



MALMÖ HÖGSKOLA

One-year Masters Program in International Relations
Department of Global Political Studies
Supervisor: Malena Rosén Sundström
Malmö, 2009-05-27

Gender, security and conflict resolution

-A qualitative study of women and men's reasoning of
decision-making and use of violence within the
Swedish Armed Forces

Karin Uvelius
820403-4022

Table of contents

1. Introduction	6
2. Purpose	9
3. Specified research questions	10
4. Background	11
5. Theory	14
5.1 <i>International relations and gender</i>	15
5.2 <i>Realism and feminism</i>	17
5.3 <i>Security</i>	19
5.4 <i>Security and gender</i>	21
5.5 <i>Difference-, standpoint- and essential feminism; security and conflict resolution</i>	23
5.6 <i>Analytical framework</i>	26
6. Research design and case selection	28
7. Method and material	29
7.1 <i>Qualitative method</i>	29
7.2 <i>Hermeneutic standpoints</i>	30
7.3 <i>Mode of procedure</i>	31
7.4 <i>Research ethics</i>	34
7.5 <i>Demarcations</i>	35
7.6 <i>Method related advantages and disadvantages</i>	35
7.7 <i>Validity and reliability</i>	36
7.8 <i>Possible results of the study</i>	36
7.9 <i>Could the study have been made differently?</i>	37
8. Empirical result and analysis	38
8.1 <i>Thematic question one: Security</i>	38
8.2 <i>Thematic question two: Conflict resolution</i>	41
8.3 <i>Additional valuable information given by the respondents</i>	44
9. Conclusions	46
10. Future research	49
11. Appendices	50
Appendix 1. <i>Interview guide</i>	50
Appendix 2. <i>Information of the respondents (anonymous)</i>	53
Appendix 3. <i>Theme one; Security</i>	54
Appendix 4. <i>Theme two; Conflict resolution</i>	57
12. Bibliography	59

Abstract

This study sets out to examine how men and women within the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) reason about decision-making and the use of violence in relation to security and conflict resolution, and whether or not their reasoning differ. The study comprises a qualitative case study whereas the SAF has been identified as a critical case.

The research takes off in theoretical fields such as; international relations, gender, security and feminism. With departure in essential-, standpoint- and difference feminism in particular, an analytical framework has been created. The core assumptions in the framework are: women are peaceful and prefer individual decision-making in relation to security and conflict resolution. Men on the contrary are violent and prefer individual decision-making. The validity of these assumptions is tested by ten qualitative interviews with five women and five men within the SAF.

The finding of the study is that the SAF appears to socialize a similar behavior amongst their male and female co-workers. Hence, men and women within the forces seem to reason about security and conflict resolution in comparable ways. The feminist assumptions in the analytical framework are thus proven invalid. Nevertheless, the branches of the feminisms that depart from social construction rather than biological determinism are proven correct.

Key Words: international relations, gender, security, feminism, swedish armed forces

Acknowledgements

I have to admit that when I first started writing this thesis, I knew very little about security and the military in general. Surprisingly little actually, with regard to my background in political sciences. Nonetheless, an entirely new field has opened before my eyes and I now feel confident when saying that I have learnt a lot.

There are many people who have assisted and encouraged me while writing this thesis. Naturally they all deserve a Thank You. Firstly I want to thank Anna Edström for great memories and inspiration – I cannot believe that 17 months have passed by. To Carl-Johan Fleur; you continue to be the Affiliated Companion as of this thesis. Thank You Malena Rosén Sundström, for encouragement and motivation. To Annica Kronsell for an interesting hour of knowledge and ideas. Thank You Angela Axefeldt, Daniel Engström, Karin Lilja, Johan Almgren, Christian Uddvik, Emma Rubinsson and Johan Gunér for time and effort; I could not have done it without you guys. Thank You Anders Spetz for quick service. To Mamma and Bengt, since I forgot to mention you in my last thesis, you now get your own special thanks, and it is a genuine one – Thank you both so much!

The biggest Thank You of course goes out to the ten respondents of the study. Thank You all for taking the time to let me interview you and for illustrating the world of the military and all it entails.

To all of the abovementioned and to all that I might have forgotten, **Thank You!**

Figures and tables

Figure 1. <i>Analytical framework</i>	27
Table 1. <i>Security and decision-making</i>	39
Table 2. <i>Security and the use of violence</i>	40
Table 3. <i>Conflict resolution and decision-making</i>	42
Table 4. <i>Conflict resolution and the use of violence</i>	43

1. Introduction

”Too often the great decisions are originated and given form in bodies made up wholly of men, or so completely dominated by them that whatever of special value women have to offer is shunted aside without expression”.¹

During the mid 1990s, various reports circulated the world with the information that the number of armed conflict was on decrease. In 2007 this information was no longer valid. On the contrary; whereas 124 armed conflicts were active between the years 1989 to 2007, were 34 armed conflicts recorded in year 2007 alone. Hence, the number of armed conflicts is increasing.² The war on terrorism and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan additionally illustrate that war, military means and security are crucial topics of our time.

International relations imply cross boundary contacts between not only states, but also organizations and other types of actors.³ International matters directly influence people’s everyday life and issues such as war and peace are today no longer issues only relevant for the political arena alone.⁴ The modern study of international relations (hereafter IR) has been characterized by several IR perspectives i.e. ways of perceiving the world. Notwithstanding the fact that the study of IR underwent four major debates during the 20th century, one perspective remained the most prominent; namely *realism*.⁵ The realist perspective is occupied with the concepts of power, security, military capabilities and nation states.⁶

The study of IR and thus also the mainstream theory, realism, historically neglected the issue of gender in its analyzes. Hence, the field of IR has often been described to enhance men’s control of power.⁷ The lack of the inclusion of gender within IR theory resulted in the 1980s that a new critical theory emerged on the IR arena, namely *feminism*.⁸ According to mainstream feminists, realism has been gender biased and only allowed influences from masculinity and the rational male. Women’s ways of perceiving the world and society has

¹ Ann J. Tickner, *Gender in International Relations - feminist perspectives on achieving global security* (Columbia University Press, 1992) p. 1

² “Frequently Asked Questions”, Uppsala Conflict Data Program

³ Jakob Gustavsson & Jonas Tallberg, ”Inledning” in Jakob Gustavsson & Jonas Tallberg (ed.) *Internationella relationer* (Studentlitteratur, 2006) p. 23

⁴ Gustavsson & Tallberg, 2006 p. 7 & 23

⁵ Ibid., p. 26-29

⁶ Martin Hall, “Realism” in Jakob Gustavsson & Jonas Tallberg (ed) *Internationella relationer* (Studentlitteratur, 2006) p. 35-37

⁷ Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations: issues, debates and future directions* (Polity Press, 2006) p. 1 & Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) p. 2

⁸ Steans, 2006 p. 1

thus been left out of analyzes. This has consequently had severe implications for the gender perspective.⁹

One of the core elements within IR theory is security.¹⁰ Whilst all common scholars within IR would agree that security is an essential issue¹¹, security has had and continues to have different meanings to different peoples.¹² A broad definition of security could be “a state of being safe, free from danger, injury, harm of any sort”. However, similarly to most concepts within IR, security is a contested term and a simple definition like the above, would hardly satisfy all scholars within the field.¹³ Notwithstanding the fact that several researchers have indicated that the concept of security entails much more than military security¹⁴, the rise of armed conflicts confirms that military security is still largely present and of significance. However, as within IR theory in general, the gender perspective has not been incorporate in security studies.¹⁵

The fact that gender seem to have been a disregarded topic within the fields of IR has agitated the feminist perspective.¹⁶ Neither within feminism in general nor within IR feminism, does *one* single type of feminism exist.¹⁷ Nonetheless, commonly for all types of feminisms is the ambition to “understand the power relationship between the sexes and the interest for the construction of what characterizes masculinity and femininity”.¹⁸ As for the issue of security, three types of feminisms have somewhat contested views of the gender variable, namely *essentialist-*, *standpoint-* and *difference feminism*.¹⁹

In short terms do the three types of feminism all argue that men and women’s life experiences differ and thus also their perspectives on different issue.²⁰ Firstly, whereas men in relation to security and conflict resolution are considered to be violent, are women considered to be peaceful and less prone to use violence. Women are thus more likely to oppose war and create “alternatives to violence in resolving conflicts”.²¹ Secondly, are women more than men

⁹ Michael Sheehan, *International Security – an analytical survey* (Lynne Rienner, 2005) p. 115-117

¹⁰ Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James & Patrick M. Morgan *Security Studies Today* (Polity Press, 1999) p. 1

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1

¹³ Steans, 2006 p. 63

¹⁴ Terriff et al., 1999 p. 1-2

¹⁵ Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, “Gender and Security” in Alan Collins (ed.) *Contemporary Security Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2007) p. 83

¹⁶ Cynthia Cockburn, *From where we stand* (Zed Books, 2007) p. 248 & Hooper, 2006 p. 379 & Sheehan, årtal p. 130

¹⁷ Steans, 2006 p.12

¹⁸ Annica Kronsell, “Feminism” in Jacob Gustavsson & Jonas Tallberg (ed.) *Internationella relationer* (Studentlitteratur, 2006) p. 104

¹⁹ Goldstein, 2001 p. 41-42

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41-42 & Sheehan, 2005 p. 119

²¹ Goldstein, 2001 p. 42

likely to involve in social relationships, whilst men on the other hand are considered more individual and autonomous than women. These arguments are rooted in the belief that boys and girls develop different moral systems.²² While boys prefer games that can result in conflicts are girls “less tolerant of high levels of conflict”.²³ Hence, the result is that men form relationships as autonomous individuals and seek to be “alone at the top of a hierarchy” whilst women focus on social connections and seek to be “at the center of a web”.²⁴ Women and men are thus believed to have different ways of thinking and dealing with conflict resolution and shaping security.²⁵ However, there seems to be a lack of empirical research that can either confirm or falsify the above feminist assumptions regarding decision-making and use of violence with regard to security and conflict resolution.

Consequently, I pose the relevant research question; *is it possible that women and men reason differently regarding security and conflict resolution?* A research that aims to scrutinize this question would be of great interest both for researchers within the field of IR as well as within security and gender studies. It would be of interest since such an investigation could possibly illustrate whether or not women and men contribute with different aspects within the fields of security and conflict resolution. Such an investigation would thus also scrutinize the level of significance for women and men’s partaking within the fields.

In order to carry out a research that examines women and men’s reasoning about security and conflict resolution, it would be feasible to qualitatively investigate a group of people (both women and men) that *daily* works with security and conflict resolution, and whose actions and interpretations can have *direct* implications for other people. A national armed force constitutes an example of such a grouping. It would further be advantageous to select a national military force belonging to a county with high levels of gender equality and female military participation. If women’s partaking in the military is recognized and acknowledged, I argue that the women would be more likely to express their own individual attitudes than would be the case in an armed forces where their partaking is counteracted.

Sweden is one of the most gender equal countries in the world.²⁶ Even though the Swedish Armed Forces by tradition has been and still is a male dominated authority²⁷, recent internal documents recognize that the organization would be both “better” and “more

²² Goldstein, 2001 p. 46

²³ Sheehan, 2005 p. 119

²⁴ Goldstein, 2001 p. 46

²⁵ Sheehan, 2005 p. 119

²⁶ *Human Development Report 2007/2008* (United Nations Development Programme) p. 229, 330, 326 & 343

²⁷ “Jämställdhetsarbete”, Swedish Armed Forces

effective” if a higher degree of gender equality was achieved.²⁸ In January 2009 a total number of 25.575 persons were employed with the Swedish Armed Forces. Out of this figure 3.139 (equivalent to 12.3 percent) were females.²⁹

Thus, to answer the question whether or not men and women reason differently regarding security and conflict resolution, a qualitative investigation (i.e. deep interviews) of men and women within the Swedish Armed Forces, would constitute a beneficial and interesting case study. Analyzes of Swedish security doctrines and the Swedish military organization have seldom been objects for feminist theories.³⁰ This fact makes the Swedish Armed Forces even more interesting as analytical object.

The outline of this study is the following; chapter two presents the purpose of the study and chapter three the specified research questions used to operationalize the purpose. Chapter four provides with a short background to the object of analysis and chapter five presents the theoretical framework of the study with focus on IR theory, gender, security studies and feminism. Chapter five also outlines the analytical framework which constitutes the very base of the research. Chapter six delineates the choice of research design and case selection, and chapter seven discusses the method, material and mode of procedure. Whereas chapter eight presents the empirical results and the analysis of the study, chapter nine outlines the final conclusions. Lastly chapter ten discusses potential issues for future researchers to study within the fields of security and conflict resolution.

2. Purpose

The purpose of this study is thus to examine *how men and women within the Swedish Armed Forces reason about decision-making and the use of violence in relation to security and conflict resolution, and whether or not their reasoning differ.*

²⁸ *Försvarsmaktens Jämställdhetsplan 2006-2008* (Swedish Armed Forces) p.6 & 8

²⁹ *Försvarsmaktens årsredovisning 2008* (Swedish Armed Forces) bilaga 3, p. 24-25 & 28

³⁰ Annica Kronsell & Erika Svedberg, “The Duty to Protect: Gender in the Swedish Practice of Conscription” (Sage publications, 2001)

3. Specified research questions

The following chapter presents the four specified research questions that form the base of the empirical analysis of this study. The questions depart from the theoretical discussion and the analytical framework that are presented in chapter 5 and aim at reaching the purpose described in the previous chapter. Every question is characterized by a theme and is followed by one example of how I intend to operationalize the question.

- **Theme one: Security**

1. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason when decisions regarding security need to be taken?

I intend to answer this question by interviewing women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces (selection of the respondents is outlined in section 7.3.1). One example of interview question is: If you were in a situation where you, if you broke a code of conduct could ensure security for someone else (for example not to fire a warning shot before firing the real shot), would you do it? (If yes; why? If no; why not?)

2. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason about the use of violence related to security?

Example of interview question: Do you think it is legitimate to use violence in order to uphold security? (If yes; why and in what situations? If no; why not?)

- **Theme two: Conflict resolution**

3. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason when decisions regarding conflict resolution need to be made?

Example of interview question: Imagine that you and a group of soldiers are on an international mission and suddenly you find yourselves in a situation where two farmers battle

over the same piece of land. The two farmers and their families are gathering weapons and an *immediate* clash between them are only minutes away. How would you try to solve this situation?

4. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason about the use of violence as a mean to handle conflicts?

Example of interview question: Do you think it is legitimate to use violence in order to solve a conflict?

4. Background

The following chapter presents a short overview of Swedish gender equality, the Swedish Armed Forces. This Chapter thus provides a background for understanding the choice of the Swedish Armed Forces as analytical object.

The United Nations Development Program annually produces a global development report. The report focuses not only on economic growth but include factors such as life expectancy, human capabilities and equality.³¹ The 2007/2008 report gave high scores to Sweden and its gender equality. The report ranked Sweden sixth in the world at the *Human Development Index*, second at the *Gender Empowerment Index* and fifth at the *Gender-related Development Index*. The Report additionally indicated that almost half (47,3 percent) of the seats in the Swedish parliament was held by women.³² Hence, Sweden can be described as one of the most gender equal countries in the world.

The Swedish Armed Forces constitute one of Sweden's largest authorities and it is regulated by the Swedish parliament and government. The Armed Forces constitute the only legitimate Swedish authority that is authorized to engage in armed combat and it is thus the most prominent security policy resource in the country. The objectives of the Armed Forces are to protect Sweden's national integrity as well as assist in, and carry out international security operations. The Armed Forces are characterized by four different sectors i.e. the

³¹ "Human Development Reports", United Nations Development Programme

³² *Human Development Report 2007/2008* p. 229, 330, 326 & 343

Army, the Navy, the Airforce and the Home Guard. Jointly, the sectors enjoy an annual budget of SEK 40 billion.³³

The Swedish Armed Forces is by tradition a male dominated authority.³⁴ In January 2009 a total number of 25.575 persons were employed with the organization. Out of this figure 3.139 (equivalent to 12.3 percent) were females, whereas 2.494 women were employed within civil services. While 8.914 men were employed as career officers, the equivalent number for women was 439, a figure corresponding to 4.7 percent.³⁵ In 2007, female participation in international missions varied between 4,8 percent to 11,4 percent depending on the geographic location of the operation.³⁶

Notwithstanding the fact that women have been civically engaged in the Swedish Armed Forces throughout the 20th century, it was not until the 1980s that women were permitted to engage in the military services. In 1975, an official governmental inquiry stated that women should be permitted to access a few posts within the Airforce. In 1989 were women given formal access to the entire Armed Forces, on the condition that they intended to reach an officer-level. At present are women's participation in the forces highly recognized and in 2003 a policy plan of equality was adopted.³⁷ The most recent key document regarding gender equality is the *Swedish Armed Forces Gender Equality Policy Plan 2006-2008*. The plan is partly influenced by the *UN Security Council Resolution 1325* on 'women, peace and security'.³⁸

The *UNSC Resolution 1325* both acknowledges women's vulnerability and affectedness in armed conflicts as well as confirms the importance of women's participation in conflict resolution and peace building. It further stresses the need to include women's special needs in and after conflicts.³⁹ The Resolution thus calls on "all UN member countries to ensure the equal participation of women, at all decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes".⁴⁰

The *Swedish Armed Forces Gender Equality Policy Plan 2006-2008* states that the Swedish Armed Forces at present do not constitute a "gender equal place of employment".⁴¹

³³ "Om försvarsmakten", Swedish Armed Forces

³⁴ "Jämställdhetsarbete", Swedish Armed Forces

³⁵ *Försvarsmaktens årsredovisning 2008*, bilaga 3, p. 24-25 & 28

³⁶ "Suzanne Seelands rapport om Genderforce", Genderforce Sweden, p. 1

³⁷ "Historik och statistik", Swedish Armed Forces webpage

³⁸ "Jämställdhetsarbete", Swedish Armed Forces webpage, &

From words to action (Genderforce Sweden) p. 7

³⁹ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

⁴⁰ "Suzanne Seelands rapport om Genderforce", Genderforce Sweden, p. 1

⁴¹ *Försvarsmaktens Jämställdhetsplan 2006-2008*, p. 5

However, the plan acknowledges that the organization would be both “better” and “more effective” if a higher degree of gender equality was achieved.⁴² One objective with the plan is to increase the number of females within military services, a goal which can be achieved by taking “special recruiting measures” for female officers.⁴³ As for international gender equality the Plan points out the importance of the Swedish gender development project called *Genderforce*.⁴⁴

In 2004, the Swedish Armed Forces initiated a project, *Genderforce*, with the intention to improve international operations through a gender perspective.⁴⁵ The project was temporary and ended as planned in the end of 2007.⁴⁶ *Genderforce* was a development partnership and included six different partners from civilian and military organizations and NGOs.⁴⁷ The project aimed at implementing the contents of the *UNSC Resolution 1325* and thus intended to include the needs of both women and men in conflict situations, civically as well as military. For example did the project recommend that 30 percent of every Swedish international operation should be comprised by women.⁴⁸ *Genderforce* further centralized the importance to “make women active at all decision-making levels”, while at the same time recognizing that most of the authorities within the development project’s partnership were male dominated.⁴⁹ One objective within *Genderforce* was to gender analyze all policy documents in order to hinder that “vagueness and gender blindness” would impede gender equality within operations.⁵⁰ The project additionally outlined the importance to educate *gender field advisors* and create *gender coach programs* to facilitate knowledge and understanding about gender.⁵¹

According to the Swedish Armed Forces, it is important to reach out to *all* people, women included, in the area where an operation is taken place. To reach out to women and to acquire their experiences and views, it is avowed significance to include women in the operating troops.⁵² It is thus recognized that women and men’s experiences in any given area,

⁴² *Försvarsmaktens Jämställdhetsplan 2006-2008* p.6 & 8

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 7

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8

⁴⁵ “Jämställdhetsarbete”, Swedish Armed Forces

⁴⁶ *From words to action* (Genderforce Sweden) p. 5

⁴⁷ The six partners are: the Swedish Armed Forces, the Swedish Police, the Swedish Rescue Services Agency, the Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, the Association of Military Officers in Sweden and the Swedish Women’s Voluntary Defence Organization.

⁴⁸ “Checklista för att anlägga ett genusperspektiv på internationella insatser”, Genderforce Sweden, p. 2

⁴⁹ *From words to action* (Genderforce Sweden) p. 4-6

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9 & 11

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14 & 20

⁵² “Gender frågor vikiga för Nordic Battle Group”, Swedish Armed Forces

never can be portrayed as the same.⁵³ Hence, women's participation, both civically and military is assumed to "bring additional competence, experience and reach out to the female population".⁵⁴

Analyses of Swedish security doctrines and the Swedish military organization has seldom been objects for feminist theories. "One reason for the lack of gender perspectives on the discourse of war, militarism, and security in Sweden might be that much of today's academic feminist theory owes its existence to women's activism". Since women's movement have historically strong ties to the peace movement, this fact might explain why many feminists have shown reluctance to involve in issues such as gendered identities in the context of war and security.⁵⁵ The lack of empirical gender analyzes within security studies that depart from feminist theory, encourages me to take one on. As of this study, I have decided to depart from the Swedish Armed Forces. The reasons behind this choice are firstly, that the Armed Forces directly and daily manage issues such as security and conflict resolution. Secondly, the Armed Forces are often in direct face-to-face contact with other human beings⁵⁶ and thus do their reasoning and actions have the potential to affect several people. Thirdly, Sweden is one of the most gender equal countries in the world and female participation within the military force seem to be both acknowledged and recognized. Consequently, the Swedish Armed Forces constitute a suitable and feasible analytical object as for the purpose of this study (case selection is further outlined in section 6.2).

5. Theory

The following Chapter outlines the theories that form the theoretical base of this study. The chapter is divided into five themes; IR and gender, Realism and feminism, Security, Security and gender and lastly Difference-, standpoint- and essentialist feminism; security and conflict resolution. Each section ends with a short summary and a description of its theoretical contribution to the study. In a final section, all theories are interwoven and an analytical framework is presented. This framework consequently constitutes the basis for the purpose and the specified research questions which were presented in Chapter 2 and 3.

⁵³ "Genusanalys och krig", Swedish Armed Forces

⁵⁴ "Suzanne Seelands rapport om Genderforce", Genderforce Sweden, p. 1

⁵⁵ Kronsell & Svedberg, 2001 p. 156

⁵⁶ "The Swedish Army", Swedish Armed Forces

5.1 International relations and gender

Gender has historically not been incorporated in IR theory and thus has IR as discourse often been portrayed as “crudely patriarchal”.⁵⁷ Patriarchy can be described as a social structure which is based on men’s control of power.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, feminist theory began its advancement within international politics in the 1980s, e.g. through Cynthia Enloe’s book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. One of the objectives of gender studies at this time was to demonstrate the invisibility of gender and women within the field.⁵⁹

When trying to investigate the existence of gender within IR, an initial question to pose is: what does the concept of *gender* include? “Gender” and “sex” are often mutually utilized. However gender refers *not* to what “men and women are biologically, but to the ideology and material relations that exist between ‘men’ and ‘women’”. Masculinity and femininity can thus be described as gendered terms rather than biological characteristics. Hence, while individuals are biologically born as men or females, certain characteristics (*gender* e.g. masculinity and femininity) are expected to socially and culturally develop within all individuals. In this way, gender relations and gendered stereotypes and identities are reproduced.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, various types of feminism e.g. *essentialist feminism* argues that gender, masculinity and femininity can be referred to as biological differences rather than social ones (see further in section 5.5).

The ideology that has made most use of the term gender is *feminism*. Cynthia Enloe has argued that the invisibility of women within international politics not only conceals the femininity of politics but also the masculinity.⁶¹ Mainstream feminism has historically challenged the dominant social definitions of what ‘a woman’ and what ‘being a woman’ really constitute.⁶² As abovementioned did feminism progress in the 1980s. To understand why feminism emerged when it did, it is important to briefly understand the history of IR theory. During the 20th century, the development of IR theory underwent four major *debates* whereas the issue of gender truly emerged within the last debate.⁶³

The first debate was called *political idealism* and surfaced after the First World War. It was characterized by a desire to respect international norms and institutions in order to uphold peace. After the collapse of the League of Nations and the outbreak of the Second World War,

⁵⁷ Steans, 2006 p. 1

⁵⁸ Goldstein, 2001 p. 2

⁵⁹ Steans, 2006 p. 1

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7-8

⁶¹ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: making feminist sense of international politics* (University of California Press, 2000) p. 11

⁶² Steans, 2006 p. 7-8

⁶³ Gustavsson & Tallberg, 2006 p. 26

idealism was nonetheless challenged and won over by *realism* which focused primarily on states, power and security.⁶⁴ The second debate emerged in the late 1950s and consisted of a struggle between *behaviouralist* and *traditionalists*. The discussions focused on to what extent scientific methodologies within social sciences should be inspired by natural science and an objective view of knowledge.⁶⁵ Realism conclusively remained the dominating perspective.⁶⁶ The third debate commenced in the 1970s and can be described as a struggle between three competing theoretical perspectives: *realism*, *liberalism* and *marxism*. The two latter criticized realism for being too normative and the debate ended in theoretical pluralism.⁶⁷ The fourth and final debate evolved in the 1980s between *positivist* and *post-positivist* perspectives. The latter criticized the traditional approaches for being positivists i.e. departing from the view that knowledge is objective. Post-positivists on the other hand argued that knowledge was subjectively constructed and that it was impossible to separate a researcher from his or her research. The fourth debate both originated from and resulted in various post-positivist critical theories e.g. feminism.⁶⁸

Realism can conclusively be described as the dominant and mainstream theory within IR during the second half of the 20th century. This fact implies that the world has been looked upon “as it was rather than as they [realists] would like it to be”.⁶⁹ IR has thus to a very large extent been analyzed and perceived through lenses of realism. Feminists argue that these lenses have created severe implications for the gender perspective. Feminists claim that realism has been gender biased and only influenced by masculinity and the rational male. Women’s ways of perceiving the world and society has thus been left out of analyzes. “IR theory has overwhelmingly been constructed by men [...] seen through a male eye and apprehended through a male sensibility”.⁷⁰ IR thus continues to be “blind to its own masculinist reflections”.⁷¹

Summary and theoretical contribution to the study: Gender has historically not been central within the study of IR. Feminism emerged as a critical response to the dominant theory; realism. Feminism has severely criticized realism for being influenced by men and

⁶⁴ Steans, 2006 p. 20-21

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.20-21 & Gustavsson & Tallberg, 2006 p. 27-28

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 28

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 29 & Steans, 2006 p. 21-22

⁶⁸ Steans, 2006 p. 22-23 & Gustavsson & Tallberg, 2006 p. 29

⁶⁹ Terriff et al., 1999 p. 29

⁷⁰ Sheehan, 2005 p. 115-117

⁷¹ Charlotte Hooper, “Masculinities, IR and the ‘gender variable’” in Richard Little & Michael Smith (ed.) *Perspectives on World Politics* (Routledge, 2006) p. 381

masculinity solely. Hence, women and femininity have not been taken into consideration. This section has thus illuminated that in order to understand feminism within IR, one also needs to understand realism.

5.2. Realism and feminism

As previously described, was realism during the 1960s and 1970s object for severe criticism. As a result, realism developed an additional branch i.e. *neo-realism*. Despite the fact that some scholars would certainly identify themselves as a neo-realist but not realist, the theoretical approaches share multiple fundamental characteristics.⁷² In order to simplify the discussion and since realism do not constitute the *main* approach as of this study, I will depart from realism and neo-realism as *one* perspective.

The original aim of realism was to develop an IR theory that could explain state behavior. The core concept within realism is *power* and since nation states represent “the greatest concentrations of power” they are considered the main units of interest.⁷³ Due to the fact that the world has no supra national authority with the ability to regulate the acts of its autonomous parts (nation states), realists claim that the international system is characterized by anarchy. Realism further argues that no “harmony of interest” exists within the anarchic world order, i.e. states are conflictual and ultimately have to rely on themselves for protection and security. States are thus forced to assert to self-help and to assure enough military capabilities in order to protect themselves vis-à-vis other states.⁷⁴ When a state acquires military strength, the outcome is that also surrounding states are forced to rearm. This creates a spiral of re-armament and in order for war to be avoided, the establishment of a *balance of power* is required. The balance of power constitutes a situation in which all nation states realize that they have comparatively equal military capabilities and thus do states rather observe than attack each other.⁷⁵

Feminist theory cannot be described as *one single* theory. Rather it contains several different approaches e.g. liberal feminism and post-colonial feminism. Nonetheless it is possible to claim that all approaches start off with the same core concepts: gender and gender structure. Feminists argue that gender constitutes a fundamental principle of structure that is of relevance for not only the formation of the private sphere, but for all types of relations.⁷⁶

⁷² Terriff et al., 1999 p. 29-30

⁷³ Ibid., p. 30 & 39

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 30-38 & Hall, 2006 p. 35-42

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 30-38 & Hall, 2006 p. 35-42

⁷⁶ Kronsell, 2006 p. 103-105 & Steans, 2006 p. 12

Feminism further supports women's interest, opposes men's assumed superiority and advocates gender equality.⁷⁷

Feminism has repeatedly criticized the field of IR for marginalizing women and for universalizing the "gender identity into that of the rational man".⁷⁸ However, just as feminist theory cannot be pressed together as one, neither is there *one single* feminist approach within IR.⁷⁹ Two feminist approaches are for example *liberal feminism* and *essential feminism*. Liberal feminists focus on the similarities between the sexes and claim that inequality and existing differences between men and women can be explained by discriminatory legislation, laws and institutions.⁸⁰ Essential feminism on the contrary focuses on the differences between the sexes and argues that there is "a core biological essence to being male or female".⁸¹ Hence, liberal feminism and essential feminism are both directly concerned with gender and gender structure, however they perceive and analyze the world through different lenses. However, regardless of what feminist theory is under scrutiny, one common ambition remains consistent: the ambition to "understand the power relationship between the sexes and the interest for the construction of what characterizes masculinity and femininity".⁸² In trying to deduce such an ambition, feminism exposes entirely different scientific standpoints than what is applicable to realism.

A common debate within social sciences is the confrontation between the two scientific theories; *positivism* and *hermeneutics*. Depending on what scientific ideal a researcher assumes will directly affect his or her research. While *positivism* emphasizes scientific objectivity and argues that natural science can explain events happening within social sciences, *hermeneutics* emphasize the human subjectivity and claim that social science is directly different from natural science.⁸³ Whilst realist researchers depart from positivism and claim that they analyze the world with objective lenses and without being affected by for example their sex, feminists argue the contrary. Most types of feminism sets off in a post-positivist scientific theory with the argument that it is impossible for any researcher to objectively analyze the world, rather all researchers' reality directly influence how he or she perceives the world. Gender thus constitutes an example of this reality.⁸⁴ Another two core elements of scientific theory are of relevance for the discussion of realism and feminism;

⁷⁷ Goldstein, 2001 p. 2

⁷⁸ Sheehan, 2005 p. 130

⁷⁹ Steans, 2006 p. 12

⁸⁰ Kronsell, 2006 p. 107 & Sheehan, 2005 p. 121

⁸¹ Sheehan, 2005 p. 119

⁸² Kronsell, 2006 p. 104

⁸³ Lennart Lundquist, *Det vetenskapliga studiet av politik* (Studentlitteratur, 1993) p. 40-44

⁸⁴ Kronsell, 2006 p. 106

ontology and *epistemology*. Ontology is concerned with “what is the nature of reality” i.e. is reality ‘real’ or is it constructed? Epistemology is further concerned with “what constitutes knowledge” i.e. is the knowledge about the world factual or is it constructed?⁸⁵ Whilst feminists argue that knowledge (epistemology) and social reality (ontology) are socially constructed, realists argue the contrary.⁸⁶ As previously described does feminism argue that realism has constructed a norm based not on *all* people but on men and masculinity alone. Feminists thus blame this contraction on realism’s positivist assertions.⁸⁷

Summary and theoretical contribution to the study: This section has illustrated the main differences and controversies between realism and feminism. Whereas realism departs from a male norm and extensively focuses on military power and capabilities, feminism criticizes the male influence and argues that the current gender structures need to be reconsidered.

One of the core concepts within mainstream IR theory (realism) has traditionally been security.⁸⁸ Feminism has thus been eager to include the issue of gender also within security studies. However, before a discussion of security and gender can take place, it is important to understand the concept of security as a whole.

5.3 Security

“... security has been studied and fought over for as long as there has been human societies”.⁸⁹ Whilst all common scholars within IR would agree that security is an essential issue⁹⁰, security has had and continues to have different meanings to different peoples.⁹¹ A broad definition of security could be “a state of being safe, free from danger, injury, harm of any sort”. However, just like most concepts within IR, security is a contested term and a simple definition like the above, would hardly satisfy all scholars within the field.⁹² Due to the absence of a universal definition and the essential differences between IR theoretical approaches, the study of security becomes a complex task.⁹³

⁸⁵ Steans, 2006 p. 2 & 22

⁸⁶ Sheehan, 2005 p. 117

⁸⁷ Kronsell, 2006 p. 106

⁸⁸ Terriff et al., 1999 p. 38-39

⁸⁹ Paul D. Williams “Security Studies: An Introduction” in Paul D Williams (ed.) *Security Studies – an Introduction* (Routledge, 2008) p. 2

⁹⁰ Terriff et al., 1999 p. 9

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1

⁹² Steans, 2006 p. 63

⁹³ Terriff et al., 1999 p. 1-2

Since realism has been considered the mainstream theoretical approach within IR, its perception of security has consequently influenced and permeated most security studies.⁹⁴ Realism defines security as “a guarantee of safety” which depends ultimately on military power and capabilities.⁹⁵ Security is thus considered as a commodity (money, weapons, army) and “the more power (military power) actors can accumulate, the more secure they will be”.⁹⁶ Hence, security is ultimately concerned with force and violence, whereas war is considered as an instrument in achieving and maintaining a balance of power.⁹⁷

Security studies have been criticized both during and certainly after the Cold War. Criticism has been pointed on the traditional state-centrism and the focus on objective knowledge and military strength.⁹⁸ However, new ideas and concepts have come to challenge the traditional ways of approaching security. Buzan has influentially argued that security is related not only to states and military capabilities, but that security affects all “human collectivities” and is influenced by sectors such as; the political, economic, societal and environmental ones.⁹⁹ Buzan thus defines security as “the absence of violence, or use of force”.¹⁰⁰ Caroline Thomas has additionally argued that contemporary violent conflicts have developed new security patters and characteristics. Thomas identifies poverty, famine and ecology as examples of the new types of threats.¹⁰¹ Conclusively, feminist scholars oppose the traditional thought of security as a maximum of self-defence. Rather feminists often adhere to two principles of security: that of inclusivity (security must be achieved globally) and that of holism (security is by nature multi-leveled and inter-connected). Feminism thus distinguishes relationships and individuals as the basic actors in the field, with a focus on human security and social justice.¹⁰²

Summary and theoretical contribution to the study: Security is a deeply contested concept and a universal definition does not exist. Realism has dominated the field of IR and consequently also the study of security. Thus has security issues either been in support of, or against the realist focus on violence, war and militarism. However, alternative approaches have

⁹⁴ Terriff et al., 1999 p. 29-30

⁹⁵ Steans, 2006 p. 64 & Terriff et al., 1999 p. 39

⁹⁶ Williams, 2008 p. 6

⁹⁷ Sheehan, 2005 p. 12 & 19

⁹⁸ Steans, 2006 p. 66 & Williams, 2008 p. 3

⁹⁹ Williams, 2008 p. 3-4

¹⁰⁰ Terriff et al., 1999 p. 84

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 84

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 94-98

successfully emerged; feminism with its focus on soft values is one of them. This raises the question of interconnectedness between security and gender.

5.4 Security and gender

The study of security has similarly to most IR fields not been distinctively influenced by gender. The inclusion of gender in security analyses is thus a relatively new phenomenon¹⁰³ and the emergence of gender was initially met with both resentment and ridicule. Today the inclusion of gender in security studies is widely recognized.¹⁰⁴

Security studies have often been portrayed as gender-neutral, nonetheless "international security is infused with gendered assumptions and representations".¹⁰⁵ Since the development of knowledge and theory is influenced by experience and since most decision-makers in the world are male; theories and knowledge of IR are unavoidably gender biased.¹⁰⁶ "Not only do men make IR, IR may help produce and maintain masculine identities".¹⁰⁷ Unsurprisingly is feminism the theoretical perspective that decisively has adopted the "gender variable" in their analyses of security.¹⁰⁸ The correlation between gender and security is directly influenced by what theoretical lenses one assumes.¹⁰⁹ For example do essential feminists argue that men and women are fundamentally different which thus creates implications for the construction of security and conflict resolution. Hence, women and men reason differently. Liberal feminists on the contrary reject the determinist claim of essential feminism and argue that women should be included in the security system but that women and men by nature do not reason differently about the issues.¹¹⁰

While gender roles may diverge across cultures, the field of war is considered the one with highest frequency of gender roles across societies.¹¹¹ The task of "defining and defending the security of the state has been seen as the work of men".¹¹² War studies written by men have historically tended to neglect the issue of gender. Hence, feminism has been greatly occupied with questioning the gender biases of war.¹¹³

¹⁰³ Kennedy-Pipe, 2007 p. 83

¹⁰⁴ Sandra Withworth, "Feminist Perspectives" in Paul D. Williams (ed.) *Security Studies – An Introduction* (Routledge, 2008) p. 104

¹⁰⁵ Withworth, 2008 p. 104

¹⁰⁶ Sheehan, 2005 p. 115-116

¹⁰⁷ Hooper, 2006 p. 379

¹⁰⁸ Sheehan, 2005 p. 123

¹⁰⁹ Withworth, 2008 p. 104

¹¹⁰ Sheehan, 2005 p. 119 & 121

¹¹¹ Goldstein, 2001 p. 7

¹¹² Kennedy-Pipe, 2007 p. 77

¹¹³ Goldstein, 2001 p. 34-35

Since security is closely interrelated to war, conflict and violence, it has become essential for all security studies to include the theme of war and armed conflict in their analyses.¹¹⁴ However, war is not easily defined. While political scientists often refer to war as a battle that produces at least 1000 fatalities, the IR scholar Joshua S. Goldstein widely defines war as “lethal intergroup violence”.¹¹⁵

At present are 75 percent of all war casualties civilians.¹¹⁶ Women and children are often the most exposed and disprivileged groups in conflicts e.g. as refugees and as strategic targets for combatants.¹¹⁷ Not only are women especially vulnerable in and affected by war, women have historically also been excluded from the masculine dominated military field.¹¹⁸ In 2005 the UN estimated that only one percent of all military contingents worldwide were made up by women.¹¹⁹ Furthermore are generals, chief of staffs’ and negotiators within the military mostly male.¹²⁰ Notwithstanding a rise of female participation in combats, women within the military are still more generally engaged in civil services such as administration and support.¹²¹

Within security literature, war has ultimately been associated with masculine attributes such as courage, protection, honour and physical strength. Nurture and care have on the contrary been attributed to women and femininity.¹²² Despite the clear male dominance in both war analyses and within the military, scholars have tended not to include the topic of gender in their studies.¹²³ Feminists thus often refer to the cyclical argument that not only do men and masculinity shape war, also war shapes men and masculinity.¹²⁴

The antonym of war is peace. Realism has traditionally classified peace in negative terms i.e. peace is the “absence of war”.¹²⁵ Mainstream feminism on the other hand tends to include factors such as the absence of distress, unhappiness and several varieties of violence in their definitions of peace. When discussing peace, feminism also emphasizes the importance of people’s abilities to control their own lives.¹²⁶ In war literature, men have

¹¹⁴ Withworth, 2008 p. 107

¹¹⁵ Goldstein, 2001 p. 2-3

¹¹⁶ Inger Skjelsbaek & Dan Smith, “Introduction” in Inger Skjelsbaek & Dan Smith (ed.) *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (SAGE, 2001) p. 3

¹¹⁷ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

¹¹⁸ Kennedy-Pipe, 2007 p. 76-80

¹¹⁹ Genderforce Sweden, *From words to action*, p. 2

¹²⁰ Steans, 2006 p. 55

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51

¹²² Kennedy-Pipe, 2007 p. 76,78, 83 & 85

¹²³ Steans, 2006 p. 47

¹²⁴ Cockburn, 2007) p. 248 & Hooper, 2006 p. 379

¹²⁵ Sheehan, 2005 p. 118 & Terriff et al., 1999 p. 95

¹²⁶ Steans, 2006 p. 60

tended to be associated with war whilst women have been associated with peace.¹²⁷ Regardless of how much essence it is possible to find in these associations, the nexus have directly come to influence the study of war and feminism.¹²⁸ The war/peace dichotomies, i.e. women are peaceful and men are violent, also divides the branches within feminism.¹²⁹ Whilst liberal feminists argue that women are *not* more peaceful than men, standpoint feminists support the idea of the natural war/peace nexus.¹³⁰

Summary and theoretical contribution to the study: Security is closely linked to the study of war and peace. However, both security and war analyses have tended to neglect the issue of gender, a fact that has agitated the feminist perspective. Whereas some branches of feminism argue that men and women think similarly regarding security and conflict resolution, others argue the direct opposite. Hence, the moment has come to thoroughly discuss the three branches of feminism that form the basis of this study.

5.5 Difference-, standpoint- and essential feminism; security and conflict resolution

This study aims at uncovering whether or not women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason differently about decision-making and use of violence with regard to security and conflict resolution. The basis for this intention are three feminisms that all in one way or another argue that women in fact think differently than men as of these topics.

Difference-, standpoint- and essential feminism are three interrelated approaches of feminism that claim that men and women's experiences differ and thus also their perspectives on different issue.¹³¹ Although the three feminisms are variants of one another, they also have internal differences. For example do they differ regarding the belief that the differences between men and women are socially or biologically constructed and whether or not the differences should be cherished or challenged.

Difference feminism argues that women and men have essentially different life experiences which are valued according to a sexist culture in which 'feminine' qualities are devalued and not celebrated. Hence, difference feminists affirm that women, because they have larger experiences of human relations and nurture in war times, they are more effective than men in "conflict resolution and group decision-making". Based on the same principle i.e.

¹²⁷ Steans, 2006 p. 48

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 50 & Kennedy-Pipe, 2007 p. 86

¹²⁹ Steans, 2006 p. 58-61

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 61 & Goldstein, 2001 p. 40

¹³¹ Goldstein, 2001 p. 41-42 & Sheehan, 2005 p. 119

that experiences determines thinking, women are also less effective than men in combat situations. Whereas some difference feminists argue that the gender differences are socially constructed, other argues that the differences are biologically motivated. Nevertheless, all agree that gender differences do exist and are not automatically of negative character.¹³² Difference feminists have two main arguments related to the discussion of war. Firstly, difference feminists are advocates of the war/peace nexus i.e. men are violent and women are peaceful. Women are thus more likely to oppose war and create “alternatives to violence in resolving conflicts”.¹³³ Secondly, they argue that women more than men are likely to involve in social relationships, whilst men on the other hand are considered more autonomous than women. These arguments are rooted in the belief that young girls identify themselves with their mother, whereas young boys differentiate themselves from her. Carol Gilligan argues that “girls and boys develop different moral systems – based on individual rights and group responsibilities respectively”. Hence, the result is that men form relationships as autonomous individuals and seek to be “alone at the top of a hierarchy” whilst women focus on social connection and seek to be “at the center of a web”.¹³⁴ Opponents have criticized Gilligan for empirical shortcomings and for only departing from American white women and thus universalizing their history and experiences.¹³⁵

Standpoint feminism is similarly to difference feminism concerned with women’s experiences.¹³⁶ Standpoint feminists do not perceive the ‘reality’ of the world as fixed and they thus aim at moving women in to the center of IR and away from the margins. Standpoint feminism also argues that women and men’s characteristics and identities are results of occurrences and relations taking place in their formative years i.e. as girls and boys. The outcome of the early gender identification is that boys become dominant and situated in the ‘public’, whereas girls become submissive and situated in the ‘private or domestic’.¹³⁷ Standpoint feminists further argue that women due to their traditional position within the ranking of sex, have a “more interesting and relevant knowledge about the power relations between the sexes”.¹³⁸

Essential feminism emphasizes the psychological differences between men and women; whereas women are more socially connected and tend to fear abandonment, men are

¹³² Goldstein, 2001 p. 41

¹³³ Ibid., p. 42

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 46

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 46-47

¹³⁶ Steans, 2006 p. 13

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 12-14

¹³⁸ Kronsell, 2006 p. 106

individually autonomous and fear intimacy. Females are inclined to observe contextual aspects in different situations and focus on the group as a whole, whilst males are inclined to stress abstract rules and individuality. There is thus “a core biological essence to being male or female”.¹³⁹ Gilligan argues, after her research in playground behavior amongst children, that boys prefer games that can result in conflicts while girls on the other hand “are less tolerant of high levels of conflict”. Hence, women and men are believed to have different ways of thinking and dealing with conflict resolution and shaping security. Essential feminists thus claim that a world governed by women would be a more secure and peaceful world than it would be if men, who are more prone to go to war, would govern it.¹⁴⁰ Essential feminists conclusively claim that gender is biologically determined and they perceive certain male/female characteristics as immutable and inherent e.g. violence in men and nurture in women.¹⁴¹ Opponents to essential feminism has criticized this viewpoint by illustrating that also women historically have been proponents of war e.g. Golda Meir in Israel 1967, Indira Ghandi in India 1971 and Margret Thatcher in the UK 1982.¹⁴²

I have found no *empirical* research that have either verified or falsified the three feminist approaches’ arguments that women reason differently about security and conflict resolution than men. The theories thus seem to be attached in theory rather than in empirical studies.

Summary and theoretical contribution to the study: All three of the above-mentioned feminisms are concerned with women and men’s different experiences and the consequences that these bring about. Regardless if the experiences and characteristics of identity are considered positive or negative, biologically or socially constructed; all three agree that the *differences do exist*. Men and women are thus expected to relate to, and reason about security and conflict resolution differently.

The lack of empirical research on the topic encourages me to approach the matter. The aim of this study is *not* to examine *if* and *why* (e.g. socially or biologically) men and women within the Swedish Armed Forces might reason differently, rather the aim is to discover *if* and *how* women and men might reason differently. Consequently, since the three feminisms share the core assumption that men and women reason differently as of these subjects, I find it both

¹³⁹ Sheehan, 2005 p. 119

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 119

¹⁴¹ Terriff et al., p. 83

¹⁴² Sheehan, 2005 p. 119

feasible and justifiable to juxtapose the three feminisms into one category. I will in order to simplify the analysis, refer to this category as *essentialist et al. feminism*.

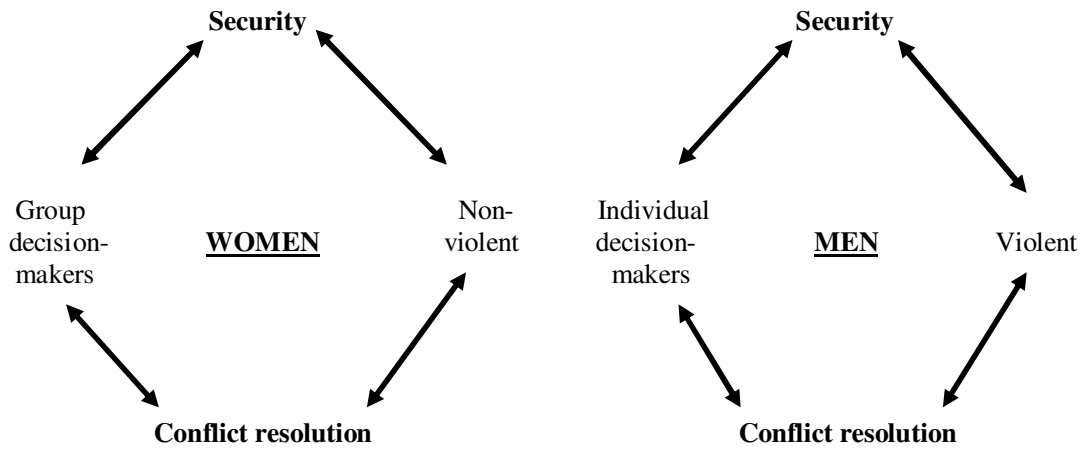
5.6 Analytical framework

When summarizing the theoretical discussions within the five above-presented themes, it is possible to establish the following six assertions:

- The study of IR has tended not to include the issue of gender in its analyses.
- Realism has constituted the dominant IR theory over time. Feminism with its focus on gender emerged within IR as a critical response to realism.
- Realism and thus IR theory, has focused extensively on the topic of security. No universal definition of security exists, however gender has not been central within security studies.
- No *single* feminist theory exists within IR, security- or war studies.
- Essentialist et al. feminism argues that men and women have different experiences and identities. Women and men thus relate to, and reason about security and conflict resolution differently.
- According to essentialist et al. feminists are women socially connected, prefer group decision-making and not inclined to use violence. Men on the other hand are individually connected, prefer individual decision-making and are prone to use violence.

These six assertions provide with the following: security continues to be an essential topic of study within IR theory. Since the topic of gender has been historically excluded from studies within IR, security and war, I find it particularly important to investigate whether or not men and women really do reason differently about decision-making and use of violence with regard to security and conflict resolution. Essentialist et al. feminism constitutes an interesting departure point, since they argue that men and women do reason differently. A study of men and women's reasoning could potentially indicate whether or not women's participation in security and conflict resolution is of significance or not. This study will thus depart from the following analytical framework:

Figure 1. Analytical framework



Women are supposed to be socially connected and thus base their decisions regarding security and conflict resolutions, on the group. Women are further assumed to be non-violent and find alternative ways of dealing with security and conflict resolution. Men on the other hand are assumed to be individually connected and thus base their decisions regarding security and conflict resolution, on their individual. Men are further assumed to be violent when dealing with security and conflict resolution.

The above-presented analytical framework will constitute the very base of this study and the assumed essentialist et al. feminist postulations will be tested as of the selected respondents of the study (see further section 7.3.1). The interview questions as well as the analysis and conclusions of the study will thus be developed with this analytical framework in mind.

Definitions of core concepts are naturally important in all types of studies. Since the empirical and analytical part of this study will focus on *security* and *conflict resolution* specifically, I find it necessary to outline how I define these concepts. *Security* is in this study defined as a concept that can be applied to other actors than national states and it includes features such as: military, societal, economic, political, environmental and human security. As for *conflict resolution*, I apply the general definition: “a process of resolving a dispute or disagreement”¹⁴³.

¹⁴³ “Special Terms on Appropriate Dispute Resolution”, Center for Dispute Resolution at the University of Maryland School of Law

6. Research design and case selection

The following chapter presents the research design and case selection of the study. The potential advantages and disadvantages, as well as the validity and reliability of the research design and case selection are discussed in chapter 7.

6.1 Research design

Within international social sciences, the use of case study as a research design is extensively utilized.¹⁴⁴ The design is well suited for projects in which a researcher aims at gathering contextual and detailed information and knowledge about an individual, political or social phenomenon.¹⁴⁵ A case study is further an excellent method in cases where a researcher seeks to test, falsify or confirm an existing theory.¹⁴⁶ The design could also with benefits be applied when a research intends to study a contemporary phenomenon that seeks answers to questions beginning with *how* and *why* something occurs.¹⁴⁷ Since the objective of this study is to gather knowledge about individuals and to examine *how* men and women within the Swedish Armed Forces reason, the use of case study evidently fits perfect.

The case study research design consists of two different branches i.e. *single case study* and *multiple case study*.¹⁴⁸ Since a multiple case study departs from multiple cases and thus can generate generalizations, it is commonly considered stronger than a single case study.¹⁴⁹ However, also a single case study can generate important and generalizing information. This is possible when a *critical case* is selected. A critical case can be defined in two ways; firstly, the *most likely case*: if a theory could be proven false in a case with favorable conditions, then it would most likely be false also for the intermediate cases. Secondly, the *least likely case*: if a theory could be proven right in a case with unfavorable conditions, then it would most likely be right also in cases with more favorable conditions.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ Robert K. Yin, *Fallstudier: design och genomförande* (Liber, 2006) p. 17

¹⁴⁵ Martyn Hammersley & Roger Gomm, "Introduction" in Martyn Hammersley & Roger Gomm & Peter Foster (ed.) *Case Study Method* (Biddles, 2000) p.2

¹⁴⁶ Bent Flyvbjerg, "The five misconceptions of case study" (Qualitative Inquiry, 2006) p. 228 & 231

¹⁴⁷ Yin, 2006 p. 17 & 31

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 32

¹⁴⁹ Flyvbjerg, 2006 p. 226

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 226

6.2 Case selection

The Swedish Armed Forces has been chosen as analytical object in this study. The reasons behind this is as previously described that Sweden constitute one of the most gender equal countries in the world and furthermore do the armed forces not only recognize gender equality, they are even convinced that it would become more effective and better.

I argue that the Swedish Armed Forces in this case provides for a *most likely case* on the grounds that; if women and men's reasoning really do differ, then women within the Swedish Armed Forces, due to the gender acknowledgements (favorable conditions), would feel permitted to express their reasoning.

Thus, it could be reasoned that, if men and women within the Swedish Armed Forces do not reason differently, then it would be most likely that men and women within other national armed forces, with less favorable conditions (e.g. gender equality is not recognized) do not reason differently either. Nevertheless, I argue that this study is too small to be able to generate generalizations. Rather the aim is to discover the current state within the Swedish Armed Forces and perhaps link that result to a broader picture, however without the intention to create larger generalizations.

7. Method and material

The following chapter presents the method, material and mode of procedure as of this study. The chapter is divided into sub-sections such as; research ethics, demarcations and validity. The chapter further discusses the advantages and possible disadvantages with the chosen method and mode of procedure.

7.1 Qualitative method

Qualitative method includes several different research techniques e.g. observation and intensive individual interviews. The objective with a qualitative method is to locate the respondents in their own context and thus explore their subjective experiences and the significance they attach to them.¹⁵¹ The method could with benefits be used in research that aims to understand how other people perceive their own world or to evaluate a theory.¹⁵² The

¹⁵¹ Fiona Devine, "Qualitative Methods" in David Marsh & Gerry Stoker (ed.) *Theory and Method in Political Science* (Palgrave, 2002) p. 197 & 199

¹⁵² Peter Essaiasson et al., *Metodpraktikan* (Elanders, 2005) p. 281-284

method is often linked to the epistemological view of how to produce knowledge. As previously described does this entail that no objective science exists, rather all sciences is permeated by the values, beliefs and subjective interpretations of the researcher.¹⁵³

In this study, I have chosen to adopt the qualitative method by using in-depth interviews with open-ended interview questions. I have done this with the intention to allow the respondents to freely discuss the topics of the study and to thoroughly express their thoughts, values and attitudes. Since most of the interviews take place in the respondents own context (see further section 7.3.3) the study is also observational by nature.¹⁵⁴ This implies that I can observe and take into consideration how the respondents react and behave during the interviews.

7.2 Hermeneutic standpoints

A researcher's choice of scientific theory or science ideal directly influences a research. My study assumes a hermeneutic approach i.e. I highlight and embrace the human subjectivity.¹⁵⁵

The hermeneutic stance stresses that despite the fact that two researchers start off in the same theory, using the same method and material; their end result might differ. The reason for this is the belief that it is impossible for a researcher to objectively enter a research. On the contrary; a researcher always brings pre-understandings, personality and history into a research.¹⁵⁶

In contrast to positivism does hermeneutics claim that the study of social sciences is something radically different than that of natural sciences. For example is hermeneutics concerned with understanding social phenomenons rather than providing laws and generalizations of them. The approach additionally emphasizes that facts and value based thinking are inseparable. In accordance with hermeneutics, I consider the personal aspect as something positive and feasible for my research.¹⁵⁷ Nonetheless I aim at a high degree of intersubjectivity i.e. that other researchers could and would draw the same conclusions as of this study if they chose to replicate it.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Devine, 2002 p. 201

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 198 & 201

¹⁵⁵ Lundquist, 1993 p. 41

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 44-45

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 40-43

¹⁵⁸ Essaiasson et al., 2005 p. 23

7.3 Mode of procedure

7.3.1 Selection of the respondents

To reach the purpose of this study, I have chosen to interview men and women whom within the Swedish Armed Forces who have participated in at least one international mission. The objective behind the choice to interview respondents who have participated in international missions, is my belief and conviction that these types of individuals have been put in situations where their reasoning of security and conflict resolution has been tested in reality. Therefore this group of people can potentially give an illustrating picture of their *factual* and *practical* reasoning, rather than only their *imagined* ones. This provides a higher degree of internal validity as of the interview results.

The study comprises ten qualitative interviews; five with women and five with men. Essaiasson et al. highlights the importance of interviewing a small number of persons and argues that ten respondents are enough to make interesting analyses.¹⁵⁹ Due to the fact that many people who are sent on international missions do not work as career officers and thus only work within the Swedish Armed Forces on a temporary basis, I have chosen to interview individuals who still work within the forces, but also people who have worked with the forces on a project-basis or before retirement. I argue that this sampling provides the analysis with another possible dimension, due to the fact that individuals might feel more comfortable expressing their opinions if they no longer work within the organization.

Since there are comparatively few women going on international missions, I have been unable to carry out a strategic selection of the respondents. I have thus throughout the study applied a *snowball* selection, meaning that one respondent in one way or another has linked me to another respondents.¹⁶⁰ However, I made the choice to make sure that the respondents had different backgrounds, ages, specialties and geographical locations as of their missions. Therefore I feel satisfied when saying that the respondents' characteristics and history largely differ. For example do they originate in different job positions such as coordination officer, unarmed military observer and military interpreter. Further, the geographical locations of their missions differ; e.g. Kosovo, Tchad, Afghanistan and Lebanon. The diversity of the respondents can be argued to add interesting and in-depth value. The snowball selection has thus rather strengthen than weakened my research.

However, it is important to note that, since the Armed Forces is an authority with traditions and male influences, there is a considerable risk that the respondents have been

¹⁵⁹ Essaiasson et al., 2005 p. 286

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 286

socialized into a certain behavior and arguing due to their internal training and education. To reveal this potential, I have posed interview questions that aim to highlight the degree of affectedness and socialization. One example of such a question is: *Do you believe that you would have answered any of these questions differently if you had never worked within the armed forces (describe your thoughts)?*

7.3.2 Formation of the interview guide

An interview guide constitutes the analytical tool that assists a researcher when conducting a research. The guide should be based on easily understood and non-academic interview questions. It should further aim at forming short questions that produces long and exhaustive answers. In order to receive interesting and honest answers, it is important that the respondents are comfortable with the interview questions. Due to this fact, I have initiated and ended all interviews with questions that are not directly relevant as of the study, but are important in trying to create a relaxing and dynamic interview atmosphere.¹⁶¹ Some of the interview questions are formed as hypothetical stressful situations and the objective with these questions is to force the respondents to think intuitively. Some of the questions are further formed very broadly; this is done intentionally and with the aim to analyze whether or not the respondents pose any follow-up questions.

In order to structure a well-functioning interview guide with well-formulated questions, it is important to carry one or several pilot interviews. I have conducted one pilot interview with a person who has participated in one international mission. After this interview, I revised the questions with help from the pilot interview respondent. The final interview guide is thus formed by the experiences made in this interview.

With reference to the four specified research questions in chapter 3, I have divided the interview guide into two themes; *security* and *conflict resolution*. The thematic partition simplifies both the coding and the analysis of the interview answers. However, since the two themes overlap each other, answers given by the respondents under one theme can be used also for analyses of the other theme. The questions further aim to gather information that can be analyzed with reference to the analytical framework presented in Figure 1 (page 27). The complete interview guide can be found in Appendix 1. (This guide is written in English, however the interviews were carried out in Swedish).

¹⁶¹ Essaiasson et al., 2005 p. 290

7.3.3 Interview situation

Naturally are interviews made face-to-face always preferable. However, since many of the respondents of this study are located in different geographical areas, I had to resort to different methods. Whereas six interviews have been carried out face-to-face, four have been carried out on telephone. Nonetheless, I have tried to make sure that all interviews regardless of what type, are made in places where the respondents feel comfortable and at peace. All interviews have been recorded by a dictating machine, and permission for this has been asked for. Furthermore have all interviews been conducted by the same interview person, myself. This implies that all interview questions have been posed in the same ways and thus diminished the risk of receiving different answers due to how a question is posed.

Lastly, in order to receive honest answers and to protect my respondents, I have guaranteed them full anonymity. Since some of the interview questions are of sensitive and personal character I have further taken the decision to remove the personal information and background from the summarizing transcripts of the interviews (Appendices 3 and 4). This information can nevertheless be found in Appendix 2, however without revealing what personal information that belongs to which respondent.

7.3.4 Coding and analyzing the material

The conducted interviews generated large amounts of information. However, I have chosen to focus only on those interview questions that are of most relevance to the study. This implies that the gathered material has been interpreted with the study's four specified research questions and analytical framework in mind. I have used the method of coding the answers given by the respondents; this was made by summarizing the answers to the core questions and by sorting out illustrating quotes and by adding my own comments. I have further searched for latent messages within the interview answers.¹⁶² By summarizing the answers into four different tables (see Chapter 8 and Appendices 3 and 4), I have aimed at examining whether or not any patterns could be found in the answers provided by the ten respondents. Lastly, all quotes and translations from Swedish to English have been made carefully and thoughtfully.

7.3.5 Material

This research sets off in IR theory, security studies and feminist theory. Various authors and researchers have been used, and examples of the most essential authors are; Joshua S.

¹⁶² Essaiasson et al., 2005 p. 296-298

Goldstein, Jill Steans, Michael Sheehan and Terry Terriff et al.. Additionally have Swedish national documents and policy plans been used e.g. the *Swedish Armed Forces Gender Equality Policy Plan 2006-2008*. The empirical material of the study derives from the ten qualitative interviews with men and women who participated in international missions under the Swedish Armed Forces.

7.4 Research ethics

A researcher always possesses the ultimate ethical responsibility for his or her research.¹⁶³ Within social sciences, all researchers need to bear certain ethical guidelines in mind when carrying out a research. Two recommendations are of higher importance than others; the *research demand* and the *individual protection demand*. The first stresses that a research always should be of high quality and focus on relevant issues. The latter implies that any person involved in a research should be free from physical harm and humiliation. Jointly, the principles emphasize that all researchers need to evaluate the possible outcome of a study with the possible harm it can cause for persons participating in the study. Hence, the objective with the demands is to illustrate and underline the importance of a researcher's ethical responsibility towards his or her participants.¹⁶⁴

The *individual protection demand* is further characterized by another four research demands. Firstly, the *demand for information* asserts that all participants should be informed of the purpose of a research. Secondly, the *demand for consent* avows that participation is always voluntary and that any person can end his or her participation in a research without negative sanctions. Thirdly, the *demand for confidentiality* states that information and personal records of the participants should be kept safely and inaccessible to outsiders. Lastly, the *demand for the right of use* declares that information about and from the participants should be used for scientific purposes only.¹⁶⁵

By taking the above described recommendations into consideration when forming the interview guide and when carrying out the interviews, I have aimed at a high degree of ethical responsibility (see Appendix 1).

¹⁶³ Vetenskapsrådet, *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning* (Elanders Gotab, 2002) p. 16

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 5-6

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p.7-12

7.5 Demarcations

The purpose of this thesis is *not* to investigate how men and women within the Swedish Armed Forces reason about security and conflict resolution *in general*. Rather the purpose is to investigate how men and women within the Swedish Armed Forces reason of *decision-making* and the *use of violence* in relation to security and conflict resolution. An analysis of this comprises an examination of the essentialist et al. assumptions presented in the analytical framework in Figure one.

7.6 Method related advantages and disadvantages

In contrast to many methods within social sciences, qualitative interviews contain the unique advantage for a researcher to interact with the respondents in their own context. Hence, the method creates excellent opportunities to register unexpected answers and to follow up questions, arguments and behavior.¹⁶⁶

The qualitative method however also includes method related disadvantages. For example is it possible to question a researcher's interpretation of material and thus also the validity of the final result. Since a researcher is a subjective part and personally interprets the information given by the respondents, it is difficult to outline a final answer to a given question. Nonetheless, I have aimed at a high degree of internal validity by firstly performing all the interviews myself and secondly by thoroughly analyze the material before providing the final conclusions.

The case study design has often been criticized for creating subjective biases within a study, e.g. towards verification of a theory. However, this complexity exists not only within the case study design but in all methods. To avoid biases, I have created a purpose where five equally interesting outcomes have been identified (see section 7.8 below).¹⁶⁷ I have due to this fact not been biased when collecting and analyzing the empirical material.

The selection of the Swedish Armed Forces as analytical object of the study could naturally be questioned. It could be argued that the forces, due to its male domination and tradition, socialize their co-workers into a certain behavior and reasoning. However, in order to examine this potentiality I have, as previously mentioned, posed certain interview questions regarding this, for example: *Do you believe that men and women in general solve conflicts in the same ways?* and: *Do you believe that women and men within the Armed Forces solve conflict in the same ways?*

¹⁶⁶ Essaiasson et al., 2005 p. 279

¹⁶⁷ Flyvbjerg, 2006 p. 234-235

7.7 Validity and reliability

By defining the core concepts of this study and by clearly showing how I intend to operationalize purpose and specified research questions, I have aimed at a high degree of internal validity.¹⁶⁸ When conducting a research with qualitative methods it is further significant to emphasize the reliability of the research. This implies that if another researcher would decide to carry out the same research as mine, with the same method, material and mode of procedure, this researcher would draw the same results and conclusions as of this study.¹⁶⁹ I have aimed at a high degree of reliability but also intersubjectivity i.e. research independence, transparency and free from personal values.¹⁷⁰ I have thus sought not to make any errors when collecting and analyzing material and I have further clearly illustrated how I have collected and interpreted the empirical findings of the study.

7.8 Possible results of the study

As for the study of Swedish Armed Forces women and men, I can in beforehand identify five different possible outcomes;

- There are no differences between the women and men's reasoning of security and conflict resolution, they move freely within the analytical framework.
- There are no differences between the women and men's reasoning, their reasoning go beyond the analytical framework.
- There are differences between the women and men and these differences follow the analytical framework.
- There are differences between the women and men, but the differences go beyond the analytical framework.
- It is not possible to distinguish any differences or similarities between the men and women.

I argue that regardless of which one of these five outcomes the study will reach, the result will be of great interest. Should the *first outcome* be reached, it would be possible to claim that the essentialist et al. feminist arguments that women are group decision-makers and non-violent and men individual decision-makers and violent do not hold ground, rather those characteristics seem to be attached to persons, not sex or gender. Should the *second outcome*

¹⁶⁸ Essaiasson et al., 2005 p. 61-63

¹⁶⁹ Yin, 2006 p. 59

¹⁷⁰ Essaiasson et al., 2005 p. 23

be reached, it would be possible to argue that the essentialist et al. feminist assumptions are stereotypes and a simplification of women and men's reasoning of security and conflict resolution. Should the *third outcome* be reached, the essentialist et al. feminist arguments would be proven valid. Should the *fourth outcome* be reached, the essentialist et al. feminist claims of women and men would be proven wrong, rather differences would exist but of diverse character than those of the feminist perspective. Lastly, should the *fifth outcome* be reached, it could be argued that the essentialist et al. feminist assumptions cannot be proven wrong nor right, rather other factors than sex or gender could differentiate or unite women and men's reasoning.

Depending of which of the outcomes the study will reach, a discussion of the importance of women's participation in the Armed Forces will be of relevance. Should the study show that there are differences between women and men's reasoning, it could be argued that women's participation needs to be encouraged. On the contrary, should the investigation show that there are no differences between the women and men, it might be argued that women's participation in the forces is exaggerated or should be explained by other factors than their reasoning of security and managing of conflict resolution.

As I recognize all the five possible outcomes as equally interesting, I have not been biased when gathering and analyzing the empirical material of the study.

7.9 Could the study have been made differently?

When I began to approach the topic of this study, I assumed that it would be easy to find female respondents whom had participated in international missions within the Swedish Armed Forces. This assumption proved wrong and hence could the study not be conducted by solely face-to face interviews or apply a strategic selection of respondents.

The study could with benefits, if more time and resources existed, be conducted as multiple case study where the answers from the women and men who have participated in international missions, were compared to answers given by another group of respondents, for example women and men working with civil services within the Swedish Armed Forces. Such a study could possible reveal the potential existence of socialization within the military e.g. how much women and men's reasoning about security and conflict resolution are influenced by their military training.

8. Empirical result and analysis

The following chapter presents the empirical results of the study. The results take off in the four specified research questions presented in chapter 3 and are based on the ten qualitative interviews conducted. The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first two sections are the empirical results presented in tables and analyzed theme by theme, and research questions by research question. The third section discusses additional valuable information given by the respondents. Based on the empirical analysis in this chapter, chapter 9 further discusses and draws the final conclusions of the study.

(For personal information of the respondents, see Appendix 2. Appendix 3 and 4 further presents short summaries of the categorizations and interpretations of the interview answers of the respondents).

8.1 Thematic question one: Security

8.1.1 Security and decision-making

As described in the analytical framework of this thesis (Figure 1), essentialist et al. feminism argues that women and men tend to reason about security differently. Men are assumed to be individually connected and prefer individual decision-making. Women on the other hand are assumed to be socially connected and prefer group decision-making. By interviewing five men and five women whom all have participated in at least one international mission within the Swedish Armed Forces, I have aimed at investigating how much truth there is to the essentialist et al. feminist claims in this case. This can be achieved by analyzing the relevant answers to the first specified research question of the study:

1. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason when decisions regarding security need to be taken?

Table 1. Security and decision-making

	Collective decision-making	Individual decision-making	Follow the character of assignment	Follow the gut feeling/instinct	Ambivalent answer
Female respondent number	-	3 and 5	1 and 2	-	4
Male respondent number	-	-	1, 4 and 5	3	2
Total	-	2	5	1	2

Analysis of Table 1.

Table 1 indicates that the respondents of the study base their decisions regarding security on widely different bases. However none of the respondents seem to ultimately fit into the description of collective decision-makers. *Female respondent 3* and *5* prefer to interpret a situation and then make an individual decision based on the information at hand. *Female respondent 3* exemplifies this by saying: “Naturally, rules are written down on paper, but I am convinced that my moral reaches well beyond those written points”. *Female respondent 1* and *2* and *Male respondent 1, 4* and *5* reason differently. They state that their decision-making is based on their assignments and of given military rules and regulations. *Female respondent 1* and *Male respondent 4* demonstrate this by arguing that military decisions often need to be made within seconds, therefore one needs to lean back on military regulations or rules the of engagements of the mission. *Male respondent 3* on the contrary argues that he disregards the rules of engagement and chooses to follow his instinct/gut feeling.

Male respondent 2 and *Female respondent 4* gives ambivalent answers. *Male respondent 1* argues that he bases decision-making on experience, training, maturity and situation. *Female respondent 4* similarly argues that her decisions-making regarding security is based on a given situation, not generality.

All respondents of the study assert that decision-making within the military, and within international missions specifically, are exceptional in character. Decisions need to be made within parts of a second, otherwise the situation can deteriorate and in the worst case can someone get injured. *Male respondent 4* exemplifies this by saying: “In reality, sometimes you need to make up your mind in advance; that if I find myself in this situation, then I will act like this”.

No unanimity exists amongst the respondents in relation to security decision-making. However, should the essentialist et al. feminist assumptions have been proven correct, the female respondents would have ended up under the category of “collective decision-making” and the male respondents under “individual decision-making”. On the contrary did two female respondents end up as individual decision-makers whilst none of the male. Conclusively is it possible to assert that the essentialist et al. feminist arguments of women and men’s decisions-making in relation to security, is invalid in this case.

8.1.2 Security and the use of violence

As the analytical framework of this study has shown, essentialist et al. feminism argues that women and men relate to security in different ways. Women are assumed to be non-violent whereas men are assumed to be violent and more prone to use violence. In order to distinguish if this is correct or not, as of the selected respondents, we need to advance to the second specified research question of the study:

2. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason about the use of violence related to security?

Table 2. Security and the use of violence

	Legitimate	Potentially legitimate	Legitimate only under extreme circumstances	Not legitimate	Ambivalent answer
Female respondent number	4	2 and 5	1	-	3
Male respondent number	1 and 3	2 and 4	5	-	-
Total	3	4	2	-	1

Analysis of Table 2.

Table 2 indicates that the respondents of the study to a large extent reason differently regarding the use of violence in relation to security. However none of the respondents declare that a use of violence is directly illegitimate.

Female respondent 4 and Male respondent 1 and 3 all assert that the use of violence related to uphold security or to secure another person is fully legitimate. The same respondents additionally state that they would be willing to break a rule of conduct if this

could ensure another person's security. *Male respondent 3* ponders: "Most often situations can be solved without any use of violence, but if it is needed then it is needed".

Female respondents 2 and 5 and *Male respondents 2 and 4* argue that a use of force in relation to security can be potentially legitimate. Whereas *Female respondent 2* and *Male respondent 4* assert that violence can be considered legitimate when a given assignment demands it, do *Male respondent 2* argue that violence can be legitimate when protecting something of a greater value: "That could for example be; protecting my own life, my mission or for example medical or food transportations that can affect thousands of people's survival". *Female respondent 5* additionally declares that violence can be legitimate in situations where violence is already exercised.

Female respondents 1 and *Male respondent 5* declare that if taken to its very extreme, the use of violence can be legitimate in relation to security. *Female respondent 1* reflect her thoughts by saying: "In our military training, we get prepared to do things that you otherwise would not even think of. Sometimes situations can occur so quickly that you do not have time to react and then you might need to skip two steps on the *stairs of violence*".

Female respondent 3 gives an ambivalent answer. The respondent argues that violence of preemptive character is illegitimate: "It is not legitimate to use violence in order to create security, but it can be legitimate in order to maintain security".

As with the first specified research question does no consensus exist within the second research question. However, none of the respondents directly argue against a potential use of violence in security matters and conclusively does no one fit under the category of "illegitimate". The male and female respondents do rather seem to be equally prone to use violence in relation to security. According to the essentialist et al. feminist claim should the female respondents have ended up under this category whereas the male respondents should have ended up under the "legitimate" one. Convincingly are the essential et al. feminist claims, that women are non-violent and men violent, proven invalid in the case of the selected respondents.

8.2 Thematic question two: Conflict resolution

8.2.1 Conflict resolution and decision-making

The analytical framework of this study presented the essentialist et al. feminist argument that women and men have different ways of handling conflicts. The feminisms argued that women tend to base their decisions regarding conflict resolution on group-thinking whilst men favor individual decision-making. To determine whether or not these claims have any essence as for

the selected group of respondents, the third specified research question of the study need to be answered:

3. *How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason when decisions regarding conflict resolution need to be made?*

Table 3. Conflict resolution and decision-making

	In favor of group decision-making	In favor of individual decision-making	There are hierarchal decision-making regulations in the military	Ambivalent answer
Female respondent number	2 and 3	5	1 and 4	-
Male respondent number	4	-	1, 2, 3 and 5	-
Total	3	1	6	-

Analysis of Table 3.

Table 3 illustrates that the respondents of the study reason differently about decision-making with regard to the military and conflict resolution. The table shows that *Female respondents 2 and 3* and *Male respondent 4* are in favor of group decision-making. *Male respondent 4* exemplifies this by saying: “The military is no one-man-show, the whole military system is built around binding things together”. *Female respondent 3* further declares that she prefers to share responsibility in decision-making and to project parts of the responsibility on someone else. *Female respondent 5* on the other hand announces that she prefer to take her own decisions. However if enough time is at hand, she likes to discuss with others before she makes the decision.

The remaining respondents (*Female 1 and 4*, and *Male 1, 2, 3 and 5*) jointly argue that the military is a hierarchical and regulated organization and thus is the decision-making related to the management of conflicts, governed by the military’s structure, written rules, standards and codes of conduct. *Male respondent 2* exemplifies this by stating: “The importance of adhering to the standards of operational procedures cannot be emphasized enough. Even a mistake on the lowest level can have major implications on the political scale”. Both *female respondent 1 and 4* further outlines that the military education and

training provided for by the Swedish Armed Forces, teaches that certain rules exist when dealing with conflict situations.

The essentialist et al. feminist arguments are proven correct for two of the female respondents of the study. However, concurrently one male respondent also fit the assumed female category of “in favor of group decision-making” and additionally is one female situated in the assumed male category of “in favor of individual decision-making”. Evidently six of the respondents rather seem to base their decisions on military rules and regulations. Conclusively do the essentialist et al. feminist claims not hold ground either within specified research question three.

8.2.2 Conflict resolution and the use of violence

Essentialist et al. feminism argues that women are likely to find alternative ways of handling conflicts than to refer to violence. Women are thus assumed to be non-violent whilst men on the contrary are assumed to be more inclined to use violence as a method of handling conflicts. In order to disclose the potential truth of the feminist claim, the final specified research question of the study needs to be answered:

4. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason about the use of violence as a mean to handle conflicts?

Table 4. Conflict resolution and the use of violence

	Legitimate	Potentially legitimate	Legitimate only under extreme circumstances	Not legitimate	Ambivalent answers
Female respondent number	-	4 and 5	1	2 and 3	-
Male respondent number	-	1, 2, 3, 4 and 5	-	-	-
Total	-	7	1	2	-

Analysis of Table 4.

Table 4 indicates that eight out of the ten respondents believe that a use of violence can be legitimate when managing conflicts. *Female respondent 1* argues that violence is legitimate only in very extreme cases where: “the situation is really really getting out of control”.

Female respondents 4 and 5 and all of the male respondents however argue that the circumstances need not to be extreme, for the use of violence to be considered potentially legitimate. *Female respondent 5* and *Male respondent 1, 2 and 5* declare that violence can be utilized when violence is already present in the conflict situation. *Male respondent 1* considers a use of violence as potentially legitimate, notwithstanding the fact that he believes that violence cannot solve a conflict, only the symptoms of it. Whereas *Female respondent 4* argues that a use of violence can be permitted after breeches of human rights or international agreements, *Male respondent 2* condition the legitimate use of violence as to: “Firstly, in self-defense, secondly, to protect the life and health of large groups of people and lastly, when the matter concerns the protection of a state or a political system”.

Female respondents 2 and 3 argue that the use of violence as a conflict resolution is illegitimate. *Female respondent 2* reflects that violence only gives birth to new violence. Similarly, *Female respondent 3* argues that: “conflicts should be solved with agreements, violence in the end does not solve the conflicts, it only postpones them or creates new ones”.

Conclusively, eight of the respondents argue that violence can be legitimate within conflict resolution. Out of these respondents five are male (all male respondents) and three female. As for the essentialist et al. feminist claims, the male respondents fit their theory of men as violent and prone to use violence when dealing with conflicts. Additionally, two of the female respondents fit the feminist assumption that women are non-violent and less inclined to use violence. Whilst one of the three remaining female respondents declare that violence can be legitimate in extreme cases, two of the female respondents fit under the category “potentially legitimate”. Conclusively, the essentialist et al. feminist claims seem to have at least some essence as of the fourth and final specified research question. Nonetheless is it not possible to say that the final claim have been proven entirely valid.

8.3 Additional valuable information given by the respondents

Five of the interview questions turned out to provide particularly interesting answers. On the question, *Do you believe that men and women in general solve conflicts in the same ways?* did nine of the ten respondents (four female and five male) answer that women and men in fact do solve conflicts differently. Five of the respondents (one female and four male) declared that men tend to “be closer” than women to the use of physical violence in resolving conflicts. Four respondents (three female and one male) further declared that women tend to be more thoughtful and analyzing than men in their management of conflicts. The above question became even more interesting after posing the following question: *Do you believe that women*

and men within the Armed Forces solve conflicts in the same ways? On this question, eight of the ten respondents (five female and 3 male) argued that women and men within the Armed forces solve conflicts in more similar ways than in general. Four of the respondents (two female and two male) declared that military women and men are given the same education and training and thus are their handling of conflicts the same. Three of the respondents (two female and one male) further stated that women within the Armed Forces, due to the male domination within the organization, are forced to adhere to male ways of handling conflicts.

Lastly one respondent (female) declared that military men and women simply always handle conflicts in the same manners and two male respondents argued that men and women have deeper biological or social values, than what education and training can deduct; military women and men thus solve conflicts in different ways. Conclusively, these two questions add another angle as of the result of the study.

Another two interview questions produced interesting answers. When asked the question: *Do you believe that men and women in general are equally prone to use violence?* the respondents answered with the following: seven respondents (four female and three male) stated that women and men in general are not equally prone to use violence. Four respondents (one female and three male) declared that they believe men to be more inclined to use physical violence. Two respondents (both female) further declared that women are more careful and analyzing and lastly one female respondent reasoned that it is more socially accepted that men use physical violence than women. On top of these seven respondents, one male stated that women and men are equally prone to use violence, however they might refer to different types of violence; men to physical violence and women to verbal violence. Out of the ten respondents the remaining two (one female and one male) argued that men and women in general are equally inclined to use violence.

The above question became even more interesting when a follow up question was posed: *Do you believe that men and women within the Armed Forces are equally prone to use violence?* On this question seven respondents (four female and three male) answered that women and men within the Armed Forces are more likely to use violence in the same manners and magnitude. Six out of these respondents (three female and three male) declared that military education, training and regulations make military women and men act in the same ways. Two of the remaining ten respondents announced that military training and standards cannot take away the sexes' given genes and the fact that men and women's origin differ. The respondents thus believed that men are more inclined to use physical violence than

women. The last respondent (male) states that he believes that men within the Armed Forces are more inclined to use violence than are women within the forces.

In the end of all interviews, I posed the following question: *Do you believe that you would have answered any of this interview's questions differently if you had never worked within the Armed Forces?* All respondents except one (female respondent 5) stated that they most likely would have answered some of the questions differently. Six of the respondents (three female and three male) explained their answers by referring to the influence from military training, education and experiences. Another respondent explained his answer with regard to the male domination of the forces. *Female respondent 1* argued: "The military really builds people, it is almost like a kind of indoctrination". *Male respondent 1* additionally argued that: "The military breaks down people, in order to build them up again".

The answers to above-mentioned five questions are very interesting and illustrative. The questions have displayed the possibility that men and women within the Armed Forces are socialized into a certain behavior. It thus seems like the male and female respondents' answers and arguments are widely influenced by the fact that they are members of the Swedish Armed Forces and its attributes e.g. male domination, focus on violence, education, training and experience. Hence, this study has indicated that men and women within the forces might reason about issues from a less "gendered perspective" and more from a "military and non-gendered perspective". This naturally creates implications when compared to the essentialist et al. feminist claims.

9. Conclusions

The following chapter presents the final conclusions drawn from the empirical findings of this study.

After having analyzed the two themes and the four specified research questions of the study, I am able to draw the following conclusions:

1. None of the respondents apply collective decision-making in relation to security issues. Rather a majority seem to base their decisions on military rules, standards and regulations. *Hence, the essentialist et al. feminist claims that women prefer group*

- decision-making whilst men prefer individual decision-making, are proven incorrect as of the selected respondents.*
2. None of the respondents argue that a use of violence in relation to security is illegitimate. The male and female respondents rather seem equally prone to use violence in relation to security. *Hence, the essentialist et al. feminist claims that women are assumed to be non-violent whereas men are assumed to be violent, are proven incorrect as of the selected respondents.*
 3. In relation to conflict resolution and decision-making, a majority of the respondents declared that their decision-making is based on military rules, codes, regulation and structure. Notwithstanding the fact that two female respondents fitted the essentialist et al. feminist presumed category of group decision-makers, also one male fitted this description. Furthermore were no males represented in the male category of individual decision-makers, however one female was. *Hence, the essentialist et al. feminist claims that women tend to base their decisions on group-thinking whilst men favor individual decision-making, are proven incorrect as of the selected respondents.*
 4. Eight of the ten respondents (three female and all male) argued that a use of violence in conflict resolutions can be legitimate. Two female respondents conversely argued the opposite. Five male respondents and two female thus fit into the essentialist et al. feminist arguments. *Hence, the essentialist et al. feminist claims that women are non-violent whilst men are violent with regard to handling conflicts, seem to encompass some validity as for the selected respondents.*
 5. It appears as if the selected respondents of the study are greatly influenced by the Swedish Armed Forces' education, military training, focus on violence, structure and experiences. *Hence, it appears as if the respondents' reasoning departs more from a military perspective than from a pure gender perspective.*

When observing the above drawn conclusions, it is evident that the analytical framework and thus also the essentialist et al. feminist assumptions were not proven fully valid in the case of the selected respondents. The respondents rather seem to be largely influenced by belonging to and working within the military.

In the theoretical chapter of this study (page 25-26) I juxtaposed three different types of feminisms into one category i.e. *essentialist et al. feminism*. I did this based on the argument that my intention with this study was not to investigate whether or not the feminisms' assumed differences between men and women were socially or biologically constructed. However, this study has shown that the above juxtaposition might have had importance as for the final conclusions of this study.

The theoretical chapter outlined the three feminisms argument that women and men's life experiences differ and thus also their reasoning of issues such as security and conflict resolution. *Difference feminism* for example affirmed that women are less effective than men in combat situations due to the fact that women have larger experiences of human relations and nurture in war times. The biological and social aspects of the feminisms' suddenly turn out to be of great importance. Those branches of the feminisms (*difference- essential- and standpoint feminism*) who argue that women and men have different life experiences due to social construction rather than biological determinism, have in fact been proven valid in this case study. This study has thus shown that the respondent's experiences really do affect their reasoning regarding security and conflict resolution. The respondents' answers on whether or not they would have answered any interview questions differently had they never been involved within the military, as well as the answers to the questions regarding the use of violence in general and within the Armed forces, all speak a clear language. The respondents' answers evidently illustrate that their life experiences have affected their reasoning. In this case did their military training and experiences turn out to be particularly significant.

Hence, the final conclusion of this study is somewhat surprising even to myself. This study has proven that the sections of difference-, essential- and stand point feminism that base their arguments on biological determinism, are void. On the contrary, the feminist sections that base their arguments on social construction have been proven correct in the case of the selected respondents. I conclusively argue that the respondents' answers on questions regarding military socialization and experiences are so similar that it might be possible that they mirror also the occurrence of gender socialization within the Swedish Military Forces in general.

Lastly, it is important to note that even though a military socialization appears to be present amongst the respondents, this affectedness have not caused the respondents to reason *in the exact same ways* regarding the core topics of the study. There is thus a potential that not only are women and men socialized by the military, but the military might be socialized by its male and female members. If this would be the case, female participation within the Swedish

Armed Forces should indeed be encouraged. This could possibly, in time, create a military force that mirrors both halves of the human population; the female one and the male one.

10. Future research

I believe that the topic of this study is of great importance and therefore I would like to encourage other researchers to continue within this field. It would be interesting to see a larger study, with the potential to create generalizations as of gender socialization within the Swedish Armed Forces. Additionally would it be interesting to conduct a multiple case study, whereas one case with less favorable conditions would be chosen and compared to Sweden. I would like to encourage, and wish future researchers good luck with their studies by quoting one of the respondents:

“Of course you think about it. But carrying a weapon and the potential use of violence are not the central things. Because what you want to do on an international mission, or within the Armed Forces in general; it is to do good, with as little suffering as possible”.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Female Respondent 1.

11. Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview guide

1. Introduction to the interview

I have strived to form the interviews in accordance with the guidelines for research ethics presented in section 7.4.

In accordance with the guidelines, I initiate all interviews by informing the respondents of the following:

- *The purpose of the research, without revealing any excess information that could possibly affect the respondent's future answers. I also inform the respondents about the source of publication of the research and offer to send a copy of the final report.*
- *That the respondents at any time can choose to end the interview without any negative consequences.*
- *That the personal record of the respondents will be kept safe and inaccessible to outsiders. In the final report the respondents will be anonymous and named "Male respondent one", "Female respondent one" etc.*
- *That the information given by the respondents will be used for scientific objectives only.*

2. Warm-up questions

1. How old are you?
2. What was your position within the international operation?
3. When did you carry out the international operation?
4. Why did you decide to carry out an international mission?
5. Did you study anything before you went on the international mission?
(If yes; what?)
6. Are you still active within the Armed forces?

3. Thematic questions

Theme one: Security

7. What does the term "security" mean to you?
8. In what ways did you encounter "security" in your international operation?
9. If a person describes to you that he/she wants to be secure, what do you think that that person means?

10. Do you think that it is possible for one person to be secure while his/her neighbor is not?
11. Do you think it is legitimate to use violence in order to uphold security?
(If yes; why and in what situations? If no; why not?)
12. If you were in a situation where you by breaking a code of conduct, could ensure security for another person, would you do it? (e.g. not to fire a warning shot before firing a real shot)
(If yes; why? If no; why not?)
13. Imagine that you are on an international mission and an immediate danger is present (e.g. you are surrounded by armed enemies). Would you feel equally secure if you had a male or a female partner by your side?
(If yes/no; describe your thoughts)
14. Imagine that you are on an international mission in that during a long period of time has been authoritarian. However, only some time back, a respected and democratic female leader has been elected. This female leader is holding a speech in a small house on the countryside, the listeners are 18 year old university guys. You and your partner are stationed outside the house to secure the building and the speech inside. Suddenly the house sets on fire. You and your partner are alone on the spot and have less than a minute to save people from the burning house. How would you reason in this situation and would you run into the house?
(If yes; why and who would you try save? If no; why not)

Theme two: Conflict resolution

15. When I say “conflict resolution”, what are your first thoughts?
16. Imagine that you and a group of soldiers are on an international mission and suddenly you find yourselves in the middle of situation in which two farmers battles over the same piece of land. The two farmers and their families are gathering weapons and an *immediate* clash between them are only minutes away. How would you try to solve the situation?
17. Do you think it is legitimate to use violence in order to solve a conflict?
18. Do you like to discuss and reflect your thoughts with others before taking a decision?
(If yes; why? If no; why not?)
19. How would you describe the concept “use of violence”?
20. Have you ever been in a job situation where you have needed to use violence?
(If yes; describe the situation and the use of violence, why did you take the decision to use violence? If no; why do you think you have not been in such a situation or why did you refrain from the use of violence?)
21. Do you believe that men and women *in general* solve conflicts in the same ways?
(If yes or no; describe your thoughts.)

22. Do you believe that women and men *within the Armed Forces* solve conflicts in the same ways?
(If yes or no; describe your thoughts.)
23. Imagine that you are in a situation where an *immediate* use of violence is needed. The situation entails that you, in order to save one adult's life, would have to shoot and kill another adult's life. You need to act straight away and you are *almost* 100 percent certain that the person you will save is an innocent victim while the other person is a perpetrator. Would you take the shot?
(If yes; what would be your thoughts before taking the shot? If no; why would you refrain and what would you do instead?)
24. Now imagine the exact same situation as above, however this time the person you have to shoot and kill in order to save one adult's life, is a woman. You need to act straight away. Would you reason differently than what you did above?
(If yes; why and how? If no: why?)
25. Do you prefer to take decisions on your own or do you prefer to take decisions as a group?
(Describe your thoughts)
26. Do you believe that men and women *in general* are equally prone to use violence?
(If yes; why? If no; why not?)
27. Do you believe that men and women *within the Armed Forces* are equally prone to use violence?
(If yes; why? If no; why not?)

4. Final questions

28. Do you think that you would have answered any of any these questions differently if you had never worked within the Armed Forces?
(If yes; why and which question. If no; why not?)
29. How small/large part of your friends is also involved with the Armed Forces?
30. Where do you see yourself in ten years time?
31. These were my questions, is there anything you want to add or ask before we finish the interview?

5. End of the interview

I thank the respondent for allowing me to interview him/her and once again offer to send a copy of the final report.

Appendix 2. Information of the respondents (anonymous)

<i>Respondent</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Position on international mission</i>	<i>Geographical location of international mission</i>	<i>Still active in the Swedish Armed Forces</i>
Female X	24	Car driver	Kosovo	No
Female X	26	Coordination officer	Kosovo	No
Female X	24	Liaison assistant	Afghanistan	No
Female X	32	Deputy troop commander	Kosovo	Yes
Female X	26	Tank commander/ military ambulance	Kosovo	Yes
Male X	28	Rifleman/medic	Kosovo	No
Male X	39	Military interpreter, coordination assistant	Kosovo	No
Male X	53	Transportation officer, International stab assistant	Cyprus, Liberia, Kosovo, Sudan, Afghanistan, Sudan, Abu-Dhabi, Tchad, Cameroon, USA	Yes
Male X	28	Sergeant on a search platoon, tank commander, medical commander	Kosovo, Tchad	Yes
Male X	58	Unarmed military observer	Cyprus, Lebanon, Afghanistan	No

Appendix 3. Theme one; Security

1. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason when decisions regarding security need to be taken?

(The categories have been created after analyzing the interview answers of the respondents)

Respondent	Collective decision-making	Individual decision-making	Follow the character of assignment and military rules	Follow the gut feeling/instinct	Ambivalent answer
Female 1			×		
Female 2			×		
Female 3		×			
Female 4					×
Female 5		×			
Male 1			×		
Male 2					×
Male 3				×	
Male 4			×		
Male 5			×		
Total		2	5	1	2

Female respondent 3 states the whole culture within the Swedish Armed Forces is based on building moral and ethics and to act on ones' own convictions. Naturally, rules are written down on paper, but "I am convinced that my moral reaches well beyond those written points". *Female respondent 5* asserts that she, with the information she has at hand, likes to make her own evaluation of situations and then act upon this evaluation.

Female respondent 1 and *2* and *Male respondent 4* and *5* reveal that they base their decision-making is based on the characteristics of their given assignments. *Male respondent 4* states that decisions often have to be made within seconds and then one needs to take into consideration what "rules of engagement" one have; "what am I allowed to do in a given situation?". *Female respondent 1* states that situations related to security issues regularly, and in the cases of the interview questions, happen very fast and therefore one needs to lean back on the military directives that all military personnel works against. Through the internal education "one becomes prepared to do things that you would normally not even consider doing". *Male respondent 1* states that the military is an hierarchal organization where decision-making is hierarchal and one needs to adhere to this structure.

Male respondent 3 states that he in tight situations do not resort to any rules of engagement, rather he has continuously based his decision on instinct and gut feeling. The reason for this is that decisions often have to be made so quickly that one do not have the time to reflect or reason about them. The time it takes to contemplate, can undermine someone else's security.

Female respondent 4 and *Male respondent 2* give ambivalent answers. *Female respondent 4* states that she puts her security first and then tries to secure others. Her decision-making depends ultimately on the given situation. In order to secure another person she takes the

decision to overtake that person's right to self-defense. *Male respondent 2* states that decision-making within the military often need to be made extremely quickly. If time is at hand, it is beneficial to discuss with ones colleagues, however due o time restraint, many decisions need to be based on maturity, training and experiences.

2. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason about the use of violence related to security?

(The categories have been created after analyzing the interview answers of the respondents)

Respondent	Legitimate	Potentially legitimate	Legitimate only under extreme circumstances	Not legitimate	Ambivalent answer
Female 1			×		
Female 2		×			
Female 3					×
Female 4	×				
Female 5		×			
Male 1	×				
Male 2		×			
Male 3	×				
Male 4		×			
Male 5			×		
Total	3	4	2	-	1

Female respondent 4 and *Male respondents 1, 3 and 4* all declare that the use of violence related to uphold security or to secure another person is fully legitimate. *Female respondent 4* exemplifies that a legitimate use of violence is appropriate when crimes are committed against human rights or international conventions. The respondents further state that they would be willing to break a rule of conduct if this could ensure someone else's security. *Male respondent 3* states that the use of force to ensure security is legitimate, however most often these types of situations *can* be solved without the use of violence.

Female respondent 2 and *5* and *Male respondent 4* state that a use of violence can be legitimate if the security assignment requires that. According to *Female respondent 2* could this for example be the case when the other persons "are too violent and aggressive, then you need to protect yourself and others and then use violence in order for you to make them listen and communicate" or in self-defense. *Male respondent 4* states that if ones assignment can require the use of violence, then one need to agree with that fact before going on a mission. *Male respondent 2* states that the use of violence can be legitimate in security cases where one make the assessment that something else is of more value than even for example one persons life. "That could be protecting my own life, my mission or for example medical or food transportations that can affect thousands of people's survival". The respondent is willing to break a code of conduct on the basis of self-defense or someone else's self-defense. *Female respondent 5* declares that it is legitimate in situations when a use of violence is already present.

Female respondent 1 and *Male respondent 5* declare that if taken to its extreme, the use of violence can be legitimate. *Female respondent 1* states that the use is legitimate only in extreme situations, for example under fire attacks. *Male respondent 5* argues that a use of violence can be considered legitimate in cases of self-defense or when protecting someone else's right to self-defense.

Female respondent 3 declares that the use of violence is illegitimate when used in preemptive or upholding ambitions. However, the respondent states that the use of violence can be legitimate if violence was already used and the situation demanded a use of violence. She needs to be present in the imaginary situations in order to answer whether or not she would have used violence or not.

Appendix 4. Theme two; Conflict resolution

3. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason when decisions regarding conflict resolution need to be made?

(The categories have been created after analyzing the interview answers of the respondents)

Respondent	In favor of group decision-making	In favor of individual decision-making	Decision-making is regulated by the military	Ambivalent answer
Female 1			×	
Female 2	×			
Female 3	×			
Female 4			×	
Female 5		×		
Male 1			×	
Male 2			×	
Male 3			×	
Male 4	×			
Male 5			×	
Total	3	1	6	-

Female respondent 2 and 3 and Male respondent 4 declare that they all like to discuss and reflect their thought with others before taking decisions related to the military and conflict resolution. *Male respondent 4* states that the military is “no one-man-show” and exemplifies this by saying that “1+1 is much more than 2”. *Female respondent 3* declares that she likes to share the responsibility of decision-making with others.

Female respondent 5 asserts that she likes to discuss and reflect angles and opinions with others, if time is at hand. However, the respondent declares that she prefer to take decisions on her own.

Female respondent 1 and 4 and Male respondent 1, 2, 3 and 5 all state with different words that the military as an organization is hierarchically structured. This implies that the decision-making regarding conflicts most often is regulated not by individual or collective decision-making but rather on regulated decision-making. *Female respondent 1 and 4* declare that “there are certain rules on how to deal with conflicts”. *Male respondent 5* asserts that “the military is no democracy, decisions are taken from above and sometimes you just have to follow orders”. *Male respondent 2* states that international missions always are regulated by “Standard of Operational Procedures” and outline the importance to always follow these standards.

4. How do women and men within the Swedish Armed Forces reason about the use of violence as a mean to handle conflicts?

(The categories have been created after analyzing the interview answers of the respondents)

Respondent	Legitimate	Potentially legitimate	Legitimate only under extreme circumstances	Not legitimate	Ambivalent answers
Female 1			×		
Female 2				×	
Female 3				×	
Female 4		×			
Female 5		×			
Male 1		×			
Male 2		×			
Male 3		×			
Male 4		×			
Male 5		×			
Total	-	7	1	2	-

Female respondent 4 and 5 and Male respondent 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 declare that violence potentially can be legitimate in conflict resolution. *Female respondent 5 and Male respondent 1, 2 and 5* state that violence can be used if violence is already present in the conflict situation. However, according to the *Male respondent 1* can a use of violence not solve a conflict, only the symptoms of it. *Male respondent 3* argues that violence is illegitimate within interpersonal conflicts but could be legitimate in other types of conflict. *Male respondent 4* states that he could not have had his current position unless he thought that a use violence could be legitimate in trying to solve a conflict. He exemplifies the need to protect democratic order and independence of peoples. *Female respondent 4* argues that violence can be legitimate when breeches of human rights and international agreements have been made. *Male respondent 2* argues further that a use of violence can be legitimate if large groups of people are threatened by their life or health or when a state or political system needs to be protected.

Female respondent 1 states that violence as a way of dealing with conflicts is legitimate only in very special cases. Only if “the situation is really really getting out of control. I cannot even come up with a possible scenario”.

Female respondent 2 and 3 declare that a use of violence in order to solve a conflict is not legitimate. *Female respondent 2* states that “violence gives birth to new violence”. The respondent asserts that she would not use violence, but open a small door for the possibility of the use of violence in self-defense. *Female respondent 3* states “I believe that conflicts should be solved with agreements, violence in the end does not solve the conflicts, it only postpone them or create new problems”.

12. Bibliography

- Cockburn, Cynthia (2007) *From where we stand* (London, Zed Books)
- Devine, Fiona (2002) "Qualitative Methods" in David Marsh & Gerry Stoker (ed.) *Theory and Method in Political Science* (China, Palgrave Macmillan)
- Enloe, Cynthia (2000) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: making feminist sense of international politics* (Cambridge, Berkeley, University of California Press)
- Essaiasson, Peter, Gilljam, Mikael, Oscarsson, Henrik & Wängnerud, Lena (2005) *Metodpraktikan* (Stockholm, Elanders Gotab)
- Flyvbjerg, Bent (2006) "Five Misunderstandings about Case-study Research" *Qualitative Inquiry* (vol. 12, no. 2, April, pp. 219-245)
- Goldstein, Joshua S. (2001) *War and Gender* (New York, Cambridge University Press)
- Gustavsson, Jacob & Tallberg, Jonas (2006) "Inledning" in Jacob Gustavsson & Jonas Tallberg (ed.) *Internationella relationer* (Danmark, Studentlitteratur)
- Hall, Martin (2006) "Realism" in Jacob Gustavsson & Jonas Tallberg (ed.) *Internationella relationer* (Danmark, Studentlitteratur)
- Hammersley, Martyn & Gomm, Roger (2000) "Introduction" in Martyn Hammersley & Roger Gomm & Peter Foster (ed.) *Case Study Method* (Great Britain, Biddles Ltd)
- Hooper, Charlotte (2006) "Masculinities, IR and the 'gender variable'" in Richard Little & Michael Smith (ed.) *Perspectives on World Politics* (Oxon, Routledge)
- Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline (2007) "Gender and Security" in Alan Collins (ed.) *Contemporary Security Studies* (New York, Oxford University Press)
- Kronsell, Annica (2006) "Feminism" in Jacob Gustavsson & Jonas Tallberg (ed.) *Internationella relationer* (Danmark, Studentlitteratur)
- Kronsell, Annica & Svedberg, Erika "The Duty to Protect: Gender in the Swedish Practice of Conscription" (Sage publications, Cooperation and Conflict 2001; 36; 153)
- Lundquist, Lennart (1993) *Det vetenskapliga studiet av politik* (Lund, Studentlitteratur)
- Sheehan, Michael (2005) *International Security – an analytical survey* (USA, Lynne Rienner Publisher)
- Skjelsbæk, Inger & Smith, Dan (2001) "Introduction" in Inger Skjelsbæk & Dan Smith (ed.) *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (Wiltshire, SAGE)
- Steans, Jill (2006) *Gender and International Relations: issues, debates and future directions* (Cambridge, Polity Press)

Tickner, J. Ann (1992) *Gender in International Relations: feminist perspectives on achieving global security* (New York, Columbia University Press)

Terriff, Terry, Croft, Stuart, James, Lucy & Morgan, Patrick M. (2005) *Security Studies Today* (Malden, Polity Press)

Vetenskapsrådet (2002) *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning* (Elanders Gotab)

Williams, Paul D. (2008) "Security Studies: An Introduction" in Paul D. Williams (ed.) *Security Studies* (Oxon, Routledge)

Withworth, Sandra (2008) "Feminist Perspectives" in Paul D. Williams (ed.) *Security Studies* (Oxon, Routledge)

Yin K. Robert (2006) *Fallstudier: design och genomförande* (Malmö, Liber AB)

Online sources

"Checklista för att anlägga ett genusperspektiv på internationella insatser",
Genderforce Sweden
<http://www.genderforce.se/Bibliotek.htm>
(2009-04-23)

"Frequently Asked Questions", Uppsala Conflict Data Program
http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/links_faq/faq.htm
(2009-05-10)

From words to action (Genderforce Sweden)
http://www.genderforce.se/dokument/From_words_to_action.pdf
(2009-04-23)

Försvarsmaktens Jämställdhetsplan 2006-2008 (Swedish Armed Forces)
<http://www.mil.se/upload/dokumentfiler/jamstalldhetsplan/HKV%202006-03-23%20Jämställdhetsplan%202006-2008.pdf>
(2009-04-23)

Försvarsmaktens årsredovisning 2008 (Swedish Armed Forces) bilaga
<http://www.mil.se/upload/dokumentfiler/Årsredovisningar/Årsredovisning%202008/Bilaga%203%20Årsredovisning%202008.pdf>
(2009-05-10)

"Genus frågor viktiga för Nordic Battle Group", Swedish Armed Forces
<http://www.mil.se/sv/Nyheter/Nyhetsarkiv/Centrala-nyheter/11342/Gender-fragor-viktigt-for-NBG/>
(2009-04-23)

"Genusanalys och krig", Swedish Armed Forces
<http://www.mil.se/sv/Nyheter/Nyhetsarkiv/Centrala-nyheter/11342/Genusanalys-och-krig/>
(2009-04-23)

”Historik och statistik”, Swedish Armed Forces
<http://www.mil.se/sv/Forsvarsmakten/Jamstalldhetsarbete/Historik-och-statistik/>
(2009-04-22)

Human Development Report 2007/2008 (United Nations Developing Programme)
http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_20072008_EN_Complete.pdf
(2009-04-21)

“Human Development Reports”, United Nations Development Program Webpage
<http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/>
(2009-04-21)

”Jämställdhetsarbete”, Swedish Armed Forces
<http://www.mil.se/sv/Forsvarsmakten/Jamstalldhetsarbete/>
(2009-04-22)

”Om försvarsmakten”, Swedish Armed Forces
<http://www.mil.se/sv/Forsvarsmakten/>
(2009-04-22)

“Special Terms on Appropriate Dispute Resolution”, Center for Dispute Resolution at the University of Maryland School of Law
http://www.peoples-law.org/core/mediation/adr_directory/definitions-terms.htm#C
(2009-05-11)

”Suzanne Seelands rapport om Genderforce”, Genderforce Sweden
<http://www.genderforce.se/Bibliotek.htm>
(2009-04-23)

“The Swedish Army”, Swedish Armed Forces
<http://www.mil.se/en/Organisation/The-Swedish-Army/>
(2009-05-05)

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
<http://unfpa.org/women/1325.htm>
(2008-04-17)

Interviews

Interview with *Female Respondent 1*, Malmö, May 14, 2009

Telephone interview with *Female Respondent 2*, May 12, 2009

Interview with *Female Respondent 3*, Lund, May 16, 2009

Telephone interview with *Female Respondent 4*, May 17, 2009

Telephone interview with *Female Respondent 5*, May 17, 2009

Interview with *Male Respondent 1*, Malmö, May 11, 2009

Interview with *Male Respondent 2*, Kristianstad, May 15, 2009

Interview with *Male Respondent 3*, Lund, May 13, 2009

Interview with *Male Respondent 4*, Kristianstad, May 15, 2009

Telephone interview with *Male Respondent 5*, May 12, 2009