

NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF LIFE SCIENCES



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Declaration

I, Benedicte Beccer Brandvold declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

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I am proud of the final result and hopefully it can contribute to some new insights on the issue.

Benedicte Beccer Brandvold

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ABSTRACT

The objective for the Norwegian Armed Forces was 15 percent women of all soldiers by 2008. Five years later, women only make up between 8 and 9 percent while the new goal is to reach a level of 20 percent women by 2020. This goal currently seems difficult to reach due to the minimal increase of women over the past years. This thesis is a comparative study between Canada, Sweden and Norway, as the two first both have a higher percentage of women serving in their armed forces. The thesis looks at measures taken to recruit and retain women. It also looks at whether the measures have had the desired effect as well as whether any of the measures deals with masculinity cultures that exists within the military organizations. By using a mixture of document analysis and semi-structured interviews, it becomes possible to get insights into the work of these countries' on reaching the same goal of adopting an international resolution and increase gender equality within the military organization. I use theoretical perspectives to guide the analysis and to explain the empirical findings. Gender research has highlighted how masculinity cultures are persuaded in the military, as well as how women are being discriminated in male dominated occupations. Perspectives on policy implementation explain necessary tools in order to achieve a set objective and by this, why it seems difficult to increase the female participation. The empirical findings show similar measures in many areas within all three countries. These measures seem to vary in terms of width and depth however. Whether the military practice conscription or all-professional forces where men and women apply equally, also seem to contribute to the military's ability to attract women. Findings further indicate that societal factors like the military organizations' position in the labor market matters, as well as the time elapsed since action was first taken. To increase the percentage of women and to be able to make these women stay depends on a long- term perspective and deep commitment from politicians and military leaders.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Through the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, Norway is committed in increasing the share of women in their international forces. It is argued that a higher percentage of women will make the forces more able to get in touch with the whole population in the operating areas, and thus contribute in establishing cooperation with women and women's organizations these places (St.meld 36 2006-2007). With regard to this resolution as well as other international obligations, the Norwegian Defense aim for a more inclusive approach towards conflict solution in the world and several strategies have been declared by the Ministry of Defense to reach this objective (ibid).

The goal of female participation by 2008 was set to be 15 percent, but as the forces did not manage to meet this percentage, the goal has been further revised and the set objective is now a minimum of 20 percent women by 2020. With 7 years to go, women in the Norwegian forces today make up between 8 and 9 percent of all soldiers (Forsvarsdepartementet 2012-2013). Even though the recruitment of women increases, it is also necessary for the military to be able to retain these women, and by doing so, face the obstacles that make women decide to leave. Various policies and measures have been created and implemented to make the armed forces more attractive to women. While it is argued on one hand that a more diverse military is necessary in international operations, other arguments concern how a broader reflection of society is necessary for the military organization to be relevant, as well as how a broader sample from the population will increase the competence within the organization. As a part of this process, funds have been given to the work of increasing the recruitment of women into the military. This work is partly through research, including a military sociological project which this thesis is a part of. The focus of the project is on increasing knowledge on masculinity cultures in the military as an obstacle for recruitment and effects on the retention of women (Oxford Research 2011-2012). This thesis is seeking to look at international examples of armed forces where they on a larger scale than Norway have managed to recruit and retain women.

By selecting Canada and Sweden as comparative countries that to a larger extent have managed to meet the set objective, the aim is to increase the level of knowledge on policies set out and measures taken that can possibly be adopted in Norway. While Canada is a world

leader in terms of the female representation in its military, Sweden is a very similar country to Norway with its historical military conscription, but recently changing into an all-professional military, similarly to Canada. This makes these two cases interesting to compare against Norway. A comparative analysis can also show us how different countries adopt an international United Nations resolution. The thesis thus seeks to be a tool and source of knowledge on measures taken to reach the same objective.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What measures have been taken in the countries of comparison to recruit and retain women in the armed forces?
- Have the measures taken had the desired effect on recruitment and retention?
- Do any of the measures taken deal with masculinity cultures?

1.3 OPERATIONALIZATION AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

In order to answer the specific research questions for this thesis, some operationalization as well as clarifications must be made. Operationalization is a term originally derived from physics that entail devising measures of the concepts that the researcher is interested in, and the operations where this concept is measured (Bryman 2008: 141). The research questions build on the fact that action in recruiting and retaining women have been taken, as well as a notion that masculinity cultures exist. The aim of this thesis is to uncover the measures and whether these have had the desired effect in order to make sense of these and use them as possible benchmarks. In order to do so and to be able to answer the set out research questions, policy papers as well as existing research on the issue have provided me with the primary data, combined with interviews to highlight and illuminate these findings.

As the term *policy* is crucial for the thesis, a clarification is necessary. While it is often translated into *politics* in Norwegian, this is not always a proper translation, as it in the English language includes *policy*, *politics* and *polity*. These terms refer to the content of political decisions, political decision processes and political institutions. *Policy* can thus be used to include any actions to reach certain objectives, and for the purpose of this thesis it is broadly used and covers the practical implementation (Hajer 2003).

Other terms that needs clarification is when referring to the military organization. In order to achieve a more varied language, I have chosen to use a set of broad terms including; *military*,

forces, armed forces, military forces, military defense and defense. When using these terms however, I am referring to the same military organization without pointing out any specific unit.

1.4 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

While actions taken the last decades create a historical backdrop, the adoption of Resolution 1325 in 2000 marks in some way the starting point for this study as it is seen as the first recognition of how women are affected different than men by conflict, and how a great part of the empirical findings are based on the countries' notion of the resolution and taking action to meet it. While the study may not support generalizations beyond this context, it may contribute to some new valuable insights.

A masters' thesis can be performed in a variety of ways, and while I am very satisfied with the choices made for the purpose of this thesis, it has not been possible to perform everything as originally intended. I wanted to interview several informants from all three countries, but due to complex procedures to be allowed to interview Canadian informants, time limitations made this choice impossible. The basis for my study is three countries, a choice made because of the overall project that has been contract research on behalf of the Norwegian Ministry of Defense, where Canada and Sweden was already suggested as comparative countries based on existing quantitative research. I believe however that choosing one comparative country would have been satisfying as well due to time limitations, and this could possibly have contributed to even more in-depth insights into that specific country. By taking on the task of using three countries however, hopefully I have been able to present findings that reflect more width.

1.5 THESIS OUTLINE

I will start this thesis by outlining the theoretical framework in the next chapter looking at gender research and perspectives of women entering into male dominated occupations as well as theoretical perspectives on policy implementation. Chapter 3 presents the methodological framework and methods performed in order to meet the objectives set out, before entering into the international context, historical participation of women in armed forces and the main arguments for female participation in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 then constitutes the empirical findings that form the basis for the analysis and a theoretical understanding later in the chapter. Chapter 6 then presents concluding remarks.

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To make my empirical findings not only interpretations it is important with a theoretical framework to help guide the analysis for it not to become out of focus, but rather allow the material from documents and interviews to be explained by a broader framework. To create continuity between existing theory and the empirics in this thesis, the theories will thus be useful tools in the analysis. The theories are supposed to help interpret and explain the findings when analyzing the data collected. The chapter starts with an overview of how a gender perspective has prevailed within the discipline of international relations during the last decades. It then goes on to outline how the military is a gendering institution and barriers women face when entering into male dominated organizations. The chapter further goes into the framework of masculinities and masculinities in the military before entering into how discrimination based on gender occurs in the labor market and how the consequences of being a minority in one's own profession may degenerate. The last section of this chapter addresses the nature of policy making as outlining a range of policies as a dominant part of the empirical findings. This section will highlight the necessities of a basic set of tools when comparing policies across nations. Different definitions of policy implementation will then be presented as well as different perspectives on how to grasp it. Instruments when implementing policies as well as the importance of evaluation before outlining characteristics of successful policy implementation makes up the last part of the theoretical framework.

2.1 THE PREVELANCE OF A GENDER PERSPECTIVE WITHIN THE DICIPLINE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

There has been an increased focus and an extensive amount of research on gender the recent decades and the interest in gender issues has not only developed within social sciences, but also in other areas of study like humanities and other sciences. Traditionally, the research on gender has been dominated by women and the impulse to develop from contemporary feminism. With an increased focus on gender dynamics, masculinity has become visible and problematizes the position of men. While men's characteristics previously were the unexamined norm for science, different forms of masculinities with their origins, structures and dynamics are now recognized and investigated (Kimmel et. al 2005: 1).

Within International Relations gender entered the field in the late 1980's and the early 1990's. The first IR feminists wanted to challenge the existing field and reformulate and improve it, paying more attention to women's experiences (Dunne et.al 2010). By putting on gendered lenses a quite different view may occur. Nancy Hartsock is one feminist theoretician arguing that just as men's lives are structured by social relations manifesting the experience of the dominant gender, so are women's lives, their role and how the world is viewed affected (Hartsock 1998). Today, less than 10 per cent of world's head of state are women and feminists within International Relations asks why this is the case and how it affects the structure and practice of global politics. Recently there has been an increased focus on issues such as military prostitution among other gender related issues (Dunne et. al 2010: 196). With an increase in gender related questions mainly set forth by feminists, the issues regarding men and masculinities has gotten increased attention as well.

2.2 THE MILITARY AS A GENDERING INSTITUTION

As this thesis deals with women in militaries it is crucial to look at militaries as gendered institutions. The traditional view both in the public as well as within the military is how men are protectors and defenders of the country, women and children, while women should not be placed in risky situations as they are the carriers of traditional reproductive roles (Mankayi 2008: 27). Male bodies are viewed as superior to female ones, which leaves little space for women to be fully integrated and accepted in the military (Mankayi 2008: 28). The military can thus be considered a "gendering" institution, with gender dynamics affecting the definitions of adequate social roles and issues of intimacy and sexuality, factors that are crucial in the process of gender integration in the military (Segal et al. 1999: 228 in Carreiras 2006: 25). The structure within the military is based on gender divisions, both in terms of the organizational build-up and occupational structure, and also in terms of opportunity and power. Women have historically and still are in certain specialties in some countries excluded and there are distinct patterns of gender representation by rank and functional areas (Carreiras 2006: 40). This makes gendered division of labor one of the most prevalent characteristics of the military. There have been major changes the past decades, but barriers still remain and the military is still functioning as an agency for the construction of the masculine gender identity, and has been central to the definition of hegemonic masculinity which will be outlined further later in this chapter (ibid: 41).

Women entering into a masculine organization like the military have become a source of criticism and even more relevant due to the decision of gender neutral conscription in Norway. According to Torhild Skard, leader of Norwegian Women's Association (Norsk kvinnesaksforening), the assumption of women entering the military is a misguided assumption and involves that protection against discrimination is impaired. The association sees it as necessary to work towards measures and politics to abolish all forms of discrimination towards women in Norway. They do not however believe that letter conscription to become gender neutral is the right way to go. The belief and fear is that a new law will serve the interest of men to the same extent as women's and thus increase the inequality between the genders, instead of strengthening the position of women (Dagsavisen 2013).

2.3 BARRIERS FOR WOMEN IN MALE DOMINATED ORGANIZATIONS

Sexual harassment and job performance

Harassment in the workplace is not only an obstacle for the working environment and the productivity of employees, but in a worst case scenario it also affects the workplace's ability to retain those being exploited to this behavior. In the 2010 working environment survey performed by the Statistics Norway, three percent of all employees responded that they had been exposed to harassment at work. The survey prevails that young women seem to be more exploited than men and those who are older. Of young women, twelve percent responded that they had experienced unwanted sexual attention, comments and similar events a couple times a month or more often (Statistics Norway 2010). Other research on sexual harassment in the labor market finds that the prevalence of sexual harassment of women is primarily in the male-dominated workforce, where the tasks are stereotypical masculine. The occurrence in these typical male occupations is found to be considerably higher than in other occupations where the workforce is more equally divided in terms of gender (Febbraro et.al 2010:1). As the share of men versus women is considerably higher in military organizations with historically typical masculine tasks, the occurrence of sexual harassment is higher than in many other organizations. Sexual harassment further has a negative impact on one's job performance as it contributes to lower satisfaction. In a series of different research on women who have left the military, sexual harassment is identified as one of the causes. As this not only have serious implications for basic human rights, it also effect the military's efficiency and ability to retain women in military occupations (ibid).

Combining work and family

As harassment is seen as a severe obstacle for a workplace to be able to retain its employees and create a good working environment, so is the importance of creating a workplace making it possible to combine work and family. As women still take on a larger burden at home, this is a factor that is assumed to affect the retaining of women more than it affects the retaining of men. A quantitative study of the relationship between family and work in officer families, was presented by The Work Research Institute Report Series in 2012, and is a result of two different surveys, where one was given to officers and the other one to their spouses or cohabitants. The study looked at the division of work within the family and the loads the employment within the forces entails for the family among other elements. Operations abroad and its effect on the family are also of particular focus in the research. What this study finds is that officer families are more gender equality minded than the rest of the population in terms of equal share of tasks being crucial for an ideal family. The work load is however more traditional and male officers do fewer chores at home than their partners, and female officers do more. Compared to the rest of the population, partners of officer are to larger extent full-time workers. 40 percent of female partners work part-time however. The results from the report identified the importance of partners having a positive attitude towards the forces, and that this is most important in families with a female officer. The report finds large gaps based on whether the officer is a man or a woman. In families where the woman is an officer, the requirements to the partner and the total load for the families are reported to be less. Based on this it seems like the combination of work and family is handled differently when the woman in the family is officer. A most likely explanation for this is that female officers handle family tasks in addition to their job, while male officers more often leave the family tasks to the woman in the family. This leads most likely to a limitation in female officer's careers (Heen 2012).

2.4 MASCULINITIES

One of the research questions for this thesis is what measures are taken to recruit and keep women in the militaries and whether any of these measures deal with masculinity cultures. It is thus highly relevant to look at the framework of men and masculinities research. By social scientists in opposition to biological definitions, gender is socially constructed, and a set of characteristics describing what men and women ought to be (Dunne et. al 2010: 196). Within all societies there are cultural accounts of gender, but there are only in cultures where women and men are seen as bearers of specific character types, the concept of femininity and

masculinity can exist, at least in the sense of modern European and American culture (Connell 1995: 68).

Definitions of masculinity vary widely and our cultural background may affect the definition we choose. There are different ways to characterize the type of person who is masculine and according to an essentialist definition the term includes risk-taking, responsibility, irresponsibility and aggression. A positivist definition on the other hand defines masculinity as what men actually are. The normative definition recognizes the differences among men and the differences among women, and masculinity is thus what men ought to do. According to the semiotic approach we should focus on symbolic differences and which masculine and feminine places are contrasted and by this, leaves the level of personality. Masculinity thus becomes defined as not-femininity (Connell 1995: 70).

The male role and masculinities have been central terms within the research of men, and R.W Connell is one of the researchers with important contributions to the field. According to Connell we are by speaking of gender, “doing gender” in a culturally specific way, as it is a somewhat recent historical product. Connell stresses the importance of how masculinities must be seen as a process and a proportionate relation, instead of an object with a determined way of behavior (Connell 1995). This makes masculinities a position in gender relations of how women and men practice their gender, and not something men possess or something that is their gender identity. As masculinities are something that is practiced, and not something set, the effects in terms of the body, personality and culture becomes interesting to study as it constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, but are not reduced to the body (Connell 1995).

Connell emphasizes how gender can be distinguished in the relations of power, production and emotional attachment, as the power relationship in European and American gender order is the overall subordination of women and dominance of men and men are the ones who control major corporations, not women. This contributes to the social construction of masculinity and accumulation of wealth becomes linked up to the reproductive arena, through the social relations of gender (Connell 1995). Connell distinguish between different practices and relations that construct the main pattern of masculinity in the current western order. These relations can be between men and women, but also between men and other men. The

different relations are divided into hegemonic, subordination, complicity and marginalization (Connell 1995: 77).

Hegemonic masculinity can be understood as a certain way a group of men combine their power to contain the group's dominance within a social system. According to Connell, hegemonic masculinity can be seen as a guarantee to legitimize patriarchy where men are superior to women. Those who are bearers of hegemonic masculinity are not necessarily the most powerful people and may therefore be far from the hegemonic pattern in their personal lives. They do however hold this institutional power outwards, and represent examples of hegemonic masculinities like film actors (ibid). For hegemonic masculinity to be established there should be some correspondence between the cultural ideal of being a man and institutional power, collective if not individual. The mark of hegemony is how hegemonic masculinities claim authority, more than direct use of violence, even though this may support the authority. As this is not a set personality, hegemonic masculinity become contextual and will change over time and in different systems. The military is a corporate display of masculinity which historically is very seldom shaken by women and the hegemonic masculinity may be reinforced in these settings (ibid).

The category of subordinated masculinity is by Connell seen as what most men represent, including many men in the military. In this form of masculinity, men can enjoy the benefits from the patriarchy where they are superior to women and contribute to the system by playing along. These men do not however have ambitions or the possibility to adopt the hegemonic position themselves. According to Connell, marriage and parental situations can be seen as examples of this category, where men compromise with women (Connell 1995). In the West, the ideal hegemonic masculine type is seen as white and heterosexual, and those who do not fit into this description like colored men or homosexuals become from a hegemonic masculinity perspective viewed as subordinated or marginalized. These properties are associated with femininity with characteristics like weakness and emotional, and many men thus become afraid of being perceived as weak and the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity become reinforced in the meeting with people who hold these characteristics (ibid). This reinforcement can be seen in situations of meetings between women and men in the defense where their diverse characteristics may become even more prominent.

2.5 MASCULINITIES IN THE MILITARY

Throughout history there have been mutual relations between militarism and masculinity, where politicians have been contributing factors in emphasizing the idealized masculinity with strong males risking their lives for their country (Kimmel et. al 2005: 434). Militarism involves risk-taking and violence, characteristics that feed into the idea of masculinity. These characteristics were prevalent during the First World War, where masculinity was defined in terms of Victorian ideologies of strength, courage, determination and patriotism. This was an image that was reinforced by the wartime propaganda at the time and has existed in commercials and recruitment campaigns for years (ibid).

There is a form of masculine identity, more specifically a hegemonic masculinity to which boys and men are encouraged to aspire. By joining the military, men experience domination of weaker individuals and tend to be given a higher social status than those who do not. By doing this, he gets his masculinity confirmed (Kimmel et. al 2005: 433). Values and beliefs that are associated with ideologies of hegemonic masculinity can thus be said to be eroticized and institutionalized in militaries (ibid: 436), as the casual sexism, competitiveness and aggression is reflected in the military, and the military has represented a conformation of the legitimacy of hegemonic masculinity and continues to shape hegemonic ideologies of what it is to be a man. As a contrast to this, men who reject militarism have often been portrayed as weak and untrustworthy, contributing to reinforce the construction of what makes a man masculine (ibid: 443).

According to the approach of social constructivists and critical men's studies, masculinities are in the military constructed in relation to their bodies. Qualities like physical strength, risk-taking and sexual virility all become central in the way masculinities and hegemonic masculinity is carried out in military settings, and female soldiers are thus seen as a problem, which makes the male body a key construction to success in the military (Mankayi 2008: 27). According to Cock (2001), weapons used in the military are viewed as extensions of the military body and like the uniform is added value to the body. Weapons used in the military may have the symbolic value as an idealization of aggression and as an extension of the militarized body. Military scars on the body also support the ideal of successful masculinity and in total these factors constitute the ideals of hegemonic masculinity (ibid: 34).

2.6 GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOR MARKET

As gender is a system of both classification and identity and a structure of power relations, many societies have a gendered division of labor. Kimmel (2004) are one of the researchers acknowledging that there exists a “glass ceiling” preventing women from reaching the top positions. In addition to the barrier of the glass ceiling, they are stuck at the bottom and unable to reach the top, the so-called “sticky floor”. The glass ceiling consists of artificial barriers, based on attitudinal or organizational bias, that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward within their organization into management level positions, and keeps women from being promoted equally with men, and they are instead kept in low wage positions, with little opportunity for upward mobility (ibid: 195).

The notion of the glass ceiling was first introduced in Morrison, White & Van Velson’s book *Breaking the Glass Ceiling: Can Women reach the Top of America?* (1987). The authors argue that the glass ceiling is not just a barrier in an individual women’s career, but that it affects women as a group, because the expectations and requirements may be more stringent for women (Drauland 2003: 67). Due to legal measures and affirmative action, women may reach the middle management positions, but these positions do however not have the same wages or authority as the positions men possess at the top. Within large companies this has led to women leaving and starting in smaller businesses where there might be a better chance of advancement and promotion. In the early stages of research within this field, the assumption was that the glass ceiling only existed at the top of organizations and this was the only place difficult for women to reach. However, this notion has been broadened and there seem to exist a glass ceiling on almost all levels within organizations (ibid).

The glass ceiling may occur under several circumstances and can be the result of leaders unable or unwilling to establish policies and practices that are effective mechanisms to promote diversity in the workplace. Traditional gender stereotypes may also be relied on during evaluation, meaning if the job previously has been performed by a male, it is easy to put a man in the job again. A work place with limited family-friendly policies has also traditionally inhibited women’s ability to rise. However, according to Kimmel what may be the most important factor preventing women from reaching the top and by this reinforcing the glass-ceiling is the informal efforts by men to restore an all-male atmosphere of the corporate hierarchy. “Equal opportunities for advancement would disrupt the casual friendliness and

informality of the homosocial world at the top – the fact that those with whom one interacts share similar basic values and assumptions” (Kimmel 2004: 196).

2.7 BEING A GENDER MINORITY IN OWN PROFESSION

As this thesis look at women in the military and what is done to recruit and retain women it is interesting to look at the framework of which women find themselves in a military setting, as a minority group. In the book *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977), the American sociologist Rosabeth M. Kanter presents an organizational study on women in male dominated professions. The study was carried out through a period of five years in the American business Industrial Supply Corporation, a company where the leadership positions was possessed by over 90 per cent men. What Kanter identified through her study is a gender segregated dynamic, where the gender that is in minority is being marginalized and experiencing exclusion.

According to Kanter, different groups can be identified based on their numerical representation. One of these groups is *Skewed* groups, where the large preponderance of one type over another make up as much as 85 per cent. This gives the numerically majority enough control to be labeled dominants. The subgroup that composes less than 15 percent of the whole group and sometimes only one person are defined as tokens. In this case study, tokens are women. They may be treated as representatives of their category and as symbols rather than individuals. In Kanter’s case study, women and men made up the positions of token and dominant. The tokenism identified, including low opportunity and low power set in motion self-perpetuating, cycles that reinforced the low numbers of women and with the lack of intervention of outside, women were being kept in the position of tokens (Kanter 1977: 383).

For tokens, tendencies including visibility, contrast and assimilation are often perceived. According to Kanter, if one sees nine X’s and one O, the O will stand out and get more notice than any X. The O may however also be totally overlooked (ibid). In contrast to O, all the X’s will seem more alike than what is actually the case. Assimilation, involving the use of stereotypes or familiar generalizations about a person’s social type will be used on O even though the X’s offer more examples. Tokens get more attention than the group members of the majority, as the awareness of the members decline as the proportion of the members’

increases. As women in the military may get more attention and their actions are closely studied, this may not only be negative. If you don't manage to perform or fulfill the requirements, this may be related to the fact that you are a woman, but if you perform just as well or better this may have positive implications for the minority group (ibid).

Members of a uniform group like the military may never become aware of the common culture and type they represent, as they take this for granted and there is no one else to compare against. In a skewed group however, the individuals representing different social characteristics, in this case being a woman increases the self-consciousness of the numerically dominant group. They become more aware of both similarities as well as differences to the tokens, and according to Kanter's study, the majority tries to keep the tokens outside, to build a boundary and preserve their own commonality (Kanter 1977: 384).

As tokens experience generalizations, they ironically enough also become highly visible as people who are different from the majority at the same time often are deprived of their individuality. A token does not have to work hard to have her presence noticed, but she does have to work hard to have her achievements noticed (Kanter 1977: 386). The high visibility of the token, where every move is noticed and easily recalled leads to performance pressures and in Kanter's study, women said they were tired of having to work twice as hard as men. Their visibility is based on characteristics of gender location and physical appearance, where other aspects of her performance tend to be ignored (Kanter 1993: 216 in Carreiras 2006:34).

The work by tokens often has symbolic consequences as it may be evaluated and taken as a sign of "how women perform". In the case of Kanter, some women were told that their performances could affect future prospects for other women in the company. In problematic situations, the women got blamed based on her category membership, rather than the situation. They were treated as symbols or representatives and would be asked to provide the meeting with "the women's point of view" (Kanter 1977: 386). Sometimes this case wasn't generated by the dominants however, and women themselves saw their opportunity to speak on behalf of women and as a symbol (ibid).

Fear of retaliation was also identified in Kanter's study, where tokenism make up a dynamic where tokens become afraid of being too outstanding in performance on group events and tasks. If they perform on the same level as a dominant, their achievements can't be kept away from the public and they are thus more exposed to possible humiliation by the dominant.

Some of the women were of a perception that their success should be kept to themselves. If they take advantage of the publicity, they may be labeled “troublemaker” (Kanter 1977: 387). Tokens may lead to an exaggeration of dominant’s culture where men sometimes exaggerate their “masculine prowess”, where they around women may display more aggression and potency. This may include sexual teasing and war-stories as they want to “show off” around women. (ibid: 388). In other cases, the dominants in Kanter’s study did not want tokens around all the time and they were thus excluded from more private settings like networks where informal socialization occurred and politics away from the formal system were exposed (ibid: 289).

Token women faced challenges as they were met with an attitude of expected gratitude for being included and they should therefore not criticize their situation. These also involved that they shouldn’t complain about their job or ask for a promotion. They should be grateful to be where they were as many other women had never reached as far as they had. As tokens make up so few compared to the dominants, their only choice seemed to be accepting the situation and thus accepting the limits in promotions. As the women were being kept in their traditional positions, these jobs became defined as “women’s slots”. If the token women stayed in their jobs long enough however, many reported that age and experience made their situation less token- like (Kanter 1977: 392).

Michael S. Kimmel is another researcher who acknowledges the challenges of tokens when women enter into men’s occupations. What he stresses to address is how tokens are not just members of a numeric minority, but how tokens are accepted because of their minority status and not despite of it. Tokens may be actively discouraged from recruiting others like themselves and they may become eager to fit in with the rest of the group. Tokens may actually become more strongly engaged to the norms of the organization than the members of the numerical majority (Kimmel 2004).

While Kanter’s work and analysis of tokenism has been popular within the field and replicated across a variety of settings including the first women to enter the U.S Military Academy at West Point, it has not been exempt from criticism. As Kanter argued at performance pressures, social isolations and role encapsulation were consequences of skewed numerical groups, with women in a manly dominated workplace, Blablock is another researcher arguing that Kanter’s number-balancing as a strategy for change in these

situations, failed to see possible backlash from dominants. According to Blablock's theory on intrusiveness, "an increase in the number of lower-status members threaten dominants and this will in turn increase the gender discrimination in forms of sexual harassment, wage inequities and limited opportunities for promotion" (Yoder 1991: 178). Based on this contrary opinion, an increase of women entering into the military will thus might lead to men acting their masculinity out more, and even more women will face the challenge of being a minority amongst men.

This part of the chapter has so far presented perspectives from gender research with focus on barriers women are facing when entering into male dominated organizations and natural ways for women to integrate. These are mainly concerned with increasing the numbers of the minority and changing the existing culture. The next section will look at different perspectives on policy implementation and necessary tools for this process to be successful.

2.8 THE NATURE OF POLICY MAKING - GRASPING IT AND COMPARING IT

2.8.1 COMPARING POLICIES ACROSS NATIONS

Since the 1970's there have been a shift of focus on issues that were previously seen as purely domestic becoming more internationalized, and as governments make their national policy decisions, they have international obligations at the same time that may affect the choices of public policy related to issues inside a country's own borders. To draw lessons on policies created to reach a certain goal, it may be desirable to draw lessons from other countries. By engaging in policy analysis across borders it becomes possible to draw strengths and weaknesses of different policy options and to learn what options are desirable. Working on a cross-national analysis of policies in industrialized countries may be quite a complex process as there is no single way different countries perform this task and which policies are made (Blake et. al 2007:4).

Comparative public policy analysis can be seen as an attempt in trying to improve our understanding of policy makings ongoing nature, the efforts in and out of government to create a better mousetrap through policy analysis, and the political nature we find behind policy choices made by government officials. As the nature of policies is different in nature, some similar stages need to be tracked in order to compare policies across borders. As institutional frameworks, procedures and traditions vary widely in style and mechanisms

used, these common stages becomes valuable. The levels are *agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making, policy implementation* and *evaluation*. When doing a comparative analysis, the policy problem thus needs to be addressed for then in turn to identify the policy objective. The further task is then to see how successful the policies chosen have been in achieving the set out objective, and thus if one can account for the policy successes or failures (Blake et. al 2007:4).

2.8.2 DEFINITIONS AND HISTORICAL ROOTS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

For the further analysis of this thesis which is heavily based on policy documents it becomes essential to look at policy implementation in a theoretical perspective. The issue of policy implementation was first brought to the forefront within social science by Pressman and Wildavsky and defined it “in terms of a relationship to policy as laid down in official documents” (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973 in Paudel 2009: 36). According to them, one can view policy implementation as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions taken to achieve them (ibid: 37). Policy implementation may include both one-time efforts to transform decisions taken into operational terms and continuing efforts to achieve changes mandated by policy decisions. They may include actions taken by both individuals and those taken by public or groups directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in policy decisions (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975: 447 in Paudel 2009: 37).

According to Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983), policy implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute. The starting point is thus an authoritative decision and involved centrally located actors like politicians and top-level bureaucrats and others relevant to achieve the desired effects and goal. According to these authors there are three variables affecting the process. These are:

- Tractability of the problem or problems being addressed, meaning how easily managed or controlled the problem is
- The ability of the statute to favorably structure the implementation process
- The net effect of a variety of political variables on the balance of support for statutory objectives

(Paudel 2009: 37)

For O’Toole (2003), the connection between the expression of governmental intention and the actual result is important and that it actually concerns how governments put policies into

effect. This makes policy implementation the definition of what develops between the establishments of an intention from a government, whether it is to do something or to start something and its actual impact (ibid).

Policy implementation can thus be conceptualized as a *process, output and outcome*. The process level is concerned with several decisions and actions directed towards putting a prior authoritative decision into effect. In terms of output it is crucial to see to what extent which programmatic goals have been satisfied, as well as the measurable heat of the goals and the ability of the program objectives to operationalize what is intended. At the outcome level, the core is that there has been some measurable change in the larger program that was addressed by the program, public law or judicial decisions (Lester et. al 1995:87 in Paudel 2009: 38). According to Sabatier; “Public policymaking is a process where problems are being conceptualized and brought to government for solution; governmental institutions formulate alternatives and select policy solutions; and those solutions get implemented, evaluated and revised” (Sabatier 1991: 3). This quotation by Sabatier presents the major and complex picture of policy implementation and how different elements are interacting over time. From the starting point, several actors ranging from interest groups to governmental agencies and legislatures at different levels of government are involved and the process in which the problem is being emerged to experience with implementation to creating an evaluation of program impact may take decades (Sabatier 1999).

2.8.3 PERSPECTIVES ON HOW TO GRASP POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Two schools of thought developed in order to describe implementation processes most effectively. The top-down perspective sees policy designers as the main actors, and implementation processes as going downwards from state structures. The bottom up approach on the other hand sees the target groups and those who deliver services as central to the process (Matland 1995 in AWN s.a). The first being policy-centered and representing policymaker’s views, while the last perspective has its starting point in society and the focus is on individuals and their behavior, where street-level bureaucrats are central in making and implementing policies (Paudel 2009).

According to a top-down perspective and Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), implementation takes place after a policy has been ‘packaged up’, as there wouldn’t be anything to implement without a policy. In this sense, policy is introduced at the ‘top’ by decision makers and

transmitted down a hierarchy to those implementing it at the 'bottom' (Jordan 1995:5). From this perspective, the prescriptions for 'successful' implementation were couched in terms of 'getting a grip' on people at the bottom, reducing the number of inter-organizational links and finding more direct implementation mechanisms. This would frame clearer policies and finding the means to structure the implementation process to the top's advantage (Ham and Hill 1993: 101 in Jordan 1995: 8). The normative assumption embedded in the top-down model is that policy should be made at the top by democratically elected politicians rather than civil servants and implementing agencies. The goals of those at the top are seen as legitimate and a divergence from them would be seen as undemocratic (Lipsky 1978:393 in Jordan 1995: 8).

In order to illuminate and make relevance of this perspective as well as to argue for the choice of using it, it is necessary to present in in relation to the bottom-up perspective. This perspective argues that a policy is not made in a vacuum, and there are other actors, organizations and an overarching set of institutional structures where political outcomes are negotiated. According to the bottom up perspective, policy statements, laws and policies made by those at the top seems poorly related to what is actually going on at the ground. It would thus be more interesting to focus on what influences action here. This perspective claims that even though it is the central government who has the power to create the outputs it wants, the most important influences on the actual outcomes is more likely to come from interaction at a lower level between groups of bureaucrats and their clients on the ground (Jordan 1995:11).

While the dominant theme of top down models is hierarchy, control and compliance, bottom up models focus on complexity, local autonomy and developed power. The broad aim, of the first is to improve performance and achieve the top's goal, while the latter seeks to explain what actually happens as policies are implemented. The standpoint of the models are for the top downers, policy makers, legislators and central government while for the bottom uppers, the standpoint becomes implementers, street level bureaucrats' and local officials. While the immediate focus for top down models is effectiveness and to what extent policy goals are actually met, the focus within bottom up theories is what realistically influences action in an issue area. On the view of policy, it is a starting point and a benchmark from a top down view, while it from a bottom up perspective is dependent upon the interaction between actors at the local level. In terms of evaluate success, the criteria for the first is when outcomes are

consistent with the objective set out, while it for the latter is a focus on achievement of local goals. This will make the outcome fairly unpredictable as it depends on local interaction, while it from a top down perspective will be a predictable outcome if the process is properly structured. To finish up the comparison, a top down perspective will have a deductive approach as it starts with a model of what should happen, and then compares it to what actually happens, while the bottom up is more characterized as an inductive approach which starts with empirical observations of what happens and then aggregate these in to observations and theories (Jordan 1995: 7).

Based on a presentation of a policy implementation framework and two different approaches, it is evident that policy implementation can be studied from different perspectives and one perspective is not necessarily better than another. Analysts holding separate lenses are however most likely to see quite different things. They are different ways of grasping the area and explain different things in terms of where policy should be made and how shortfalls should be interpreted (Jordan 1995: 30). The perspectives are not necessarily exclusive alternatives and they may both provide useful insights into an implementation process.

2.8.4 PUBLIC POLICY INSTRUMENTS AND EVALUATION

The term public policy instruments refer to the set of techniques governmental authorities use in attempting to ensure support and effect social change (Bemelmans-Videc et.al 2010:3). Policy instruments are further different forms the public authorities intervene. The choices made by different stakeholders reflect their general political and administrative strategies which represent the general aim and dominant mean of action. To go about the area of policy making and policy implementation, evaluation is crucial. I chose here to stick with the definition where evaluation is “the systematic application of social research procedures for assessing the conceptualization, design, implementation, and utility of social intervention programs” (Rossi 1993:5; Fischer 1995:2 in Bemelmans-Videc et.al 2010:6). Evaluation may refer to the product which is the policy or program, or the process of designing and implementing the policy or program. The first referring to the impact, while the latter refers to the process evaluations. Evaluation can thus relate to all phases of the policy process, from analyzing the problem and forecasting policy outcomes, through monitoring the implementation, the appraisal of actual results of the governmental intervention (ibid:7). For the purpose of this thesis, evaluation is crucial in order to be able to answer the research

question on whether the set out measures have had the desired effect. Parts of the research process have therefore been concerned on looking for evaluation of relevant policies.

Vedung presents a classification of instruments used for policy implementation. He defines what is called a tripartite instrument configuration, which are *regulation*, *economic means*, and *information*. These are referred to as the stick, the carrot and the sermon. Different use of instruments will create different effects in terms of effectiveness, efficiency, legality and democracy. Effectiveness meaning the degree of whether the goal has been achieved due to a proper use of certain instruments, and an evaluation should include possible side-effects of the used instrument. Efficiency refers to the input-output ratio of policy instrumentation, where evaluation includes the problems of implementation of programs through the devised means. Legality refers to the level of correspondence of the administrative action when designing and implementing policies with relevant formal rules and a proper administrative process. Lastly, democracy is concerned to the degree in which actions correspond with accepted norms in the relationship between government and citizens in a democratic political order (ibid:8).

The traditional instrument used by governments is regulation. This is defined as measures taken by governmental units to influence people to act in accordance with what is ordered in rules and directives. The relationship is thus authoritative, and the controlled person or group of people is obligated to act in a way that is stated by the controllers. Another instrument for implementing policies is economic policy instruments where the core is handing out or taking away material resources. According to Vedung however, the addressees are not obligated to take the measures involved. As an example of an economic policy instrument, we find subsidies which are often used in Western European countries. The last instrument which is often referred to as a more modern form of intervention, where the emphasis is on offering insights into consequences of behavior, and prevention of wrong and stimulation of the right. This is seen as a way of influencing people through knowledge and persuasion (ibid: 11).

2.8.5 SUCCESSFUL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

There are certain key factors that must be fulfilled for a policy implementation to be successful, and these are commitment, capacity and support. In terms of commitment, it is argued that even the most logical policy needs commitment from those responsible or little will happen (Warwick 1982 in AWN s.a). The other factor which is capacity is argued to be built up to be capable of delivering the policy in the given environment. Savitch (1998)

defines the term as a total structural, functional and cultural transformation of government for all available resources to achieve its policy objectives. The third factor for a successful implementation of policy which is support involves the identification of key stakeholders from a wider range of stakeholders (AWN s.a). Of the three factors, Mc Laughlin (1987) argues that even though capacity may be something that is difficult to overcome, it can be addressed through training, funding or employment of expertise. Even though it can be addressed this way however, commitment is crucial. The motivation and belief that lies behind the policy is necessary to ensure policy intervention (Mc Laughlin 1998 in AWN s.a). While the first part of this chapter has been concerned on gender research and how women can be naturally integrated into a male dominated occupation, the last part of this theoretical chapter has revolved around how policy implementation can be grasped when analyzing it in as well as necessary elements that must be present in order to achieve a set out policy objective. The framework presented can indicate that a combination of policies implemented at the top in together with a lack of commitment from those implementing it can create difficulties in successfully reaching the set goal.

3.0 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this thesis is to outline and analyze the policies set out and measures taken to meet the objective of increasing the percentage of women in the countries of comparison. As a further and interrelated question, the thesis is guided by the questions whether any of the measures have had the desired effect and whether any of the measures deal with masculinity cultures that have been identified to exist through the overall project for this thesis. The research is designed as a comparative case study, comparing Norway, Sweden and Canada. The study has heavily relied upon official documents and policy papers as well as interviews and more informal conversations with people working on relevant areas within the forces and ministry, in order to illuminate the empirical findings and to be able to connect their experiences and opinions towards the way it is presented in policy documents.

3.2 QUALITATIVE METHODS

When deciding upon a method to use for this research, qualitative methods seemed to be the most purposive method as I was seeking to compare three countries and be able to outline policies and measures taken on different levels. The qualitative research is however based on already carried out quantitative work on representative numbers of women serving in various militaries globally. While quantitative studies may highlight overview and explanation, qualitative studies ideally highlight insight and provide us with an understanding (Tjora 2010). This thesis will thus use qualitative research to understand, while existing quantitative research is used to get an overview.

A researcher's sensitivity and direction for his or her attention is affected by the tradition chosen, and within the qualitative tradition, there has been attention towards not letting theories control the research and defining the research question. Theory is rather to be used for guiding the writing of questions for an interview guide and the theoretical perspectives provide guidelines for the analysis and discussion (ibid). As I seek to get insight on policies and measures taken on different levels, a quantitative method would not have been able to provide me with what I was searching for and qualitative methods therefore seem to be most ideal for my study.

3.3 A CROSS NATIONAL – STUDY

This research is carried out as a cross national study between Norway, Sweden and Canada where the main study objectives are policy papers and informants. A similar design is deployed to look at policies taken at government level as well as measures at more local levels within the institution. By doing so, it will be possible to contrast and compare. By comparing the empirical findings, a research design like this may generate new theoretical insights (Bryman 2008: 692).

The selection of countries is based on the work done by Carreiras (2006) where Norway obviously is one of the countries, while Canada ranks highest on several of the parameters that are tested on the share of women within the military. This makes it an interesting comparison when looking for exemplary cases. Sweden is not a part of NATO, but based on it being a quite similar country as Norway it is also interesting to look there. The quantitative work done by Carreiras (2006) present a percentage of 13 of women serving in their forces, while other research present this number as lower and more similar to the situation in Norway. I have chosen to keep Sweden as a comparative country however due to the establishment of Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations outside of Stockholm, which is a milestone in gender mainstreaming in military operations. At the same time, Sweden make up an interesting example as their have practiced conscription for decades, similarly to Norway, but changed this into an all-volunteer professional force in 2010. The selection of these countries as study objectives makes it a “most similar case”, with all of them being Western democracies where gender equality is an important issue. It thus becomes interesting to see if there is a “spill-over” effect from society to the forces (Carreiras 2006: 112). While other countries such as Israel with a high portion of women serving in the forces could have been picked instead, I believe that for this purpose it would have been difficult to use such a case as exemplary due to differences in history and structure of the political system.

3.4 USING DOCUMENTS AS A SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE

A large amount of the material gathered for this study is documents in the form of policy papers, public reports and also already carried out research on some of the elements of my study. The majority of documents are however reports that are mainly produced for other purposes than research. Traditionally, document studies are seen as none- intrusive methods, as the empirics are gathered without participants involved. The use of documents as data

material for research is central within many research projects and can both be used as the only empirics within a study, or as background data and additional data. What is important with documents as material is how they give information recorded at a specific point of time and place and often with specific readers in mind (Tjora 2010).

One of the advantages by using documents that are not written for the purpose of research is how they are non-reactive; meaning that because they have not been created specifically for the purpose of social research, it is unlikely that a reactive effect will limit the validity of the data (Bryman 2008: 515). The use of these documents do however demand a critical view where the researcher needs to be aware of how many policy documents are created by policy makers with a purpose to create a belief that they are achieving the objectives they have set out to do. Reactivity may also if it occurs, naturally and unfortunately result in untypical behavior when interviewing people in high rank positions on the issue (ibid: 698)

It is important to pay attention to how documents have been written from a specific point of view with an agenda to get something across, as well as when interviewing and remember that these people are chosen due to their positions and not as private persons where their personal opinion is at the centre of attention. Public policy documents are produced for an audience to see what is being done and that something is actually being done. For my study, it is natural to believe that it is in each county's interest to create a certain image of the job done to recruit and integrate women in the militaries. As a researcher I therefore have to be careful in treating the material as an objective account of the reality, but they rather have to be explored within the context they are produced. The documents can be useful as policy tools and thus represent an aspect of policy work by the institutions.

3.5 INTERVIEWS AND INFORMANTS

In order to illuminate the findings from the documents, I chose to talk to people holding positions within the military organization and Ministry of Defense. In different ways, these positions involve responsibility on implementing a gender perspective and carrying out policies to reach the objective of an increased representation of women. I totally talked to four people. It is difficult to ensure that one's informants are representative, so while this has been the aim, the focus has also been on finding informants that are informed on the issue and with an overview of existing research and measures taken in the field. Inspired by the methodology of Dorothy Smith's institutional ethnography on "work knowledge", I have chosen to take on

this as it assumes that people are experts in their own lives, and thus able to contribute to important and desired information. Information I get through these interviews can hopefully contribute in linking experiences and opinions up against the public discourse (Deveau 2008). The sampling of informants was done by researching online and e-mailing people I found relevant to illuminate what I was looking for. This led to a “snowball method”, where the first person I communicated with suggested other relevant people for me to get in touch with. An obvious advantage here is how it gets easier to get in touch with people when you already have a contact person within the institution. On the other hand however, there is a disadvantage in how the chance of getting people who know each other and how this may limit the variation in the sampling. (Tjora 2010: 202).

Ideally and originally intended, I would have been able to meet all the people I communicated with. One of the major challenges concerning the interviews and using expert interviews was however the time available to set appointments and how many of the informants are placed in other countries and other parts of the world. This made planning crucial, and unfortunately the process became more time consuming than originally believed. Due to long processes on reaching and getting in touch with the right personnel in the Canadian Forces to talk to, as well as a long process of being allowed to visit and be able to perform an interview, in addition to a strict time table, the solution became to get some of the questions answered via e-mail and provision in getting hold of some essential documents that I would not have been able to find on my own. I also performed an interview of an employee within the Norwegian Ministry of Defense to get outlined the measures set out in Norway.

In addition to this, one interview with an informant in Sweden had to take place over the phone. I originally thought this was a satisfying way of carrying out the interview, and it also ended up being the only possible way. However, after transcribing the interview, the advantages of meeting someone in person gets quite clear where follow-up questions become easier. It is a challenging situation to be able to ask questions, listen to the answers, and extract essential themes from the answers and at the same time preparing the next question for someone without much experience in interviewing.

The interview that was performed in Sweden, was carried out as semi-structured where I had a series of questions that were presented in a general form of an interview guide. It was possible for me to change the sequence of the questions if the answers of the informants led

the theme into something I was going to ask about later. Using this type of interview technique also gave me some latitude to ask further questions as I felt was a significant reply (Bryman 2008: 699). This method is commonly used in institutional ethnography which in some sense can be seen as a methodological inspiration. The questions may be based on previous interviews and the knowledge of the interviewer of the social relations constituting the problematic under investigation. As Dorothy Smith puts it;

You have a sense of what you're after, although you sometimes don't know what you're after until you hear people telling you things...Discovering what you don't know – and don't know you don't know – is an important aspect of the process” (cited in DeVault and McCoy 2002:757 in Deveau 2008: 14).

To be able to collect the data from the interviews in the most proper way, tape recording was the best solution. I asked my informants whether this was fine with them and none of them had a problem with this. During the interview in Stockholm, I talked to two people at the same time, and tape recording was the only solution for me to be able to save any of the information the replies gave me. Not only does this facilitate analyses of the data, but it also gives a voice to the informants in published accounts of the research” (Deveau 2008: 15).

3.6 CHOICE OF METHODOLOGY

As already “dropped” in the previous sections, I have in some areas of the method for this thesis been inspired by institutional ethnography. This is a methodology commonly used within gender research and I originally intended to use it. It showed out not to be possible to use it fully due to the scope and comparative design of this thesis and I chose to use a more pragmatic approach as both quantitative and qualitative documents is the basis for my thesis, as well as how these documents are published at a certain point of time. The core of institutional methodology as a methodology is however to explore institutional relations and the ruling relations from the point of view to people that in different ways are related to these relations, through the activities they perform. By exploring these activities and how they are connected, both vertically and horizontally, a map of the social relations is created and the activities that combined make up an institutions becomes visible, together with the social relations the institution is a part of (Widerberg 2007: 19).

The term “work knowledge” is central within the understanding of the relations within an institution and is a term for the knowledge and experience a person possess within the institution and thus affect how the work is carried out. People’s experiences are used as a point of entry into exploring connections among local settings of people’s everyday life, institutional processes and trans-local ruling relations (Deveau 2008: 1). The assumption is that people are experts in how they live their lives, and the focus is on what these people can tell us about the relations they perform their activities within. The goal of institutional ethnography thus become to map, describe and explain how local experiences are being shaped by institutions, and to understand the generalizing effects of these institutions. The aim is thus to understand how different processes, activities and relations are organized around a specific function like an institution and occur in multiple sites and form part of the ruling apparatus in society (Grahame & Grahame 2000 in Wright 2003: 244).¹

In this thesis, documents in the form of policy papers will be essential for the analysis and helps understand what affects and frame the work of my informants. As qualitative research is often criticized for not being applicable and only says something about a particular situation, some of the strengths of taking on some of the aspects of institutional ethnography is how it address contexts and connect issues across multiple sites on both micro and macro levels (Wright 2003:247). In terms of this thesis, the measures taken to recruit and keep women in the various countries can be used as an opening to the institution to look at how the institutional processes shape the measures taken.

As outlined in the previous chapter, the perspectives that can be taken when analyzing policy implementation are both a top down perspective and a bottom up perspective. In accordance with work knowledge which I am inspired by, and as I believe the most ideal way to go about my findings is from a top down perspective, as my sources are both policy documents and interviews of people in high rank positions with competence on the issue. The government level and the leadership within the armed forces thus make up the base for my study.

¹ The methodology thus becomes a way of creating a picture of how our society looks from a certain standpoint and how the life and the experience of subjects located in society are being shaped by powerful outside forces, so called ruling relations (Deveau 2008:3) The ruling relations are not limited to people’s expertise within an institution, but also include language and texts. Texts function to organize and dictate social and cultural space for individuals and groups, and transport power in ideologies and practices across sites and among people. According to Foucault (1967), texts exist as elements of articulation and the power thus exist between individuals making them the vehicles of power and not its point of application (Foucault 1967:234 in Wright 2003:245).

3.7 ANALYSING THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

For the analysis of both interviews and documents, I have used a theme-based approach which may be rather diffuse, but refers to the extraction of key themes in one's data (Bryman 2008: 700). As I seek to find policies and measures taken in the countries of comparison, and by this experiences that I can connect and compare, this ended up as the logical and most ideal choice. By sorting my material thematically also forms the basis for further categorization (Tjora 2010: 203).

When reading through my document – and interview material I have looked for themes that I also was looking for when creating the interview guide and searching for relevant documents. Taking notes from the reading and marking out relevant information have been crucial. By transcribing the interviews, I ended up with much data, and since I used a semi-structured interview technique the material seemed quite chaotic. However, by focusing on themes I was able to gather the information within a thematic order and categories. After the interviews I tried to transcribe them as soon as possible, as I still remembered much of what had been said which makes the process much easier. As I still had the people I had talked to fresh in my memory, it made it easier to remember who's who when there were several informants. The advantages of recording and transcribing the interviews are many and include how it helps to correct the natural limitations of our memories and of the intuitive glosses we might put on what people say in interviews. It also allows us to go through the material more thorough. For other purposes it is ideal as it opens up to public scrutiny by other researchers, who can evaluate the analysis that is carried out by the original researcher of the data. This can help in possible accusations of misquoting or how an analysis may have been influenced by a researcher's bias or values. At last, recorded and transcribed data allows for reuse in for example the light of new theoretical ideas (Bryman 2008: 451).

When analyzing the material from the interviews it is important to reflect upon who I interviewed. In one of the interview situations there were two participants which may have affected their answer and made them more agreed than what is actually the case. Interviewing more than one person may however also contribute to more complementary answers and the informants may have reminded each other of information, relevant for the research (ibid). As my study deals with gender, I also reflected upon whether the answers came from a man or a woman.

3.8 ETHICAL PROBLEMS AND CONSIDERATIONS

The informants of my study are chosen based on the positions they hold within their institution and not based on them as private persons. As they express themselves through their positions, they were interested in participating and to share their experiences from working with increasing the share of women in the militaries. There is however a possibility that some of their opinions become more private and the fear that it could damage their professional reputation may arise. It is thus my job to make the work anonymous and ensure that there is no harm to my informants. I also gave the informants necessary information about the study in order to participate under informed consent (Bryman 2008: 121). However, in the case of this thesis, the informants are basically official persons within the area and issue they were interviewed and should therefore have a reflective attitude in what they answer. Most of the documents used in my work are also gathered from official sources and are available for everyone in the public domain. Reports that I have received from my informants are also papers that have been published, but are more difficult to find online. It has not been necessary to anonymous this material however.

3.9 REFLECTION ON RESEARCH CRITERIA IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

There are different kinds of measures to decide upon the quality, rigor and wider potential of research, which are achieved according to certain methodological and disciplinary conventions and principles. In quantitative research it is common to talk about criteria such as reliability and validity. The first referring to the degree of which a measure of a concept is stable and can be replicated and whether, if there is more than one observer, members of the research team agree about what they see and hear. The latter refers to whether there is a good match between researchers' observation and the theoretical ideas they develop and the degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings. This represents a problem for qualitative research however because of the tendency to use case studies and small samples (Bryman 2008: 377).

It is thus more relevant to talk about alternative criteria for evaluating qualitative research and many researchers are more concerned with qualitative studies' transferability. In some research project one are more concerned with illuminating or solve a specific problem, rather than to develop insights that can be deployed to a range of cases (Tjora 2010). As qualitative findings tend to focus more on depth than breadth it is more common oriented towards the contextual uniqueness and significance of the aspect of the social world being studied. What

qualitative research should focus on is thus what Geertz (1973) in Bryman (2008: 378) calls thick description, that is, rich accounts of the details of a culture.

In my study, a statistic generalization has never been a goal as I have chosen to focus on three countries of comparison. What I have been eager to explore is the policies created in these selected countries. Transferability in this case thus deals with whether the research succeeds in establishing descriptions and explanations that can be put in other contexts (Johannessen et. al 2006). If so, the research can contribute in broadening the theoretical understanding beyond the specific cases in this study. It is not my goal to establish a universal range theory, but “even a single case analysis can contribute in growth of knowledge when it is developed with reference to already accumulated knowledge in one or more local research frontiers” (Mjøset 2009: 60).

This chapter has outlined the methodological framework for the thesis with accounts of the choices made on using documents and interviews to get knowledge on the issue. I have further outlined how the methodology is inspired by institutional ethnography, while the empirical findings are analyzed through a theme-based approach. I have also presented ethic considerations and reflection on research criteria have been taken into account. With the methodological framework presented, the next chapter will go into the international framework on the issue before historical accounts and arguments for why there is a need for more women into the military is outlined.

4.0 WOMEN IN ARMED FORCES

This section will present the international framework for the connection between women and conflict through the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1820 and 1325 and the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action based on how the international aspect of the issue within this thesis is essential as the government's goal of increasing the female representation in their forces also is based on an international commitment on increasing the participation of women in international operations. The chapter then goes on to outline the historical participation of women in arms and into the arguments of why there is a need for more women entering into the military. Outlining these perspectives will create a basis before entering into the empirical findings.

4.1 THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

4.1.1 THE 1995 BEIJING DECLARATION AND PLATFORM FOR ACTION

The situation for women in conflict situations and the recognition that women are affected differently than men came with The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995, and was one of the first recognitions of women's situation. Representatives from over 180 countries gathered in Beijing for the Fourth World Conference on Women. The conference worked on legislative sessions and redefined the plan for action, on issues and concerns of women's situation at the end of the 20th century. The aim was to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women. By this, recognizing that despite progress, women do not experience equality with men and face different obstacles. Poverty is further an obstacle for improving the equality as so many women and children suffer from it (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights 1996: 2).

The Platform is not a binding treaty and cannot be enforced, and many of the countries attending the conference made reservations. It is however a consensus document, and the most comprehensive statement on issues concerning women. The document addresses issues involving problems from human rights abuses to poverty for women. The lack of a gender perspective from governmental decision-making and its makers along with educational systems for women is recognized (ibid).

The commitments of the Governments who signed the Platform are to take actions on researching gender issues and to eliminate violence against women. The Governments also recommitted themselves to the equal rights and inherent human dignity of women and men as embodied in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and other international human rights instruments. The Governments are thus committed to give equal access for women and girls to economic resources and markets, and equal enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms (ibid: 4).

4.1.2 UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1820

Further international attention on the issue can be found in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820 which was the precursor for what is later called the first international initiative to recognize women and their vulnerability during and after war, Resolution 1325. Resolution 1820 was adopted in 2008 after a long period of advocacy by civil society, UN entities and some member states. At the time being, this resolution marked a step by recognizing sexual violence as a threat towards international security and peace. Sexual violence was recognized as tactics of war and a significant link was drawn between sexual violence and women's participation and empowerment (Peace Women 2008). The resolution is recalling the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and is deeply concerned about the obstacles and challenges women are facing for full participation and involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Violence and discrimination are obstacles for women's capacity and legitimacy to contribute and take part in post-conflict public life, which has negative impact on durable peace, security and reconciliation (United Nations 2008: 2).

4.1.3 UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325

As both the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820 were precursors in the initiative of recognizing how women and men are affected differently during and after war, and to highlight the concern of women's participation, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 is viewed as the real first attempt to promote women's participation, which is the goal of the resolution in not only decision-making, but also peace processes. The resolution was unanimous adopted by all member states and was the first formal recognition of women's role in matters of peace and security. It addresses the importance of integrating a gender perspective and training in

peacekeeping, protecting women in armed conflict, and to mainstream gender issues in UN reporting systems and programs related to conflict and peace building (Bellamy and Williams 2010: 361).

The resolution is seen as unique as it takes into account that men and women are affected differently by crisis which requires a broader and more nuanced method of working in peace support operations. Women's skills must be seen and utilized, and their right to participate in social life must be recognized (United Nations 2000). What the resolution thus set out to do is to call for a gender perspective to be adopted in planning of operations and to be implemented into operations, and UN member states are committed to take action (Regeringskansliet 2010:1). One of the ways member states need to take action is to increase the participation of women in operations abroad to be able to reach out broader to civilians in areas of conflict. To be able to do so, the participation of women has to be increased in the armed forces at home.

4.2 HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ARMED FORCES

Even though the issue of women entering into armed forces is highly relevant at the moment due to international commitments and changing legislation in Norway, women are not entering into the military area for the first time in history. Women have served in different forces for several decades, and the process of military incorporation of women that has developed in most Western armies during the past four decades has focused its attention on the question of citizenship and equity regarding women's access and progression inside military structures. From a historical point of view, the right to combat and use guns on behalf of the political community was seen as one of the major acquisitions of an emergent citizenship status. Military participation was used as an instrument where certain discriminated social groups acquired civic and political rights, while others - like women were denied such rights (Carreiras 2006: 65).

In Canada, the participation of women in the forces can be traced way back as far as to the nations' earliest days. Women participated in the North West Rebellion in the Indian Territories from 1885 until the 1980's. The highest number of women serving their country was during the Second World War, when nearly 46,000 were in service. Women were at this point mostly employed in typical female occupations like administration, communications, logistics and medical support roles and combat roles were reserved men (Hope s.a). In

Sweden, female participation in the military started in the early 1990's, but for a long time only in civil services. Women were first allowed to apply for other services in the military in 1980. Another nine years had to pass before women were allowed to serve within all occupations (Försvarsmakten 2012a).

In Norway, the Second World War represented a turning point for women as many contributed in occupations that had been reserved for men, like intelligence agents, and in 1942, the Norwegian government in London introduced forced military service for all Norwegian women who stayed in the United Kingdom as there was a need for working labor. This was however revoked in 1945, after 500 women had served their country through this arrangement (Carreiras 2006). What this history tells us is that the participation of women has been present for decades, but an event such as a war increases the participation making women more or less a reserve army in the labor market.

4.3 WHY DO WE NEED MORE WOMEN IN THE MILITARY?

There is not a lack of soldiers to enlist for service in Norway as only one third of conscripts actually perform their initial service and based on this situation, one might ask why there is a need for more women in the military and why major resources are put into reaching this objective. It is not the mandate of this thesis to argue for why militaries should recruit more women, but it is however essential to be able to understand the broader picture for why this is even an issue. The international framework is already presented and constitutes one of the perspectives. However, the thesis would be incomplete without a presentation of the main arguments for female participation found by the military themselves and by politicians. These arguments can be summarized into categories of a need for diversity, justice, democracy and legitimacy. Resources and efficiency arguments as well as gender equality as a political symbolic will also be outlined.

A need for diversity

In order to understand the objective of increasing the percentage of women, the diversity argument is quite crucial, as it is argued that a lack of diversity may result in a minority, in this case the military women adjusting to the expectations and demands of the surroundings (Ellingsen et.al 2008 in Steder 2013). Many women adapt and become 'one of the boys', to avoid lack of respect and often an overbearing sexual attitude from male colleagues. Women may thus compromise themselves and the stereotypical view from men on female

participation in the military maintains (Steder 2013). The argument for diversity can further be seen in relation to society and the need to represent the whole population, and not only men.

Justice, democracy and legitimacy

The goal of more women can also be seen in a perspective on justice, democracy and legitimacy. In a gender equal society, both burdens and benefits for the citizens should be shared somewhat equally between men and women (Steder 2013). The justice and legitimacy argument is based on women and men having the same duties and rights in a society when exercising power. As the armed forces are in a special position when it comes to exercising power, it is argued that women and men should thus have the same influence on this.

Resource arguments and change in skills needed

Women and men have different values, interests and priorities, and with more women entering into male dominated environments it will thus bring with it new perspectives, problem solutions, opportunities and insights that might promote the productivity and efficiency. Within this perspective of benefits of diversity, the armed forces should recruit from the whole population to ensure the society's values and experiences. An organization can more easily adapt to changes in functions and tasks with a broader range of employees. The range of variation in tasks of a country's military also demands a variation in intellect and physical capacity, as modern forces also demand knowledge and skills in technology among other new areas (Forsvarsdepartementet 2007 in Steder 2013: 28). The Norwegian Armed Forces has undergone a massive restructure from an "invasion defense force" into a more modern task-force. This change affects all areas within the defense sector and has strengthened the Norwegian Defense' operational ability. With modern and high technological materials, demands and skills needed have changed and it does no longer only have to do with carrying heavy equipment (Forsvarsdepartementet 2012-2013).

Diversity vs. Efficiency

As a counterpart to the arguments presented above for increased diversity in the military, theories of migration, welfare, organizational and education are looking at negative effects of increased diversity as well as positive effects for intellectual and physical capacity. As mentioned, diversity may affect productivity and efficiency in the organizational community, both positively and negatively. One of the main challenges with increased diversity is the risk

of a greater level of conflicts between the participants however. (Steder 2013: 29). Even though this is an ascertainment, it is however not a good enough argument by itself as it would involve keeping women and men separate in all working environments to avoid any conflict, an argument that would probably never be used in other more common occupations in society.

Can women be better suited than men in some positions?

As the traditional argumentation has evolved around men being better suited for the military than women, substantial evidence done over the years in Sweden on Swedish women's performances and experiences as conscripts and officers and the effect of having women serving in peacekeeping operations, have shown that women can live up to the requirements within all areas within the forces. Within some positions, research has shown that women may actually be better suited than men. Lessons learned from conflicts in Bosnia and Cambodia has shown that female participation in the peacekeeping forces exhibit more confidence from the local populations. According to research of female participation, there is an increased likelihood to succeed in establishing long lasting peace and stability, if the level of female participants are over 30 percent (Swedish Department of Defense 2004:13 in Gustafsson 2006: 6).

4.4 INCREASED FEMALE PARTICIPATION AS POLITICAL SYMBOLIC

As gender equality is an issue that gains more and more attention within many aspects of society in western democracies, it is natural to ask the question whether much of the political action is a result of political symbolic, more than a true desire to meet a certain objective. The countries for this comparative analysis do all have gender equality as a cornerstone within their societies, and in Norway it can currently be traced to issues such as parental leave in addition to the debate of increasing the female participation in the country's armed forces. The current Minister of Defense, as well as the two preceding ministers has argued for the need of a higher percentage of women in the forces, using many of the arguments presented above of how women and men should have the same rights, duties and opportunities in the society. They also argue that no organization created today would have been introduced as a duty for only men and not women. Further arguments used by political leaders involve the need for increased diversity, which does not only involve gender, but also ethnicity and how changes in the modern forces have led to the need for a broader recruitment base.

Military leaders argue that there is a need for women into the armed forces because of new security issues and to ensure the military organization's access to various competences. Political leaders on the other hand use arguments of the need for the forces to be in line with the rest of the society. Some of the politician's arguments can be seen as symbolic rather than a true belief in the politic in terms of how the forces needs to reflect a gender equal and multicultural Norwegian society. As the theoretical framework has already presented, true commitment is crucial for a policy to be successfully implemented, and it will be difficult to achieve the goal if it is only set out to give a certain impression (Skjelsbæk et.al 201: 70).

5.0 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING

This chapter outlines the empirical findings gathered through the document study, a interview in Sweden and two interviews taken over phone, and will create the background for the discussion that follows. The first section will present basic statistics from the countries of comparison with the numeric representation of women in the various armed forces, the gender equality within these countries and the gender division in the labor market. Further, the chapter will present a table of available measures in the areas of recruitment and retention of women in the forces and on what levels these measures have been taken. The chapter then goes further into these categories where initiatives have been taken. After summarizing these findings, highlights are presented which I find to be purposeful before entering into a discussion where the theoretical framework will be useful in the understanding of the findings. The research questions set out for the thesis will based on this be answered throughout the chapter and further summarized at the end.

5.1 BASIC STATISTICS

The table below presents basic statistics which I believe are purposeful to outline before entering into the further empirical findings. As an organization heavily effected by men and masculine cultures, the military have not been in line with the rest of the society in many western countries in terms of gender equality. The variables thus look at gender equality and division in both the country otherwise as well as within the military, in addition to possible restrictions in occupations for women.

TABLE 1: BASIC STATISTICS

	CANADA	SWEDEN	NORWAY
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN SERVING	14,8 %	8-13 % *	8-9 %
RESTRICTIONS	None	None	None
INTERNAL GENDER DIVISION	Yes	Yes	Yes
GENDER EQUALITY GAP REPORT	Nr. 21	Nr. 4	Nr 3
DIVIDED LABOR MARKET	Yes	Yes	Yes
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	7, 1 %	8 % (24,2 %)**	3,5 %

Representation of women serving in the various militaries by percentage

The representation of women serving in the countries' armed forces is the basis for this thesis, and Norway has the lowest representation with it's between 8 and 9 percent of women (Forsvarsdepartementet 2012-2013). Sweden on the other hand has around 13 percent women serving in their arms (Försvaksmakten 2012a)*. This is however debatable as both my informants and other research present this number as closer to the situation in Norway. Canada is however an undisputed world leader in terms of their proportion of women serving in various occupations with 14, 8 percent (National Defence and the Canadian Forces 2013a).

Restrictions for women in military occupations

The issue of restrictions in occupations for women will be outlined later in this chapter. None of the countries for this analysis do however have any formal restrictions in the various military occupations.

Internal gender division in occupations and ranking

A challenge with regard to performing a comparative analysis is to find equal measurement parameters, and of the numbers found for this section it has not been possible to find the exact same statistic variables for all the countries. These numbers will thus show indications within each military organization. Numbers show that of within the Canadian Forces, both regular and reserved, the percentage of women who are flag officers are on average based on the numbers from the army, air force, navy and reserves 5, 3 percent, while the percentage increased as it went further down in ranking. Among female junior officers, the number was 18, 9 percent on average (Canadian Forces 2011).

The numbers from Sweden show that of regular officers, women make up 4, 9 percent and 8, 6 percent of special officers. Within civilian services, 37, 8 percent are women (Peace Women 2011). Numbers from the Norwegian armed forces show that the share of women who serve range in the different branches from 6, 5 percent women in the National Guard to 9 percent in the air force. In the army, the percentage of women is 8, 8 percent and 8, 5 percent in the navy. Within the armed forces' logistics organization, 6, 5 percent of those employed are women. In the other areas combined, women make up a percentage of 13, 3 percent. Women who met to serve their conscription in 2012 were 10 percent. Of the students who

was admitted to basic military training, 15, 3 percent were women and among the cadets at the military academy, women made up 11, 1 percent in 2012 (Forsvaret 2013a).

Ranking on the gender equality gap report

A natural assumption in regard to the representation of women in a country's armed forces may be that the more gender equal the society is, the higher percentage of women in the forces, a so-called spill-over effect from society. Based on the *The Global Gender Gap Report of 2012*, the results show that, not surprisingly, all the countries for this comparison are ranked relatively high on the index which is a global snapshot with 135 countries covered and over 90 percent of the world's population is represented. The result focuses on measuring gaps, and not levels of gender equality in the particular country. The report is also concerned on capturing gaps in outcome variables and not the gaps in means or input variables. It is also in order to mention how the report ranks the countries based on gender equality and not women's empowerment. The gap is further examined through the categories of economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment. As this table shows, Norway is the leader of the three countries in terms of an overall assessment of the variables mentioned above with Sweden just behind and with Canada being ranked as 21. Norway received a score of 0, 8403 while Sweden had a score of 0, 8159. Canada's score was 0, 7381, while Yemen who was ranked at the bottom of the countries scored 0, 5054 (The Global Gap Report 2012).

Gender divided labor market

It is a challenge to get precisely comparative statistics from several countries, but it is possible to get indicators of the gender division that exist in the countries. The thesis will go into more detailed data regarding the position the defense holds in the labor markets later, an aspect that may possess a crucial factor in women and men's choice of career. Presenting the situation in the labor market is thus highly relevant as this may pose a spill-over effect from society into the forces.

The case of Canada reveals a situation where women to a larger extent than men are excluded from blue collar jobs. Public services in Canada employ 29 percent of all women compared to 17 percent of men. In the community social services, the number for women is in addition even higher. These jobs often involve part-time and temporary employments and are often low-paid. The gap between men and women's payment also seem to be increasing, even

though more women than men are becoming highly educated, and the gender pay gap in Canada is the fifth greatest in the advanced industrial (OECD) countries (Canadian Labour s.a)

In Sweden, the situation between men and women in the labor market presents a reduction in the gap, but the market is still characterized by gender imbalances, where women and men almost work to the same extent, but holds different positions. Of all working women, almost half are employed within the public sector in education, health care and social services. Of all working men, almost 80 percent are employed in the private sector and holds more senior positions than women. In the private sector, 77 percent of all managers are men, while only 18 percent on the boards of listed companies are women (Regeringskansliet 2009:3).

Norway does not differ much from the other countries in terms of having a gender segregated labor market. Part-time employees make up 25 percent of the total work force in Norway and out of these, 75 percent are women. When looking at the total number of all working women, 43 percent of these work part-time. These occupations are as already presented, often low paid and women become unfortunate in the labor market compared to men in terms of wage, insurances and retirement (Kanestrøm 2013).

The countries unemployment rate

A logical assumption is that the unemployment rate within a country may affect the role of the armed forces in the labor market. If the unemployment rate is high, the armed forces may be seen as an alternative way to get a job, and it may become an attractive employer. Based on this I have chosen to present the various countries unemployment rate in the table above. Norway is the country with the lowest unemployment rate out of the three and it is currently on 3, 5percent (Eurostat 2013). Sweden has a relatively higher percentage with 8 percent of total unemployed citizens in the labor force (ibid). The situation for those under 24 years old is however somewhat more dramatic where unemployment among those under 24 years old is 24, 2 percent (UNRIC 2012) **. As enlisting into professional arms is mainly among the young ones, this is an interesting issue in the case of Sweden. The unemployment rate in Canada is a little under Sweden and makes up 7, 1 percent (Statistics Canada 2013).

5.2 STRUCTURE AND POLITICS ON DIVERSITY IN THE NORWEGIAN SOCIETY

To put the empirical findings into a broader framework for work on gender equality and to categorize the measures found, the Norwegian Public Reports on structure and politics for equality (NOU 2011: 18 & NOU 2012:15) become a natural starting point to look at, as these reports not only present the challenges within the Norwegian society in respect to the issue, but they also come up with suggested measures for improvement. The aim of the reports is to create the basis for a comprehensive and knowledge based gender equality politics for the future and to discuss the basics for Norwegian politics on gender equality, and come up with suggestions for measures to adopt. Protection against discrimination and proactive tasks are the government's responsibility, and there is a legislative ban against discrimination based on a number of reasons including gender.

Politics on gender equality is fragmented within the Norwegian Government, meaning that there exists a mixture of the principle of sector responsibility and strategies of integration. The sector responsibility principle involves all units, sectors and management levels in their own areas to have the responsibility to promote gender equality. Integration strategy means that the work to promote gender equality shall be integrated into the daily work, at all levels and in decision-making processes. As gender equality and anti-discrimination is a separate legal field, it is at the same time of relevance within all sectors, ranging from health and family issues to justice and defense (NOU 2011: 18 & NOU 2012:15).

The Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion has been responsible for the creation of gender equality politics, while it at the same time is responsible for family politics. In comparison to other European countries, this structure is more stable as the area is organized at a central level, while other countries keep gender equality as an area that is easily moveable. The Ministry in Norway has however not been given the superior responsibility over other ministries in questions regarding gender equality. The ministry is rather of a coordinating character with the ministry being a promoter for the goals set and to coordinate these across the other ministries, including the Ministry of Defense. According to the report, the sector responsibility principle is not sustainable by itself, and it claims it to lead to an abrogation of responsibility rather than placing responsibility. It is thus suggested to establish a clear authority in the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, and give the department supervisory responsibility of the tasks set by the gender equality legislation. An

establishment of a directorate is thus suggested. Reports and action plans are also suggested to be created for a time period of 10 years and not three to five which is the case today (ibid). The table below is based on the empirical findings in this thesis as well as the framework from the presented reports on *Politics for equality*, The Norwegian Public Report 2012: 15 and *Structure for Equality*, The Norwegian Public Report 2011: 18. Within this reports, measures for increased gender equality are presented and thus become available measures to look at within the case of a country's forces in the work of recruiting and retaining women. The reports provide general gender equality areas, and measures presented may be transmitted into an organization like the forces.

Many of the areas presented in the reports are of relevance in a defense sector perspective, including education and gender divided labor, working conditions and working environment, care taking, economic differences and harassment and violence. Gender divided labor market is a factor that may contribute to maintain typical stereotypical view of what is typical occupations for men and women. Segregation may thus reproduce itself and is a category it would be natural to look at. Education as a category involves conditions like inequalities in learning situations and dropping out of school. These are factors that are different for girls and boys, as girls get better graded in school than what boys do, and since the 1980's, more women than men have attended universities. When looking at factors that contribute in the recruitment and retention of women into forces, the education aspect thus becomes essential. As many women still carry the largest burden at home, working conditions and time spent at work are essential when recruiting into the forces. These factors cannot be seen as an expression of individual adjustments, but it rather has structural assumptions following institutional patterns. The working environment is further essential for any employee's well-being and gendered inequalities in working conditions is also gendered differences in absence of sickness. Caretaking falls somewhat under this category as women still use more of their parental leave than what men do and women take on more responsibility that is difficult to reconcile with a full employment (NOU 2012: 15).

Economic differences between women and men can be seen as a result of the divided labor market where part time employment is a gendered working category contributing to women earning 66 percent of what men do (NOU 2012: 15). Parental leave traditionally keep women away from their job in a longer period than what it does for men and affect the wage development. To smooth out this inequality, it is interesting to look at whether any measures

have been taken in this area to attract more women in both the recruitment process and the retention process. The report also deals with the area of harassment and violence, where young women are far more exposed than men. This is a highly crucial area for action within the forces as the organization is both dominated by men and contain young women through conscription and officer education (ibid). Other measures found in the table below are categorized due to the data collected through the work of this thesis. The data have been collected through thoroughly work and are the categories the documents have presented and focused on. These are also categories and measures that have been presented as the most central by my informants.

TABLE 2: MEASURES AND LEVELS OF ACTION

C: Canada S: Sweden N: Norway

	INDIVIDUAL	GROUP/TROOPS	SOLDIERS REPRESENTATIVES	LOCAL LEADERSHIP	NATIONAL LEADERSHIP	GOVERNMENT	INTERNATIONAL	ENSHRINED IN LEGISLATION
ACTION PLANS					CSN	CSN	CSN	
GOALS OF FEMALE PARTICIPATION					CSN	CSN		C
QUOTAS								N
POSITIVE SPECIAL TREATMENT								CS
CONSCRIPTION OR PROFESSIONAL			N			SN		
STRUCTURAL INITIATIVES					CSN	CSN		
HARRASMENT POLICIES					CSN	CSN		
SANCTIONS					CS			
REPORTING SYSTEMS					CSN			
SPECIFIC POSITIONS						CSN	CSN	
UNIFORM CHANGES	N			N	CSN			
EQUIPMENT					CSN	CN		
PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS					CSN	CN		
FAMILY INITIATIVES					CSN	CSN		
CAREER DEVELOPMENT					C			
RECRUITING				N	CSN	CSN		
REPUTATION PRODUCTION					CSN	CSN		
INCENTIVES					S*			
EDUCATION					S	N		

*Initiative through the Swedish Employment Dissemination

5.3 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

5.3.1 ACTION PLANS AND GOALS OF FEMALE PARTICIPATION

All the countries of comparison have an obligation to follow the international framework and to implement the United Nations resolutions for women, peace and security as presented in the previous chapter. As it has been recognized that one way to start implementing Resolution 1325 is by increasing the participation of women in international operations, the action has to start at home by increasing the overall representation of women in the armed forces. Through the research on actions taken towards this goal, action plans have been found on different levels. These are governmental action plans to meet the obligations of the United Nations, action plans developed by the government for the work in their own armed forces and action plans developed by the national forces on how to meet the challenges and to follow up their obligations towards their host government. Action plans is a way to make sure the organization's vision becomes visible and specific. Strategies to meet its objectives are described and steps towards action or changed are presented. In this respect, different action plans represent an understanding of an objective and is an important tool towards the goal, if followed up as intended.

Canada

The representation of women in the Canadian Forces is set based on the availability of women in the Canadian labor market. In 2010, the Canadian Forces Employment Equity Plan indicated an overall goal of 25, 1 percent women. Gender integration is implemented under the Canadian Employment Equity Act, and the forces are obligated to commit to adopt proactive measures that will make the military inclusive for both men and women. The goals are further reviewed by the Canadian Human Rights Commission and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, a department within the Government of Canada (Canadian Forces 2009:1). The Canadian Forces are in addition to this obligated to follow Canadian law and the policies set out for gender equality through female participation and integration. Core values of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law are to be followed. The Forces are through the equity plan obligated to keep pace with changing demographics and a more diverse society overall. Being a member of the UN also carries with it commitments to implement the resolutions, in this regard the UN Security Council Resolutions 1820 and 1325.

The Defence Council in Canada decided during the 1960's that women would still be employed in the forces, but the positions that would be occupied by women were limited to 1.500, equivalent 1, 5 percent of the forces. Positions within combat arms, at remote locations and at sea were still forbidden. During the next years, more positions were opened up for women and in 1967, 19 percent of all occupations had opened up. During the 1970's, a real change started with the report of the Royal Commission on the status of women, and its recommendations started a process of a broader inclusion of women to the Canadian forces. In 1974, 67 percent of all occupations were opened up, and three years later, 4.405 women were serving, representing 5, 6 percent of the total force (Canadian Forces 2011).

In 1978, the Canadian Human Rights Act was passed, and discrimination based on gender was forbidden. In addition, two trials were tailored to identify potential benefits and limitations of women serving within all occupations in the forces. With the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ordering all obstacles to be removed and to integrate women fully into all occupations in 1989, with the exception of submarines, the situation changed. The Minister's Advisory Board on Women in the Canadian Forces was established, which later become the Minister's Advisory Board on Gender Integration in the Canadian Forces. A complete integration of women was ordered to be achieved by 1999, with the advisory board annually reporting to the National Defence with observations and recommendations towards a full integration of women. In 1991, 240 servicewomen participated in the Persian Gulf crisis, a number that makes up 6, 7 percent of the total armed forces. In 1995 the percentage had increased to 11 of the regular and 22 of the primary reserve forces (Hope s.a: 3).

In 1994, a committee for increased participation of women within the Canadian Forces was established by the Chief of Defence Staff. The committee has since its establishment worked on several initiatives for ensuring that the Canadian Forces attracts women to its occupations and at the same time are able to retain the number of women already in the forces. The initiatives taken make up the "nine point plan", which has later become to be known as the Minerva plan. These include:

- Affirmation of commitment to gender integration from Canadian forces leadership (communications plan development (explain requirement for information on developments to the field))

- Gender awareness education (explain that old habits die hard and even though most think we are aware there is too much “I didn’t know, I didn’t know)”
- Trend analysis to identify systematic barriers (such as anomalies in rank progression, engagement methods, evaluation comparisons etc)
- Improving geographical (posting) stability (with the cost of living and the number of spouses the work forces, more stability is required)
- Facilitating discharge of family obligations (such as child and elderly parent care programs) (These are major dissatisfiers that disrupt family life if not resolved)
- Modifying recruiting methods (how can service life be made more attractive to women)
- Developing a mentoring system (leaders have to become more active in developing the talents of their subordinates)
- Evaluating establishment positions with respect to operation versus support necessity (most senior positions are classified as operator positions but as most women are in the support occupations there is little opportunity for them to advance because lack of positions for support occupations) and;
- Networking with other government departments and civilian businesses to ensure internal human resource practices are current and valid.

(Hope s.a: 3).

This framework for ongoing efforts toward gender integration is being coordinated by Director Personnel Policy (Davis 1996: 14).

Sweden

One step in favor of gender equality in the Swedish forces was in 1980 taken by the Swedish parliament when women were allowed to undergo voluntarily basic training in the Air Force. This was however under the conditions that they had the ambition to continue their career as officers. In 1983, this decision expanded and now also included different positions within the Army and the Navy. In 1989, all occupations were opened up to women. In 1994, women were given the possibility to undergo basic military training as conscripts, without the

condition that they had to express an interest in continuing their career as officers (Gustafsson 2006: 4).

The Swedish Government was one of the first UN member countries developing a national action plan in following up the international framework from the United Nations. The action plan for the period from 2009 – 2012 introduces activities on the national, regional and global level. The first action plan introduced in 2006 is drawn up by a working group within the government offices, with guiding from government agencies, NGO's research institutions, international organizations as well as other countries. Sweden regards itself as a proactive country in developing Resolution 1325 and presents their initiatives are presented within the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), where Sweden appoint gender advisors in operations. Within the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), an expert is sent to the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (Swedish Government 2009:7).

The Action Plan recognizes that the proportion of women in civilian and military crisis management operations must increase, and that the need is on all levels. This involves more women in management and decision-making positions. The measures the government has set out are to increase the proportion of women who participate in international peace-support and security-building operations and for operations to be implemented with a gender perspective. Further on, the aim is to strengthen the protection of women and girls in conflict situations. The third prioritized measure involves how women in conflict areas shall participate fully and on equal terms with men at all levels in mechanisms and institutions for conflict prevention, crisis management, peace-building, humanitarian operations and other initiatives during a post-conflict phase (Swedish Government 2009: 9).

The Swedish Action plan involves implementation of the resolution on gender, peace and security on the national, regional and global level. For it to be fully implemented on the two later, it must first be fully implemented on the national level. Efforts here concerns the ministries that are engaged in peace-support, security-building activities, human rights and equality issues, including Ministries of Defense and agencies that train and develop personnel to international operations. This is primarily the Swedish Armed Forces. In order to get an increased share of women to participate in international peace-support and security operations, the plan sets out to work on issues as recruitment, where the proportion of women

needs to be ensured and become a prioritized task at all levels and in different positions. The action plan recognizes that the recruitment base for military peace keeping and security building operations are quite small, and that the proportion of women in international operations shall be greater than the proportion of women in equivalent groups in national activities. To ensure more female candidates who are identified and nominated for senior positions in international operations, a process of nominations for several candidates within senior positions in regional and international organizations, at least one female candidate is to be sought (Swedish Government 2009: 12). It is set out in the action plan that the government shall cooperate with agencies that deploy personnel to exchange information, knowledge and experiences on issues regarding the UN Resolution. The Gender Force project shall ensure this and works as a network on the issue. Cooperation with research institutions is further emphasized for the purpose of gathering information and contributes to the spread of relevant research within the field (Swedish Government 2009:24).

The Swedish Armed Forces action plan for gender equality for the period of 2012 – 2014 describe a range of areas in which the forces are working towards the goal of more women into the forces. The work to follow up the UN Resolution and the national plan is to be carried out through visits at local schools, the Human Resource Centre and MHS Karlberg which is one of two of the armed forces' military academies for basic military training. The focus of the action plan is towards structural and organizational obstacles in the work for increased gender equality, and sets out to improve the conditions for women and men to combine work with family life and that parental leave won't prevent or set back the development of wage, competence or career. The action plan is concerned in regard to get all employees to recognize that gender integration must be implemented at all levels. This is seen as particularly important for leaders to realize. The perspective of gender must be kept in mind in all part of decision-making and before decisions are made, the consequences of these decisions for women contra men must be considered. The goal of the forces is that the gender perspective becomes integrated in both national and international operations. This is to ensure the benefits not only for women and girls, but also for men and boys. The belief here is that by integrating this perspective in planning and the follow-up of soldiers, the operational effect will increase in the areas of inserts, and contribute to an increased protection of human rights (Försvarsmakten 2012b:6).

Norway

The Norwegian legislation allowed women into officer training in 1976 and in 1983 women were given equal rights as men to serve their initial year in the forces. In 1985, full gender equality in the military was resolved by the Norwegian parliament and in 2006 voluntarily session for women was established. In 2010, this was changed to session duty. In June 2010, the Parliament resolved gender neutral conscription (Forsvaret 2013b). In 1995 the Norwegian Solveig Krey became the first female submarine captain in the world and in 1998, Ingrid Gjerde in Telemark kompani became the first female chief of department in an operation abroad (Bosnia). Norwegian female soldiers thus represent a milestone for many women in armed forces (Forsvaret 2011).

Through Stortingsmelding 36 (2006-2007), the Norwegian Government presents the need for a more modern and flexible armed force who can handle a wide range of tasks. The goal of the Norwegian ministry is to increase the participation of women within conscripts, officers and those enlisted. The challenges are divided into three categories, which is the recruitment of women, the retention of women, and to get women in chief positions within the forces. The overall goal is that both genders shall be equally represented at all levels within the Norwegian Forces. As there are no longer any formal obstacles for women, the goal of 20 percent women among officers and those enlisted by 2020, this goal is presented as realistic. The goal of 15 percent women within 2008 was not reached however (Stortingsmelding 36 2006-2007).

The Norwegian Ministry acknowledges that they have an obligation in increasing the participation of women in their international operations as this will strengthen the forces and make them better endowed to communicate with civilians. In 2006, the Minister of Defence created *Utvalg for høyere kvinneandel i Forsvaret* (Committee for increased percentage of women in the Forces). The committee consisted of representatives from The Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, Centre for women and gender research, women's voluntarily emergency and representatives from the military and civilian labor union together with staff from the Norwegian forces. The report consists of a range of measures to increase the share of women into the forces, to retain women and to get more women into chief positions. In addition to this, there has been a focus on attitude creating activities, leadership programs for women and an establishment of a unit working on gender equality within the forces (Stortingsmelding 36 2006-2007).

5.3.2 QUOTAS AND POSITIVE SPECIAL TREATMENT AS A TOOL

When gathering data for this thesis both through the interviews and document analysis, I have looked for measures that involve the use of quotas or positive special treatment to meet the objective of more women entering into the forces.

Canada

In the case of Canada, the Joint Command and Staff Program who prepares selected senior officers of the Defense Team for command and staff appointments in the contemporary operating environment across operations both nationally and internationally, five extra seats is every year since 2000 been reserved for women as an initiative to meet the barriers they are facing in turns of their career development (National Defence and the Canadian Forces 2013a:2). Positive discrimination is known as employment equity in Canada and as outlined previous in this chapter, the gender integration in the Canadian Forces in under the Employment Equity Act, where the forces is obligated to take proactive measures in the area of gender equality within its organization. Policies shall thus be implemented to benefit an underrepresented group in area of employment (Canadian Forces 2009:1).

Sweden

According to the Swedish Discrimination law (2008-567) paragraph 7-9 which set the base for the work concerning the deployment of people who is of the underrepresented gender, these people shall be given the opportunity to apply for available positions when there is not an equal distribution women and men in a certain type of work or occupation (Försvarsmakten 2012b:5). According to one of the informants, quotas for women is after Swedish law forbidden and they are not allowed to use this as a tool to get more women into the military. What is used is instead positive special treatment which involves that the Swedish Forces cannot recruit a group where a certain amount of positions are earmarked. What they are allowed to do however is that as long as certain requirements are fulfilled to be able to join a certain unit, the forces are allowed to prioritize people even though others have more merits on their list. As long as the basic requirements are fulfilled, they are allowed to do this.

Norway

From a Norwegian perspective this has been an effective initiative to increasing the female participation. Since 2006, a 40 percent quota for the underrepresented gender on boards in

public corporations has been enshrined in Norwegian legislation, effectively increasing the percentage of women. The aim is to recruit women into positions they are qualified to perform and to make sure they are not only a few tokens (Regjeringen 2011).

In terms of using quotas for women in the armed forces, this is used in the Norwegian Arms. As the goal of the Norwegian Forces was a minimum of 25 percent female students who attended officer training schools from the period of 2005 till 2008, this percentage were thus reserved women. The Norwegian Government wants this quota to involve the Norwegian Military Academy and the Staff Academy as well. At the Norwegian Defence University College who is the highest military educational institution in Norway, and is like other public institutions obligated to work actively, targeted and systematic towards gender equality within all areas. In the action plan for the Norwegian Armed Forces, a committee for gender equality is established whose mandate is to follow up the action plan and list of measures. This list consist of several initiatives, and among them a measure in the area of employment of civilians. If one gender is underrepresented in a particular field in the organization, the job announcement can search for candidates of a certain gender. Within the employment of military personnel, a moderate form of quotas is used in the work of hiring new employees (Forsvarets høyskole 2011b).

5.3.3 CONSCRIPTION OR ALL ENLISTED ARMS

Canada

The countries of comparison represent different procedures in terms of how soldiers are picked for service. While the Canadian armed forces is a professional all-volunteer service, and have been so for years where both women and men have to apply, the country adopted compulsory enlistment of citizens for military service during the two world wars as a result of shortage of troops (Francis et.al 2009).

Sweden

Sweden and Norway in comparison have historically had the same conscription practice for years, but on July 1st 2010, the military service that was introduced in 1901 ended in Sweden. The service had been winding down for year and during conscription, only those expressing a want to serve were picked to serve for about 11 months. The decision was taken by the Swedish parliament and government in 2009 while it at the same time was decided to change some of the traditional strict neutrality and allow participation in more international military

operations. Presented in a speech by the Swedish Supreme Commander, the change to an all-volunteer force was due to a changing international picture with new challenges (Försvarsmakten 2012d) Even though this change has not been a result of the goal of more female soldiers, the change has led to a larger relative proportion of women according to the informants. When they had the conscription, all men were tested while women had to actively apply. Women then made up around 5 percent, while the percentage of those going into basic military training is between 14 and 18 percent today. During the interview, this was no due to more women applying now, because the woman who apply, have always applied. It is rather a result of fewer men and the male competition has decreased (Interview 2013).

Norway

Norway on the other hand has as lately as in June 2013 adopted gender neutral conscription, being the only country in Europe practicing conscription for both genders. Women have been given the right to officer training since 1976, and have also been given the right to serve as conscripts since 1983. In 1985, the Parliament resolved full labor equality between women and men within the military (Stortingsmelding 36:2006-2007). In 2007, voluntarily session for women was established, while this was changed to session duty in 2010. The government present the measure as two folded in its importance. The first argument they use is how conscription only for men is not reflecting society and citizens shall have the same rights and duties, regardless of their gender. The other argument is based on how the military need to recruit the best, and there is a need for diversity. According to the Minister of Defense, one half of the population cannot be left out in order for this to happen. The aim of this measure is to increase the percentage of women, and put in the words of the Minister of Defense; *“Today, women who apply to serve in the military are being asked why. By introducing conscription for both genders, I hope that in the future, it will arouse more attention if a woman doesn't wish to serve”* (Forsvarsdepartementet 2013)

As gender neutral conscription has been a goal for both the prior ministers of defense as well as the current minister, it is worth outlining how this also has been presented as a necessary measure by the Trustee arrangement within the military for several years. This organization represents soldiers serving their conscript and in cooperation between these and the leadership within the forces. The need for better integration of both genders has been on their agenda for years. The Trustee arrangement has highlighted the need for clearing any ambiguities that exist, as well as providing women with a realistic picture of how they will be treated when

joining the forces. Their action plan for the period of 2012 to 2014 emphasize how the forces will be served by a culture characterized by inclusion, and that this will be an important step to facilitate for an increased share of women into the forces. When the government voted towards gender neutral conscription in 2008, the organization was clear on how it was a totally necessary measure and a prerequisite to continue the arrangement of conscription. This empirical finding highlights how the wish for more gender equality existed within the organization and among the young soldier. Being a representative voice for the soldiers and the connection up towards local and central leadership, this is a measure that not only existed at the top of the organization, but is thus also found at the bottom (Tillitsmannsordningen i Forsvaret 2012).

5.3.4 STRUCTURAL INITIATIVES

The term structural is not necessary very specific, but for the purpose of this section I have categorized the measures found that are arrangements within reporting systems and the creation of specific gender positions into structural initiatives.

Canada

In Canada, anti-harassment programs and committed senior management is set out to work towards a reduction. If this is to occur however, guidelines for Harassment Prevention and Resolution have been developed. The guidelines constitute a policy document in which its intention is to address and resolve situations. If a complaint of harassment is received, the responsible officer has to perform a situational assessment in order to determine the appropriate course of action. According to the Canadian Forces, part of this assessment is a determination to whether the situation falls under the definition of harassment. If a situation is defined as harassment, members who have a history of performing these actions are not considered for a posting outside Canada (National Defence and the Canadian Forces 2013b).

The governance framework for diversity and employment equity within the Canadian Armed Forces consist of the Defense Diversity Council who is responsible for making recommendations to the Deputy Minister and the Chief of Defense Staff in questions regarding diversity policies and practices. The Canadian Armed Forces is further a supporter of the Defense Employment Equity Advisory Group for each of the four groups created by the Employment Equity Act. One of these groups are the Defense Women's Advisory

Organization whose goal is to provide advice and insights for leaders on employment equity issues, both nationally and internationally (National Defence 2013: 4).

Sweden

The Swedish Armed Forces have created a written reporting system for all incidents of a harassing character. No matter what the reason might be, a report must be filed where both parts are called to talk to an employee working with the issue. Leaders in all units within the forces are sent to seminars every year to be educated in how to deal with these cases. If cases repeat themselves, it has to be documented, even though it would turn out only to be a misunderstanding to prevent it to become a tangling of separate incidents. If both parts of the conflict are in the same unit, the Swedish Forces most likely place the women in another unit (Interview 2013).

With regard to the gender specific positions created to address and ensure a gender perspective, The Swedish Armed Forces have worked towards this goal and to develop specific gender functions in international operations through the establishment of the Centre for Gender in Military Operations. The centre represents an important milestone in terms of organizational development within the Swedish Forces and constitutes an important step towards an institutionalizing of a gender perspective. A part of the primary mandate of the Centre is assisting in gender-sensitive operations, facilitate or conduct training and education of key personnel and to carry out evaluations of gender-sensitive operations (Egnell et. al 2012: 56).

The centre has the main responsibility for a gender perspective abroad in planning, execution and evaluation of any military operation. The ambition of the Swedish Armed Forces is that in a few years time all soldiers, officers and civilian personnel working side by side in mission areas will look upon the Gender Perspective as being as an important factor as every other factor that has to be considered when planning, conducting and evaluating military operations (Försvarsmakten 2012c). The work of the Centre is to be carried out in close cooperation with relevant organizations like the UN, NATO and the EU among others. Working seminars are already put in place to learn from each other and see how involved actors can best drive the issue ahead in a joint manner (ibid). Of employees from the other Nordic countries, Norway is the only country represented today (Interview 2013).

As an area that was highlighted during the interview in Stockholm was that as one of the initiatives towards implementing UN Resolution 1325 is to increase the participation of women in the forces at home, an initiative to meet this objective, thus become for the gender perspective to be implemented abroad as well. Of the structural changes made is the appointing of gender advisors, gender field advisors and gender focal points in operations. According to the forces themselves, these functions are responsible for the implementation of Resolution 1325 and 1820, in order to mainstream gender issues at all levels of the military's work. Further on, one of the tasks is supporting the commander in the planning, conduct and evaluation of operations, by implementing a Gender Perspective in the operational work. Gender Focal Point is a method within the respective units of the Swedish Armed Forces to integrate a gender perspective into the different branches and units. These are appointed by their supervisors and 5 percent of their working time is set to the task of implementing gender measures in the field (Egnell et. al 2012: 56).

Norway

In Norway, SINTEF has performed a survey among conscripts on the issue of sexual harassment within the Norwegian forces which accordingly will lead to a new action plan. The incidents shall be reported at the local level where there is a standardized supervision procedure. As the incidents are matters of personnel cases, only aggregated numbers are reported further up in the system and to the Ministry of Defense. It does however seem to be an improvement in terms of written reporting systems for these incidents within the forces (Interview 2013).

Similarly to Sweden, Norway has appointed gender advisors who have been present in operations abroad. Their focus has thus been towards the operations and not matters of personnel cases internally. Within the military organization at home, there is no superior gender advisor. There is however a staff officer working on the issue of gender equality and diversity. It was highlighted by an employee in the Department of Defense that this staff officer was not an expert in the area, but has acquired knowledge. The “experts” was rather researchers within the field (Interview 2013).

5.3.5 PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS, MATERIAL INITIATIVES AND SHARED BEDROOMS

The military is an organization where physical strength traditionally has been very prominent together with uniforms and equipment. Bunking facilities have also been an area of controversy with more women entering into the same occupations as men. This section will thus present the initiatives taken in this area with regard to the entrance of women. The countries in this thesis do not apply to the same requirements in terms of physical tests.

Canada

The Canadian Forces operate with the same procedures as in Sweden as women and men are met with the same physical requirements. According to the forces themselves, all personnel need to be able to perform their duties, be employable and deployable. These duties may however depend on the type of work being performed or the environment in which they are being executed. There is a minimal physical fitness standard required for everyone based on tasks that everyone serving, whether it is the air forces, navy or the army should be able to complete if required. This minimal standard is identical for men and women (National Defence and the Canadian Forces 2013a: 1).

In terms of equipment and uniforms, my findings indicate that the Canadian Armed Forces is a pioneer in comparison to the other countries as they proudly present how their equipment within is all adapted towards a mixed gender force as both men and women are entitled to have the same protection when performing their job. This equipment includes helmets, rucksacks, combat boots and flak jackets that are all adapted to the female figure. Women in the Canadian Forces also receive an annual financial entitlement to buy brasserie undergarments (National Defence and the Canadian Forces 2013:2). The goal set out by the Swedish Forces in respect to equipment and uniforms for their soldiers, these shall be adapted based on individual needs as far as it is possible. Both men and women must have equipment available, and when procuring new equipment, a gender perspective shall be kept in mind (Försvarsmakten 2012b:8). According to the informants, equipment for the female body was however only recently offered as this is a measure which turns out to be very expensive. The effect is has for female soldiers to feel welcome is may however be extensive.

The Canadian Human Rights Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, and in hearings between 1986 and 1988, complaints were raised against the Canadian Forces in terms of

several conditions including discrimination associated with physical capability and environmental conditions. There were not found any risk arguments to continue the exclusion of women from combat roles and the existing policy was thus found discriminatory on the grounds of sex. The Canadian Forces was thus ordered to fully integrate women into all remaining combat roles, except onboard in submarines where a lack of privacy was identified as a factor that would disturb with operational effectiveness. The Tribunal stated however that if a time came where privacy issues onboard in submarines were not as prominent, the restriction could be examined again. Women were also prohibited from serving onboard in other submarine nations at the time. In 1998 the VISION 2010 Submarine Service Review project started to examine the possibility of mixed gender crews and the previous obstacles were no longer an issue even though some important factors had to be considered now as well. As training of submarines takes time, the first female submariners were assigned to an operational unit in 2003. Interviews with these women have revealed that they wish to be considered one of the crew and do not want to be signed out because they are women (Pestell 2003:5). These women thus seem to have integrated into the environment with few problems. Results from a study done showed that the resistance against the concept of mixed accommodations spaces amongst submariners has been much less than assumed by many senior submarine and surface naval personnel (Pestell 2003).

Sweden

Within the area of access to submarines in Sweden, the living conditions have contributed to a gender mixed crew within those countries where submarines are open to women. As this becomes very intimate, the informants in Sweden explained how many spouses may react to the arrangement, as men and women share bunk beds and sleep in shifts (Interview 2013). In terms of physical requirements, Sweden has similarly to Canada identical requirements, where these differ between units within the forces, rather than between genders. At the time being, the requirements are under evaluation in the Swedish Armed Forces, as the tests traditionally have been based on the strength of men. Most men are stronger in their upper body, while women are stronger proportionally in legs and hips. The present tests thus become discriminative towards women (Interview 2013).

Norway

Uniforms adjusted for women are an area in which the Norwegian accordingly have improved during the last years. These adjustments also involve uniforms for pregnant soldiers. There

have been raised critics towards the adjustments however, on how female uniforms only come in one size for women and are not adjusted any further in terms of length or width. Some of the female soldiers have thus personally taken the responsibility of sewing the uniforms to get a more proper fit. The different units are responsible for ordering the right amount and type of uniforms from the Defense Logistics Organization. There is not a lack of appropriate uniforms for women, but the challenge lies in the mindset and for leaders to adopt a gender perspective and actually order the right fittings. As of equipment adjusted for women, there has been made own rucksacks (Interview 2013).

In terms of living facilities for soldiers, women and men are commonly separated which can be justified through an argument of privacy for both genders, while it at the same time may contribute in creating barriers and exclude those few women who serve in some units from the rest of the group. In Norway, women and men at Garrison Sør-Varanger (GSV) were in 2008 given the permit to share bunks as trial and after seven months the conclusions were exclusively positive with both sexes experiencing a more cohesive group. Former chief Jørn Erik Berntsen expressed satisfaction with the scheme as one of the measures taken in the integration process. Current chief Jan Østbø conducted a survey in 2011 amongst the discharged female soldiers where common bunks were one of the questions. All answered positively regarding the environment for women at GSV and agreed on a scheme with common bunks from the first day of military service at GSV. Although the answers were positive, Østbø stresses that no one should feel forced to sleep in the same room with the opposite sex. It is however emphasized that the advantage with this is that men and women can live together as the unit they make up, and by this can solve problems together (Ellingsen 2012).

As the physical strength between women and men are unequal, the Norwegian Forces have operated with differential requirements for both genders. While the modernization of the forces for the last 20 years has run its course, the differential physical requirements have been the same since 1984. These are based on biological differences in aerobic endurance and muscular strength, but even though the requirements are different based on the biological differences, international research together with experiences and results from physical tests done by the different Military academies the last years, reveals that the requirements may be somewhat stricter relatively towards women (Steder et.al 2012: 23).

5.3.6 FAMILY INITIATIVES AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT

In order to create relevant measures to meet the challenges of recruiting and retention of women it is crucial to identify barriers women face when serving and reasons for why they decide to leave the military. The reasons within the area of family have been identified in categories of “avoiding family separation”, “increased family stability”, “too much time away from home” and career conflicts with spouse’s career” (Canto et.al 2001 in Bourgon 2007: 11). Many of the reasons why women chose to leave are thus directly linked up to family responsibilities.

Canada

Of measures taken in this area within the Canadian Forces is the equitable sharing of family responsibilities, with a maximum of 17 weeks maternity leave. Members of the forces may request for additional 37 weeks and be entitled to 93 percent of their regular pay. This is part of the Canadian Forces Family Covenant that was created in 2008 (Canadian Forces 2009:5). Further family support is set out as one of the initiatives by the Canadian Forces. The Canadian Forces present their obligation to facilitate the juggle between career in the forces and a family life, as childcare and lack of geographical stability are some of the factors contributing to the departure of women in the forces. Through the Minerva plan geographical stability has also been set on the agenda (ibid). In 1991, the Military Family Services program was established in by the Canadian Armed Forces to meet the challenges military families are facing. In 2011, the service introduced two new online initiatives for better keeping military families informed, connected and involved (National Defence 2013:6).

Sweden

The Swedish Forces recognize how they lose many women in the age of 30-35. The attitude internally in the organization has according to the informants been that it has its natural causes, due to women’s wish of creating a family at this age. This is however also something that many men want, one informant stated. Mothers also stay home longer with their children than what men do, and most men come back to their job after their leave, something that do not only apply to the forces, but also other occupations. The female informant emphasized how many women question the fact whether they can do career within the military organization, and that this may be one reason why they don’t come back. The “glass ceiling” in this respect definitely exist according to one informant. Many women get to a certain level, and feel that they can’t take anymore as they feel they have to work harder than their male

colleagues to get acknowledged. The attitude towards mothers leaving their children for an operation abroad for instance is still of a skeptical character in the society, while men don't meet the same reactions. As long as the military is dominated by men, it will be difficult for women to do career. That's just how it works. The informants also claimed that the military is no longer seen as a way to make a lifelong career in Sweden, even though this has been the traditional view (Interview 2013).

As a measure for retention of women in the Swedish Armed Forces, procedures have been developed when it comes to wage differences between women and men. It is prohibited to discriminate any employee in regard to salary based on their gender. If any cases where unfair situations is uncovered, this must be corrected immediately or within a three year period according to the action plan by the forces. This area of action is embodied in Försvarsmaktens Principer för Lönebildning (The Armed Forces Principles for wage), who's task is to prevent these situations from happening and to guide any situations if they occur (Försvarsmakten 2012b: 6).

Norway

Of those measures put in action, the area of family life is of great importance and high priority to the Norwegian Forces, the Ministry of Defense and the military labor organizations. The Chief of Defense' family directive guidelines the support the Forces shall give to families where one of the parents participates in international operations. If the operational service allows it, the time spent in service abroad is shortened (Stortingsmelding 36 2006-2007). The Norwegian University College consider family issues to be of an important matter to students, as most families today consist of two adults working and doing career. This is obviously a development demanding flexibility and arrangements of employers to make a good family life possible in combination with being employed in the forces. The measure proposed to deal with the challenge of combining work and private life, includes flexible solutions for those who commute and to arrange so that personal needs can be granted together with professional needs (ibid). Several initiatives for the families of those serving have been taken, both where one parent is in service and where two parents serve. These initiatives involve taking care of families, newsletters and work towards creating predictability. At the local level, there are family coordinators for the families to contact for any issue they are facing with regard to family issues and serving in the military (Interview 2013).

Family issues are presented in the action plan “I tjeneste for Norge 2011” (*In Service for Norway 2011*) set out by the Norwegian government to follow up the white paper to the Parliament nr. 34 (2008-2009). There is a focus on a good dialogue between the forces and the families of soldiers serving abroad, and initiatives have been taken in terms of placement abroad if both parents are serving, and given the soldiers preferential regarding place as far as possible. The employee in the Department of Defense highlighted how this may become more complicated with both parents being specialized, instead of one of them being a civilian. The ministry has put the issue on their agenda for the forces to follow up, but the Forces however have said that this is not something they can promise to follow up and actually enforce (Interview 2013). Some of the initiatives the plan set out are offering soldiers and their spouse’s relationship therapy, sending out information to families where one parent is deployed about the situation in areas of operation and evaluate the arrangement and routines for those who are contacts for relatives, to improve competence and to ensure correlation between needs and guidance (Departementene 2011a).

5.3.7 INITIATIVES IN RECRUITING MORE WOMEN

Canada

The situation in Canada has been of a different character than in the Scandinavian countries as the overall challenge of recruiting and retention of already employed personnel, both women and men began during the early 1990’s as the Canadian government embarked on budget reductions to all departments, including the military. Military personnel were thus given financial incentives to leave. These changes internally have had negative effects on retention and led to a shortage of personnel within many occupations. The Canadian Forces has thus had a challenge in reaching out as an employee of choice in a strong economy and in competition with other external agencies. After the decline, the forces have been unable to reach its enlistment targets and solutions have been necessary. The Canadian society is in rapidly change with its demographically compositions and a shift in social values. They have thus had to be able to adapt to this change in understanding issues that are important to younger soldiers. The changes within the forces and society have contributed to the development of the Canadian Strategy of recruiting and retention (Syed, et. al 2007).

In 2000, the Canadian Forces initiated a recruiting project designed to follow a three year old plan with a goal of restoring regular Force levels before 2009/10 and the reserve Force levels before 2005/06. The aim was to re-establish applicant ratios of at least 2 applicants for each

position and to ensure that intake exceeded attrition. This was a measure in line with policies that governed the Canadian Forces including the Employment Equity Act that addresses the diversity in the forces. Inclusion of diverse representation from the Canadian society is an important component of the recruiting initiatives taken by the Canadian Forces, as the Employment Equity Act also require the forces to ensure that the internal representation of their employee population is comparable to the portion of the Canadian workforce population that are qualified for those occupations. Diversity thus becomes a component to consider in recruiting efforts, policies and procedures throughout the organization in all occupations including those with a shortage of personnel (Holden 2003 in Syed, et. al 2007: 2).

Having no compulsory military service obviously demands broad recruitment campaigns reaching out to possible future soldiers, both men and women. For the Canadian Forces to be able to recruit and attract more qualified women from the Canadian workforce, measures have been taken on the local level where Recruiting Open Houses for women on International Women's Day has been one of the initiatives. Representatives from the local level have also been present and participated at "Women in Leadership" career days and at speaking engagements at universities in Canada. Women in senior positions within the Canadian Forces share their experiences and provide women with the information they need regarding a possible career. At the major recruiting Centre, there is a designated Diversity Officer whose primary task is recruitment of women and to address and highlight the significant work and contribution made by women in the forces, and to increase the awareness of different career opportunities and patterns for women within the forces (Canadian Forces 2009:3). The Department of National Defence in Canada intends through their backgrounder paper on the area of women in the Canadian armed Forces to adopt an active recruiting campaign where women are shown in all roles within the forces. The aim is to attract more women towards challenging career opportunities, and not only towards traditionally occupations (National Defence 2013).

Sweden

In the area of recruitment within the Swedish Armed Forces, the goal is to be seen as an attractive employer and one important task thus become to make their work on democratic principles like gender equality visible. The key to attract, recruit and also keep employees with the right competence for the forces is to have consultants with competence within the area of gender (Försvarsmakten 2012b: 6). The goal set by the forces in the action plan for the

period from 2012 to 2014 is an incensement of women at all levels within the organization. Among those who are recruited to Squad leaders, soldiers and in the navy, and those who go through complete military education (KMU), the goal is at least 20 percent women in 2014. The goal is further set to be 10 percent women among chiefs on level OF/CF level 5 and higher within 2014. All unit leaders have conducted courses of gender equality and beyond this, the goal is that half of the members within management groups also conduct this course (Försvarsmakten 2012b:8). According to the informants, the focus has somewhat been on thinking of how the recruitment process have worked and the use of commercials by taking some of the typical gender aspect away and try to reach out to other groups than only those who seek action, which traditionally have been boys and men.

When the informants were asked if any of the measures taken in recruiting and retaining more women to the forces dealt specifically with masculinity cultures, they talked about how commercials had changed and how these are no longer that focused on war. By changing this important message that is directed towards possible future soldiers, the Swedish Forces have tried to show how there is a need for more diversity within their organization and how they need more mental strength to be able to make the right decisions (Interview 2013). Women who have just arrived in the forces are invited to a mandatory meeting during the first three weeks of service where the aim is to send out positive signals, not only towards women but also to men in the organization which are also present at the meeting, to raise awareness on how the forces need diversity (Interview 2013).

Norway

While most measures are the responsibility of the government and the national leadership within the forces, some measures are also found at the local level. All leaders within the Norwegian Forces are responsible for recruitment of women to their respective departments. This is a responsibility specified in the ministry's action plan for implementing Resolution 1325. All leaders are also required to do an analysis and identify measures for how the percentage of women may increase. Equipment adjusted for both women and men and living conditions for the soldiers within a unit is also the particular leader's responsibility. These measures are to be implemented immediately with regular follow up. In this case they are embodied in the Strategic plan for 2011 – 2013 on women, peace and security (Departementene 2011).

The Norwegian Armed Forces present themselves as proud of the recruitment processes they have performed the last years, with almost nine percent women. From 2006 to 2010, the representation of women has increased with three percent points. Even though the increase may sound small, the forces emphasize how the work in recruiting has paid off. The statistics shows that the share of women on intermediate – and higher level has increased, as a result of more women recruited some years ago who have now finished their education. More women also attend the education through the Defense Schools (Forsvaret 2011).

In marketing and profiling activities in Norway, female recruitment officers have been used as far as possible for school visits and education fairs. Girls have been invited to girl camps where the Norwegian Forces have presented themselves. This is a measure where the forces get to introduce themselves as an attractive employee for possible future soldiers. The aim is to create a better cohesion between the girls which most likely will have a positive effect on finishing their conscription. It is also a measure set in place as it is expected that it will motivate for further serving in the arms (Stortingsmelding 36 2006-2007). Of school visits, 40-50 schools are visited every year where the forces present the organization, the education they offer and the daily service in the forces (Forsvaret 2011 in Steder 2012).

5.3.8 EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES

Canada

As of educational initiatives within the Canadian Armed Forces, the much of the focus is directed towards diversity training and education and all personnel attend training and/or information sessions on employment equity. It is also set in place by the Department, a needs analysis to see how the best diversity training can be provided. During basic training for officers and non-commissioned members, basic diversity training is given. On advanced leadership qualification courses, more advanced training is provided. These courses involve issues such as prevention and resolution on sexual harassment and personal conduct and relationships. For soldiers going on operations, specific training on the Canadian Armed Forces Code of Conduct, human rights, ethnics and individual conduct, gender differences and culture is provided. As the operations often involve areas with a vulnerable population, training includes instruction on the protection of women and children (National Defence 2013. 5).

Sweden

In Sweden, another kind of educational initiative has been introduced through the Swedish Employment Dissemination, where non-European immigrants are offered to do basic military education for one month, instead of three which is common. None of the female participants in this program had at the time for the focus interview quit yet, only boys. By offering young immigrants this opportunity, they are given the chance to see what the forces are like while they can improve their high schools degrees within the subjects of Swedish, Math and English. The goal of this measure has been to get the unemployment rate down in Sweden, and so far over half of those participating in this program have applied for the regular basic military education. Another measure taken by the Swedish Forces themselves is the possibility now given for people to perform their basic military education during the summer to get a glimpse of it. By arranging between semesters of school the interest have increased as it does not have to interfere and delay any already planned education (Interview 2013).

Norway

In order to get the best possible mixture of soldiers with a focus on diversity, the various forces need to reach out to a broader audience than what they historically have been used to. The Forces need to reach out to those with strong academic skills, and show how the forces can be a way of education and the personal development. As women receive better grades than men and more women now attend universities, the Norwegian forces acknowledge how they need to attract women with academic aspirations. Through the Norwegian government's action plan, this is an area in which the work needs to get done during the recruitment process. It is also suggested to establish an own function within the forces who will work for a greater share of women. This is suggested to be a supportive function for the other units and not deprive them the work on gender equality within the organization. The Forces will offer female officer's development and leadership programs to show the potential that exist within the organization, both in terms of leadership positions and different career patterns for women on lower levels (Stortingsmelding 36 2006-2007). Beyond this, there has not been taken any particular initiatives for education in the Norwegian forces. Once accepted into an education, there are no further initiatives directed towards women only (Interview 2013).

5.3.9 SUMMARIZING THE FINDINGS

The previous sections have outlined different policies and measures taken within Canada, Sweden and Norway. In order to be able to answer the research questions, this section will

summarize the findings, before it will go further into the highlights and look at the findings in a theoretical perspective. The first section of the empirical findings presents basic statistics on female representation and conditions within the labor markets. I choose to include these as based on the research done; some of the variables may affect the position each country's armed forces have in the society. The chapter further goes into the politics for gender equality in the Norwegian society presented through the Norwegian Public Reports on structure and politics for equality. This section outlined how gender equality is today under the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, coordinated through a sector responsibility principle with this ministry being the promoter on the issue towards the other ministries, including the Ministry of Defense. Any superior responsibility has however not been given the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion (NOU 2011 & NOU 2012).

The measures found to recruit and retain women in the armed forces have been categorized together with the level of action in a cross table in order to get an overview of areas of action and where the action has been taken. This table is purposeful when entering into the theoretical understanding. The table also frames the outlining of the findings. Action plans and the countries goal of female participation are first presented systematically within each country to get a clear view of similarities and differences. The legislative framework for the use of positive special treatment and quotas for women is then presented as this may be an important tool for the forces to be able to meet the objective of an increased share of women. These findings show that Norway is the only country out of the three, who practice quotas for women, while Canada and Sweden have positive special treatment enshrined in their legislation (NDCF 2013, Försvarsmakten 2012 & Forsvarets Høgskole 2011b). The next section presented also uncovers differences in the practice of how soldiers are either called or enlisted into the forces, where the countries picked for this thesis represent practices with various results.

The sections further present measures taken on issues of reporting systems and specific gender positions, changes in physical requirements and material initiatives, measures taken towards families and female career development, initiatives on areas of education and more direct initiatives on the recruitment phase to get women to join the armed forces. By looking at these areas which is found through documents and highlighted by the informants, it has become evident that while much of the same measures have been taken in all countries, the

width and timeframe differs. This will more complementary be discussed below when looking at the empirical highlights.

5.4 EMPIRICAL HIGHLIGHTS AND THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING

5.4.1 HIGHLIGHTS

As the chapter so far has constituted an overview of the policies created as well as measures set in place, these have not increased the female participation in Norway appreciable and it is necessary to go further into all countries to look at where the emphasis has been during the implementation process. The categorizing of the empirical findings have shown that all three countries have in some way taken action in the same areas, but however with different approaches. As previously stated, action plans are developed in order to meet obligations and challenges as well as make sure an organization's vision becomes visible and concrete.

Through the findings for this thesis it has become visible that the plans set out represent an understanding of the objective, and is also an important tool towards the goal, if it is followed up as intended. The timeframe seem to have played an important role for the implementation process in Canada with the real change starting already during the 1970's, with recommendations for broader inclusion of women (Canadian Forces 2011). Even though women were still prohibited from serving in all occupations within the forces, this was an early start compared to many other countries and women in Canada have been employed on equal terms as men for several years. The process of integrating women into the military started early, and in 1994 a committee for increased participation of women into the Canadian forces was established by the Chief of Defense Staff. This committee has worked on various initiatives since then, where recruiting and retention of both women and men have been put on the agenda as it also identified systematic barriers for both recruitment and retention in the armed forces (Davis 1996:14).

As of initiatives taken directly towards recruiting more women into armed forces, Canada has faced challenges to reach out as an employee of choice due to how the Canadian government embarked on budget reductions during the 1990's and changed to reach out to younger soldiers have had to be set in place. What is remarkable in the case of Canada is how diversity is addressed through the Employment Equity Act where the internal representation of employees in the forces needs to be comparable to the portion of the Canadian workforce population that are qualified for the occupations (Holden 2003 in Syed et.al 2007: 2).

Diversity in the Canadian Forces is thus subject to Canadian legislation, while there seem to have been a lack of tools to enforce the diversity in the Norwegian Forces.

While Canada clearly points out as a country where initiatives on the issue of armed forces and women have existed for decades and female participation of women is enshrined in the legislation, Sweden has taken many of the same actions, while this happened later. The rules for letting women participate in the armed forces were first conditioned to their plans for a future career as officers within the forces, and occupations were for a long time only reserved men. While all occupations were opened up to women in 1989, years had to pass before women were given the possibility to undergo the same basic military training through initial military service as men could do, and 11 years passed before the Swedish Armed Forces became an all-volunteer force where women and men applies equally. As already presented, this has had positive effect on the percentage of women serving in the Swedish Forces (Interview 2013).

As a comparative country, Sweden does however point out in terms of the use of action plans and implementing a gender perspective and was together with Norway one of the first countries developing a national action plan to follow up the obligations from the United Nations on women, peace and security through Resolution 1325. The initiatives for adoption have further been outlined by the European Security and Defense Policy, where Sweden appoints gender advisors for military operations (Swedish Government 2009:7). The Swedish government and Swedish Forces have used their action plans for emphasizing the necessity for action on both the local, national and international level. Through the document analysis, the importance of a gender perspective on all levels and within all occupations has become evident, as it is presented by the Swedish government and the Swedish Forces. While action plans can be made without the proper tools to implement the objective set out, Sweden has taken action in terms of implementing a gender perspective in operations by the establishment of the Centre for Gender in Military Operations, which is an important milestone for the organizational development, and the work of creating a culture for diversity rather than simply just focusing on a numeric goal for female participation (Egnell et.al 2012).

The empirical findings from Norway have shown that the best intentions with regard to increasing the percentage of women serving are present and have been for years. Norway is a world leader in terms of gender equality and there is a wish outwards from political officials on the importance of an armed force who reflect the diversity in the society. Much of the

focus seems thus based on the findings to be directed towards welfare issues. Several areas of action have been outlined including adjustments of physical requirements, work towards establishing a systematic reporting system for occurrence of sexual harassment, gender advisors have been appointed abroad, shared sleeping facilities for women and men at some locations and major initiatives and politics directed towards families of soldiers. In these areas, Norway seems in line with the other countries.

However, the goal of female participation has been adjusted as it has not been possible to meet the set out objective. The goal for 2020 is now at least 20 percent women which seems unattainable as there has not been much increase for the last years. There does not seem to be a lack of action plans to meet the United Nation Security Council Resolution 1325 and to take action at home. As women have been allowed to serve in all occupations within the Norwegian Forces for many years, and Norway being a pioneer country of women serving onboard submarines, the history has looked promising for women in the Norwegian military. Stortingsmelding 36 (2006-2007) who seeks for a more modern and flexible armed force covers areas for action, but is not specific in the initiatives that needs to be carried out. The most recent policy in Norway however, has been taken in 2013 with the adoption of gender neutral conscription, making the military more relevant for both genders, while choosing another direction than what Sweden did three years ago.

5.4.2 CREATING RELEVANT MEASURES

The theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 presents barriers women face when entering into male dominated organizations. Statistics uncover how young women seem to be more exploited than men and those who are older, to sexual harassment at work. This finding is further strengthened with research that prevail how sexual harassment of women primarily takes place in the male-dominated workforce where the tasks are stereotypical masculine. These conditions are found to have serious implications on job performance and the efficiency. It also has effects on the retention of women in these jobs (Febbraro 2010). The statistics and literature support the identified barriers for women in armed forces found throughout this research and present an obstacle for the military's ability to keep women. Findings from documents and interview show that sexual harassment is also a well known problem within all three forces, where a male-oriented language still exists within the military organization. Findings from the Employment System Review in Canada shows that even though both men and women get used to this language, women are more likely to report the

use of this language (Chief Review Services 1998). This is a problem that is not only identified, but also met with specific measures, where an anti-harassment program is set out towards a reduction. Specific guidelines are also developed with the intention of addressing and resolving the situations (National Defence and the Canadian Forces 2013b). Sexual harassment is a threat not only towards basic rights for women, but also the ability for the military to retain women.

The Swedish Armed Forces have met this challenge by creating a written reporting system, where both parts are called to talk to an employee working on the issue (Interview 2013). The Norwegian Forces have also met this issue, but the impression is that the extent of the Norwegian reporting systems is not as prepared as its neighboring country yet. In terms of sanctions, the Swedish Forces move the woman if she is located at the same station as the man. In Norway, men have been moved to another station and many don't find this as a sanction as they may be moved to another place they actually are more eager to go to (Interview 2013). Canada has met this by refusing anyone who has a record of harassment to serve outside Canada (National Defence and the Canadian Forces 2013b).

It is not much research on the issue of combining work in the military and family life, but the Work Research Institute Report Series in 2012 as outlined in the theoretical framework shows that women who serve as an officer handle more family obligations in addition to their job in the forces, while male officers more often seem to leave these family tasks to the women in the family (Heen 2012). These findings indicate that women face greater obstacles when serving as they take on more work than what men do. Family issues were also outlined above as extensive research within the Canadian Forces have shown that the reasons why women decide to leave the military are mainly found in the area of family issues, where women want to avoid family separation and increase the stability at home. Women also feel to a larger extent that their career conflicts with their spouse's career (Canto et.al 2001 in Bourgon 2007:11).

These challenges are met by creating family programs where the addressing the need for more geographical stability. This was set on the Canadian agenda as early as in 1991 through the Military family Services (National Defence 2013:6). The impression from the document study and the oral highlights has been that welfare issues and challenges for families have been of high priority to the Norwegian Forces, the Ministry of Defense and the military labor

organizations with subsequent initiatives to ease the situation for many military families (Oral disclosure). These measures indicate an understanding of the challenge of retaining women in the militaries and also to attract women into arms in the first place. The military needs to be able to compete with other employees in the labor market and welfare programs created to improve communication for those serving abroad is necessary to show that family life is taken seriously and that it is possible to combine family life with serving in the forces. As the research presented in the theoretical framework can highlight the empirical findings, it is also clear that the countries have pointed towards many of the same challenges and it is possible to uncover similar measures. What differ in the findings is however the width and the prioritizing of the most important areas to act.

5.4.3 ADRESSING MASCULINITY CULTURES IN THE MILITARY

One of the research questions for this thesis is whether any of the measures taken deal with masculinity cultures. This has turned out to be a complex issue when entering into documents and interviewing the informants. The military is an organization that has always been dominated by men, and as laid out in the theoretical framework, the military may constitute a form of hegemonic masculinity where boys and men are encouraged to aspire. When joining the military many men thus experience domination of weaker individuals and tend to be given a higher social status than those who do not. Men thus gets their masculinity confirmed (Kimmel et. al 2005:433). This perspective thus sees masculinities as constructed and as a process rather than an object with a determined way of behavior (Connell 1995). As the common assumption in the West has connected the ideal hegemonic masculine type to men who are white and heterosexual, where those who differ from this is views as subordinated or marginalized, the entrance of women into the military organization may thus become object to an assumption that women represent femininity with the characteristics of being weak and emotional (ibid).

These perspectives on masculinity are useful tools in explaining some perspectives on challenges not only for women who enter into the forces, but also for the forces in their work on recruiting and retaining women. The research for this thesis has uncovered that the challenges of masculinity cultures is recognized within all the three countries, and while some measures have been created to face these challenges directly, it is a consideration to decide how much these cultures shall be counteracted. As it is difficult to change the existing culture before a minority group has reached a critical level of 20 percent, it is also difficult to reach

this level when the masculinity cultures are widespread within the organization. While it on one hand is important to work towards an environment inclusive for all, strong measures to face the masculinity cultures may indicate extensive problems within the military organization, leading to an impression the forces is not served on having. During the interview in Stockholm, it was highlighted how many women have also learned to adjust into the masculine norms that exist, and that they were prepared before joining the military. The informants also said that the impression is that both men and women want to be there as soldiers and officers, and not as a man or a woman (Interview 2013). Even though there is an awareness of the existing masculinity cultures, it has improved for the better during the last thirty years, and the informants remarked that not everything has to be questioned either. Leadership thus became an issue as leaders should focus on taking advantage of these opportunities rather than problematizing them (Interview 2013).

5.4.4 REACHING A CRITICAL MASS RATHER THAN FOCUSING ON THE EXISTING CULTURE

The framework for the situation minorities' face in their own profession is in this thesis heavily relied on the work by Kanter whose work has identified gender segregated dynamics, where those representing the minority becomes marginalized and experience exclusion. Kanter uses the term of skewed groups who is characterized by a large preponderance of one type who make up as much as 85 percent, while a subgroup make up less than 15 percent. The people of the minority group thus are defined as tokens. This model shows how women in all the militaries in this thesis are then defined as tokens with the challenges following (Kanter 1977). According to Kimmel, tokens are accepted because of their minority status and not despite of it (Kimmel 2004). For women in entering into the forces this can be expressed from male colleagues through the assumption that women have been allowed to serve because they are women, and not because they have actually fulfilled the requirements. In the Norwegian Forces, there seem to be an assumption that quotas for female soldiers are more widespread than what is actually the case (Interview 2013).

As Kanter is highly concerned about reaching a critical level for the minority group, this perspective has also been object to criticism as is may fail to see the backlash from the dominant group, a perspective expressed by Blablock who believe that an increase in numbers from the minority group will lead to the dominant group feeling threatened, and will in turn increase the discrimination in forms of sexual harassment, wage inequalities and limited

opportunities for promotion (Yoder 1991:1789). This may create difficulties for the military's when decision upon a strategy for recruiting and retaining women. While recruitment is of a quantitative character, the retaining deals with the qualitative content and it can be a challenge to find the right way to go. The analysis of the policy documents uncover that while all the countries express concern and plans for action on the retention part of it, the Norwegian government seem eager to increase the percentage of women and the impression is thus that it is a first priority, instead of being able to build a culture that is prepared to face this increase. An assumption may thus be that if the focus is mainly on reaching the set objective on a given percentage, the recruitment and quantitative goal is reached, but the forces will then again face a challenge in being able to retain these women.

5.4.5 IMPLEMENTING TOP DOWN

As policy documents and informants in positions within the government and armed forces have been the basis for my study, a top down perspective has thus been the most logical and most purposeful way to go about the analysis. The aim of the thesis is not to uncover the impressions and experiences of women in the military where a bottom up approach would have been a natural way to grasp the task. The aim of this thesis is however to look at the policies created and the measures set out. The implementation processes is also seen as going downwards from state structures. While the government and policy makers as well as the military organization have created the basis for my study, this has also been at the levels where the majority of actions have been taken. Table 2 present an overview where measures found are heavily divided between the levels of government and the national leadership within the forces. While policies obviously need to be set out at higher levels, few initiatives seem to have been taken at more local levels to recruit and retain women. As the policies are created and there are international commitments to follow, the work is left to lower levels to be properly implemented. Key factors for successful policy implementation are thus crucial to be fulfilled in terms of commitment, capacity and support, from all involved levels (Warwick 1982 in AWN s.a). While the international commitment represents key stakeholders supporting the objective and the capacity can be trained or by employing expertise, Mc Laughlin (1987) finds commitment to be the most crucial factor for a policy to be successful (Mc Laughlin 1998 in AWN s.a).

To determine whether enough commitment has been given on the issue of increasing female participation is difficult, as it has not been possible to uncover whether all of the measures set

out has been followed up as intended. This partly due to the fact that action plans have been the basis for the thesis, while it is also a result of how an organization like the military is careful in giving out information. This thesis must therefore settle with indications on whether the necessary tools are present. Based on the findings there seem to be a lack of sanctions and tools to enforce the plans set out. Vedung's classification of instruments for policy implementation seems to cover the instrument used by the Norwegian government which is information. The emphasis here is on offering insights into consequences of behavior and to influence people through knowledge and persuasion (Bemelmans-Videc et.al 2010:8). This is performed through the emphasis on the military's need for diversity as outlined in chapter 4, where politicians have chosen a soft line with a hope of spreading knowledge rather than threaten the forces with regulation and economic means.

5.4.6 IS THERE A BEST PRACTISE?

It was outlined in the theoretical framework that evaluation is crucial when looking at policy making and policy implementation. Evaluation may further refer to both the product which is the policy or program, or the process of designing and implementing this policy of program (Rossi 1993:5; Fischer 1995:2 in Bemelmans-Videc et.al 2010:6). As this is a comparative analysis looking for possible policies or measures to adopt from other countries, it is crucial to see whether these initiatives have been evaluated and reached the intended effect. The findings indicate that evaluation is mostly carried out through research agencies. The impression however is that this research is mostly concerned with the situation women are facing in the military. There does not seem to be a widespread knowledge on the policies set out and the effects these have had. The evaluation may thus be more concerned with evaluating whether the actions have been performed.

Of the effect evaluation found, the Canadian Forces evaluated their efforts after the first ten year period with the Tribunal decision and have concluded that it has been progress by removing specific restrictions in the employment of women. The total increase of women had however at the time being of the evaluation been modest, even though important initiatives in specific areas had been made (Chief Review Services 1998). An assessment of the implementation of a gender perspective in the Swedish military organization and operations has been carried out, stating that efforts to change attitudes among senior officers and to institutionalize a gender perspective in planning and operations have come quite far. Systems have been put in place and the understanding of change needed seem to have been

implemented (Egnell et.al 2012). As of assessing external effect of the integration of a gender perspective in the Swedish Armed Forces, empirical findings based on statements from people involved in the international work of the Swedish Armed Forces indicate some improvements. These are effects that cannot be verified however, but can be seen as indications which create a base for further investigation (Egnell et. al 2012). As of evaluation of measures in Norway, this is done by the Defense College and the Armed Forces Research Institute, presented in a report of 2012. This report is two folded as is looks at whether actions have actually been carried out, or if they were a bad idea and have therefore not been able to achieve the aimed effect (Interview 2013).

5.4.7 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this thesis has been to outline the measures taken in the process of recruiting and retaining women in the various armed forces. It has further been the goal to see if any of the measures found in Sweden and Canada can be applied in Norway to meet the objective of 20 percent representation of women by 2020. The thesis has thus been guided by that question in addition to whether any of the measures or initiatives deals with masculinity cultures. In order to be able to see if any of the measures set out can be used as exemplary cases it has further been crucial to look at whether any of these have been evaluated and had the desired effect, which makes up the third research question. Through a review of policy documents and interviews and a further discussion seen in a theoretical light, it has been possible to uncover a range of different initiatives taken. The areas of action have also showed that there is an awareness of the challenge of masculinity cultures within the military and and how this is a complex issue to face as it may indicate a more severe problem than what is actually the case and thus have opposite effect. The effect of a change within a culture is also difficult to measure as it is of a qualitative nature and no evaluation has been found on the force's ability to retain women. With the lack of proper evaluation of policies and measure it becomes necessary to settle with a more descriptive situation of what is done so far and look at where the emphasis have been placed in the different countries. Based on this it is possible to tentatively assume what may have worked.

It is not possible to point out one specific action plan that can get the credit for the percentage of women in any of the armed forces and the differences may rather be a result of societal factors, making benchmarking impossible. The timeframe and the armed forces' position in the labor market seem to have important implications on the share of women in each military.

As the Canadian Forces have practiced an all-volunteer force for a long time and women and men have had to apply on equal terms, this factor may have promoted the forces' role as an attractive employer for women and not a male organization where women become visitors on men's terms. The diversity in the Canadian Forces is also enshrined in the Canadian legislation giving the government the ability to enforce the work set out for women, an important tool that seems to be lacking in Norway. Sweden has taken the same direction as Canada making their military all professional for both women and men. As it is indicated that the relative percentage of women have increased, it is not possible yet to see the full effects due to the time elapsed. This is also the case in Norway as gender neutral conscription has only recently been adopted and it first enters into force in 2015. Hopefully, this can become a measure that will prepare the military organization for a more diverse culture and with time lead to the military becoming an attractive and an employer of choice in Norway. This will more naturally lead to an increased percentage of female participation and hopefully the forces will also by then be able to retain these women.

6.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis has been carried out as a part of a larger project on masculinity cultures in the military, where the aim of this part of the project has been to get knowledge on the measures set out in the countries of comparison in order to recruit and retain women in the armed forces. By performing a comparative analysis, it might be possible to adopt some of the measures set out in the other countries that have not been carried out in Norway, as well as to look at lessons learned in the comparative countries. Relying heavily on policy documents and what my informants have presented as measures taken, this thesis has been able to create a comprehensive framework of how all three countries have taken action by increasing the representation of women in their forces to meet international obligations and to be in line with the rest of the society in terms of gender equality.

The use of policy documents and interviews of central informants on the issue of recruiting and retaining women in the military has created an overview and important insights of measures taken. Unfortunately, the lack of information available on some areas has made it necessary to settle with more descriptive presentations in these cases. This is due to how military organizations are careful on giving out information as well as to whom they are giving information. While the issues and processes can be studied in various ways including from afar, the interviews with people involved in the processes have contributed to more in-depth knowledge for the analysis, as some processes and measures also happen outside the formal setting and thus become impossible to trace only through official documents.

Theoretical perspectives on how masculinities are persuaded in the military and obstacles women face when entering into male dominated occupations have contributed in explaining the empirical findings collected and the challenges the defense sector face in the process of recruiting and retaining women for positions within the military. Gender research presented has also shown how much focus lies on reaching a critical mass with the belief that by doing so it will improve the situation, perspectives that explain well the current objectives set in Norway with its focus 20 percent by 2020. I have not based my theoretical framework on an assumption that reaching a level of 20 percent women will solve all problems, but rather that a persistently high share of women will at least indicate that the defense is a livable place for a certain amount of women. The defense has then succeeded to some extent in reaching its objective. This is however not a guarantee for the process to continue rolling. Perspectives on

necessary instruments in order to successfully implement a policy has further shown that a lack of enough commitment together with missing evaluation of the measures set out contribute to making a specific goal difficult to reach as well as to use the measures as exemplary cases.

This thesis has shown how a highly relevant issue at the time being is dealt with in all three countries, where gender equality is presented as corner stone's in society. While it has been difficult to point out certain measures that may explain the success Canada has experienced in terms of numeric representation of women or why Sweden that is so similar also seem to recruit more women, the choice of taking societal factors as well as a historical accounts into the thesis has made it possible to more clearly see where the difference lies. Even though many of the measures set out are similar across the countries, with similar obstacles identified, they differ in width and time. These findings can hopefully provide greater insight and knowledge for the further process of recruiting and retaining women in the military.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVJUGUIDE (INTERVIEW GUIDE)

1. Hvilke tiltak er tatt i Sverige for å rekruttere og beholde kvinner i forsvaret?
2. Hvilke konkrete tiltak er tatt for å integrere Resolusjon 1325?
3. Vil dere si at det eksisterer en maskulinitetskultur i det svenske forsvaret? Med maskulinitetskultur mener vi for eksempel ensidige krav til fysisk styrke og en kultur sterkt preget av mannsdominans hvor kvinner i stor grad blir marginalisert. Seksuell trakassering, om menn tar en dominant rolle etc.
4. Går noen av tiltakene som er tatt på maskulinitetskultur?
5. Hvordan vil dere konkret si at kjønnsperspektivet er integrert ved opprettelsen av Nordic Centre in Military Operations?
6. Hvordan vil dere si at kjønnsperspektivet er integrert ved operasjoner utenlands?
7. Kan dere si noe om kvotering av kvinner til forsvaret?
8. Tror dere utfordringen med å rekruttere og beholde kvinner i forsvaret skyldes politiske forhold eller forhold innad i forsvaret?
9. Kan rekrutteringen av kvinner til forsvaret sees i sammenheng med arbeidsmarkedet i Sverige?
10. Blir forsvaret sett som en mulighet for karriere i Sverige?
11. Vil dere si at den sosiale strukturen og familielivet påvirker kvinners deltakelse i forsvaret?
12. Er de fysiske kravene til kvinner og menn de samme i forsvaret?
13. Er det spesielle tiltak som legger til rette for at kvinner skal kunne delta i forsvaret?
14. Vil dere si at det eksisterer et såkalt ”glasstak” for kvinner i forsvaret?
15. Er fokuset å få inn kvinner på alle nivåer i forsvaret?

16. Hvilke konsekvenser vil dere si at fjerning av verneplikten i 2010 har hatt for kvinners deltakelse i forsvaret?
17. Finnes det et rapporteringssystem ved eventuell seksuell trakassering?