

# Norway: women and the military



(RT 2015)

**A study about Norway's decision to make military service compulsory for women**

Msc. Development and International Relations

Master Thesis

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## ABSTRACT

Norway is a developed state and a model for other developing states to follow. Therefore, a decision such as making military compulsory for both genders is something that has to be understood and scrutinized, especially because it is the only European country to do so and for the fact that it covers an area that has not been so debated so far, namely women and the military.

The purpose of this thesis to find the reasons behind Norway's decision: *Why did Norway make military compulsory for women?* For answering this main question two macro theories have been used: realism and gender equality and also Segal's "Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present and Future" theory, which has also been used to answer the secondary question of: *Is there an alternative to the decision?* The realism theory has been used in order to analyse the security and peacekeeping hypothesis while the gender equality theory has been used in order to analyse the gender equality hypothesis. Furthermore the thesis has answered to the following questions as well: *What are the views on the decision? What arguments revolve around the decision? What are the problems behind the decision?*

By carefully using the collected data, after creating a historical and national context and presenting the theories, through a thorough analysis the conclusions have been drawn. None of the selected reasons stands out as a main factor for Norway's decision, although all of them seem to have a certain level of influence. While security seems to might have the slightest effect, peacekeeping and gender equality have a higher significance. Education and norm diffusion are also acknowledged as potentially having some influence on Norway's decision.

The views presented describe the arguments for and against the decision, which are diverse and most of the time opposite. This allowed a multiple perspective understanding of the way the decision is seen and related to the expected results.

Having the lack of gender equality and diversity as problems, an alternative to the decision, for Norway, would have been to make conscription voluntary for both genders and afterwards making the Armed Forces more appealing to women.

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# Chapter1. Introduction

The central purpose of this thesis is to understand and analyze the reasons behind an important decision that Norway has recently made. In 2013 the Norwegian Parliament suggested to make military service compulsory and universal. A year later, after putting it to vote, it resulted in having the majority of the members of the Storting<sup>1</sup> agreeing with making military compulsory. When the decision is going to be executed, there will be an increase in the number of women serving in the Norwegian Military starting with the middle of 2016. (Global Security 2015)

It is of high importance to understand the reasons behind this decision because, although there is too soon to analyze the effects, it might be that Norway is just the first European country of many to take such a decision. Moreover the comprehension of the reasons for which Norway chose to make military compulsory for women might reveal what are its priorities.

## 1.1.Problem formulation

This thesis will discuss two potentially main reasons for Norway's decision namely: to improve its military capacities and to make another step towards gender equality. The first reason is divided in three parts: security, peacekeeping and education while the second reason is divided in two parts: gender equality and norm diffusion. Furthermore, the thesis is pursuing to show and analyse the different views in relation to compulsory conscription for women and analyse the potential problems that might have influenced the making of the decision.

Another goal this thesis is trying to achieve is to see if there could be an alternative to the decision without having the same consequences. In addition, this thesis tries to see what are the arguments favouring Norway's decision and what are the ones that disfavour it in order to point out whether this is something that other states should implement or, on the contrary, something that actually does not bring as many advantages as originally presumed.

Therefore the main question this thesis is pursuing to answer is: **Why did Norway make military compulsory for women?** By answering the main question the thesis's purpose is to also try and answer some sub questions such as: **What are the views on the**

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<sup>1</sup> Another name for the Norwegian Parliament that is frequently used is: *Storting*

**decision? What arguments revolve around the decision? What are the problems behind the decision? Is there an alternative to the decision?**

Across the thesis a few terms are used repeatedly and are of high importance, therefore they are going to be defined in order to make their meaning clear for the context it is used in.

“Compulsory military service” represents, in the case of Norway, a period of a year and seven months in which, people are checked out and if they have passed the examination they have to serve in the Norwegian Armed Forces (NAF). (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:41 Box 6.1) People must be available for the military duty between the ages of 19 and 44. The whole period of a year and seven months of mandatory military duty is actually divided in three stages. First of all, there is the examination phase that people go through. This phase in its turn is divided in two parts. The first part represents an online statement after which an election comes to pass. The second part calls for a personal visit in a known location for the check up to take place. Second of all, if the person is considered to be eligible for the military service the second stage takes place. The “national service”, usually lasts a year but it might vary. In this period of time, people that serve are schooled and military instructed. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:41 Box 6.1) Third of all, some of the people might need to do the “refresher service” in order to update their military knowledge. There are cases in which people, even though they are eligible for the national service, are not drafted. In those cases, they are included in the “emergency reserves”. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:4 Box 6.1)

As far as gender equality is concerned, the meaning and explanation of the concept is described in detail in the theory chapter. In short, gender equality “*refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys*“. (UN 2001)

Women and military, women and security, women and peacekeeping are all current and very interesting debated topics, but the reason why Norway’s decision to make military compulsory was selected for the making of this thesis was because the fact that Norway is now the only European state to do so and second in the world after Israel. (Global Security 2015)

In order to analyse the possible answers for the leading question which this thesis is looking to give an answer to, two essential theories are mainly used: realism and gender equality. Each of the theories is used, together with empirical evidence in order to conclude whether the hypotheses have been indeed reasons for Norway’s choice. Furthermore, “Women’s Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future” theory, written by

Mady Wechsler Segal is used as a gender equality theory, in order to also find an answer to the question: Is there an alternative to the decision?

## **1.2.Synopsis**

This thesis is divided into six chapters. It starts with the introduction in which, the main problem, together with the additional questions is described and explained, and continues with the second chapter: methodology.

In the methodology chapter the methods, instrumentation and approach to writing the thesis are revealed, together with a series of explanations and reasons for the use and rejection of theories. The process of overcoming obstacles in the writing of the thesis and its limitations are also presented in the second chapter.

The third chapter has the role to create an image about Norway's history and the Armed Forces and also about Norway today and its milestones in gender equality. This is done in order to put the problem of the thesis in alignment with its historical and social context. Thus this chapter also comprises data about oil resources and Norway as a part of the Arctic.

The fourth chapter comprises the description, explanation and criticism of the theoretical knowledge that is being used in the analysis for proving or dismantling the hypotheses. This chapter is followed by the analysis, in which, using all the data gathered, by using methodological tools, a discussion takes place in order to answer to the questions asked in the introduction.

Finally, after the analysis, the conclusion is presented in the last chapter. The conclusion provides the answers to the questions asked in the first chapter.

## **Chapter2. Methodology**

This chapter comprises the methodology and methods and used in the writing of the current thesis together with the explanation of the data collected and used and the materials selected. In addition, this chapter also includes an explanation of the limitations of the thesis and of the problems and barriers of writing it and how they were overcome. Furthermore, an answer is presented on the rejection of methods and theories.

For the writing of the current thesis, Norway has been selected for more than one reason. First of all, as mentioned before, it is the only European country to do so. (Global Security 2015) The reason why Israel has not been chosen is mainly because its military has been compulsory for many years and also because women have been conscripted before in other countries during wars. Second of all, and what makes it puzzling about Norway is the fact that it has not had any recent wars and still it decided to implement compulsory military for women.

Another perspective to Norway's decision could have been not to analyse the possible reasons behind it but to analyse the problems that have generated it. In the analysis chapter a short discussion of this kind has been provided in order to show the acknowledgement of its existence and give an answer to one of the secondary questions that was asked at the beginning of this thesis, namely: What are the problems behind the decision? Moreover, it would have been very interesting to analyse the actual results of the compulsory conscription and to conclude whether it has brought good outcomes or less expected outcomes. Unfortunately such study could not have been conducted since the application of the law starts with 2016 and there have not been any experiences to analyse and draw conclusions from.

### **2.1. Methodology and methods**

With the purpose of providing answers to the problem formulation a deductive approach has been used. Furthermore, this research is based on qualitative methodology.

In the context of national and international change, and of fighting for gender equality and even fighting in wars, a change such as making military service compulsory for women is very important and needs to be understood. Therefore, in order to find the reasons behind such a decision, the case study of Norway has been used. For the purpose of analysing as many perspectives and reasons behind the decision, and to reach an answer to the problem

formulation, mixed methods have been used. In the writing of the analysis Carol Bacchi's "Problem Representation" has been used mostly through the first four questions of her method namely: "What is the 'problem'?" ; "What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this representation of the 'problem'?" ; "How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?"; "What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences?" (Bacchi 2012:21) The first three questions have been used together with a document analysis in order to analyse the problems behind Norway's female compulsory conscription decision, and provide an answer for one of the secondary questions this thesis intended to answer, namely: What are the problems behind the decision?. The fourth question has been used to point out the perspectives that have not been acknowledged or discussed so far when it comes to gender neutral compulsory military conscription. Such perspectives could be the educational aspect of military, the organization of the military institution and whether changes have to be made for a better and easier inclusion of women, who benefits the most and least from making military compulsory for women, debate on diversity related also to transgender for example, how is the society taking the idea of the decision and so on. We acknowledge that some of these perspectives might have a description or explanation in Norwegian and because of the language limitations; these might have not been found. Still, a short discussion on these silences has been provided in the analysis.

The first question from Bacchi's problem representation method has the role to make the problem or problems that led to the decision, clear. According to Bacchi, behind public policies there is always a problem that needs to be solved or changed. Therefore by using her questions as a method, a more in depth analysis can be achieved. (Bacchi 2012:21, 22) The second question has the role to help reflect onto the fundamental arguments for the problem while the third one has the role of putting the representation into a certain context in which it has emerged. The fourth question Bacchi proposes is based on the possible gaps in the problem representation and also, on trying to find possible alternatives. (Bacchi 2012:22)

Furthermore, document analysis has also been used separately from Bacchi's problem representation. Document analysis has provided the best means to scrutinize the available data and has been used for the "Views on the decision" subchapter in order to answer to another secondary question, namely: What are the views on the decision? In this case, this method has been used to compare the two main documents. Document analysis has also been mostly used in order to answer the main question this thesis planned on answering together with the theories.

Because of the fact that the problem formulation of the current thesis reflects a decision and the motifs that have brought to its existence, there has not been any numeric or statistical data that could have been used. Furthermore, the use of interviews or surveys has also not been used because of the fact that the writing of the thesis has taken place in another country and the people responsible to the making of the decision could not have been contacted.

Furthermore, in the analysis chapter, after the first hypothesis scrutiny, a short discussion about the military as a form of education has taken place in order to acknowledge that this could have also had an effect. Also, after the second hypothesis analysis, a short discussion about norm diffusion has taken place, as related to gender equality for the purpose of acknowledging that it might have had a possible impact on Norway's decision. In short norm diffusion represents an effect drawn from international interdependence and represents the process in which policies expand either at an international level or within the state. (Gilardi 2013:454) More details about this notion have been provided in the analysis chapter.

## **2.2. Limitations and difficulties**

During the writing of the current thesis, there have been some difficulties and limitations. First of all, there has been a language barrier which has, in a way, limited the amount of information that has been used. Second of all, in a case of a decision so major there are no absolute ways to conclude all of the reasons that determined the people who took it, to do so.

Therefore, we acknowledge that the reasons presented in the thesis most probably represent part but not all of the motifs behind Norway's decision. Third of all, there has also been a problem of sources and information, besides the language barrier due to the fact that the decision has been first made in 2013 and will be put into practice starting with 2016. The fact that it is such a new initiative has made it hard to find documents and most of all statistics and numbers related to the topic.

## **2.3. Delimitations**

Trying to find the reasons behind a decision such as Norway's is both an interesting and a complex task. We acknowledge that finding all the reasons behind it cannot be achieved based on the reason that one can never be sure whether he can know what did the people that

made the decision had in mind at the moment of making it. Based on this, the project follows to test two possible reasons, which evidently might not include all of the actual reasons. Other reasons that could have been tested could have been based on the influence of other spheres such as politics or maybe based on the cultural and/or social developments. The two reasons have been selected based on their importance and on the availability of empirical material in order for an analysis to be achievable. Therefore, this thesis provides a view on the most relevant of the several possible reasons behind Norway's decision, which have been nationally debated, namely, military improvement and gender equality.

In addition to the reasons, this thesis also provides different views on compulsory military for women, in order to try and complete its image, such as the problems behind it and the arguments surrounding it.

Looking at the problems behind the decision, this thesis has provided a description and a short analysis but the area is much broader, and could have gone much further. Considering that this was not the initial purpose, a more in dept analysis of this subject has been suggested as a further recommendation for an independent research. Finally, although it might not be the only alternative to the decision, another solution has been provided that may have the same positive outcomes without having the negative ones as well.

## **2.4. Materials and data**

In the writing of the current thesis, a variety of documents and sources have been selected such as articles, official reports, academic books, some of which have been taken from Norway's official websites. Most of all, primary sources have been chosen. A series of documents have also been used, most important of them has been the Report to the Storting (White Paper) "Competency for a new era" which includes an entire chapter called "More women working in the Armed Forces" and which has provided a lot of information about Norway's view on the decision. Another important document is called "Norwegian Armed Forces in transition" and it represents a short version of Norway's "Strategic Defence review by the Norwegian Chief of Defence". These two documents have been intensively used in the analysis chapter. Furthermore, one of the articles that has been described and used in the analysis chapter has been "No to female conscription" by Torild Skard. This article has been used in order to provide and discuss another point of view on Norway's decision. Furthermore, the arguments pointed in the article have also been used in the gender equality

hypothesis analysis. Throughout the thesis, reports, articles, other documents and data have been collected from official websites such as: Norway's official website abroad, The Norwegian's Armed Forces website, Norway's official website in the United States, Norwegian Government website, the Norwegian Storting's website, Norway's official site in the United Kingdom and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs website.

Since the decision is very recent and the topic of women and the military has not been very debated or discussed, there has not been a high amount of data or sources that could have been used. This area of knowledge is under development and might become a disputed subject due to the contrast between women and their participation in a historically masculine dominated institution, especially in times of peace.

## **2.5. Chosen Theories and Rejection of theories**

Two main macro theories have been chosen for the writing of this thesis, namely realism and gender equality and a micro theory "Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future" by Mady Wechsler Segal. First of all, realism has been chosen because of its role in explaining states' behaviour and for its close connection to military and security. Thus, it has been used to show the nature of Norway based on its history and past behaviour in order to see if improving its military capabilities for security and power purposes would be an explanation for the decision of making military compulsory for women. On the one hand, a good strength of this theory was exactly one of the reasons why it was chosen, which is the connection to military and security. On the other hand, the weakness for this thesis was its particular way of explaining the international field, which, although it was perfect when discussing the military and security aspect, it was not as useful when discussing the peacekeeping aspect. An alternative to using this theory could have been to use liberalism, which would not have provided a base for the explanation of military and security, therefore it was not chosen.

Second of all, gender equality has been chosen to analyse the second hypothesis. This theory has been chosen because of Norway's claims that gender equality is the main purpose and reason for taking the decision. Therefore it was clear that gender equality theory fitted the best for the analysis, in order to see whether that was indeed a reason. A great challenge when using this theory has been to stay clear and focused on the points of this thesis without deviating from the main subject because of the fact that it is a very complex and debated subject and it comprises many views and opinions. Another theory that could have been used

for the second hypothesis could have been a feminist theory. That would have provided a narrower path which could have not supplied, by its own, a connection to the military.

Furthermore, in the theory chapter, a short analysis has been provided to show that Women's Military Roles theory is a gender equality theory. This theory has been chosen because of its close connection to the subject of this thesis and because of its hypotheses which provided with alternatives to increase the number of women in the military without making it compulsory. Even more, this theory is structured so that it provided a clear analysis model which represents a great strength. A substitute for this theory could have been one of "Security, Conflict, and Militarization" written by Lene Hansen in the Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics. This has not been chosen because of its more abstract nature than the one of the Women's Military Roles which, again, provides an analysis model. Considering that the other theories are also abstract and vast, a more focused and structured one, seemed like a good addition for a good analysis.

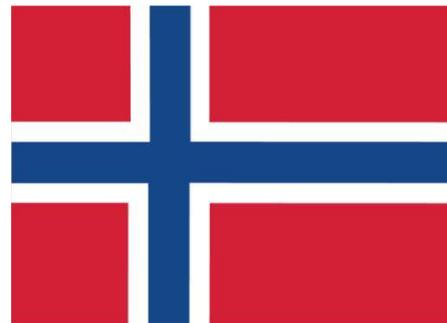
## Chapter3. Norway

In order to understand Norway's policies and decisions and also consider its future, it is highly important to know more about the country, its historical choices and roles in global and local events. Furthermore, it is very significant to know who Norway is today and what it is a part of. With that in mind, this chapter is trying to paint Norway's picture by highlighting relevant historical events and also present the two most important elements for this thesis, throughout time, namely military and gender.

### 3.1. Getting to know Norway



Source: Worldatlas, Norway- Large Map



Source: Norden, Facts about the Nordic Region, The Norwegian Flag

This subchapter presents a very compact history of Norway starting from the Viking times and until after the World Wars followed by a short description of its oil and gas resources to show that it is a rich state and, last but not least, presents Norway's appurtenance to the Arctic area.

#### 3.1.1. Short history

In the Viking era, Norway was composed of multiple small kingdoms. Most of the Vikings were merchants and warriors. In 872 Harald Hårfagre was made king over a significant proportion of those kingdoms. (Samfunnskunnskap, Brief history of Norway) In 1030 Norway became a single kingdom having Christianity as a main religion. Around the 1300's Norway's kingdom included countries such as Greenland and Iceland. (Norway, A

short history of Norway) Even so, Denmark's influence over Norway made it so that they formed a union together with Sweden, led by a sole king. While Sweden left the union in the year 1523, Norway and Denmark continued with it until 1814. (Lambert 2015) In the same year Norway established its constitution and then had to form a union with Sweden having a Swedish king. The union ended in 1905, when Norway's economy started to blossom and Danish Prince Carl was the new king. (Lambert 2015)

Although Norway was officially not part in the First World War, it did however secretly offered supplies to Britain. Also, during the Second World War it remained neutral; however, Germany still attacked several Norwegian cities. (Worldatlas, Norway: 2) After two months of opposing, Germany took over. The Government along with the king continued to fight from London where they reorganized themselves. After the war ended, Norway recovered and succeeded in improving its economy especially after discovering the oil and gas resources. (Fact Monster, Norway) After the wars Norway joined the newly formed United Nations and soon after, signed the North Atlantic Treaty that brought to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. (Samfunnskunnskap, Brief history of Norway) Since then, Norway has been on an ascending path with an ongoing economic growth. Even though the question of Norway joining the European Union has been posed numerous times, the answer has always been negative. (Fact Monster, Norway)

### **3.1.2. Norway's oil and gas resources**

In 1969 oil reserves were found in the North Sea, and so Norway became a major player in the global oil industry. (Samfunnskunnskap, Brief history of Norway) Today, Norway's oil and gas resources make it the biggest petroleum liquids producer in Europe and also put it on the third place in the world as a gas exporter. Estimates put Norway's oil reserves in the top of Western Europe. (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2015)

### **3.1.3. The Norwegian Arctic**

Norway is one of the eight Arctic states alongside Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Canada, Russia and the U.S. The eight countries have been building up cooperation activities and forums in order to address the obstacles on the one hand, but also the opportunities on the other hand, that the climate change is bringing. (Arctic Council 2015) It's High North

In addition to cooperation on many levels, such as, indigenous life, environmental protection and preservation, Norway has also addressed matters such as the common claims with Russia for a part of the continental shelf in the Arctic Sea and the Barents Sea. Following the law of the sea, these claims have been addressed and resolved in 2011. (U.S. Energy Information Administration 2015)

### **3.2. Norway's military and peacekeeping**

Considering the main subject of this thesis, Norway's military, a description of its armed forces, army and peacekeeping operations it has been a part of, is necessary. That is why in this subchapter the main focus will be on Norway and its military and also on its peacekeeping involvement.

#### **3.2.1. Norwegian Armed Forces (NAF) history**

The first organisation that would have a defensive role, which was called the "leidagen", was created in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and it had to protect the coastline of Norway. In addition to it there were also the "hird" which had the role of protecting the king, and was through them that the king could get his claims. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (a))

During the first union with Denmark a Dano-Norwegian Navy was created having a highly strong fleet. The first union with Denmark and then the second union with Sweden have left their mark on the Norwegian defence in a positive way and are considered to be essential for its development. In 1628 under King Christian IV rule, the Norwegian Army was firstly formed. At the beginning, voluntary conscription did not exist, on the contrary even, farmers had the obligation to contribute with soldiers and provisions for the army. Later on, in 1750 the first Military Academy was created and in 1784 the first school for sub-officers was founded. The first rules related to conscription came with the creation and recognition of Norway's Constitution but it was not until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that every man was to be "included as conscripts". (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (a))

In the same period, the Norwegian Army and Navy started blossoming and it is considered to be a very important factor in achieving independence. After the First World War the NAF were reduced and so were its financial resources. Because of these actions Norway was not prepared enough when World War Two started, although it tried to build up its armed forces. Thus, Norway lost many soldiers during its occupation by Germany and came to the

conclusion that declaring to be neutral does not necessarily mean that there will be no war and no occupancy. Therefore, Norway decided to relinquish its neutrality principle. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (a))

After Norway joined NATO, there was a high development in the NAF, also because of the new funding proceedings. In the same period, the number of conscripts grew significantly. Furthermore, in the same year, 1949, Norway started to get more and more involved in peacekeeping missions. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (a)) More about Norway and peacekeeping will be presented further on in the thesis.

After reaching and maintaining its peak from 1950 through the 1960s, Norway started to receive fewer funds from NATO due to policy changes. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (a))

### **3.2.2. Norway's Armed Forces today**

As in any other case, Norwegian's Armed Forces have more than one division. It consists of: the Navy, the Air Force, the Home Guard and the Army. Overall, the Armed Forces have 21 shared departments and 33 bases spread around the country. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (b))

The Norwegian Armed Forces are first and foremost led by the Chief of Defence who, moreover acts as a military consultant for the Minister of Defence. The Norwegian Joint Headquarters represent the head of the NAF when it comes to plan, manage and conduct missions and operations both in peace and war time. Although, according to the Norwegian Constitution, the Commander-in-Chief of the NAF is represented by the King, *de facto*, the Government is the one who play this role. Furthermore, NAF's political command is shared by the Parliament and the Government alike and its political responsibility lies in the hands of the Ministry of Defence, which is led by a Minister. Norway's Defence Minister is presently Eriksen Søreide. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (b))

1. As mentioned before, the Navy is part of the NAF and is, in its turn, divided into:
  - The Fleet which is in charge with gearing up, preparing and arranging, controlling, preserving and training of all of the main and the associated units such as frigates and submarines; (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (c))
  - The Coast Guard which has the role to prepare and maintain and educate through Naval Schools such as the Naval Academy and training stations such as HNoMS Tordenskjold; (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (c))

- The Naval Bases, two in numbers, can be found in Ramsund and near centre of Bergen. Both have the means to sustain and support the Navy but the one in Ramsund is smaller and so has less capability. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (c))

The Navy contributes by facilitating for national and international operations in all type of situations and times (war, peace and crisis) and has over 4.000 officers', sub-officers and ratings. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (c))

As it was the case for The Navy, the Norwegian Air Force is contributing by maintaining and providing units for whenever there is a need, nationally and internationally. In addition to units, the Air Force also offers troops. Furthermore, its duty implies its readiness to act in order to protect Norway's sovereignty and conduct aerial surveillance. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (d))

The Home Guard of Norway represents a structure that includes 45.000 soldiers which have the task of guard territorial sovereignty and unity, take care of relevant infrastructure, offer back up to the civil society and offer help in crisis management cases. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (e))

Last but not least, The Norwegian Army is represents the greatest division of the NAF. The military is highly valuable and it is needed in time of peace, crisis and war, both in Norway and outside it. The Army provides support in a large variety of missions and operations. Moreover it can change its role from support to security, surveillance and so on. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015, (f))

### **3.2.3. Norway peacekeeping and cooperation**

Norway is considered to be a peaceful and peacekeeping nation. Through the United Nations and NATO, Norway has actively contributing to peacekeeping missions and operations in countries such as Mali, South Sudan, Afghanistan, Liberia ad Haiti. In total, in the last 71 years, Norway has taken part in more than 25 UN missions alone. (Norway mission to the UN 2014) Norway's contribution in UN driven peacekeeping operations has to do with its general beliefs and attitudes towards cooperation and mediation. In the case of supporting NATO operations, the motivation changes, as Norway has a long history with NATO and also recently there has been an increasing interest concerning the High North Strategy<sup>2</sup> and Arctic resources. (Kjeksrud 2016) Looking at peacekeeping operations and

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<sup>2</sup> The High North Strategy includes Norway's desires to build good relations with Russia, manage its Arctic resources, protect the environment and preserve the indigenous lifestyle and traditions and so on. The High

considering the financial aspect, Norway did not have any cost reduction and has not been as affected by the 2008 financial crisis as other contributing states. Despite this factor Norway is planning on remarkably reducing its budget for international missions latest until the end of 2016. (Kjeksrud 2016)

Norway has always showed a peaceful attitude and an inclination towards cooperation and peacekeeping in its history and also more recently. For example, in the 2009 Norwegian Ministry of Defence's Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces, Defence Minister Grete Faremo enumerates the three most important policy adjustments to the international scene. While two of them are related more to Norway itself, namely improving and updating the Norwegian Armed Forces and concentrating more on the High North challenges and needs, the other is more internationally based, namely assistance and cooperation in maintaining peace through the United Nations.(Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2009:4-5)

Furthermore, Norway strongly believes in cooperation and emphasizes on cooperation with NATO, the UN, the EU, the other Arctic states (Arctic Council), NORDEFECO (Nordic Defence Cooperation) and other organizations. The cooperation is being achieved in different and important areas such as education, instruction, environment, towards achieving mission goals and so on. Even more, the Norwegian Strategic Defence includes the continuity of cooperation and its improvement in future. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015:8 (g))

### **3.3. Norway and gender**

The main focus of this subchapter is related to Norway's history and attitude related to women's rights and gender equality along with painting a picture of Norwegian's first women in different areas so that there can be an observation of its evolution concerning gender roles and gender equality. Seeing and analyzing Norway's past can shed some light onto its intentions related to the compulsory military for women as well as related to its future.

#### **3.3.1. Women's short history and milestones in Norway**

One of the first women associations in Norway was called The Women's Suffrage Association and it was established in 1885. The founder of said association was Gina Krog, known for her previous involvement in women's movements. Ms. Krog, through her

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North strategy has most of its elements related to the fact that Norway is an Arctic state. (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006:5)

association, succeeded in making the first of many changes and steps towards gender equality. (Norway the official site in the United States 2013) In addition to The Women's Suffrage Association, Ms. Krog was a part of the Norwegian Association for the Promotion of Women's Interests and founded another association in 1895 called the National Women's Suffrage Union. (Rappaport 2001:373) With the help of Gina's work one of the most important steps towards gender equality took place. The fact was that all men had the right to vote since 1898 and so women, fairly so, thought that it was not equitable and also not fair for women not to have the same right as men had. After years of debates, in 1901 women were granted the right to vote in a political election. This was not valid for all women. At this point, only women who were paying taxes or they were married to a man that would pay those taxes, could vote. Furthermore, those were not just any taxes but would have to surpass a particular threshold. (Norway the official site in the United States 2013) Moreover, in 1901, in addition to the restricted suffrage, women could also participate in local elections. Six years later, in 1907 women were allowed to vote in Parliament's elections but they were conditioned by their earnings. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women's history)

In 1911 Anna Rogstad became a deputy legislator in the Norwegian Parliament. She was the first woman to be elected as such and so she received a celebratory membership in the Norwegian Women's Association. (The National Archives of Norway, Anna Rogstad, first woman at Stortinget)

In 1913 Norway granted suffrage to women, without including any more restrictions. Although this was a huge step towards having equal rights for men and women, the struggle to change a man's world continued and is continuing today. Even with all efforts involved, there has been a slow pacing evolution, at least in relation to politics. Norway has celebrated its suffrage centenary anniversary in 2013. (Norway the official site in the United States 2013) As it can be observed, now it is not the first time Norway decides to act in a certain way related to gender equality despite the fact that it is not a trend. Learning from the first experience Norway had with a decision of this kind, it might be that other states will follow its lead in the years to come. On the other hand, circumstances are surely different as are the problem's elements. It will definitely be interesting to see if history shall repeat itself.

In 1921 Karen Platou was the first female candidate to win the elections for the Norwegian Parliament. Four years later, in 1925, Åsa Helgesen is elected mayor in Utsira and thus she makes history by being the first female mayor in Norway. (The Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women's history)

The changes towards gender equality, as seen so far, were not only on the political field but also, education, health, marital and inheritance rights and so on. In 1927, the first version of “The Marriage Act” is created. Through it, men and women got equal economic rights and equal legal rights within a marriage. Starting with 1938, women could have functions in any of the Ministries. Furthermore, women could gain a spot in any public office. The only department that would not permit the same liberty was the clergy which could have been occupied only after the authorization of the Church Council. Another important step towards gender equality in politics took place in 1948 when Aaslaug Aasland becomes the first female Minister. The Ministry to have a woman in its leadership was the Health and Social Affairs one. Turning to culture, in 1949 Edith Carlmar had the honour to achieve the first female director position. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women’s history)

In 1959 a new law came into force which promoted the same educational program for both sexes in all the schools in Norway. In addition, through this law, nine years of school became compulsory. Turning to politics and the justice system, in 1965 Aase Lionæs is elected as the first female to be President of a house of the Parliament while, in 1968, Lilly Helena Bølviken succeeded in turning into the number one case of female Supreme Court Judge. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women’s history)

Another very important step for Norway took place in 1973 when the Labour’s Party, in making its new agenda includes the promotion of gender equality. Also, in 1979 the number one version of the Gender Equality Act was created together with the first Gender Equality Ombud organization. Two years later, in 1981, Gro Harlem Brundtland is appointed as head of the Prime Minister Office, becoming the number one female Prime Minister in Norway. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women’s history)

In 1986 and 1987 both the Norwegian Parliament and its ministries include gender equality in their new action programs. Then, in 1990 after the Norwegian Constitution gets revised it allows both men and women to be inheritors to the Royal Throne. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women’s history)

Norway had their first female President to serve in the Parliament in 1993. The woman that had the honour to occupy such an important position was called Kirsti Kolle Grøndahl. Four years later, in 1997, The Centre for Gender Equality was created as a successor to the previously functioning Equal Status Council, but lasted until 2006 when it was taken over by The Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud. The main role of these agencies was to

promote gender equality. Also in 2006, The Public Limited Act was revised, having the new rules which would demand that a minimum of 40 percent of men and women would be figured in corporate boards. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women's history)

Currently, Norway's gender quota in politics is 40 percent as from a total of 169 seats in the Parliament, 67 are occupied by women. (Quota Project 2016)

The presented milestones are just a fragment of all the events that have occurred during the last one hundred and fifty years in Norway. These have been elected on the basis of connection to politics which is a close link to the military. Also, here and there, some events have been presented in order to show that politics was not, of course, the only area where progress was being made related to gender equality but the main focus has been on politics. In the last one hundred and fifty years there have been many events that reflect Norway's tendency to develop and change more and more towards gender equality.

### **3.3.2. Women in the military**

The first time the Norwegian Parliament agreed to make military duty available for both men and women in a willing manner and for the same amount of time was in 1983. As soon as 1984, it also adopted a new law that promoted gender equality within the Department of Defence. That became valid also for the NAF but not as a law necessarily but as a leading rule, starting with the same year. It took seven years from the approval of military duty for women, until Mette Grøtteland was appointed first female fighting aviator and another five years until Solveig Krey got to be the first female to be in charge of a submarine but not just in Norway. She was the first female submarine leader in all of the globe's states. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women's history)

Another important name in the history of women in the Norwegian military belongs to Berit Ovesen who became the first female Colonel in the NAF in 1999. In the same year, Eldbjørg Løwer, was elected as head of the Ministry of Defence and it was the number one case when a woman occupied that function. Three years later, a different but highly important rank was achieved for the first time by a female representant. Elisabeth Natvig was advanced in rank as Commodore. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women's history) This was, as well, a more recent but nonetheless relevant step towards having both men and women in different ranks and different positions in the NAF.

Starting with 2006 women and men were equally asked to come for a check-up in order to see if they would be suitable for military service. In the same year, Ingrid Gjerde was appointed to lead the Royal Guard. To have a woman to lead the Royal Guard was something that had never happened before. (The Equality and Anti- Discrimination Ombud, Milestones in Norwegian women's history)

### **3.3.3. The Norwegian Gender Equality Act**

The Norwegian Gender Equality Act is a legal document that, first of all, defines what equality represents. Second of all, the Act contains a description of its application, and the fact that it is valid for the entire country. A very specific and detailed part of the Act includes rules in relation to, for example, the interdiction of discriminatory acts and facts as far as gender is concerned; interdiction to torment and tease; interdiction to stimulate or encourage someone to discriminate or tease on a basis of gender; interdiction to take part in any actions that are explicitly specified in the content of the Act. (Ministry of Children and Equality 2007)

The Act also comprises rules related to the behaviour and attitudes of public authorities and committees; different kind of organizations and institutions in order to avoid any forms of gender discrimination. Furthermore, the Act also contains provisions related to work, intended for employers and employees alike. (Ministry of Children and Equality 2007)

As any legal act the Gender Equality Act contains rules concerning its enforcement, and punishments. In its' case, there are two entities that help to ensure that the Act has not been violated and enforce it; these are: the "Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud" and the "Equality and Anti-Discrimination Tribunal". (Ministry of Children and Equality 2007)

### **3.3.4. Norway and the Gender Gap Index**

The Gender Gap Index is presented in this subchapter in order to show Norway's performances in relation to the gap between genders, compared from different years namely 2006 to 2015. Even more importantly it would be compared to other countries by underlining its position in the rankings.

The Gender Gap Index was, in the beginning, made known in order to shed light onto the disproportion between the genders and also to follow their development. This means that the Index is made having gender equality in mind and not women empowerment. Throughout the

years the measurement indicators have not changed. The four indicators for the Index are: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and survival and Political Empowerment. These indicators are each divided into smaller sub indexes. Taking all the measurements into account, countries are then ranked. (World Economic Forum 2015: 3, 4)

In 2006 from a total of 115 countries Norway was ranked at number 2, with a score of 0.799<sup>3</sup> (Hausmann, Tyson and Zahidi 2006: 110). As it can be noticed Norway's position in the ranking was extremely high, by over passing 113 other countries. Furthermore its score is also very high.

In 2015 from a total of 145 countries Norway was ranked at number 2, with a score of 0.850 (World Economic Forum 2015: 282). Although it may seem that because Norway was ranked in the same position number, it did not progress, that might not be entirely accurate. First of all, by looking at the total number of countries from 2015 there can be seen a significant difference. This means that in 2015 Norway has over passed 143 countries compared to 113 in 2006. Second of all, its score, in 2015 was higher than in 2006. It would be very interesting to see if Norway's decision to make conscription compulsory for women will influence these rankings and if so, in which way.

### **3.4. Summary**

This chapter represents the main source for understanding the context of the new conscription rules and provides information that is intended to make the decision and the reasons behind it easier to put in place. Overall it gives information related to Norway's historical background, to its relation to the Arctic which has become a part of its identity and to the rich natural resources. More importantly, it gives a view on the relation and history regarding the military, peacekeeping missions and gender equality. All of these topics are also debated further on, as reasons behind Norway's decision. Furthermore, it gives information that can be later on used in the analysis, such Norway's relation with Russia, importance of peacekeeping, ranking in the Gender Gap Index and so on. This chapter, however, does not include a specific internal political history and description because of the fact that it would have not provided the substance needed for the subject of this thesis.

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<sup>3</sup> The Gender Gap Index's score is calculated between 0 (lowest) to 1 (highest) (World Economic Forum 2015:283)

## Chapter4. Theories

This chapter comprises three very interesting and different theories: realism, gender equality and a theory of women's military roles and participation. All of the theories will be presented and explained in the current chapter. Furthermore, they will be used as a main tool in order to analyse Norway's decision to make the military conscription compulsory for women. Towards the end of the chapter, a brief discussion about the appurtenance of the women's military roles theory to the gender equality theoretical domain is provided.

### 4.1. Realism

Realism represents one of the most used and debated international relations theories as a result of its statements related to the general behaviour of states and interstate wars. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:99) According to the realist view, the existence of prevalent ethical and moral rules is doubtful, and so it advises the heads of states not to act in a way that would compromise and cede their own interests on account of an uncertain notion. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:100) These statements and affirmations are presented in more detail further in this subchapter.

Furthermore, realism comprises three main essential concepts that are generally acknowledged. First of all, there is the notion of "statism". Statism refers to "*the idea of the state as the legitimate representative of the collective will of the people*". (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:101) This means that, the fact that states are legitimate, allows them to control and supervise what happens inside their territory. This notion comes together with the idea that outside the states' own territory there is a form of anarchy. In other words, states are structured in a pyramidal manner, with someone always having control and exercising authority over the "lower" levels. On the other hand, when it comes to the relations between states, there is more or less a form of equality and thus, a higher form of authority to make sure chaos does not intervene, does not exist. As noticed, there is a clear delimitation between internal and external politics, according to the realist view. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:101)

Second of all, the concept of "survival" is of the essence when it comes to realism. This concept has its roots in the same idea that at the international level there is no higher authority to ensure order. As a consequence states must make sure that they are doing everything in their power to protect and secure themselves from other states. According to

realism, their survival is the most important responsibility the states' have. In order to have a higher probability of survival, states' have to try and become more powerful than other states. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:101)

Third of all, the concept of “self-help” is also closely related to the previous presented concepts and the idea of international anarchy. Self-help refers to the fact that states, in order to reach and preserve their integrity and survival, should not trust in anything and anyone but themselves. Therefore, states should improve and constantly upgrade their armies and military capacities and efficiency so that in case of any danger to their survival they can protect themselves without leaning on the help from an international organization for example. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:101)

Despite this, there are certain situations in which the difference between two states is too high so the improvements of the states military are not enough and the smaller state cannot cope with the stronger and greater one. For these cases, realist defined the notion of “balance of power”. This notion refers to the fact that when a situation in which a state is endangered by a stronger state or a group of states occurs, the weaker state should try and assemble another group of states that would match the power of the former and thus make sure that no individual state or body of states overtop the remaining ones. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:101)

Realism can be divided into three in relation to the period in time in which it had developed, namely, classical, structural and neoclassical.

#### **4.1.1. Classical realism**

Classical realism is the first and oldest type of realism. The main belief behind the concept of classical realism is that states' actions and manners of conducting mirror human nature. According to classical realism “*it is from the nature of man that the essential features of international politics, such as competition, fear and war, can be explained*”. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:104) In other words, the way states act in different situations is a clear expression of individual's characteristics, and it can be observed especially in relation to the desire of power and control. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:103) Moreover, the classical realists debated over the importance and effects and interpretation of morality. While some considered that, in order to pursue and achieve their interests, states should not take morality

into consideration, others showed that doing so might lead states to failure. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:104)

### 4.1.2. Structural realism

Structural realism is the form of the theory that followed the classical view. Although the structural realist agreed with the classics with regard to the fact that states are trying to gain power, the reason behind doing so and behind acting the way they are is not associated and connected to the human characteristics. Rather, “*structural realists ascribe security competition and inter-state conflict to the lack of an overarching authority above states*”. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:104) This is a major difference between the two periods of realism. As previously mentioned, this refers to the fact that there is no higher authority that can look over states behaviour and impose order.

Figure 1. International System (Dunne and Schmidt 2014: 104)

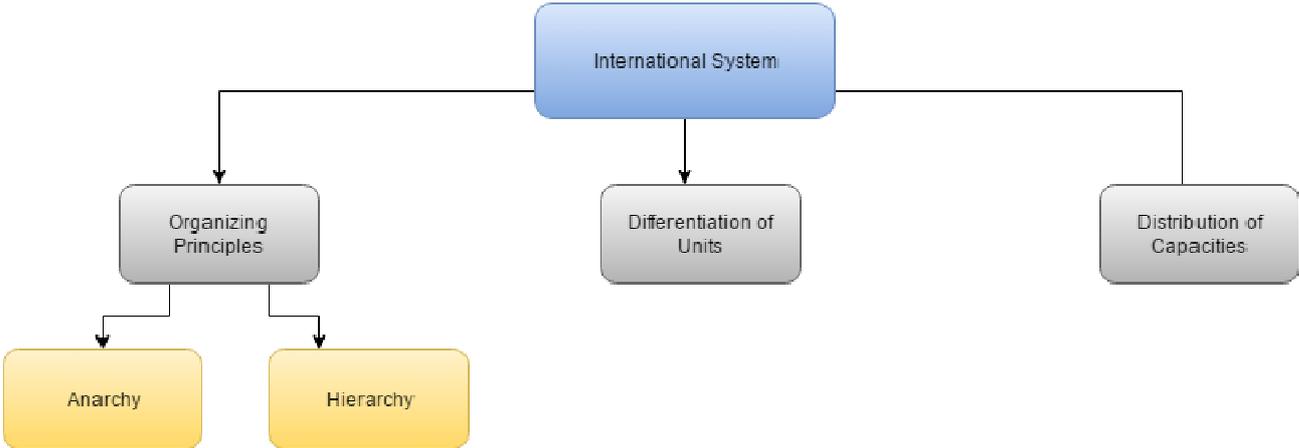


Figure 1 shows Kenneth Waltz’s international system elements in order to create an easier view of the structural realism.

According to Waltz, the International system is mainly divided into three aspects. The first one, as it can be seen in Figure1 represents the organizing principles which refer to the two main views on the international stage and the national one. According to these views anarchy is the characteristic that describes the international field while hierarchy is the feature that describes the national order. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:104)

The second aspect refers to the differentiation of units which refers to the fact that the international field is composed of comparable units (states), therefore the unit-level variation is negligible. The third aspect is considered to be of most importance because it can

supposedly explain the international events and their results and consequences. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:104)

Structural realists use a method of ranking world states' in order to point out which ones are the most powerful and so an international framework can be created. This is related to another view that structural realists promote but not necessarily agree on. According to Waltz, the ultimate purpose states hold is not having more power but having more security. States are continuously trying to gain more power in order to actually use it for security purposes. This view is also known as "defensive realism". (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:105)

On the other side, according to John Mearsheimer, there is also the view of what is called "offensive realism" which promotes the idea that states' ultimate purpose is power and not security. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:106)

#### **4.1.3. Neoclassical realism**

While neoclassical realists do agree with structural realist to some extent they also acknowledge the importance of factors such as the way in which leaders perceive and understand the international system; the connection between the state and the society and the state and "national identity". (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:106) According to the neoclassical view not all states have the same concerns and interests and this can be seen throughout history. Furthermore, it promotes the idea that states use dissimilar methods and have different abilities when it comes to convert "national power into state power". (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:106)

Although there are some differences between the three realism periods, all of the realists agree to the three principles described at the beginning of the realism chapter, namely: statism, survival and self-help. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:107)

#### **4.2. Criticism to realism**

##### **Social Constructivism**

Being one of the most known and used theories in the domain of international relations, the theory of realism has also been highly criticised. One of the critics to realism is the social theory of constructivism.

Social constructivism theory was created in a time when realists and liberalists were struggling to give explanations for the unforeseen ending of the Cold War. In contrast with

the individualist and materialist views in realism, social constructivism relies more on concepts such as identity, ideas and norms. (Barnett 2014:157) There are a few concepts that play a major role in the explanation of the social constructivism theory. Idealism represents the core of social constructivism which emphasises on the fact that “*the meaning and construction of the material reality is dependent on ideas and interpretation*”. (Barnett 2014:158) Furthermore, holism also plays an important part and it refers to the fact that, in this view, the world cannot be analysed by taking it apart because “*structures are more than the sum of their parts*”. (Barnett 2014:166) Another concept that represents a part of the social constructivist view is identity, which implies that knowing who one is helps him know what he is pursuing. Moreover, identity is formed by comparison and interaction to others and can vary. (Barnett 2014:166)

In contrast to the realist view, that power of a state through the armed forces and military capabilities represents a way to influence the actions of other states, the constructivist view also explains the importance of non material tools such as legitimacy and knowledge. (Barnett 2014:161)

### **4.3. Gender equality**

The notion of “gender equality” has been and continues to be debated at different levels and across different cultures and societies as well as across a multitude of institutions, corporations and organizations, according to Lombardo, Meier and Verloo as presented in Squires (Squires 2013:741, 742). Furthermore, gender equality can also be discussed in multiple contexts, for example, in the case study presented in this thesis, the military represents the area of interest.

In order for gender equality goals to be achieved and including all possible views and different approaches to the concept, there is a need for the involvement of women especially when it comes to decision making. This can be achieved through three approaches. (Squires 2013:742)

First of all, a gender quota is a format that is designed to include more women in decision making by entitling them with female only positions in political assemblies. Party quotas have the role to raise the number of women in political parties and legislative quotas compel parties to have a definite number of women or female percentage when they choose their elections candidates. Although, there have been some debates on the effects of gender

quotas, their usage reflects the increasing desire to improve female political equality. (Squires 2013:742,743)

Second, there is the concept of mainstreaming which represents certain tools that have the role of including gender views in policies when they are being designed. Even more, mainstreaming implies rethinking and reviewing proposed policies in order to improve gender equality and not replicate gender inequality. This concept did not have such good results in practice as it was presumed in theory. The reason why is because there is a focus more on the tools than on the purpose of using them which is gender equality. (Squires 2013:743)

Third of all, policy agencies have the role of promoting and advocate for gender equality and working to improve “*the status and conditions of women*” (Squires 2013:743). Policy agencies have a history of providing connections between “*women’s movements and the state*” and helping to include women’s organisations in decision making. (Squires 2013:744)

So it can be seen that states are using methods to change and develop towards a more gender equality mentality, society and culture. In order to reach gender equality aside from these methods, other paths have been used such as conventions, new policies, new instruments and so on. (Squires 2013:744)

Ahead, the discussions related to gender equality and socioeconomic redistribution cultural recognition and political representation are going to be shortly presented.

Concerning the socioeconomic redistribution aspect, there have been many theorisation and debates. Liberal egalitarian doctrine has comprised discussion on distinct kinds of “equality of opportunity”. (Squires 2013:734) This refers to the fact that, according to Swift, people should be able to get picked for a job or be able to choose education without mattering what religion they have or what race or gender they are. (Squires 2013:734)

First of all, there have been discussions that “*inequality is perfectly acceptable as long as it is based on talent*”. (Squires 2013:734) These have been highly criticised mostly because this would lead to a highly unequal and divided society based on talent. Second of all, there has been the discussion on the theory of justice which has also been criticised for example, because of the fact that some “*theories of egalitarian justice assume that the concept of justice applies only to the public sphere, taking distributions within the family as given*”. (Squires 2013:735) Third of all, some scholars of the liberal egalitarian doctrine have replaced talent with “effort and ambition” based on the idea that people should earn and work for equality. (Squires 2013:735)

Cultural recognition implies that people should be treated as equals but not necessarily equally because of the fact that the latter does not entail the former. This is based on the fact that if people should be treated as equals, it would have to be based on each individual's identity and by doing so it would also imply recognition of every person's characteristics. (Squires 2013:737) This method of thinking is furthermore, applied to group recognition and identity. In addition, some theorists suggest that states should be aware and recognize the distinct groups and cultures within itself and thus act accordingly by, for example, creating "*political institutions that give special group representation rights to marginalized groups*". (Squires 2013:737) Thus the emphasis is not on what different cultural groups have in common but on how they are different. Also the emphasis is also more on groups instead of on individuals. The concern here is related to the fact that this might take a toll on the state and lead it to divide and also related to the depreciation of the problems related to economic distribution. (Squires 2013:738)

Within the debates on cultural recognition and socioeconomic redistribution, the political aspect is not touched with reference to "*political participation and citizenship*". (Squires 2013:741) Some theorists, however have stressed democratic inclusion which focuses more on a question of who rather than what when it comes to equality. Furthermore, the idea that in order for the people of a state to be represented efficiently, the methods behind their representation "*should entail institutional and financial support for the self-organization of oppressed groups, group generation of policy proposals, and group veto power regarding specific policies*". (Squires 2013:741) From the debates regarding recognition and redistribution an unclear view has come up, namely that there has to be made a decision between the two remedies. Instead, according to Isin and Wood, it is better to see them as a group with "democratic activity" and try and find a way to make them all work together. (Squires 2013:741)

Further on, as connected and related to gender equality the debates on concepts of multiculturalism, intersectionality and universalism are presented.

First of all, referring to multiculturalism and gender equality, there have been tensions between the two concepts. (Squires 2013:744) Gender equality has been used in order to stall the support of multiculturalism. Furthermore, reasons such as gender inequality or the unfair treatment of women have been used in order to shed a bad light on various minorities and cultural factions. Multicultural measures have also been perceived as encouraging procedures that "undermine women's equality". (Squires 2013:745) Therefore, gender equality has been considered to be a turning point when it comes to cultural accommodation. (Squires

2013:745) Scholars who criticize multiculturalism have gone so far as to interpret it that the cultural minorities have been perceived as repressive, and multiculturalism has been perceived as opposite to women's interests. (Squires 2013:745) Both the promoters of multiculturalism and the promoters of gender equality have played a role in the creation of the current situation. On the one hand, through multiculturalism, the importance of cultural diversity has been accentuated. Also, the dissimilarities and distinctness between cultures and their beliefs and values have been emphasized and cultural inequalities have been presented using examples such as women's genital mutilation. Feminists, on the other hand, have implied the need for some cultures to be annihilated, based on their strange traditions. The main question that needs to be answered is: " *How to act effectively against abuses of women without simultaneously promoting cultural stereotypes*"? (Squires 2013:746)

Second of all, intersectionality has also been debated in connection to gender equality. While multiculturalism refers to different cultural groups, intersectionality, on the one hand, refers to different minorities under the same culture. The theories supporting this concept suggest that " *discrete forms of oppression shape, and are shaped by, one another*". (Squires 2013:747)

Furthermore, on the other hand, intersectionality comprises another dimension which refers to the relations and diversity within a certain minority group. Contrary to the appearance of unity, studies have shown that " *static notions of groups work to the disadvantage of minorities, hiding the oppression of groups' internal minorities*". (Squires 2013:748)

When looking at how to adopt equality policies, the additive path implies that every form of discrimination is different and should be looked upon in an individual way, and it should not be assumed that all forms of discrimination can be dealt with in the same way. Even so, there have been disagreements between distinct groups, for example, gender equality proponents have suggested that by admitting and allowing the rights of religious factions would have a negative impact on the development towards gender equality. In the same manner the promotion of religious group's rights would negatively interact with other minority groups such as gay and lesbian. Therefore, the acknowledgement of one " *equality strand*" might have an unfavourable effect on " *the equality of another*". (Squires 2013:747)

By trying to provide a substitute to the additive path, Yuval-Davis suggests the importance of using communication instead of identity. In this way, he implies that further knowledge can be subtracted through dialogue and an accepted political view can be

discussed, which will lead to a reorganization of the groups during the whole process. (Squires 2013:748)

Third of all, there are the discussions about equality and universalism. There are controversies when it come to the question of equality as being a *“universal value for feminism and multicultural democracies”* (Squires 2013:748) especially when there is an increasing acknowledgement of the diversity of the “indicators of inequality”. (Squires 2013:748, 749) The idea here refers to the fact that there are many philosophers and theorists that argue over how equality can or should be measured and through which variable:”resources, status, capabilities”. (Squires 2013:751) The notion of capabilities on the one hand, refers to what people are usually able to do irrespective of social positions and class and how they usually are for example *“caring for others, being healthy, and being sheltered”* (Squires 2013:749) Resources, on the other hand, represent a method of making people’s lives easier. Furthermore, resources can be changed to capabilities but every individual poses distinct abilities when making the shift. If there is inequality when it comes to resources, taking into concern the link between the two, there will be inequality when it comes to capabilities as well. (Squires 2013:749)

Furthermore, the conclusion of these discussions is that there is more than one norm that can be used in order to “measure equality” and the methods used to determine them are crucial. Also, as Squires suggests *“The norms of equality are not universal and cannot be derived from abstract philosophical reasoning but rather are contextual and can legitimately be understood only as the product of democratic deliberation”*. (Squires 2013:751)

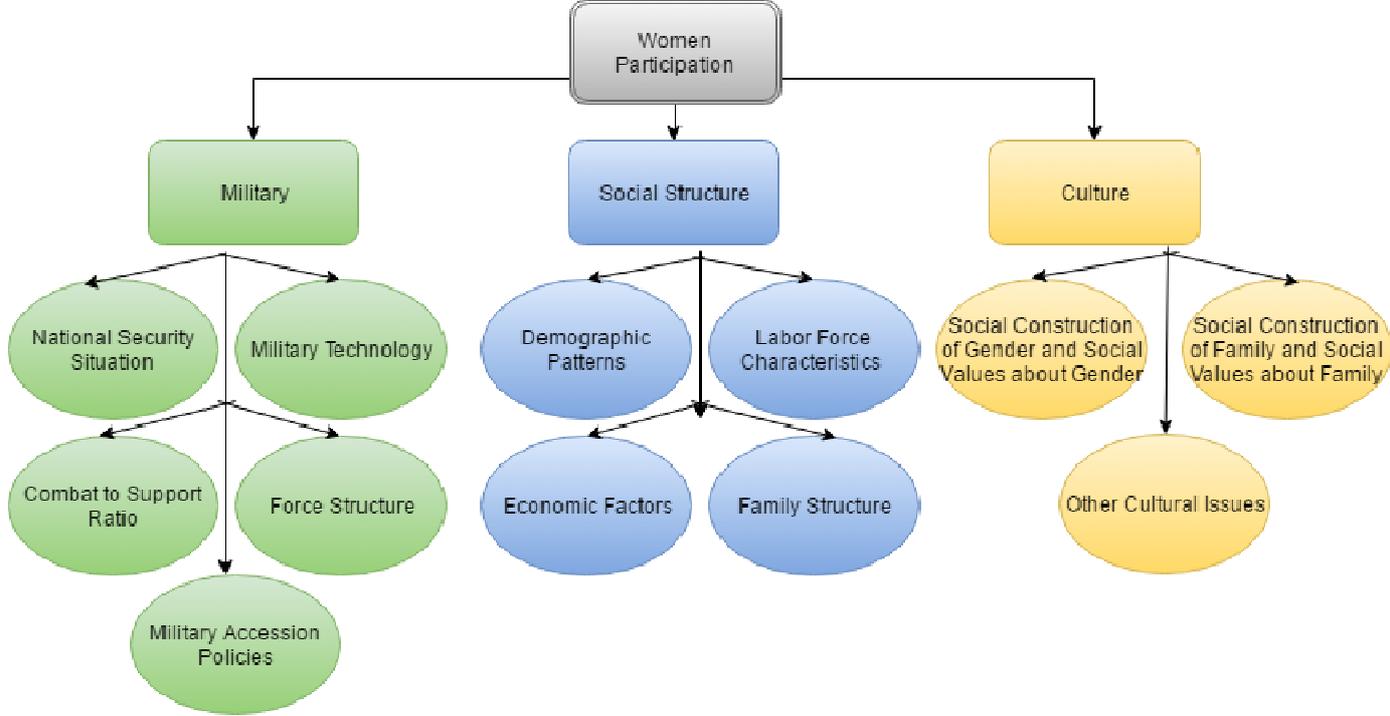
Moreover, Squire suggests that the “debates about equality and universalism” incline to the idea that the shift towards global interdependence increases the difficulty *“to defend the legitimacy of conceptions of equality claiming to derive from ideal theory, which increasingly appear as particularity masquerading as universalism”*. (Squires 2013:733)

#### **4.4. Women’s military roles theory**

Women’s Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present and Future represents a theory by Mady Wechsler Segal which uses three main factors, each divided into more elements, namely: Military, Social Structure and Culture. According to Segal, these factors and sub-factors show and explain Women’s Military Participation variation throughout time and states. (Segal 1995:757)

As shown in Figure2 there are three main factors and a total of twelve sub-factors that Segal uses in her theory.

Figure2.Factors and sub-factors (Segal 1995:759)



The first sub-factor of the military category represents the **National Security Situation**. According to Segal, there level of safety and security in within a state influences the number and functions of women that are willing and prepared to take on military work. Furthermore, Segal points that at times of war women participation and duties within the military tend to increase significantly. (Segal 1995:760)

By looking at history there can be seen that women who had the chance to actively participate in military functions and actions, have proven that they can be productive and effective. Even so, *“Women’s military roles are socially constructed: Public policy, norms, and women’s behavior are shaped, at least in part, by public discourse”*. (Segal 1995:761) This refers to the fact that, according to Cook, even though, there has been proof of women’s good influence and participation in military functions, there is still the general view where men are easily linked to the military work while women are linked to the household work. (Segal 1995:761)

According to Segal, women have been most involved in military participation when there was the highest need for it, that is when the level of danger to the society was highest. Moreover in this situation women’s roles are not only passive but can actually be those of

active combatants. Furthermore, according to Segal that is not the only time when women's participation tends to increase, that also happens "*In societies with low threats to national security, but with cultural values supporting gender equality*". (Segal 1995:761) Also, Segal hypothesises that the number of women in military participation is lowest when there is no immediate danger but there is a high chance that there will soon be some kind of military conduct on the state's territory. Last but not least, she states that when it comes to peacekeeping missions, women tend to get more involved. (Segal 1995:762)

The second sub-factor Segal talks about is **Military Technology**. In the last hundred years the technological improvements and modifications have produced an increase in women's military participation. This has been the case because the new technologies allow women that do not possess the same physical strength as men, to use weaponry and other military equipments, which could not have been done beforehand. (Segal 1995:762,763) Because of the fact that men and women generally possess different abilities and because a lot of the military jobs require different and specific skills, Segal suggests that there will be distinctness when it comes to gender and military functions. (Segal 1995:763)

The third military variable is the **Combat to Support Ratio**. According to Segal, the more combat functions are needed or are available, the fewer women will get involved in the armed services. Usually men are the ones that generally occupy these functions. Thus, the increase in the number of support functions also increases the military roles of women. Furthermore, in cases of peacekeeping operations, the support work force has to be brought from the helping state to the one that is at war, and there is a high need for it. According to Segal, the type of military positions influences the number of female military personnel, so if there are more combat jobs there will be fewer women than if there are more support jobs. (Segal 1995:764)

**The Force Structure** is the fourth sub-factor Segal describes. In this case, the emphasis is put on the difference between the influences of active duty versus the influences of the reserves on the participation of women in the military. Segal states that, in case of support jobs that would be most numerous in the reserves, there is a higher representation of women for the reserve roles compared to the active roles. (Segal 1995:765)

The fifth and last military variable is the **Military Accession Policies**. This sub-factor refers to the comparison of women's participation in the military when there is a voluntary conscription and when there is a compulsory conscription. According to Segal, there are two cases when women are more prone to participate. First of all when there is a policy of voluntary conscription rather than a compulsory one and second of all when the society is

developing towards gender equality. (Segal 1995:765) The text suggest that compulsory conscription refers to only male not both male and female and thus it is clear that in that case women would have more opportunities to enrol in the case of voluntary conscription.

Moreover, Segal suggests that of even more importance than the model of military duty, is whether there are enough men to occupy all of the roles needed for military operations or not. If there are not enough military men to serve, and there is still a high need for personnel, most of the positions will be filled in by women. (Segal 1995:766)

As previously mentioned, the second factor is the social structure category and the first sub-factor is represented by the **Demographic Patterns**. From a social perspective, according to Segal, when the number of the required personnel is not reached by the number of available men, women will cover the left positions. Also, as an example and possible suggestion, Segal mentions in her article the fact that there have been cases in history when instead of dismissing highly qualified women and reducing the requirements for men, the armed forces increased the number of positions for women. (Segal 1995:766) The second sub-factor is called **Labor Force Characteristics** and it expresses the idea that the more women are available and have the means to participate in the labour market the more women will be participate in the military. Furthermore, when there are more and more women who are doing a certain military job that was not considered fit for them, in time that changes until, in the end, the society does not see the job to be unfit for women anymore. Another hypothesis laid out by Segal suggests that women's participation in the armed forces is also affected by the gender discrimination. (Segal 1995:766, 767) This sub-factor calls more to the differences between societies where women are allowed to work and have many opportunities and are given the same rights as men, such as Norway, compared to developing societies where women struggle to be able to work.

A third sub-factor of the social structure category is called the **Economic Factors**. The idea of this sub-factor is mainly related to whether an economy is expanding or decreasing. When the economy is increasing women are more prone to get involved in the military, while, in cases of contracting economy, there are more available men to occupy the military positions, thus women are less likely to participate in the armed forces. (Segal 1995:767)

The last social sub-factor is called **Family Structure** and includes family roles. According to Segal, in societies where women have many family related duties and obligations, their military participation is lower than in societies where women can postpone forming a family. (Segal 1995:767, 768)

The last factor that Segal describes in her article is culture. **Social Construction of Gender and Social Values about Gender** is the name of the first sub-factor presented. This sub-factor emphasises on how the concept of gender is perceived within a culture and the way this affects women's participation in the military. In different cultures the same roles are perceived in different manners. For example some cultures can see certain functions as being suitable for women, while other identify the same functions as not being suitable for women. According to Segal, when there is more stress put on gender rather than on personal differentiation, there are also restricted female military roles. (Segal 1995:768) Also, the modification of the cultural norms can lead to the modification of structures and policies and vice versa. Furthermore, in certain cultures and societies some functions can be considered to be military while in other societies the same functions are considered to be civilian. In all of the cases women's participation in the armed forces is influenced by this factor. In her article Segal also explains that in the case of a society or culture that has more gender equality perspectives and principles there is also a better female representation in the armed forces. Even more so when there have also been new laws and regulations that took effect and were meant to put an end to discriminations related to gender. (Segal 1995:769) It is safe to say that Norway, in today's world, is a gender equality promoter and has gender equality values that fall under what Segal describes in her article.

Cultural and structural changes are difficult to achieve and there is no method to determine how rapidly and how far will the values from a society change in the direction of complete gender equality. This is especially when it comes to the armed forces, which have always been considered one of the most male attributed and dominated spheres, specifically that today it is one of the few last male associated domains. Even more, according to Segal, the higher the percentage of traditional driven values and "religious fundamentalists" the lower the military female representation. (Segal 1995:770)

From gender construction, Segal turns to the second sub-factor of the culture category which is called **Social Construction of Family and Social Values about Family**. Throughout time, women's main role in society and at family level has been to reproduce, take care of the household and raise children. This role can be considered as being opposite to the military functions. In a culture where women's family roles tend to be closer to the traditional views, the military roles are influenced. Segal suggests that in cultures where there is a distancing from traditional views over the familial structure, there is also a higher female representation in the armed forces. (Segal 1995:770)

The last sub-factor presented in Segal's theory is called **Other Cultural Issues**. This sub-factor refers to different cultural elements that could affect in one way or another women's representation. Some of the elements suggested by Segal are language, religion, race, ethnicity and so on. She does not go further with these factors but only mentions them and acknowledges their probable influence on women's military roles and participation.

As a conclusion, Segal explains how the analysis of these factors within a state can provide very important information related to, for example, to what is more important: cultural values or dealing with immediate threats, or how important are cultural values in a certain state (Segal 1995:771). Furthermore, she also advocates for the fact that "*The social construction of women's military roles needs to be analyzed at the following levels: global, societal, institutional, interpersonal, and individual*". (Segal 1995:772) By doing so, she acknowledges the fact that her theory, although provides multiple hypotheses and perspectives, there are still more to be explored from different angles and different levels.

#### **4.5. Gender equality and Women's Military Roles**

All of the notions described in the gender equality theory are all very debated and complex. The purpose of gender equality theory in the writing of this thesis is to analyse one of the hypotheses together with the Women's Military Roles theory, which is considered a gender equality theory based on the explanations presented further on.

According to Segal, in order to include women in such a male dominated institution such as the military, a change has to be made. This change can be either for women to adjust to in a manner that would make them seem more acceptable or appropriate for this institution or for the institution has to be recognized as changed in such a manner that makes it "*more compatible to how women are*". (Segal 1995: 758) Moreover, she notes that perceptions related to gender roles, more specifically women's roles in the military are "socially constructed" and not built upon an "*objective reality, but rather on cultural values*" (Segal 1995: 758). These affirmations prove that Segal's theory have the same base concepts and method of thinking that are a part of the gender equality theory as well, when it comes to women, society and culture. Furthermore, her hypotheses have the purpose of explaining why and how a phenomenon has happened, to provide a solution or an alternative for the pursuit of gender equality and to describe which variables affect gender equality, especially in relation to the military. Segal's construction of the theory based on three factors: military, social structure and culture provides a view which includes very important aspects that affect

women and gender equality and it also provides a link between the gender equality theory and military. For example, in her “Social Construction of Gender and Social Values about gender” variable she suggest that “*The greater the proportion of religious fundamentalists in a country, the less women’s representation in the military will be*”. (Segal 1995:770) This statement concurs with the intersectionality notion when discussing about gender equality where equality proponents have suggested that acknowledging the rights of religious clusters, would have a negative impact on the development of gender equality. (Squires 2013:747)

## Chapter 5. Analysis

This chapter comprises a detailed analysis of Norway's decision to make military compulsory for women. In the first part of the chapter a description of the Norwegian military service before the decision is provided, followed by a description of the military service that takes place after the decision. After the mentioned descriptions, the problem behind the research question is highlighted and analysed. Furthermore, a comparison of two documents is provided in order to show the difference of views on compulsory conscription for women in Norway. The chapter continues with the individual analysis of two possible answers to the research question: Improvement of the Armed Forces and Peacekeeping supplemented with education as a silence and Gender Equality supplemented with norm diffusion as a possible influence. For each of the two reasons a theory and parts of theories will be used in order to conclude whether any of them has had any influence on Norway's decision. Further on, an alternative solution to the problem behind the research question is provided through the analysis of Segal's "Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally Past, Present, and Future" theory. This is followed by a short discussion of further considerations and interesting research questions related to the problem and research question of the current thesis. Lastly a short summary of the chapter is presented in the end.

### 5.1. Before and After

This subchapter comprises two parts, each one describing the Norwegian military service before and after the decision.

The first and most important legal document that describes the Norwegian military service is their Constitution which states that "*As a general rule every citizen of the State is equally bound to serve in the defence of the Country for a specific period, irrespective of birth or fortune*" (Norwegian Constitution 1814, Art. 119). Although the method of expressing does not imply any gender differentiation, there is a very low chance that the people who contributed to its writing thought to do it this way in order to allow women specifically to participate in the military service considering the year of its creation and implementation. The document that specifically point to men as having compulsory military service is the "Compulsory Military Act of 1953". (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:41)

Although starting with 1814 some of the Norwegian men (those who had the right to vote as well) had the duty to execute military service, it wasn't until 1897 when this extended

to all fit men. All capable men between ages 19 to 44 who have been approved as healthy and useful have the obligation to make themselves available and ready to get active when there is the need for it. This is called general service and it takes place even when the men have not been through the national service which properly prepares them, through military training. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:41)

In case of women, military service has not been mandatory but since 1984 they have been having the right to voluntarily carry out national service. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:42 Box 6.2) Starting with 2007 there has been a calling to be checked for military service but only on a voluntary basis. Since then there has been an increase in the number of women that finished national service. In 2010 female examination for military service became mandatory but that did not mean that the service was made compulsory. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:42)

Starting with the first service in the summer of 2016 all women that are, after examination, considered to be in good physical and psychological health are able and have minimum 19 and maximum 44 years old are going to serve in the same way and manner as men have done so far. This means that all fit women will have to be available for general service (conscription) and also participate in the national service in which they will be trained and educated military wise. The maximum duration of the military service is a year and seven months. The military service will furthermore be compulsory for women that have been born starting with 1997. (Global Security 2015)

Not all women will have to actually serve in the armed forces but there will be no more differentiation between genders. (Norway the official site in the UK, Norway Extends Compulsory Military Service to Women)

There are two situations in which, even though military service is compulsory, people can be relieved from duty. First of all, there is the case of people who do not fulfil the necessary physical or psychological requirements. Second of all, there is the case of people who do not wish to participate in the military service and who need to fill a special discharge application. In the case of an approval, the person that has been given the dispensation has to do a year and two months of civilian service as a substitute. (Regjeringen, G. Military Service, pp.69)

## 5.2. Behind the decision

The main question this thesis is pursuing to answer is: Why did Norway make military compulsory for women? In order to get a better view of the problems that might have influenced the Norwegian decision and help portray a more complete image of the rationale prior to it, following Carol Bacchi's problem representation a further analysis is provided. Norway has made military mandatory for women which points out to several possible problems that have had this as a result.

Report to the Storting (White Paper) "Competency for a new Era" represents an important source of knowledge and information, which is being used throughout the analysis chapter. Written in 2012-2013, the official document comprises recommendations and initiatives that the Norwegian Ministry of Defence has made related to the future of the Armed forces and Norwegian defence. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013)

One of the chapters presented in the Report is called "More women working in the Armed Forces". This chapter is very important to this thesis based on the fact that it gives the most information on the decision and future expectations and it also provides a clear point of view. Therefore, it is used in order to argue the problem representations.

When looking at the problems that might have influenced the making of Norway's decision, first of all there is the lack of diversity and multitude of skills and abilities in one of the most important institutions of a state, namely the military. This problem representation is based on the fact that Norway is a developed country that has always looked for ways to improve in all fields and has always found ways to cope with the societal and international changes.

*"It is essential for the Armed Force to be able to draw upon the competency held by the Norwegian population, both women and men. The soldier of the future requires a much wider combination of skills and qualities than the traditional soldier. By attempting to reflect the diversity within society, the Armed Forces will achieve new competency and a much broader base of experience. An increase in the ratio of women will provide a necessary increase in cultural and competency-related diversity in the Armed Forces".* (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43)

As it can be observed the problem also has its roots in the fact that when times change the state and its institutions also have to change in order to keep up and even anticipate future

needs. Furthermore, there is a high emphasis on diversity of skills that will lead to more different experiences through which new things can be learnt. An interesting question here on the one hand, is if there has been the need to change for some time, then why Norway has just now decided to use such a “*cultural and competency-related diversity*” (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43). On the other hand it might be that there has not been a need until recently, which makes Norway’s problem plausible and can also be a reason why it decided to improve. Although both of these scenarios are debatable, the discussion is about “*the soldier of the future*” who “*requires a much wider combination of skills and qualities*”. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43) Thus, it appears that Norway’s decision is based on a problem that, although it might have already started is mostly related to future needs, which reflects a high level of anticipation. This provides important information because it reflects a method of thinking that may be followed by other states as well. It is possible that, although Norway is the first country that has acknowledged the need to change in this manner, other states will do the same.

Second of all, there is the problem of not having gender equality in the military field, which has always been one of the most male dominated fields throughout history.

*“Equal opportunities play a key role in ensuring an inclusive and competent working life with high value creation and equal distribution of rights and obligations. By improving the gender balance at all levels within our Armed Forces, Norway will be able to remain at the forefront in terms of practising equality and equal opportunities”.* (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43)

In addition to the fact that Norway is trying to anticipate future needs and change accordingly, it also tries to provide an example for other states to follow and shows that it want to be in the top first countries, at least when it comes to equality whether that is gender or other forms of equality. Through this change the belief is that Norway “*will be able to remain at the forefront in terms of practising equality and equal opportunities*”. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43)

This problem is useful because it shows Norway’s desire to be one of the leaders when it comes to gender equality. Thus, this problem representation supports the gender equality supposed reason that is also going to be discussed further into this chapter.

The problem representation has the role of presenting another perspective and angle on the decision Norway has made, but does not represent the main purpose of this thesis. It would be highly interesting to go more in depth with this perspective.

The problems behind Norway's decision should not be confused with the reasons behind it, which this thesis is proposing to find. A problem such as the lack of gender equality in the military can also be perceived as a reason but, norm diffusion, although it might be a reason, it is not a problem.

### 5.3. Views on the decision

This subchapter provides an analysis of two antithetical views on Norway's decision. Since the voting of the law, there have been some concerns starting from the idea that the Norwegian Armed Forces structure and organization might not be prepared to take in a lot more women based also on mentality (Øistad 2015), to the idea that the decision is actually contrary to gender equality and the support of gender neutral institution does not provide equality. (Skard 2015) In order to go further and acknowledge the opinions two main documents of the opposite sides are presented and compared further.

The first document is namely an article called "No to female conscription" and has been written by Torild Skard in May 2015. A psychologist at core, Skard has a rich history when it comes to Norwegian politics, gender studies and international affairs.<sup>4</sup> Therefore the content of the document is representative and reliable. The purpose of this article has been to express the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights' (NFK) strong opinion on Norway's female conscription decision. The article is divided into four parts. The first part comprises NFK's agreement to voluntary military service or careers for women in the Armed Forces. Furthermore, it states that women have been having the "*same opportunities as men to join the armed forces*" (Skard 2015) and that constraining women to conscript is different. This suggests that according to Skard as a representative for the NFK, conscription does not have a place in a state where already women have the same rights and opportunities as men when it comes to the Armed Forces. Furthermore, Skard expresses her lack of understanding such a decision in an institution that she declares as not having many men that serve in the Armed Forces. (Skard 2015)

In the second part, Skard argues that what Norway has decided related to women and the military does not have gender equality as a reason because of the fact that "*women and*

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<sup>4</sup> "Torild Skard is a psychologist, a former Member of Parliament in Norway, President of its upper chamber, Director for women's issues at UNESCO in Paris, Director-General of the Multilateral Division and Deputy Secretary-General for international development at the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the UNICEF Executive Board, Regional Director for West and Central Africa at UNICEF, and most recently a Senior Researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. She is a former President of IAW's Norwegian affiliate, the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights." (Skard 2015)

*men do not have to be alike or do the same things to be equal*” but that “*women and men should have the same human rights and fundamental freedoms*” (Skard 2015) The point of view expressed in the Article is interesting especially when it is, for example, compared to the view of the representatives of the Norwegian Parliament and Armed Forces which will be presented further on. In the same part Skard argues for the importance of women in a society and for the fact that there is a tendency towards changing women to shape men’s practices. (Skard 2015)

Further in the article, in part three, Skard, talks about the fact that there is an illusion of the result the Armed Forces is trying to achieve, namely better and stronger prepared military. She explains that, although by including more women there will be a rise in diversity, there will not be so many changes related to the army but rather, women that are going to be conscripted will be militarized and will learn how to fight and even kill. (Skard 2015)

In the last part of her article, Skard as a representative for the NFK, expresses the fact that instead of focusing on improving military capacities it is far better to be focusing on peace and peacekeeping, mediation and other non-violent solutions. (Skard 2015)

The main message of this document is to express dissatisfaction related to compulsory conscription, explain why that is not the way towards gender equality and, at the same time, offer an alternative. Certainly this is one way to view things and there are some arguments towards it. This article is related to the writing of this thesis because it shows that not everybody is agreeing with the view of the Armed Forces and the Parliament and presents another perspective of how things might be, compared to the perspective of the Norwegian officials which is going to be presented further on.

The second document represents the previous described Report to the Storting. Because of its content, the Report comprises valuable data and represents a main source of information. In the context of competency and the recommendations and initiatives related to the Norwegian Armed Forces, the chapter on women’s compulsory conscription plays an important part. The chapter is divided into five parts. In its first part, an introduction is made together with a description of the short history and a description and explanation of the procedure of conscription. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:41, 42). In the second part the Report contains explanations on the importance of the decision and the reason why it is natural for this to occur in a society such as Norway motivating that “*gender based compulsory military service can be seen to conflict with the fundamental value within Norwegian society that obligations and rights do not rely on gender*”. (Norwegian Ministry

of Defence 2012-2013:42) Therefore, it can be deduced that from the Norwegian Ministry of Defence perspective, gender neutral conscription reflects the Norwegian society thus it is highly important to take it. Furthermore, it suggests that having compulsory conscription for both men and women will improve the connection between the Armed Forces and the population “*by making the Armed Forces more representative of the entire population*”. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:42) This information is appealing and it might actually give another reason behind the decision. This is, however in contrast with Skard’s perception on the same area. In Skard’s opinion” *To impose a new burden such as conscription on women in this situation is unreasonable, and it can increase the economic and social gender gaps in society. Instead of equality the result will be greater inequality.*” (Skard 2015) Here, a discrepancy can be observed between the two views. On the one hand, there is no reason not to believe Norway’s good intention expressed through the report. On the other hand, Skard warns that the effects of the decision are actually to be negative and will end up in producing the opposite result than the one desired.

Even so, further on, the Norwegian Ministry of Defence acknowledges the importance and influence of “*coercive means and exemption criteria*”. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43) On this note it mentions that attention has to be given to these measures because their unfair usage might lead to a decrease in the motivation levels of the people who perform military service. It is highly difficult to appreciate what will the results ultimately be and who is more accurate in its view.

In the third part of the chapter, a brief description of what the Norwegian military needs is provided, which has already been discussed in the beginning of the analysis chapter.

In the fourth section, according to the Report and compared with Skard’s affirmation that the Armed Forces do not even have enough men that are serving, which makes compulsory military for women even more out of its place (Skard 2015), “*the number of men who are motivated for service is actually higher than that required by the Armed Forces*” (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43) Although the method of expression does leave room for debate considering that “motivated for service” does not necessarily mean that the men are actually serving, it is safe to say that if men are motivated and the military conscription is compulsory, most probably the men are indeed following their duty. To remove any doubt, according to the “Norway adopts conscription for both men and women” article from the official site of the Government of Norway from 2013, “*Recruitment is already high and increasing, and the number of applicants each year exceeds the needs of the Armed*

*Forces*". (Regjeringen 2013) Therefore, it seems that Skard's affirmation conflicts with the information from the Report.

The last part of the Report is very short and mentions a future evaluation scheme "*for obligatory examination of women for military service*". (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:45)

It is worth mentioning that the Report also includes a description of the population's attitude and opinion towards universal compulsory military service. According to the Norwegian Ministry of Defence, in 2012, 71 percent of Norwegian men considered that the compulsory conscription should be gender neutral and 61 percent of women thought the same. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43 Box 6.3) Therefore, as written in the Report, most of Norway's population agreed with the future Norwegian decision.

This subchapter comprises two opposing views on Norway's decision which have been analysed and compared in order to answer the secondary question this thesis proposed in the beginning, namely: What are the views on the decision? The views presented are those of Torild Skard, who is against gender neutral compulsory military service, and those expressed in the Report to the Storting by the Norwegian Ministry of Defence, which explains the need and importance of this decision. These perspectives are also, furthermore discussed in order to answer the main question in the next part of the analysis.

#### **5.4. Why did Norway make military compulsory for women?**

This subchapter provides the analysis of two distinct reasons that have the potential to clarify Norway's decision. The first reason is divided in three parts: improvement of the armed forces first of all for the progress of the state security, second of all for the improvement of peacekeeping missions' personnel, third of all, military as a form of education. The second reason that is scrutinized is related, on the one hand, to the fact that the decision had to do with Norwegian's reflection on its society and a step closer to gender equality and on the other hand, with the concept of norm diffusion.

##### **5.4.1. Security and peacekeeping**

The first reason that might provide an answer to the main question is related to the improvement of the armed forces for security or peacekeeping. In order to verify this reason, the realism theory is used together with important data that has been collected.

This reason is divided into two parts namely improvement of the armed forces for the purpose of providing security and defence, and improvement of the armed forces in order to have better qualified and diversely skilled soldiers for peacekeeping missions. The main differences between the two are essentially the intention and the end purpose.

Taking the first part into consideration, which is for the purpose of improving security and protection of the state, it can be argued that it might very well be the case. According to the realism theory states act driven by the fact that they should not trust other states and are continuously improving their military structures and forces so that in case of threat they can themselves be able to protect and defend their territory and ensure that they can continue on “surviving”. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:101)

According to the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Strategic Defence Review Framework abridged, Norway takes into consideration new threats such as “*conventional and asymmetrical challenges, hybrid warfare, cyber-attacks, terrorism and the growth of extremism*”. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015:05) The Strategic Defence Review Framework (SDRF) abridged from 2015 has been written in order to shortly describe Norwegian’s long term strategy when it comes to defence and the Armed Forces, by the Minister of Defence. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015:03) This document is useful because it contains information about Norway’s future plans from which their way of thinking and their attitude can be observed. Although it does not contain information on compulsory conscription for women, it can be seen as a completion and updated version of the Report to the Storting. All of the mentioned threats are indeed possible and are seen as a reason to improve the Armed Force’s strength, which concurs with the realist view. Moreover, the structural realist view of defensive realism, according to Waltz, suggests that states look to protect themselves, emphasizing on the fact that the end purpose is to achieve a high level of security. (Dunne and Schmidt 2014:105) From one point of view this seems to fit what Norway is doing. According to the Norwegian Chief of Defence “*It is vital to ensure early warning about threats against Norway*”. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015:02) Furthermore, the Norwegian Chief of Defence, Admiral Haakon Bruun-Hanssen, states that “*There is also a need to reinforce protective measures for infrastructure that is critical to Norwegian defence capabilities*”. (Norwegian Armed Forces 2015:02) This statement can be seen as evidence from a realist perspective. Another reason why Norway might be seen as potentially having a realist conduct comes from the fact that it Russia has been also upgrading its military capabilities and armament. The relatively new view on the Arctic and the” High North” and

the fact that the territory is of great importance to both countries can be a reason to make Norway even more cautious and prepared. According to SDRF:

*“Nuclear weapons are of high priority in the current modernisation of Russia’s military forces [...] We must presume that this modernisation of operative capability will continue. In addition, the country has shown increasing willingness to use military force against its neighbouring states. Although Russia is currently not viewed as a direct threat to Norway, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Norway may be drawn into a conflict because of its geographical significance near Russia’s strategic nuclear weapons or in support of Allied forces“.*(Norwegian Armed Forces 2015:05)

As it can be noticed, from the above text, Norway, although does not see Russia as a present threat, it does leave the possibility of it becoming one in the future. Since Russia is improving its military forces, Norway considers that it should do the same in order to be prepared for a potential conflict. In this case the idea of conscripting women could support this view and can be seen as a way to improve and better its Armed Forces.

Although all these argument and views tend to reflect the realist view, as described in chapter III, Norway has never in its history acted in a realist manner on the international field. When it comes to security, but most of all power, Norway has always shown a more peaceful, cooperative and liberalist attitude. Therefore the second part of this argument relates to peace and peacekeeping missions.

Norway has been a part of more than 25 peacekeeping missions starting with 1945. (Norway mission to the UN 2014) In the “Norway’s priorities for the 70<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly” article from 2015, Norway has expressed its convictions towards, peace, peacekeeping and finding non-violent solutions for any international conflict. (Regjeringen 2015)

Furthermore, the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment’s author Stian Kjeksrud’s wrote in his article: “Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Norway” that although there has been a decrease in the number of personnel for peacekeeping missions in the last years, Norway has been steadily among the first financial contributors, at least when it comes to the United Nations. This is even more impressive when taking into consideration, Norway’s small population. (Kjeksrud 2016) In the same article, Kjeksrud acknowledges that according to the “*long-term plan for the Norwegian Defence*” Norway intends to decrease its international missions’ budget by 50 percent. (Kjeksrud 2016) The first aspect would suggest that Norway, having seen a decrease in personnel, would want to change in order to even see

an increase. Therefore, the inclusion of gender neutral conscription would be a good way to do so. Still, the fact that it plans to cut its budget might be seen as contradictory with that supposition. Furthermore, as mentioned before, Norway has stated that there is no need for more personnel but the purpose of the decision is, instead, diversity and quality. (Regjeringen 2013) The adoption of universal conscription, thus, fits also the above mentioned hypothesis on the reduction of international missions' budget because of the fact that having more quality than quantity would not necessarily require as much money. Cutting the mission's budget would otherwise not seem at all in agreement to Norway's views, policies and actions from its past related to peace and peacekeeping missions. Also, the fact that the cuts in the budget by 50 percent can be replaced by other financial means should be acknowledged. (Kjeksrud 2016) Therefore, it seems that in both situations, improving peacekeeping and peacekeeping operations personnel can very well be a reason for Norway's decision.

An addition to the security and peacekeeping subchapter is related to education, not as a hypothesis but as another perspective from which to see compulsory conscription in order to also acknowledge its existence. Furthermore, this perspective could also be seen as a silence in the making of Norway's decision. Military education and training are a part of the military service; therefore, making military compulsory for both men and women implies that Norway's population is going to start receiving another form of education. This form of education is meant to strengthen and discipline, which should benefit both the individual and the collective. Even so, through military training the phenomenon of resocialization takes place. Resocialization represents the modification or replacement of one's "existing social roles". (Andersen and Taylor 2008:105) Furthermore, through military, massive changes can occur in one's identity and they "*are meant to make the military primary, not one's family, friends, or personal history*". (Andersen and Taylor 2008:105) Although, one might argue that in the small amount of time of military training not so many or strong identity changes could occur, still, considering the role of military education, it is highly unlikely that no changes will take place. Small changes do not mean that they will necessarily be insignificant or should be ignored. Whether these changes are good ones and would improve the Norwegian society and strengthen all individuals or, on the contrary, as Skard predicts will end up in militarizing women without changing the institution, and teach them how to "*use violence and, if necessary, kill*" (Skard 2015) is yet to be seen. Nevertheless, the subject of education is not to be neglected.

## 5.4.2. Gender equality

The second main reason this thesis is pursuing to discuss is related to gender equality. To verify this reason, the gender equality theory together with Women's Military Roles theory is going to be used.

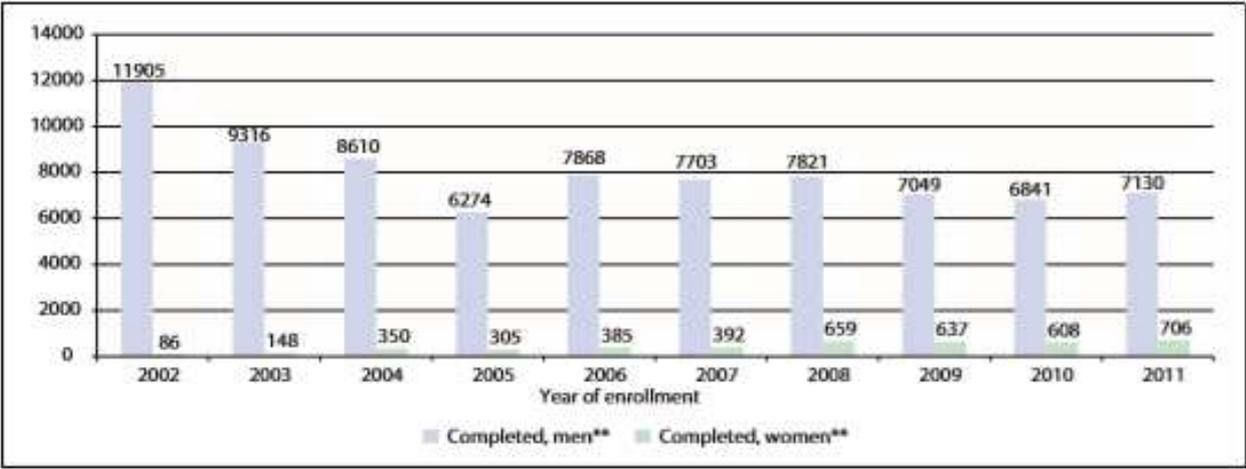
A very short definition of gender equality implies that male and female persons should have the same "rights, responsibilities and opportunities" (UN 2001). Based on this perspective Norway has made military compulsory. According to the Norwegian Chief of Defence Admiral Haakon Bruun-Hanssen "*The new law means equal rights and duties for men and women*". (Universal Conscription 2015) Therefore, the main argument is based on just a very narrow definition without taking other concepts related to gender equality into consideration, such as socioeconomic redistribution and cultural recognition for example.

When discussing socioeconomic redistribution, the idea of "equality of opportunity" (Squires 2013:734) does not imply an obligation but rather the availability of choice and the opportunity of being selected for a job irrespective of gender, race and so on, which does not apply with compulsory military service. This aspect would have rather been valid for universal voluntary military service.

According to the Norwegian Ministry of Defence in the Report to the Storting, compulsory conscription for men only, would misrepresent Norway's society where "*obligations and rights do not rely on gender*". (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:42) Furthermore, it suggests that "*by improving the gender balance at all levels within our Armed Forces, Norway will be able to remain at the forefront in terms of practising equality and equal opportunities*". (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43)

While this reflects the truth, the arguments do not necessarily point to universal compulsory military service. In this situation, there would have been two options: one, to indeed extend compulsory military to women and two, to make military voluntary for men so that the end result from the current point of view would have been the same: equality of opportunity, rights and obligations. In addition, the compulsory aspect of military has to be further questioned considering that there has been an increase in the number of women that have completed national military service.

**Figure 3. Completion of national military service (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:42 Figure 6.1)**



As it can be seen in Figure 3, the number of women that have finished national military service has increased from 2002 to 2011. Furthermore, there is a significant difference between the number of women and the number of men, which would explain why one of the arguments for gender neutral military service has been that adopting it would double the amount of people in order to choose the best ones for specific tasks. (Universal Conscription 2015)

Furthermore, from the cultural recognition view on gender equality, on the one hand, there is the idea that *“treating citizens as equals does not entail treating them equally”* (Squires 2013:737). By applying this view to the Norwegian decision, it would suggest that just by implementing the same policies and approaches on women as on men, does not necessarily imply equality. On the other hand, according to the cultural recognition view *“treating people as equals will require giving due acknowledgement to each person’s identity”* and by doing so it will necessitate *“not an identical set of rights for all but public acknowledgement of the particular worth of each”*. (Squires 2013:737) Furthermore, the emphasis here is more on differences and less on what different individuals or groups have in common. Therefore, this point of view supports Skard’s claims that in some cases *“the underprivileged gender must be favoured to be able to obtain similar results”*. (Skard 2015) Thus, from this point of view, it would seem that just by applying the same measures and regulations for women as for men will not necessarily lead to gender equality. However, this does not imply that gender equality is not a reason for Norway’s decision, but it does imply that the results might not entirely be those expected.

A possible aspect that might have influenced Norway's decision, although it is not necessarily a reason, could be the concept of norm diffusion. As previously defined, norm diffusion represents a process through which policies or other elements spread either from state to state, from international organizations to states or internally, inside a state. (Gilardi 2013:454) The 1325 United Nations Resolution from 2000 represents a recommendation in which the Security Council expresses their suggestions and advice, among other things, for the implication of women in peacekeeping missions, in decision-making positions, in the process of implementing peace agreements, in "field-based operations, and especially among military observers" (United Nations 2000:2, 3) and to include a "gender perspective into peacekeeping operations". (United Nations 2000:2, 3) Furthermore, according to the Norwegian Ministry of Defence in the Report to the Storting, Norway has been working to implement this UN resolution. (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43) Therefore, it would seem that Norway has been assuming what the UN Resolution has been recommending. By making military compulsory for women, and increasing their implication in peacekeeping missions, Norway is further on trying to implement these suggestions.

Coincidence or not, Norway's vote for compulsory conscription took place 100 years from the adoption women's suffrage (Norway the official site in the UK, Norway Extends Compulsory Military Service to Women) and ten years after passing the law for quotas for female representatives on the boards of all companies, which took place in 2003. (The Conversation 2015) Whether compulsory conscription represents an adaptation of these norms towards the military is debatable. Still, this possible connection should be acknowledged.

## **5.5. Increasing gender equality and solutions to the problems**

In order to find explanations for the increasing number of women in the military before the decision, for continuing the gender equality analysis and for providing with solutions for the problem representation, Segal's Women's Military Roles theory is used further on.

In Segal's first factor, the military, the first variable is called "National Security Situation". According to this variable, female military participation grows in societies "*with low threats to national security*" and where there is a tendency and support towards gender equality. (Segal 1995:761) Furthermore, the theory also suggests that female participation increases when peacekeeping missions is the main objective. Because of the fact that Norway

fulfils the conditions, it might explain why its number of women has been increasing even before implementing gender neutral compulsory military service. The second variable refers to “Military technology” and explains that the technological improvements and updates allow women to be able to do most of the jobs that have been considered to be male only, based on the difference of physical strength for example. (Segal 1995:762) This is also likely to increase women’s participation in the Armed Forces. Considering the fact that Norway is a developed country, this is yet another variable that points towards a higher number of women.

The third variable from the military factor is the “Combat to Support Ratio”, which suggest that women are more likely to be included in military missions when there is a need for more support personnel. This need is higher in peacekeeping missions for example. (Segal 1995:764) In this case also, it seems that Norway, through its implication in peacekeeping missions, has encouraged the inclusion of women in support roles. This variable can be seen as a solution to the diversity in the military problem and an alternative to increase the number of women in the military by increasing the number of support jobs rather than combat jobs.

The fourth variable, “Force Structure” is another method that can be seen as helpful when it comes to finding solutions to the problem representation or alternative to Norway’s decision. The manner in which the military force is structured could allow and even invite more women to get involved in the military. Elements that can be changed in order to do so could be the previously mentioned, support to combat ratio or the years of active duty, for example. (Segal 1995:765)

The fifth and last variable from the Military factor is represented by “Military Accession Policies”. According to Segal “*women’s military participation tends to increase under voluntary accession systems (as well as when social change is in the direction of gender equality)*”. (Segal 1995:765) Furthermore, “*the delegitimation of conscription is sometimes coupled with greater roles for women*” (Segal 1995:766). This is interesting for the case of Norway because it suggests that in order to get more women and have better roles for them in the military, the direction of departure should be to change towards a universal voluntary military service which is opposite with what Norway has done. Furthermore, the accession to a voluntary military service system would have, beside to increase the number of women, had the result of gender equality based on rights and opportunities.

Still, Segal suggests, in her “Demographic Patterns” variable, that one of the most important elements that influence the number of women is represented by the difference between the number of available men and the needs of the military. If the number of men does not meet the needs for completing military operations, the number of women will be higher

than if the number of men meets the needs of the military. (Segal 1995:766) According to Norway's former Defence Minister, Mrs. Anne-Grete Stroem-Erichsen, Norway does not need an increase in the number of soldiers. (Regjeringen 2013) Therefore, because of the fact that there is no need for more soldiers holds back the increase in the numbers of women's participation.

Also from the social structure factor, the "Labor Force Characteristics" variable suggests that in societies where women are more implicated and accepted in the "occupational structure", they are also more likely to be accepted in military roles. (Segal 1995:767) By linking this variable to Norway's developed society it also suggests that Norway has a favouring societal structure for the inclusion of women in the military.

The third variable is called "Economic Factors", and it implies that when there is a great unemployment rate, particularly when looking at young men, there is a correlation with "*a ready supply of men to serve in the armed forces and relatively low opportunities for women in the military*". (Segal 1995:767) While this might apply in a state where military is not mandatory for men, in Norway, this might not necessarily be the same. More so, Norway does not fit this variable because of the fact that it has an unemployment rate average of 3.52 percent between 1997 and 2016. (Trading Economics 2016)

The fourth variable, "Family Structure" explains that "*the greater the family responsibilities for the average woman, the less women's representation in the armed forces*". (Segal 1995:768) Moreover, the number of women in the military is higher in a society where families are being created later in age. (Segal 1995:768) In Norway women's age when having their first child has been estimated at an average of 28:6 (Eurostat 2015) which is a relatively high number. Therefore, this variable could have also been a factor for which female representation in the military was increasing.

Looking at the cultural factor, the first variable, "Social Construction of Gender and Social Values about gender" implies that "*the more egalitarian the social values about gender, the greater women's representation in the military*". (Segal 1995:769) According to the Norwegian Ministry of Defence in the Report to the Storting, Norway is a leading state when talking about gender equality (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43). Therefore this is another variable which explains that in a state with a society and culture such as Norway's the representation in the military is higher than in other states that do not have the same conditions.

The next variable is called "Social Construction of Family and Social Values about Family". Here Segal suggests that women have always had the role of reproducing and taking

care of children and the household and, in cultures where that role represents a strong mentality, women's participation in the armed forces is negatively influenced. (Segal 1995:770) When discussing cultures and mentalities, it is difficult to find proof, other than observance, therefore, in the case of this variable and Norway, based on the fact that it is a leading state when discussing gender equality (Norwegian Ministry of Defence 2012-2013:43), it would be most likely that in Norway the variable described does not represent a strong mentality. Thus, in the case of Norway, this variable is not negatively influencing women's participation in the military and, depending on the culture's level of support towards diversity within families it might actually point to a positive print.

The last cultural variable is related to the influence of other cultural minorities such as religion, language, age or ethnicity, on women's roles in the military. (Segal 1995:770, 771) This variable reflects the intersectionality perspective of gender equality and considering its vast implications, it would require another study to try and pin point the minorities influence on gender equality and the military in Norway. Thus, although we acknowledge its influence, there cannot be any conclusions from this variable at this point.

## **5.6. Discussion of silences**

Following to answer Carol Bacchi's problem representation, question:" What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? "(Bacchi 2012:21) the following discussion of silences is provided.

The educational aspect of the military which has been considered a silence has been already discussed in the Security and peacekeeping reason analysis. A second silence would be related to a discussion about the changes that have to be made at an institutional level in order to make the inclusion of more women, easier. According to Segal, the military has to be seen as changed in order for it to fit women's participation. (Segal 1995:758) The fact that having women in the military is not necessarily something new for Norway would imply that the organization is at some extent used to women's participation. Still the numbers will increase significantly. This might require certain changes from the military institution, subject which has not been touched so far.

Another silence is related to the benefiter of Norway's decision. This is important because of the fact that knowing the benefiter could point to, maybe, another reason behind Norway's decision. It would seem that the main benefiter is the Norwegian society which has to gain when thinking about the gender equality intention and also about the fact that Norway

is increasing the number of trained people, which could have good results, such as a higher sense of security.

A discussion about diversity related to ethnicity or race, for example, or other minorities could also be seen as a silence since there is no data or material that even mentions this subject. Considering the fact that diversity has been one of the arguments for the decision, it is strange that there is no reference to religion, ethnicity or other element that would influence the level of diversity.

### **5.7. Future recommendations**

Because of the fact that the area this thesis is analysing and discussing is relatively new and has not been much debated, there are some branches that would be worth mentioning here for the purpose of future studies. As previously mentioned, a study related to the problem representation would be relevant, as to highlight the points of departure for the decision, which would help when analysing other states and look for the same problems, and then pointing to the same solution or, on the contrary, point to another solution, if Norway's decision turns not to be the best approach. This leads to the second recommendation, which refers to a study of the effects of the decision, which can be done only a period of time after the decision so that it can be seen whether other states should follow Norway's lead. The last recommendation would be related to the discussion of diversity in the military, not only related to women and gender equality but to other minorities, in order to point out its effects.

### **5.8. Summary**

The writing of this chapter has pointed and analysed the problems that lead to Norway's decision. Next, it has presented and compared two antithetical views related to the decision which were then used in order to point out different perspectives for the analysis of the main question of the thesis. In order for the main question to be answered the two main hypotheses have been analysed together with the theories presented in the fourth chapter. And two potential influences have been described, namely education and norm diffusion. Furthermore, through Segal's Women Military Roles theory, some of the reasons for which women's numbers were already increasing have been pointed alongside with methods through which a further increase could have been provided, without the necessity of making military compulsory for women. Moreover a discussion of silences and future recommendations has been specified.

## Chapter6. Conclusion

The current thesis's purpose has been to analyse Norway's decision and answer the questions proposed in the introduction. Looking at the problems that have been a base for Norway's decision, two main ones stick out: the lack of diversity within the military and not having gender equality. A solution for these problems has been indeed, making gender-neutral compulsory conscription. On the other hand, an alternative to this solution could have been to make military voluntary for both genders, which would have provided with the same results referring to gender equality and diversity, considering the fact that by looking at Segal's "Combat to support ratio", "Force Structure" and "Military Accession Policies" it would seem that by having a voluntary military system and by making changes within the armed forces organization, there should be an increase when it comes to women's participation and women's roles without having the negative side of constraining people that do not want to participate. This increase in numbers does imply an increase in diversity.

It would seem that, Segal's variables which point to the fact that Norway's military, society and culture encourages gender equality and the increase of the representation of women in the military, are: "National Security Situation", "Military technology", "Labor Force Characteristics", "Family Structure", "Social Construction of Gender and Social Values about gender" and "Social Construction of Family and Social Values about Family". Therefore, it seems that Norway's women representation has been increasing gradually before the decision, even without Norway's measures to implement female voluntary examination for the armed forces, which has produced an increase by itself. Therefore, it appears that Norway felt the need to rush the increase in women's participation in the military by making it compulsory, which can be interpreted as a motif to support the security reason.

Further on, by comparing Torild Skard's view and the Norwegian Ministry of Defence's view, it would seem that there are many arguments when it comes to the advantages and disadvantages of compulsory conscription. On the one hand, there seems to be the belief that the inclusion of compulsory conscription will change women but not the military and that it will not lead to the expected results. On the other hand, the decision is seen as a good way to strengthen the link between the population and the armed forces, improve diversity and help Norway to maintain its lead in gender equality.

Concerning the security and peacekeeping reason, it appears that, although Norway has never acted in a realist manner, there are some possible concerns about the future relations with Russia in the Arctic. Even so, the increase in security reason for Norway's decision does not seem to fit strong evidence so far. However, considering the alternative to the solution (voluntary conscription), which implies the same results when discussing gender equality, Norway's choice can lead to the belief that the difference might be felt at the security level after all.

Turning to peacekeeping and peacekeeping missions, whether Norway wants to increase the number of women, or to improve the diversity in these operations, this can be seen as a reason, especially when there is no evidence that suggests this as not being one.

Concerning the gender equality reason analysis, it did not result in clear evidence. It would appear, as far as cultural recognition is concerned, that the approach Norway has chosen in order to have gender equality might not bring all of the expected results as Skard is predicting, although there is no reason not to trust Norway's good intentions and benevolence therefore gender equality can be seen as a reason.

Furthermore, the socioeconomic aspect of gender equality points more to voluntary conscription than to compulsory military service. However, there is no evidence that would point against gender equality as a reason, although, the same reason might as well have been valid for the alternative to the decision namely voluntary conscription.

Last but not least education and norm diffusion should be acknowledged as potential influences of Norway's decision.

In conclusion, the reasons selected for this analysis seem to have certain influence on the decision. From security which might have the slightest effect to gender equality and peacekeeping, which have a higher effect, although none of them stands out as a main intention.

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