject and has therefore chiefly been used in the analysis of this paper. While previous studies and literature has examined different aspects of the post-liberal peace, none had considered a country’s foreign policy both in general and specific to one country. The prior neglect of Sweden and Afghanistan led to a focus of the two countries in this study. The aim of this paper was to fill the gap in the literature on the post-liberal peace framework as applied to a country’s foreign policy, thereby illuminating whether Sweden’s foreign policy adheres to the post-liberal peace framework. Text analysis was employed so as to critically examine the Swedish foreign policy by looking at certain concepts, in addition to implicit and explicit statements made relating to values inherent to the post-liberal peace framework. The hypothesis of this study claimed that Sweden’s social democratic feminist foreign policies adhere to the post-liberal peace framework and therefore would illustrate the proposed likeness between Sweden’s social democratic foreign policy and the post-liberal peace framework. The results from the data analysis displayed several qualities that adhered to the above-stated framework, while also exhibiting a number of inconsistencies and indubitably contrasting values. In sum, the study provides evidence that the social democratic feminist foreign policy of Sweden to a certain extent share similarity with the post-liberal peace framework, thereby partly confirming the hypothesis.
Key words

Post-liberal peace, Sweden, Afghanistan, local, hybridity, contextual, needs, everyday

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1 Introduction, Research Problem and Relevance

The liberal framework has for many decades been at the forefront of the Western political agenda, navigating the way in which the economy or foreign policies were conducted, but has since the closing of the cold war found itself at a point of disarray (Economist 2018; Mac Ginty 2008; Richmond 2011; Wolff 2015). The values that were once considered to lead to the emancipation of a wide range of aspects have instead developed into conservative policies and neo-colonial ideals, which has led to a widespread consensus that liberal policies are in need of an update (The Economist 2018; Jackson 2018; Richmond 2011). As an outcome of the growing discontent, the discourse surrounding a post-liberalism and the concepts inherent to it have during the past decade begun to develop. One aspect in particular, the theoretical framework of a post-liberal peace, is gaining scholarly interest in the field of international relations as a response to the homogenous mainstream peacebuilding efforts typical to the liberal peace (Jackson 2018; Pugh 2014; Richmond 2011; Tom 2018).

Previous studies addressing the theory of post-liberal peace have discussed the values and ideas embedded in the theory and have thus attempted to further develop it. Describing it as a theory that is the outcome of the perceived shortcomings of the liberal peace, the post-liberal peace places an emphasis on a bottom-up strategy which observes the needs of the people in peace efforts while simultaneously respecting their local history, culture, and rights (Jackson 2018; Richmond 2011; Richmond 2013). Additional studies have also been carried out with the intent to study the post-liberal peace in the context of countries’ or indigenous peace frameworks, as in the case of Wolff (2015), Tom (2018), and Dias (2013). In the aforementioned, it is stated that the European Union (EU) has already begun to adhere to the theoretical framework in their policy. While other studies have focused on the framework
per se or the application of the theory, research has also been conducted on the concepts inherent to the post-liberal peace framework. These studies have inter alia discussed the concepts of the everyday, hybridity, and resilience (Brown 2018; Mac Ginty 2008; Richmond 2009). Although several aspects of the post-liberal peace framework have been addressed in prior studies, there are no studies that have examined whether a country’s foreign policy reflects the values of the said framework in a country in which it has a presence. As a response to this gap in the literature this paper will examine Sweden’s foreign policy both in general and the policy specific to Afghanistan so as to elucidate if it caters to local agency and culture, tailored peace efforts based on mutual understanding between the local and international, human needs, in addition to being contextual. The selected country’s foreign policy will be that of Sweden’s, as it is perceived globally to be humanitarian and inclusive thus possibly sharing values with the chosen theoretical framework: the post-liberal peace. The study thereby sets out to ascertain whether this is true and, regardless of outcome, aims to present a clearer picture of Sweden’s foreign policy in general and in Afghanistan.

In order to better understand the applicability of post-liberal peace and if the concepts and values are already embedded in Sweden’s social democratic feminist foreign policies in the time period spanning 2014-2018, there is a need for a study which analyzes these issues by examining whether or not Sweden’s foreign policies in general and in Afghanistan adhere to a post-liberal framework. While it is recognized globally that Sweden’s presence in conflict-ridden countries is mostly humanitarian (Bergman 2007), there has not been a study that examines these humanitarian policies under the lens of post-liberal peace values. Does Sweden’s humanitarian work enable local agency, or does it maintain the liberal tradition of a one-size-fits-all mentality? In other words, there is a need to critically analyze policies which are perceived as humanitarian and then to consequently conclude to what extent they do enable
the agency of the people affected, thereby determining if values related to a social democratic feminist foreign policy adhere to those of a post-liberal peace. It is thus of significance to examine whether it has yet established itself in a country’s foreign policies in order to understand the implications therein and the current scope of the framework. Affirmation of Sweden’s foreign policy as post-liberal would help empower the locals that are marginalized, support locally owned peace and development efforts, in addition to catering to the individual needs of every country. While the liberal peace framework attends to the financial and macro-level aspects of peace and development efforts, thus creating an empty state (Richmond 2011), the post-liberal peace focuses on the micro-level, local empowerment, and cultural rights (Wolff 2015). By understanding what encompasses a post-liberal peace and applying its values to a set of countries that Sweden is currently present in there can be a greater comprehension of Sweden’s peace efforts in those countries. Consequently displaying what is effective and ineffective in its foreign policy, this study will therefore accentuate what can be improved. Since Sweden places a significant emphasis on peacebuilding in its foreign policies (ECDPM 2017) it is imperative to make it as effective and sustainable as possible, which this study will aim to do by examining its foreign policy in the light of the hybrid-oriented post-liberal framework.

It is the aim of this thesis to critically analyze Sweden’s foreign policy using the following sources: the Government of Sweden, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan (SCA), and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). In relation to the field of peace and development this research would contribute to the growing research of theories that criticize the liberal framework and, moreover, provide an alternative solution to the processes of peace and development efforts (Dias 2013; Jackson 2018; Mac Ginty 2008; Richmond 2011; Wolff 2015). An additional outcome of such a study would furthermore ascertain if a social
democratic feminist foreign policy and post-liberal peace share similar values. A text analysis using Tanabe’s (2017) postmodern post-liberal hybrid model will be employed in order to critically assess if the policies include values of a post-liberal peace both explicitly and implicitly. Although prior studies regarding the topic have been methodologically structured similarly by operationalizing their research through a qualitative approach, they have not considered the application of text analysis on the topic. In other words, previous research has neglected the employment of text analysis when conducting their research on post-liberal peace, which is made clear by the vacuum of studies concerning the critical examination of articles and documents that employ the framework. In sum, a research gap can be noted in the current discourse of post-liberal peace, namely regarding the post-liberal framework’s applicability concerning a country’s foreign policy in a developing country.
2 Research Objective and Questions

2.1 Research Objective

The aim of this paper is to do a case study of Swedish foreign policy in general and with focus on Afghanistan, filling the gap in the literature on the post-liberal peace framework as applied to a country’s foreign policy. Previous research has considered neither of the countries mentioned above nor policies as the focus of study in light of the theory at hand. Current literature provides case studies of the post-liberal peace in the European Union (EU) and in a set of Latin America countries. In order to collect the necessary information to reach a conclusion on the topic, a text analysis will be employed with the intent to examine the policies expressed and successively evaluate if they represent the post-liberal peace framework. Consequently, a deductive approach is considered to be most conducive for this study which uses the existing framework of a post-liberal peace as a foundation upon which the hypothesis is based.

2.2 Research Questions

In order to arrive at a conclusion, the following questions will be posed so as both to provide a guideline for the researcher and elucidate the process of the paper for the reader:

- Does the Swedish foreign policy enable the concept of the everyday, both in general and in Afghanistan?
- Is the Swedish foreign policy written in such a way to consider contextuality, both in general and in Afghanistan?
- Does the Swedish foreign policy place an emphasis on the concept of needs in its foreign policy, both in general and in Afghanistan??
Does the Swedish foreign policy address the concept of *hybridity* in its foreign policy, both in general and in Afghanistan?

The research questions lead to the study’s hypothesis that Sweden’s social democratic feminist foreign policy adheres to the post-liberal peace framework. The proposed likeness between the chosen government’s ideology and the theoretical framework at hand will thus be explored by analyzing Sweden’s foreign policy in general and in Afghanistan under the scope of the post-liberal peace framework.
3 Literature Review

The post-liberal framework has experienced a growing debate in the last decade, which will be reviewed below. Although the foremost authority is still Oliver P. Richmond, especially considering his book *A Post-Liberal Peace* (2011), the body of research and literature surrounding the framework and its relating concepts are being developed by several researchers. It can also be seen in major organizations’ policies according to De Coning (2018), naming the UN who in 2015 chose to structure their peacebuilding efforts differently as to what they have previously done. Rather than adhering to a uniform model typical of the liberal peace framework, the UN instead expressed the need for a contextual approach which highlighted the local. Furthermore, the post-liberal peace discourse not only comprises the ideas and suggested policies of its framework, but also the critique of its predecessor – the liberal peace. With the post-liberal peace finding its roots in that of the liberal peace, it represents a posited advancement and improvement of the many aspects of the liberal peace framework (Richmond 2011).

3.1 Critiques of the Liberal Peace

Liberal peacebuilding has been critiqued in promoting a repetitive model wherein countries receive a uniform peacebuilding template regardless of background, thus failing to comprehend the importance of local history, interests, and cultural differences (Jackson 2018). The critique continues to argue that the liberal peacebuilding agenda promotes a Western-centric worldview in which Western interests and values are at the forefront and not the needs of the people affected, consequently displaying imperialistic tendencies where the liberal peace is deemed more enlightened than that of the locals (Jackson 2018; Mac Ginty 2008; Mac Ginty 2014). Issues both Richmond (2011) and Jackson (2018) raise are, moreover, those of the liberal
peace’s focus on the state and a neoliberal economy. Rather than prioritizing the population’s interests and wishes, emphasis is placed on state-building, security, and militarism. In order to sustain peace, enforced military mobilization is implemented to deal with discord. It is therefore claimed that the liberal peace generates an oxymoronic situation, where peacebuilding efforts meant to prevent violence instead propagate the problems (Jackson 2018; Richmond 2011). In addition, Finkenbusch (2016) suggests that proponents of the post-liberal framework name the most notable hindrance to successful peacebuilding to be due to the limitations of the liberal peace framework.

3.2 A Shift in Perspective

Tellidis (2012, p.431) reviews Richmond’s thoughts on what constitutes a post-liberal peace, stating that it

“begins with the de-romanticization of the local by the internationals and the latter’s involvement as its advocates, rather than its masters” and that it also “involves the contextualization of peace as it is formed on the everyday, local-local level, and which the internationals can adapt to – rather than the other way around”.

Thus, a post-liberal peace framework does not argue to divide the local and the international, rather it sets to establish a more equal peacebuilding process where both parties are able to present and realize their ideas with a more profound focus on the local who is the subject of future societal change. Furthermore, what represents the post-liberal peace is its emphasis on understanding the culture, history, and needs of its recipients in addition to stressing the importance of human security in contrast to that of the state. The discourse further asserts that peace therefore should be founded on a grassroots-level where the interests of the locals are reflected in the ensuing policies.
following peacebuilding missions, and not those of the internationals (Richmond 2011). The main pursuit of international peacebuilding should thus be to enable the local and consequently recognize the grassroot level that they come from (Richmond 2011). Chandler (Chandler and Richmond 2015) instead views it as a form of evolution of the mainstream liberal peace framework. Chandler (Chandler and Richmond 2015, p.20) claims that post-liberal values “[…] are patronising and oppressive and that […] Western academic and policy discourse merely uses the ‘local’ as a vicarious means of critical self-understanding, illustrating the impossibility of radical challenges to the status quo”. Post-liberal peace in Chandler’s view may thus be interpreted as a proxy to criticize Western internationals and therefore portrays a grim and pointless resolution to international peace efforts.

3.3 In Alignment with Richmond

Aligning with Richmond (2009; 2011; 2013), Mac Ginty (2008) elaborates on the consideration of alternative forms, such as indigenous peacebuilding (i.e., the micro-level and strategies inherent to the culture). The notion and realization of this bottom-up framework is a response to the perceived shortcomings of the liberal peace, albeit with a long road ahead due to the still-omnipresent reach of the liberal peace project (Jackson 2018; Richmond 2011; Richmond 2013). Several authors stand in accord when considering further the concept of hybridity, which they deem in line with post-liberal and everyday peace values, stressing the importance of the international community’s implemented peacebuilding design to be in harmony with the local needs and culture (Brown 2018; Mac Ginty 2008; Mac Ginty 2014; Richmond 2013).

Previous research that has applied the post-liberal peace framework to specific cases have discussed the potential uses of it, in addition to the possibilities that
it could contribute to peacebuilding. Dias (2013) elucidates on how the EU’s policies in the Moldova and Transnistria conflict have taken a post-liberal turn in regard to the chosen approaches, but in which methods of a bottom-up and top-down nature have been favored so as to establish a sustainable peace. Although the approach has been conducted partly by a standardized peacebuilding framework, i.e. the liberal peace, it is key to note that it has also displayed several features of a post-liberal peace by empowering local agency in its assisting work to establish peace (Dias 2013). The features include various undertakings where the EU has inter alia aided in the improvement of the relations between the concerned parties on a basis that fosters mutual benefits, which are rooted in locally grown considerations of peace, and in facilitating the convening of the populations by arranging miscellaneous activities (Dias 2013).

Prior research has also been carried out by Wolff (2015), who on the other hand placed his area of inquiry in the region of Latin America by examining how post-liberal peacebuilding has been established in a set of select countries. The reference point used is Bolivia, where the indigenous population have experienced a greater say in domestic politics as well as the management of resource extraction affecting their land – being in line with the evolving idea of a plurinational state in which the national and various indigenous identities are recognized in their totality (Wolff 2015). Wolff (2015) further explains that disputes that arise in turn are handled with post-liberal notions of justice where the emphasis lay on the rights of the indigenous, bearing their culture, history, and traditions in mind while, furthermore, noting that the empowered agency of the indigenous is a prominent reason to the enablement of a post-liberal peacebuilding.
Preceding research has thus either studied the post-liberal peace framework per se or employed it when conducting case studies, as deliberated above, or discussed concepts inherent to the framework, as considered below. Prior research has thereby left a gap, wherein the values of a country’s foreign policy both in general and when applied to a specific country have not yet been analyzed under the lens of the post-liberal peace so as to ascertain whether a congruence exists.

3.4 Concepts Inherent to the Post-Liberal Peace Framework

Part of the bottom-up framework that constitutes the post-liberal peace is the concept of the everyday where “rather than mainly stopping overt violence from threatening regional stability, it would concurrently establish an understanding of a local and everyday peace” (Richmond 2011, p.108) – an action that requires all parties to take notice of the other’s values and practices in order to find a middle ground. Mac Ginty (2014) agrees by further elaborating that it implicates the communities responding to discord on the local level, with the peaceful means that are at their disposal as a strategy to thwart further discord, and that the everyday peace, moreover, is an important feature of peacebuilding. In a similar vein, everyday peace can be associated with the concept of resilience, which discuss the various techniques that people experiencing conflict may utilize in order to adapt to the unrest surrounding them (Mac Ginty 2014). Furthermore, what is important to note is that the concept of resilience does not enable the international being absent from peacebuilding as a result of the locals’ methods of resilience, but rather working in tandem with them in which the latter’s agency is recognized and supported (Mac Ginty 2014). Pugh (2014) and Richmond (2013) also discuss the concept of resilience, naming the significance of local agency and how the landscape is gradually alternating as a response to the liberal peace. In order to realize it the international should, however, only work to empower the local
and not intervene in what should be a locally owned process. Indeed, for peace to be sustainable it has to be locally owned and aided by contextual policies on a case-to-case basis by the internationals (De Coning 2013). There is, nonetheless, a number of scholarly pieces challenging the idea of a post-liberal peace framework and the values inherent to it.

3.5 Critiques of the Post-Liberal Peace Framework

Since the post-liberal peace framework’s conception there has consequently been critique against it, pointing out the perceived shortcomings of the theory and denouncing the idea of local-led peacebuilding. It is claimed that the concept of the local is too vague, rendering any type of judgement concerning local-empowering policies near impossible as the international may never be certain if the local is indeed a local – and not in fact an elite, not representative of the citizens as a whole (Finkenbusch 2016). Furthermore, the proponents of the post-liberal peace are perceived to continue the current trend of forcing Western ideals onto the locals as a consequence, since there are little to no ways of knowing whether they have found a truly local means to conduct peacebuilding that respects the local customs and traditions (Finkenbusch 2016). Finkenbusch (2016) ends his assessment by criticizing the post-liberal peace framework’s supposed hypocrisy by enquiring as to why it endorses external aid from internationals, when it also claims that genuine peacebuilding is internal. Wolff (2015) also points out that although post-liberal peacebuilding has the potential to improve the relation between the international and the local, there is a risk it will be detrimental for local-local relations as the values inherent to the post-liberal peace emphasize peace- and statebuilding on the local level. As there most likely are multiple contending parties with contending ideas that wish to be in power, it might result in a dysfunctional decision-making process.
3.5.1 A Pragmatic Peace

A third discourse has begun to develop in scholarly circles, which considers the notion of a pragmatic peace. Pragmatic peace is, on the one hand, not to be seen as a framework per se, but includes the discourse surrounding alternatives to the liberal peace project. More specifically, it highlights the importance of a continual assessment of methods in peacebuilding by inter alia “embracing uncertainty” (Stepputat 2018, p.405). The commonality is, on the other hand, that it deals with the concept of hybridity and the local, while also problematizing it by discussing the issues that may arise from them – such as armed non-state actors (Stepputat 2018). Indeed, the concepts are criticized as it is too ambiguous and unclear to define who the local is and where their interests and allegiances lay (Stepputat 2018). Local elites may resist support from internationals which could thus be misinterpreted as resilience from the locals as a whole, due to failure of the internationals to recognize local power structures (Stepputat 2018). Furthering the notion of pragmatic peace, De Coning (2018) considers one such alternative to be adaptive peacebuilding, which emphasizes the process of said activity and not the result of, as is typical of the liberal peace framework. Adaptive peacebuilding is thus described as a never-ending process where it learns as it goes on, adapting and restructuring to what is working – thus rendering it unnecessary to think in terms of dichotomies (De Coning 2018). The pragmatic peace can thus be regarded as a framework that has evolved from the post-liberal peace since it opposes the liberal peace framework’s uniform peacebuilding strategies and instead emphasizes the importance of contextuality. The pragmatic peace has elevated the post-liberal framework one step further by discussing the complications within it.
3.6 Sweden’s Social Democratic Feminist Foreign Policy

Discussing the foreign policy that the Social Democratic party in Sweden has commissioned since its electoral win in 2014, Egnell (2016) denotes that it has a long tradition of being humanitarian even before a feminist focus was implemented. The change that has ensued with the new emphasis, however, is how the attention has been diverted from mainstream liberal peacebuilding policies that caters to national interests on a macro-level, to instead focus on the micro-level where the locals’ interests and issues are recognized (Egnell 2016). Furthermore, a feminist foreign policy is deemed to be a more sustainable alternative as both men and women are incorporated into the peacebuilding efforts (Egnell 2016). In an interview with The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs (2017) the Swedish ambassador to the United States, Björn Lyrvall, elaborated on the establishment of a feminist foreign policy by naming the implications it can have. Expressing that the feminist foreign policy not exclusively affects women, Lyrvall states that it will have beneficial effects for both sexes alike in addition to aiding the development of a more financially and democratically sound world (The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs 2017).
4 Theoretical Framework

This chapter will elaborate upon the concepts and values inherent to the post-liberal peace in order to provide the reader a complete understanding of the theory, ahead of the forthcoming chapters dealing with the research findings and analysis.

The lens through which this study will be conducted is the post-liberal peace framework, as has been reviewed above. Since the most extensive work to date regarding the theory has been written by Richmond (2011) in his book ‘A Post-Liberal Peace’, it will serve as a guide on which I will base my conclusion on whether Sweden’s foreign policies in Afghanistan are post-liberal. Chandler (Chandler and Richmond 2015) holds a dissimilar view on what constitutes post-liberalism and will therefore not be referred to in the analysis for the matter of consistency. Inherent to the post-liberal framework are also the concepts of the everyday and hybridity which will be further elaborated upon below. The concepts have mainly been discussed by Mac Ginty (2014), Richmond notwithstanding, and will be considered in more detail after a general overview of the post-liberal framework.

The post-liberal peace framework establishes a greater consideration of the multiple layers that are embodied in conflicts by having the international recognizing, committing to, and enabling local methods and values, in which the various communities become directly involved in the shaping of their peacebuilding (Dias 2013; Richmond 2011). A post-liberal peacebuilding approach supports the concept of a joint conflict analysis in which all the participating parties, local as well as international, are subject to hearing the other’s knowledge and values, so as to foster a profound understanding of the varying views that are present in the effort to establish a sustainable and contextual peace (Tanabe 2017). In contrast to its purely liberal counterpart,
Tanabe (2017) speaks of post-liberal peacebuilding as a process with an indefinite timeframe and, moreover, one that should be continually developed in order to become better and more effective to adapt to shifting conditions.

4.1 Needs and Contextuality

Peacebuilding should also be reliant on an empathetic approach that is willing to fully grasp local customs, and not simply accept them. Furthermore, the post-liberal peace framework upholds that peacebuilding efforts would do well to direct its attention to the needs of the people affected and have the local in a position to decide what these are instead of those being conveyed by the international (Richmond 2011). It calls for a mutual process between the international and the local, in which the former brings its knowledge about peacebuilding and the latter constructs it according to their customs, history, and culture. The outcome thus induces a contextual practice which is conducted by the local and supported by the international, rather than the employment of liberal peace practice which disregards contextual matters and in contrast imposes conditionalities (Richmond 2011). The international peacebuilders’ role therefore ought to be one of enabler, aiding the local to engage in their own independent decision-making regarding peace efforts, by inter alia being a facilitator in the implementation of government instrumentalities that are based on the local’s historical and cultural background (Richmond 2011). In practice this would mean that foreign policies focus on “inequalities, class, [and] socio-economic needs” that are based on the local’s customs and the international’s knowledge of peace and development efforts, so as to reflect a post-liberal peace stance and the concepts inherent therein – such as the everyday and hybridity (Richmond 2011, p.147).
4.2 Everyday Peace

Mac Ginty (2014) describes the concept of everyday peace by denoting the power of the local in a conflict or post-conflict society, further stating that it is essential to view the everyday as an alternative to conduct peacebuilding considering the great impact it may have. In contrast to concepts that are part of the liberal peace, the everyday relies heavily on how the local manages to establish their own means to build peace, by e.g. finding novel ways of conducting mediation between rivaling groups through unofficial channels. As a result, both domestic and international elites’ power is rendered limited, instead giving way for local communities to handle the issues at hand in regard to their own customary values. Everyday peace thus recognizes and realizes the impact of the local’s agency and does not render them helpless actors, which leads to a locally owned narrative and not one controlled by elites (Mac Ginty 2014). Consequently, due to the informality of everyday peace, it is not a concept to be designed by international organization or countries’ foreign policies but should instead be a product of local efforts – being heavily reliant on their agency according to Mac Ginty (2014). It could in the case of this paper appear contradictory to discuss a concept that should not be designed by a country’s foreign policies, which is why it posits that Sweden aids in the enablement of it. The concept of hybridity is therefore essential to include in this context.

4.3 Hybridity

The concept of hybridity reasons that the relationship between the local and the international should be one of mutual understanding, albeit with a greater recognition of local and indigenous customs from the party of the international (Brown 2018). Richmond (2011) adds to the definition by describing it as a set of initially polarized actors with vastly diverse values eventually finding
common ground. The locals alleviate their situation in identifying their *culture* and *needs* with the help from the international actors, which the former ought to own in order to further enable their agency (Richmond 2011). The hybridity of local and international peacebuilding is, moreover, a composition which enables and legitimizes the latter’s involvement in the former’s efforts to establish peace and could in short be described as what one lacks, the other possesses. Whereas the local, on the one hand, retains a more profound legitimacy than the international in the eyes of the domestic community – since they would consider culture, history, and traditions that are part of their background when shaping peace efforts – the international on the other hand both has the material and financial means to realize the peacebuilding that could be developed by the local (Mac Ginty 2014).

The theoretical framework of post-liberal peace will be applied to analyze foreign policy documents made available to the public by the Swedish government.

4.4 Analytical framework

In order to both elucidate the analytical process in this study and to make it more manageable, there are four concepts inherent to the theoretical framework of post-liberal peace – hybridity, the everyday, customs, and needs – that will be considered when analyzing Swedish foreign policy. The policies will be assessed according to the extent the concepts are reflected in them. Firstly, the concept of *hybridity* reflects the convening of different views and the consequent mutual understanding of those views, which in the context of this study will be determined through the examination of Sweden’s policy to see how it supports such an understanding and, moreover, works to facilitate the local’s agency. Secondly, the *everyday* involves how the local peacebuilding methods are driven by their own history, culture and traditions,
which might be through unofficial channels unbeknownst to the international. This study will therefore look at how Sweden’s foreign policy recognizes the importance of local agency and methods by reviewing if the policy is written in such a way that enables a locally owned narrative and peace efforts. Thirdly, the concept of contextuality will be employed so as to examine to what degree Sweden evaluates each country and their individual issues. In other words, this study will assess whether Sweden’s foreign policy is tailored in such a way that recognizes the importance of knowing the historical and cultural background of each country. Lastly, Sweden’s foreign policy will be analyzed to see if local’s needs are catered to and as such will be scrutinized to disclose if its attention is directed towards needs-based policies that enable the local’s agency to decide what these might be.
5 Methodological Framework

The study’s design is deemed compatible with a deductive approach, starting from the predefined theory of the post-liberal peace in order to analyze the hypothesis whether Sweden’s foreign policy adheres to the formerly mentioned theory, basing the conclusion on official documents concerning Sweden’s foreign policy in general and in Afghanistan. Bryman (2012) describes the deductive approach as the most prevalent approach a scholar may use when conducting research. Although he links it to quantitative studies (Bryman 2012) this study will instead employ the qualitative analytical method. Written discourse data, as opposed to numerical data, will appropriately serve the purpose of examining whether Sweden’s foreign policy adheres to a post-liberal framework. Since that has neither been disclosed nor explicitly expressed by its government, the study will be conducted employing the post-liberal peace framework to assess if the values fundamental to the theory is found in Sweden’s foreign policy.

The researcher of this study will employ the method of text analysis so as to interpret and critically evaluate extracted written data from the sources described below. Essential to text analysis are a number of concepts that will be considered when gathering and subsequently analyzing the data. The texts that will be utilized exclusively deal with policies, which entails a consistent examination of Sweden’s foreign policy under different sources. The content will be scrutinized for both consistencies and inconsistencies relating to the post-liberal peace framework. In order to manage this the researcher will also look at how the texts have been presented linguistically, through the lens of Tanabe’s (2017) postmodern post-liberal hybrid model. According to Tanabe (2017), the postmodern post-liberal hybrid model states that reality is contingent on which customs, culture, and history that peacebuilders – whether local or international – come from and that there thus is a diversity of realities.
at work which will steer them in their decision-making. He underlines the importance of discourse and language in addition to how it is used, whether socially or in governmental documents. The text analysis will, therefore, examine the mission of the policy and whether it incorporates the concepts identified to be inherent to the post-liberal peace. While the apparent undertaking of the policy is to promote foreign policies through an applied feminist approach, themes and concepts relating to the post-liberal peace may still be discerned and possibly reveal a policy which reflects feminist and post-liberal peace ideals. Lastly, the text analysis will review the principles behind the texts, more specifically what is emphasized to be the problem in the policy. Both apparent (what is stated in the already-disclosed feminist approach) and undisclosed (the concepts related to the post-liberal peace framework) matters will be analyzed with the focus on how they are presented.

5.1 Governmental Sources

This study will extract text data from the following sources: (1) The Ministry for Foreign Affairs (2) The Government of Sweden (3) Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) (4) the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan (SCA). (1) is a government entity that is responsible for a set of policies relating to Sweden’s work internationally, such as its foreign policy. It has produced a handbook in order to illuminate its work to develop a feminist foreign policy, the policies themselves, and the methods used to implement these while also providing examples. Two texts relating to Afghanistan, the Results Strategy and the Supplementary Results Strategy are also considered. The Results Strategy presents the expected results based on the aid that is provided to Afghanistan 2014-2019. The Supplementary strategy for the Folke Bernadotte Academy is an addition to the Result Strategy reviewed prior, furthering what has already been disclosed and presents new policies for the final two years. (2) has published a policy framework for Swedish
development assistance, describing where the foci lay and the approach the policy takes on a developmental basis. It has also issued the Statement of Government Policy in which it presents what the foreign policy is, the current global situation, and what is planned to be carried out. This study will exclusively focus on the policies per se and does thus consider the two to be authorities on the subject. (3) is an organization that is part of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, with the aim to reduce poverty on a global scale. Sida allocates the aid that the government provides them in order to realize the development goals that the latter has set. For the sake of this study, Sida will be one of the sources used to examine policies specific for Afghanistan and is written by Pain, Rothman, and Lundin. (4) is an organization that was established as a response to the invasion conducted by the Soviets and has since been working to cover an increasing amount of ground for a variety of aspects concerning development. Its main donor is the organization named previously, Sida, and thus carries out the policies that it has set out which in turn emanate from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. SCA will also be used to assess policies relating to Afghanistan. Although Sweden’s foreign policy emphasizes on the feminist perspective, it also works towards other objectives such as security, development, and sustainable peace (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b, p.63).

5.2 Limitations and Delimitations

As a result of financial constraints and a limited timeframe, certain delimitations have been set so as to realize the purpose of the study and produce a satisfactory result. The focus will therefore be on a single country, namely Afghanistan.
To begin with, the qualitative approach taken in the study has recognized shortcomings such as the likelihood of generalizing results and being biased in the collection of data. Another shortcoming may arise due to the employment of a deductive approach, as the researcher may end up presenting only the data that corresponds to the theory in order to confirm it and thus neglect the information that challenges it. Measures will therefore be taken to display a transparent depiction of Sweden’s foreign policy, by also looking for incoherencies and goal conflicts in said policies. Furthermore, the theoretical framework of post-liberal peace elaborated upon previously in the paper will be employed so as to examine whether Sweden’s foreign policies reflects the concepts of it, but by doing so consequently only engages in a partially presented picture. The conclusion will thus present a limited angle of its foreign policies. This is, however, necessary in order to correctly test the hypothesis. Moreover, the choice to employ a text analysis also limits the scope and depth of the study, since it will be exclusively reliant on information that is publicly available and might not therefore present the picture in its entirety. That could in turn result in the research questions being difficult to answer, due to a limited number of sources.

It is also important to be critical of the concepts explained in the chapters prior to this, particularly the concept of needs. Can Western researchers and Swedish foreign policies for certain recognize what the local needs are and respond accordingly? Although the concept of needs is inherent to the post-liberal peace framework there is still a risk of a Westernization of ideals due to the West’s foreign involvement in local politics. In contrast, Mac Ginty (2008) points out the possible danger of being authoritarian in favoring local peace approaches where community members are harmed. For instance, if the local tradition maintains order through hierarchy where powerful members subjugate and oppress those in the lower social strata then upholding such traditions would be deemed authoritarian. There is also a risk of generalizing
due to focusing on one country in the Middle East, which might result in a skewed perception of Sweden’s foreign policies as a whole. It is therefore key to acknowledge that the results reflect a certain geographical area and not the world as a whole. Wolff (2015), moreover, notes that post-liberal peacebuilding is noticeably more challenging in places that have suffered from civil war – as in the case of Afghanistan. It is therefore worth considering when reaching the analysis and conclusion chapters of the study that the policies might reflect a reality that is different from foreign policies that Sweden employs in other countries. Furthermore, although one of the central pillars of the post-liberal peace framework concerns the critique of universal theories and the accompanying opinionated thinking, Tanabe (2017) stresses it is similarly important to deliberate the issue even when discussing contextual frameworks such as the above stated since it is a risk inherent to any philosophical framework to claim universality.

With regard to how the study will delimit its content, the choice was made to commit to a desk study. The result will only reflect official documents written by the Swedish government and its affiliate organizations, thus not directly representing the voices first-hand and information of the locals in Afghanistan. In regard to how the text data, i.e. the policy, will be collected, governmental websites and its affiliates will exclusively be used both when searching for Sweden’s foreign policy in general and those specific for Afghanistan. In the case of the latter, the keyword ‘Afghanistan’ will be applied to all relevant websites. That is, as declared above, a conscious decision due to the limited timeframe that this study is subject to. A crucial delimitation is the focus on the implicit and explicit articulation of the Swedish foreign policies per se and not the implementation nor outcome of them, as that would likely result in a shallow and unfocused analysis for the scope of this study. In other words, the conclusion of this study will consider whether the policies alone adhere to the post-liberal peace framework and not how they are carried out on the field.
The implementation is therefore irrelevant in this thesis, as the sole focus is on the foreign policies. In terms of a selected time period, this study will focus on the Social Democratic party rule from 2014-2018.
6 Research Findings

To begin with, the Swedish feminist foreign policy is based on several international institutions frameworks, in addition to the rich history of Sweden’s work with humanitarian efforts and gender equality (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). The frameworks concern issues ranging from the Sustainable Development Goals, to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, to a number of women-focused agendas from, but not being limited to, the UN and EU (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b).

6.1 General Policy

The Swedish foreign policy has an action plan ranging from 2015-2018, which includes six objectives (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b, p.19):

1. Full Enjoyment of Human Rights
2. Freedom from physical, psychological and sexual violence
3. Participation in preventing and resolving conflicts, and post-conflict peacebuilding
4. Political participation and influence in all areas of society
5. Economic rights and empowerment
6. Sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR)

The above stated points are thus developed to encompass a broad aspect of the various undertakings that the policy sets out to accomplish. The mission in the first objective underlines the discrimination that women face and how it structurally diminishes their opportunities to inter alia attain safety, employment and schooling. The consequences of said inequitable gender-specific issue lead to and is amplified by other issues such as violent discord and financial deficiency (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). The second objective speaks of the various types violence that women face, explaining that the amalgamation results in women not being part of the political scene and
other crucial activities related to agency and development (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). The policy on women’s – mostly unacknowledged – work in peace efforts is elaborated upon in the third objective, and therefore promote the involvement of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. In a variety of ways women are aided to partake by the Swedish foreign policy, one of such being the promotion of Swedish female mediators whom have already been deployed to a number of countries to aid in peacebuilding both on the local and the national level (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). Similarly to the previously mentioned, the fourth objective considers the importance of the inclusion of women in the political process, as both men and women alike are to hold equal rights to engage in activities that affect them (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). The policy thus strives to incorporate said inclusivity into all aspects of its undertakings, so as to facilitate a sustainable and peaceful development in the countries affected (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). The fifth objective regards the connection between female economic independence and work force participation, stating that not only women will benefit from the inclusionary policy but society at large since women, rather than men, tend to invest their money in their local community (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). The return of such a policy is, therefore, claimed to reap socio-economic benefits in addition to strengthening the rights and opportunities for women. The final objective highlights the widespread issue of women’s sexual health, stressing that the foreign policy is created to considers this aspect to be an enabler for other rights and opportunities that have been mentioned above by actively working to make it less of a taboo around the world (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b).

Concerning its humanitarian work Sweden’s foreign policy declares that it is to create a more conducive environment for women to join men in responding to disasters. By including women, the issues that arise during crisis may be better understood, as both sexes views and experiences can be taken into
account and thus establish a firmer foundation to build further development on (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). Sweden’s foreign policy also promotes an inclusive peacebuilding, noting that the involvement of both women and men are of utmost importance in peace efforts and, moreover, states that the inclusion of women should be an all-encompassing effort in society (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). It is important to note that the foreign policy considers women’s human rights as non-negotiable, i.e. neither local customs, religion, nor culture are to be prioritized and are thus not eligible for exceptions (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b).

When determining the focus of each case the policy is written so as to assess every country as different from the next, i.e. every local issue is considered unique with its own set of issues and challenges that need aid – the rationale of the Swedish foreign policy is therefore that it should be based on examinations and analyses of the specific country in question (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). The foreign policy accentuates that the analysis of each country must employ a delicate approach as it is important to be aware of the implications that it may have, while also considering not to disturb or consequently affect the situation in biased manner (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). Furthermore, the policy states that an area of attention should be on the research of issues ranging from the local level to the global in order to identify what type of challenges exist and where, while concurrently supporting countries in need of aid to realize their research (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). The policy has e.g. manifested itself in the form of a conference that took place in Stockholm in 2018, which conducted the sharing and exchanging of ideas and experiences and consequent learning thereof, intermingling people both from the local and international level (Government of Sweden 2018). Similarly to the above presented, the policy recognizes that gender-based discrimination in addition to inter alia sex, age, and socio-economic status also are factors that are important to consider as issues differ
depending on which cohort a person belongs in, adding to the already specified point that each country’s needs and concerns are assessed individually, while simultaneously distinguishing that it may also vary from micro to macro-level in the affected society (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). Sweden’s foreign policy is in this regard multi-layered and intersectional in its focus on gender discrimination, as it considers the many groups that a person may belong to and thus might affect them to a lesser or greater extent in accessing their needs.

Local ownership of development efforts is one of the several foci of Sweden’s foreign policy which stresses that it is a mutual undertaking and relationship to be invested in in the long run. To realize their efforts for development, the policy holds the view that agency is equally as important to people who are in need of aid as that of physical resources (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). Sweden thereby sets out to enable the people affected, both on a needs and rights basis, in order to realize a local ownership of the process. With local ownership the Swedish foreign policy states that it should aid in the fulfillment of the affected country’s own ideas and methods of how development efforts should be designed to be sustainable (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). On the one hand, the agency of the poor is incorporated in the foreign policy by the recognition of the importance of the ability to inter alia make choices and affect circumstances (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). For a sustainable peace and development to flourish, Sweden’s foreign policy asserts that it is essential to enable and empower the people affected to find ways of adapting to the circumstances they are in. Furthermore, the agency of women is stressed, so as to assist societies to establish a sustainable development and peace by including a comprehensive set of aspects ranging from the socio-economical to the cultural (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). One the other hand, this is also supported by a focus on the economical aspect of development, expressing that an emphasis on work safety and the right to establish unions are beneficial for decreasing the amount of people living in poverty by the
adherence to “international norms and guidelines” (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). In regard to actors, the governmental level and “other national actors” is seen as most favorable one to hold the responsibility for the development (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016).

When examining the humanitarian assistance aspect of Sweden’s foreign policy, it is clearly stated that it is “needs based” and places focus on alleviating the situation of the world’s poor by e.g. employing analyses concerning their needs – an undertaking facilitated by the feminist approach that Sweden has set as it acknowledges both sexes and their unique needs (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016, pp.3-4, 45). The Swedish foreign policy states that needs, which should cater to men and women of all ages alike, are an essential factor to recognize when conducting peace efforts so as to spawn an environment conducive to development (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). The policy acts as a safeguard for the wide-ranging diversity of needs that men and women have, recognizing that different experiences require different needs both in regard to gender and geographical location. The policy thus affirms that each case is to employ a gender equality analysis prior to implementation so as to ascertain both sexes’ access to their required needs (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). Sweden’s foreign policy works pro-actively in its development and peace efforts by aiding people affected by conflict and poverty in the setting up of necessary measures, so as to establish a firmer foundation to stand on and thus facilitate daily life (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). Moreover, the foreign policy is tailored to consider how various resources can be attained by men and women respectively (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). In regards to peace efforts, the policy also articulates that the process of Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) of the people who, prior to the peacebuilding, had been belligerents should be employed (Ministry
for Foreign Affairs 2016). The effects are thus deemed to be detrimental for protracted conflicts that bear the risk of reigniting in the future.

6.2 Afghan-Specific Foreign Policy

As Sweden is part of the numerous countries that have decided to aid Afghanistan at the Tokyo Conference in 2012, their foreign policy naturally reflect the aim of the conference in the case of Afghanistan (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). The focus has since been on the Five E’s for Afghan Development (Utrikesdepartementet 2014, p.6):

1. Empowerment
2. Education
3. Employment
4. Enterprise
5. Economic Integration

Firstly, the importance of empowering the Afghani citizens in order to establish a sustainable future is discussed, an issue which Sweden believes should be realized inter alia through; the facilitation of procurement of basic needs; strengthening human rights; and the inclusion of women in various societal undertakings, in addition to an increase in Afghani citizens’ decision-making influence (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). Secondly, education recognizes the issue of the scarce number of children enrolled in school in which Sweden denotes, among other reasons, infrastructure, unsafe conditions, and a lack of female teachers as matters to be dealt with so as to increase participation in educational institutions (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). Thirdly, employment identifies the young work force in Afghanistan and Sweden consequently argues for a focus on elementary-level education (mentioned previously) and vocational training for the lines of labor that the country is in need of (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). Fourthly, the objective concerning enterprise finds both the rural and private sector as principal points
of departure when deliberating on how a sustainable development can be achieved, albeit with an emphasis on the former (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). Sweden claims that attention directed towards

“a sustainable utilization of natural resources in the agricultural sector may contribute to strengthening the local community’s resilience against negative changes” (Utrikesdepartementet 2014, p.8 [author’s translation]).

Lastly, the matter of economic integration calls attention to the lacking infrastructure which holds detrimental effects to essential services and markets, with Sweden focusing on strengthening the link between the rural areas and the cities so as to aid a more conducive exchange between them (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). In all of the points presented above, the policy underscores that the rural communities are to be prioritized as they are considered the poorest, while also noting that an avoidance of direct state cooperation is favorable (Utrikesdepartementet 2014).

The Swedish foreign policy identifies that conflict generally can be considered to ignite on the micro-level and therefore believe that the efforts to counter it should be locally owned (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018a). By empowering Afghani locals to participate to a greater extent in peace efforts, such as mediations, Sweden aims to realize a locally owned development enterprise in which Afghanistan citizens hold opportunities to be involved in and provide to the discourse within their country (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018a). In a statement to the UN Security Council, moreover, Sweden conferred to the parties present that inclusive talks should be realized with the Taliban in order to eradicate violence and establish peace for the locals affected by their violence (Laskaridis 2018). Sida further denotes that the development and peace efforts should be locally owned and in “alignment with national policies” and have as such developed and supported their projects based on these benchmarks among others (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015, pp.16, 36).
Swedish foreign policy therefore strives to work both on a micro, meso, and macro-level in Afghanistan as it is deemed favorable for a sustainable peace and development to include the standpoint of all strata of the country, notwithstanding an emphasis on the local level (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018a). By empowering the local on the micro-level, embracing both men and women in the process, Sweden means that the effects could disseminate to the rest of the country reaping benefits both on an individual and societal scale (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018a). As is conferred in the section on the general foreign policy Sweden strives towards an inclusion of women in peacebuilding tasks such as mediation, which is also noted in the policy specific for Afghanistan. In the case of the aforementioned country, the inclusion of women on the micro and meso-level are prioritized commitments (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018a).

Local decision-making is another aspect of the development and peace efforts that SCA carries out in order to realize the Swedish foreign policy, aiding the Afghani shuras (i.e. local councils), to enable locals of different backgrounds to be involved in the decisions being made in their villages (SCA 2015c). Women and men are also expected to be able to participate in democratic processes and to be empowered to claim agency in the face of the Afghani government and its political representatives (Utrikesdepartementet 2014).

Consistent with Sweden’s general foreign policy, the policy specific for Afghanistan also considers the key aspect of conflict sensitivity when intervening in a foreign country’s issues and challenges (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015). Sida therefore distributes aid to a number of organizations that inter alia work to establish a more profound comprehension of Afghanistan by conducting research surrounding topics such as policy and politics for all strata of society to have access to, and, thereby, enabling the local to eventually own the process (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015). Furthermore, aid is distributed to enhance women’s human rights, but through the lens of Islam and
Afghanistan’s own laws, in addition to the conventions endorsed by it (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015). Similarly, in SCA’s work to provide equal healthcare for all they have directed their attention to the training of female personnel, since women in most cases are not allowed to be attended to by male staff due to cultural reasons (SCA 2015a).

In line with the policy set by Swedish government elaborated upon above, the SCA directs their attention to the poorer rural areas and the people who are affected to a greater degree by supporting and enabling self-help groups to collect money within activities that are part of Afghan culture and customs (SCA 2015b). The policy, furthermore, pursues the notion that the sharing of knowledge between actors of all levels should be encouraged and measures set up to implement the exchange of ideas in Afghanistan’s peacebuilding efforts (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018a). The above-mentioned self-help groups have, thus, been part of a knowledge-sharing project by the SCA with the aim to display and learn from the various activities, methods, and ideas that each village had developed – consequently uniting them and strengthening bonds (SCA 2015b).

The SCA actively works to aid in the needs of the people of Afghanistan – as it is part of Sweden’s needs-based policy – whether it be related to hygiene, education, or infrastructure, a commitment which is jointly realized with development councils and one that should incorporate people of all walks of life (SCA 2015c). Enabling the needs consequently affects other aspects of peace and development, as Afghani locals’ health are improved, literacy is more widely spread which introduces further opportunities, and villages and cities become better connected resulting in stronger ties both socially and economically (SCA 2015c).
7 Analysis

The analysis will chiefly be using Richmond’s (2011) book *A Post-Liberal Peace* to base its conclusion upon, while also including a number of other scholars’ definitions of the concepts of the everyday, contextuality, needs, and hybridity, albeit to a lesser extent. The post-liberal peace framework maintains that peace and development efforts ought to be a mutual undertaking wherein both the local and the international work towards a sustainable peace. The international providing their knowledge of endeavors prior and various forms of aid, while the local develops it according to their customs and culture. The focus thereby lies on the local and the enablement of their agency, so as to establish locally owned peace and development efforts where the local actively becomes involved in the shaping of them.

7.1 Does the Swedish foreign policy enable the concept of the everyday, both in general and in Afghanistan?

Sweden’s foreign policy does on the one hand include values that are part of the everyday but does, however, on the other have clear links to that of the liberal peace. The action plan that Sweden set out for 2015-2018 included six objectives (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b, p.19), out of which three are discerned to adhere to the above stated post-liberal concept: objective 3 (“participation in preventing and resolving conflicts, and post-conflict peacebuilding”); 4 (“political participation and influence in all areas of society”); and 5 (“economic rights and empowerment”). In line with Richmond’s (2011) concept of the everyday, objectives 3 and 4 aim to strengthen local agency, political decision-making, and inclusion in peace efforts. Furthermore, women are aided to participate in peacebuilding efforts by being empowered to take on the roles of mediators both on a local and national level (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). In the latter of the two
objectives, the Swedish foreign policy states that both men and women are to hold equal rights to be part in decision-making, declaring that such rights are a fundamental component to their policy as a whole, whichever the aspect may be (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). Objective 5, which concerns Sweden’s policy on female financial empowerment argues that society in large will receive the benefits of including women in paid work force, since women tend to invest their money in their local community to a greater extent than men (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b). The eventual outcome would see communities having stronger foundations to stand on and therefore be better equipped for future challenges. Richmond (2011) expresses that a focus on economical support and empowerment of the groups in society’s sidelines is equally as important as considering local customs, history, and culture when writing the policy – concepts that were not mentioned in the Swedish foreign policy in the context of financial empowerment.

In regard to the Swedish development cooperation in its foreign policy it is stated that the policy is based on local ownership in which Sweden supports a country’s own strategies and ideas for change (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016), which is what Richmond (2011) names as a crucial aspect of the everyday. The idea of local ownership is to establish a sustainable peace where the affected country holds the responsibility to their development in accordance with their local customs, culture, and history while being supported to do so by the international (Richmond 2011). It is, however, a process which should not be headed by the country’s state, but one driven by various non-state entities both national and international (Richmond 2011). Sweden’s foreign policy does on the one hand state that their development cooperation is centered on local ownership but does on the other direct their attention to the country’s government and national actors to lead the development (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). When discussing the topic of peace efforts, the foreign policy declares that the processes of DDR and
SSR are beneficial for future development and peace to emerge, arguing that future discord may be thwarted when employed (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016) – thereby retaining the focus once again on the state. In contrast, Richmond (2011) contends that DDR and SSR are not sustainable methods, being part of the uniform liberal peace framework, due to its focus on the restructuring and security of the state and not the agency of the individuals in it.

In the case of Afghanistan, the foreign policy has clear connections to the post-liberal framework, which is highly likely due to the more specific policies that are presented. Important to note is Sweden’s choice to not directly cooperate with the state, in contrast to its general foreign policy, which therefore is more in line with Richmond’s (2011) everyday where national and international organization are to support the locals. It is, however, uncertain if the Afghan-specific policy entails local involvement. The Swedish Resultstrategi (Utrikesdepartementet 2014) for Afghanistan declared that Sweden is part of the Tokyo conference and thus has agreed to aid in Afghanistan’s development efforts by focusing on the five E’s – in which four of them adhere to the concept of the everyday. The emphasis of all of them are on the rural communities, as they are considered the poorest (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). Marginalized groups should according to Richmond (2011) be the focus as a more socio-economically equal society is believed to be a more sustainable one. Empowerment reasons that the agency, decision-making influence, and various societal undertakings of Afghani locals should be equally shared between men and women (Utrikesdepartementet 2014), which coincides with Richmond’s (2011) point of departure. Decision-making should be a local process in which the local acquires the agency to determine themselves what is of importance for their development efforts, with the support of the international. Furthermore, Sida states that development efforts should be locally owned and in line with national policies (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin
2015), which Richmond (2011) notes as a key part if policies are to respect the everyday – locally owned development efforts which consider local culture and customs. *Education* and *employment* note the deficient number of children in school and young adults in need of labor and therefore works to increase the number so as to build a firmer foundation in the long run (Utrikesdepartementet 2014) – thus effects might not immediately be seen in the short term. Long term solutions such as the previously mentioned are part of the everyday because of their interests to not exclusively support the current working generations but also the ones to come, in all strata of society (Richmond 2011). The *Resultatstrategi* also declares that the lack of girls enrolled most likely is due to a limited number of female teachers, further stating that an increase thereby would result in more girls attending school (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). By including this notion in the Afghan-specific foreign policy Sweden is seen to enable local customs and culture (Richmond 2011). *Enterprise* argues that attention is to be directed towards both the private and rural sector, as:

> “a sustainable utilization of natural resources in the agricultural sector may contribute to strengthening the local community’s resilience against negative changes” (Utrikesdepartementet 2014, p.8 [author’s translation]).

When discussing the everyday, Mac Ginty (2014) names the concept of resilience as part of it since it considers the various techniques that locals may use in order to adapt to the discord around them. Sweden’s attention to and enablement of local resilience by aiding in the sustainable usage of natural resources, thus is in accord with Mac Ginty’s (2014) notion of local resilience as the local is empowered in making sustainable choices when dealing with management of natural resources. A sustainable usage of natural resources entails a steady source of income and/or sustenance, which enables the local to direct their attention to other issues, such as those in the social and political arena.
Sweden’s peace efforts in Afghanistan also has a clear connection to the everyday. The foreign policy acknowledges that peace efforts are to be locally owned as causes of conflicts mainly ignite on the local level (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018a), a notion which Sida also recognizes as mentioned above (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015). A locally owned peace effort aided by the international, i.e. Sweden, is what Richmond (2011) names a critical aspect of peacebuilding, as any other alternative would result in a short-term and hollow peace analogous to that of the liberal peace framework. Peacebuilding should thus be built on a joint effort in which Sweden enables Afghanistan in their efforts for peace. Moreover, the Swedish foreign policy works to include a greater number of local Afghans in peace efforts by enabling their involvement in activities such as mediation, denoting that the participation of local women is of importance (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018a). Additionally, the policy places an emphasis to recognize and understand the viewpoint of the local by e.g. working to establish measures for the exchange between various actors and the implementation of ideas into policy, as it is deemed conducive for peacebuilding (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018a; SCA 2015b). An interesting observation is that the language in the general policy neglects to mention the local, whereas the Afghan specific one repeatedly includes the local. Similarly, Richmond (2011) points towards the prominence of including the local in peace and development efforts as the recognition of what the local truly needs and envisions for their communities and country can only be found if the international aids in the procurement and enablement of said notions, and not leading the process according to their norms. In this context the policy does thereby correspond to the concept of the everyday.

In conclusion, the Swedish foreign policy certainly holds qualities of the everyday, and thus partly the post-liberal peace framework, but there are other aspects that clearly contrast such a concept. In particular, the general policy is
either vague on or does not mention notions like the local, culture, and customs, whereas the Afghan-specific policy includes these concepts to a greater extent. The general policy does, however, state that “political participation and influence in all areas of society” is part of their focus (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2018b, p.19 [emphasis by author]), wherein the latter part of the sentence indeed constitutes the local – a conclusion which only is strengthened when compared with the Afghan-specific policy. In Sida’s review of their support to Afghanistan the local is also discussed and ought to be considered by all its supporting organizations (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015). The practice of DDR and SSR are both highly considered to be part of a liberal framework and does thus clash with that of the post-liberal peace. Although the financial aspect of peacebuilding is an essential part of the everyday, Sweden’s promotion of the adherence of international norms (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016) is reminiscent to the liberal peace’s values in this context. The Swedish foreign policy does, however, display qualities that both acknowledges and includes the everyday which is inter alia confirmed when examining their promotion of the inclusion of Afghan locals in peace efforts, whether it be in mediation or the exchange of knowledge. Furthermore, Sweden highlights that the peace and development efforts ought to be locally owned. In the case of Afghanistan, the policy clearly states that it supports and seeks to enable the local from a grass-roots to a national level of representation. Ultimately, the everyday qualities that do exist are insufficient to conclude that Sweden’s foreign policy adheres to the everyday. Due to the inclusion of DDR and SSR in addition to the noticeable focus on the financial aspect of peace and development, the policy highly favors the liberal peace project.
7.2 Is the Swedish foreign policy written in such a way to consider contextuality, both in general and in Afghanistan?

In true post-liberal peace fashion the concept of contextuality ought to be present in foreign policies (Richmond 2011), and in Sweden’s there are indeed many statements that point towards that. There is, however, a couple of sentences in the Swedish handbook on feminist foreign policy that contradicts latter statements regarding its contextuality. It declares that “religion, culture, customs or traditions can never legitimize infringements of women’s and girls’ human rights” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018b, p.21). On the one hand this statement is perfectly understandable, as no person’s human rights should be violated due to the reasons presented above. On the other hand, Richmond (2011) insists that a contextual approach which recognizes various countries’ customs is more conducive for a sustainable peace. It is, nonetheless, highly unlikely that Richmond (2011, p.104) would agree to such a fundamentalist contextual approach considering that he also asserts that the concept of contextuality is to include notions such as “security, rights, and institutions”. A fundamentalist contextual approach is to recognize and condone a regime such as that of the Taliban, which upholds the radical views of e.g. honor killing of women. He further states that the local and international should meet halfway in the understanding of their norms, as a recognition of both viewpoints are crucial for a beneficial peacebuilding – albeit with a focus on the local’s perspective and an adaptive attitude of the international (Richmond 2011). Having examined the one point that has been elaborated upon above, the remaining qualities display that Sweden’s foreign policy has a significant contextual approach in its peace and development efforts.

When establishing its policy, a conflict sensitive approach is considered in each case (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). Sweden also sets out to analyze both men’s and women’s access to various resources as it acknowledges that
the opportunity differs between the sexes when obtaining resources and needs (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018b). The peace and development aspects of the foreign policy are thus both considered contextual as they, furthermore, analyze humanitarian, development, and peace-related actions for each individual country it has a presence in so as to understand the context and the local situation (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016; Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018b). Sweden explicitly declares that “operations must be adapted to different contexts and changes (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016, p.4). The appropriate actions for the country that Sweden has a presence in are determined through the creation of a knowledge base of the country in question (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). In other words, Sweden’s foreign policy is informed by the collection of country-specific data. Sweden’s foreign policy also recognizes that inter alia opportunities and needs vary from sex, gender, and age, whether on a local or national level, in each country where they deploy their policy (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). It therefore leads to an even deeper contextuality than the one promoted by Richmond (2011) and de Coning (2013), which will be examined below.

The policy can, moreover, be seen in Sida’s work in its distribution of aid to a number of organizations that e.g. work to establish a more profound comprehension of Afghanistan by conducting research surrounding topics such as policy and politics relevant and available to all strata of society – which eventually would lead to a locally owned peace and development process (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015). The SCA (2015b) upholds Sida’s policy (stated above) by aiding self-help groups to earn and save money through sales of sought after and relevant products for Afghanistan, inter alia ranging from soaps, various farming yields, to fabrics. The contextuality may likewise be seen in the SCA’s (2015a; 2015b) support to train and enable local women for work within education and healthcare, as the lack thereof has the unfortunate outcome of affecting girls and women’s opportunity to attain work in either
It is thus in line with de Coning’s (2013) explanation of a contextual advance to development and peacebuilding efforts, asserting that for sustainability to be ensured the policies ought to be contextual and locally owned – thereby being adapted to each country that they are deployed in. Furthermore, Sweden distinguishes the importance of conflict sensitivity in their foreign policy in Afghanistan, aiming to be self-reflective so as to create a policy that is aware of the repercussions that it inherently brings by being foreign (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015). Correspondingly, Richmond (2011) points out that policies ought to consider the implications of their actions when carrying out peacebuilding and development efforts, adding that the inclusion of the local in said efforts is equally as important as contextuality. This is, moreover, evident in the policy which focuses on local Afghan women’s rights, but done so considering values of Islam (Pain, Rothman, and Lundin 2015). Sweden thus embraces an inclusive human rights foreign policy which they seek to be part of their development and peace efforts in Afghanistan, but doing so by scribing individual policies specifically considering Afghan customs in a true contextual manner as per Richmond (2011) and de Coning (2013).

In sum, Sweden’s foreign policy is indeed contextual when considering the sum of all points presented. Although the quote at the opening of this section stated that “religion, culture, customs or traditions” are concepts which are non-negotiable (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018b, p.21), it was later clarified to be in accord with Richmond’s (2011) position. The qualities which Sweden display in its foreign policy provides the conclusion that it is fully aware of the importance of including an individual and contextual approach when writing its foreign policy. By being flexible in the way it is written and tailoring efforts depending on what challenges are specific for the country in question, the general foreign policy and the one specific for Afghanistan share the same broad similarities but differ slightly on matters that are exclusive for the latter.
Does the Swedish foreign policy place an emphasis on the concept of needs in their foreign policy, both in general and in Afghanistan?

The emphasis on the concept of needs is an essential part of the post-liberal peace framework, prioritizing the local’s human needs rather than the establishing of rights and reforms (Richmond 2011). Sweden explicitly states that its foreign policy is needs-based, i.e. the development and peace efforts, considering the varying needs relevant to the local’s age and sex (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018b). In order to ascertain what the needs are, women and men of all ages are contacted prior to the implementation of said policy so as to establish the most reliable and relevant mapping of what is needed (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018b). In addition to displaying a focus on needs, it also further affirms that Sweden’s foreign policy is contextual as elaborated upon in the previous chapter. Sweden declares that the feminist approach in its foreign policy is conducive to its needs-based peace and development efforts as the needs of the poor and marginalized groups, inter alia being women, children, and people with disabilities, are accounted for (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). The post-liberal peace framework accordingly emphasizes that the groups in society’s sidelines ought to be chiefly considered, as their agency is diminutive vis-à-vis that of more affluent groups (Richmond 2011). Richmond (2011), moreover, names the acknowledgement and subsequent enablement of the local’s cultural agency as a factor essential to realizing a needs-based practice.

In the Afghan-specific foreign policy it is further evident that Sweden places an emphasis on needs. The policy as mandated by the SCA (2015c) recognizes the great need for hygiene, infrastructure, and facilities such as schools by aiding the locals to realize these both financially and with training. The SCA (2015a), furthermore, realizes Sweden’s needs-based policy by directing their
attention to the highly relevant issue of healthcare in Afghanistan, wherein inter alia diarrhea is prevalent and an underlying cause of the high child mortality rate. Its foreign policy identifies that certain groups in Afghanistan are affected to a greater extent and does therefore highlight the necessity of fulfilling the most basic human needs of those marginalized (SCA 2015a). Likewise, Richmond (2011) claims that healthcare is an aspect of needs which is of the utmost importance when conducting peacebuilding and development efforts.

To conclude, the limited data in this section does not reflect the quality of the data and its analysis, as it is clearly stated that Sweden’s foreign policy is needs-based therefore deemed to adhere to an additional concept inherent to the framework of the post-liberal peace. The focus of the policy is also in line with what Richmond considers to be important in regard to peace and development efforts. Richmond does, however, only generally discuss what the needs may be (most likely due to the great variability from one country to the next) and it is therefore only possible to be general as well in the analysis of the current concept. The inference can nevertheless be made that, based on what Richmond provides, Sweden places an emphasis on needs in their foreign policy and the policy relevant to Afghanistan – especially so considering that it employs a “needs assessment” which is stated in A Post-Liberal Peace (Richmond 2011, p.138).

7.4 Does the Swedish foreign policy address the concept of hybridity in its foreign policy, both in general and in Afghanistan?

The final essential aspect of the post-liberal peace framework is the concept of hybridity, which Richmond (2011) stresses is to be deemed as the concluding product of a contextual approach (which was discussed two chapters prior to
this). Although the source below was analyzed in the section regarding *the everyday*, the current section focuses on examining the empowerment of the local’s agency and if Sweden can be discerned in its policy to enable and engage with the local’s understanding of peace and development. In Sweden’s handbook for its feminist foreign policy the economic independence of women is stated as a key to local community growth, as women are more likely to invest their earnings as opposed to men (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018b). The foreign policy further sets out to “[…] create preconditions for better living conditions for people living in poverty […]” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018b, p.74) and enable the agency of the poor (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). Firstly, it can thus be discerned that supporting female economic independence will lead to a strengthened local agency wherein both women and men are empowered and thereby are enabled to exert greater agency seen to sheer numbers. Secondly, the establishment of favorable preconditions for the poor is recognized as an attempt to aid their agency as essential needs are set, therefore enabling them to focus on other aspects of life – such as being involved in decision-making processes. Although the local is not mentioned in this context, it is implicitly stated in the form of the poor which contrasts the notion of the elite. Richmond (2011) names the agency of the local as an important aspect of hybridity, which ought to be supported by the international in their peace and development efforts. In short, a socio-economic aspect is emphasized by the policy. In addition, cultural and political rights of women are considered equally conducive towards a sustainable peace and development agenda, as the inclusion of all is crucial so as to embed the skillset of entire populations and not a select few (Ministry for Foreign Affairs 2016). True to the concept of hybridity is the agency, culture, and politics of the people who usually do not acquire the opportunities to express these, a notion which is founded upon an understanding that people of all strata ought to hold the possibility to make their voice heard (Richmond 2011). The Swedish foreign policy was, as explicated previously, manifested in a conference held by the Swedish government wherein people from the local,
national, and international level had the opportunity to listen and learn from one another (Government of Sweden 2018).

In Sweden’s policy for Afghanistan, women’s agency and political rights are also at the forefront. Women and men are equally expected to be able to participate in supported democratic processes and to be empowered to claim agency in the face of the Afghani government and political representatives (Utrikesdepartementet 2014). The SCA (2015c) further displays Sweden’s will to aid in the formation of local governance, one in which women and men alike are able to exert their agency. In a similar vein, Richmond (2011) denotes that the critical agency of locals towards the national and international is another aspect to be acknowledged within hybridity and accentuated in policies – representing the viewpoint of the micro vis-à-vis the macro-level actors in order to establish a sustainable peace in which the agency of all is present. There is, however, no mention of critical agency towards international actors such as Sweden itself in the Swedish foreign policy. Moreover, the policy aims to establish a sustainable peace by also improving the certainty in and opportunities surrounding the efforts, wherein the local’s standpoint is illuminated (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2018a). This particular piece of policy can favorably be associated with Richmond’s (2011, p.189) notion of a hybrid approach, stating that:

“[…] as part of the normative and political project of peacebuilding the next step is to begin to identify the opportunities for peace inherent in the various localised processes […] as well international responses to these.”

He further stresses that the aforementioned approach pursues the enablement of the local to generate a self-sustaining peace, that in the long run is deemed more sustainable. Actions that strengthen opportunities are elucidated in SCA’s (2015c) work, mentioning that the support for job creation related to development is a key aspect of empowering and enabling the Afghani local to
be involved in the efforts – with the consequential outcome of them owning the process. A final aspect of the concept of hybridity is the inevitable conflicting set of values and ideas that will arise due to customary differences and which subsequently ought to be acknowledged as well as understood by the actors involved (Richmond 2011). The policy can be discerned in Sweden’s statement to the UN Security Council, which conferred to the parties present that inclusive talks should be realized with the Taliban in order to eradicate violence and establish peace for the local’s affected by their violence (Laskaridis 2018). Swedish foreign policy thus comprehends the wide array of customary values that are present in conflict and post-conflict environments, which in the case of the Taliban are greatly polarized vis-à-vis Sweden’s, and accordingly aspire to set up the conditions for inclusive talks concerning their peace plans.

The conclusion can thus be made that Sweden’s foreign policy reflects certain values related to the concept of hybridity. Due to the limited data and chosen method (i.e. desk study) a certain aspect of hybridity is difficult to examine, namely the meetings of customs and cultural standards between the local and international. Other aspects such as the enablement of local agency and rights in addition to Sweden and Afghanistan jointly working to establish peace and development efforts proved to be present in the policy both in general and in Afghanistan. Ultimately, since only half of the definition was discerned to be included in the Swedish foreign policy, the concept of hybridity in the policy is deemed as insufficient.
8 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to either prove or refute the hypothesis that Sweden’s feminist foreign policy adheres to fundamental concepts of the post-liberal peace framework, so as to illuminate whether values inherent to the framework can be found in a country’s foreign policy and thereby contribute to a topic which had not yet been previously explored. The study was executed through the post-liberal peace framework lens and the selected governmental documents were then critically analyzed using Tanabe’s (2017) postmodern post-liberal hybrid model. The research questions that were decided upon steered the study towards a desired conclusion by reflecting on four concepts inherent to the post-liberal peace; the everyday; contextuality; needs; and hybridity.

The policy displays multiple qualities of the everyday such as the enablement of local agency, and customs, as well as grassroot representation, but also promotes the activity of DDR and SSR which are both considered to be values of the liberal peace project. On the one hand, Sweden acknowledges the local customs and culture of Afghanistan in their policy for said country but on the other hand neglects to acknowledge local customs and culture in their general foreign policy. The endorsement of international norms regarding the financial aspect of Sweden’s peace and development efforts, combined with the issues of DDR/SSR and the lack of emphasis on customary practices of the local, reflect activities and values of the liberal peace project. The contextual and needs-based approach are explicitly stated in Sweden’s foreign policy and complement each other to a great extent, wherein what is stated in the general foreign policy is also declared in the Afghan-specific policy – in certain cases even to a higher degree. The concept of hybridity reveals certain qualities that adhere to the post-liberal framework, such as the local and international jointly working to establish peace and development efforts which consequently
enables the local to exercise greater agency. The limited data surrounding the concept of hybridity along with the choice to commit to a desk study resulted in an essential aspect, being the meetings of customs and cultural standards between the local and international, not being analyzed.

All concepts and policies considered, albeit with a number of inconsistencies and limited data, the Swedish foreign policy adheres to the post-liberal peace framework to a certain extent. Sweden displays an understanding of the importance of enabling local agency and thus local ownership of the peace and development process, in addition to employing a contextual approach which conducts each case on an individual basis while also focusing on human needs. Sweden does, however, strongly emphasize the financial aspect of peace and development efforts along with the aforementioned activities of DDR and SSR which all three are affiliated with the liberal peace framework. It is important to note, however, that the conclusion is entirely based upon the foreign policy \textit{per se} and not the implementation nor results of them. Due to the possible discrepancy between how the policy is composed and implemented, future studies would do well to further analyze the latter. The methodology then ought to be different, favoring field research as opposed to that of a desk study. It is the author’s hope that this thesis in the future will aid policymakers both influenced by liberal peace values and those who have begun embarking upon a post-liberal path to make efficient the time and money spent in their peace and development efforts, by looking at research that applies a post-liberal peace framework such as this study. The outcome of this research would not only clarify to foreign policymakers which framework Sweden is committed to in general and in Afghanistan, but could also provide them with material to further develop and expand policies that promote local agency, culture, and history.
Due to Sweden being a significant exporter of weapons the claim could be made that it neither adheres to a post-liberal peace framework nor values its firmly mandated feminist foreign policy, as that clearly conflicts with the notion of peace and development efforts supporting equality and the grassroots. Egnell (2016) responds to that criticism stating that it is important to view the many benefits that Sweden’s foreign policy may bring, and not focus on a shortcoming that is part of private economic incentives and thus separate from governmental policy. It is also important to once again stress that the focus of this paper has been the foreign policy per se, thereby not including factors outside of the stated delimitation of this study.

Previous researchers (Brown 2018; Dias 2013; Jackson 2018; Mac Ginty 2008; Mac Ginty 2014; Richmond 2011; Wolff 2015) point towards the equal and local-centric values inherent to the concepts of a post-liberal peace and thereby the sustainability of such concepts. The post-liberal peace theory has been useful to a great extent, indeed proven to be conducive when conducting a text analysis involving official documents. Especially Richmond’s book *A Post-Liberal Peace* (2011) provided several concepts that were included in the analytical framework and which furthermore facilitated the direction of the analysis. The leading reason for the theory’s helpfulness was also its greatest shortcoming, namely being vague on details surrounding the concepts. On the one hand, the framework left the concepts open to a certain degree of interpretation and thus to be further developed by succeeding researchers. On the other hand, certain concepts would have done well to be further clarified so as to build a stronger case on specific issues that clash with values of a post-liberal peace. For example, contextuality in the case of Afghanistan is a challenge due to the Taliban’s presence, which certainly ought not to receive agency for their ideas that violate human rights. Ultimately, the post-liberal peace is right not being too specific, as it would then risk becoming what it contests: a uniform model such as the liberal peace theory that promotes a one-
size-fits-all mentality. In sum, the framework of the post-liberal peace in accordance with Richmond’s (2011) definition has proved to be strong on both on the theoretical level and on a practical one. In contrast to Chandler’s (Chandler and Richmond 2015) definition of the post-liberal peace as a self-righteous and patronizing undertaking of the others and their issues (without providing practical solutions), Richmond displays both a self-critical view of the theory and provides practical means of applying the principles of the post-liberal peace.
9 Reference list


