



**WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY
– AND DENMARK**

This report is written by Dr. Annika Bergman Rosamond and published by DIIS as part of the Defence and Security Studies.

Dr. Annika Bergman Rosamond is a Senior Lecturer in International Relations at Lund University.

DIIS · Danish Institute for International Studies
Østbanegade 117, DK-2100 Copenhagen, Denmark
Tel: +45 32 69 87 87
E-mail: diis@diis.dk
www.diis.dk

Layout: Lone Ravnkilde & Viki Rachlitz
Printed in Denmark by Eurographic Danmark
Coverphoto: PA Photos

ISBN 978-87-7605-733-6 (print)
ISBN 978-87-7605-734-3 (pdf)

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Abbreviations

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
EU	European Union
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
IR	International Relations
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISIS	Islamic State
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
SCR	Security Council Resolution
SRSG	Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General
UN	United Nations
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The overarching objective of this report is to critically assess the United Nations (UN) Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda in the Danish context. The analysis takes place against the backdrop of the shift towards military interventionism for strategic and human purposes that defines much of modern global politics. A related development is the recognition that the international community has an obligation to protect distant other citizens from human rights violations and various expressions of violence. The so-called responsibility to protect norm (R2P) challenges deeply embedded notions of sovereign integrity and non-intervention. Protection has become a global buzzword and women and girls are conceived as being most in need of such (gendered) protection. Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security recognises that women and children are the ones most 'adversely affected by armed conflict' and therefore in need of global protection (UN Security Council 2000). The SCR 1325 agenda rests on a commitment to the protection of women and seeks to give them 'equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security' as well as increasing the number of women soldiers serving in national militaries (ibid.).

Denmark has sought to further these objectives since the adoption of SCR 1325 in 2000. The country favours a broad approach to the implementation of the SCR 1325 agenda by involving a wide range of actors and combining civilian and military measures for the purpose of implementing the resolution's main objectives. A key argument of this report is that there is a co-constitutive relationship between Denmark's domestic and international commitment to gender equality and security (Bergman Rosamond, 2013). By implication, Denmark has recognised its dual obligation to women's security and welfare within and beyond borders. The main

objective of this DIIS report is to bring attention to Denmark's policy on women, peace and security against the backdrop of current trends in global politics. The report pays particular attention to the country's adoption of three national action plans (NAPs) on SCR 1325 as well as its attempts to increase the number of women in the armed forces. Moreover, a snapshot of a select few personal accounts of Danish women soldiers will be provided. The emphasis is placed on their war experiences in Afghanistan. Such accounts can tell us something about individual war experiences and the individual soldiers charged with the task of furthering the SCR 1325 agenda at the global level.

The report demonstrates that although Denmark is fully committed to the SCR 1325 project there are aspects of that commitment that require further attention, including:

- The occurrence of gendering discourses that assign certain qualities to men and women, as soldiers and civilians - these are unhelpful in furthering the SCR 1325 agenda.
- Insufficient recognition of male victims of gendered violence.
- Difficulties in increasing the number of women within the Danish armed forces.
- Insufficient involvement on the part of Danish civil society in the implementation of the broad SCR agenda.

The report is divided into two parts. The first part provides an introduction and locates the debates on the WPS agenda (and Danish responses to it) within contemporary practices of sexual violence in global politics, such as the atrocious sexual crimes performed by Islamic State (ISIS) Jihadists in the Northern parts of Iraq. The recurrent occurrences of sexual violence in conflict and other gendered discriminatory practices point to the importance of problematising states' individual commitments to the WPS agenda (Björkahl, 2011). The first part ends by offering three broad sets of recommendations related to a) the significance of promoting women's agency and participation in peaceful dialogue, b) the employment of broad conceptions of security, protection and gender, and c) ensuring a greater awareness of intersectional variation across conflict zones.

The second part commences by providing an analysis of UNSCR 1325 and other related resolutions so as to set the normative scene for the analysis of Denmark's specific interpretations of the WPS agenda. It then goes on to zoom in on the Danish experience in promoting the WPS agenda across borders. An underpinning argument is that there is a co-constitutive relationship between Denmark's domestic and international commitments to the protection of women and the promotion of gender equality within and beyond borders. Having identified that link, the report turns to Denmark's three national action plans on SCR 1325 in order to identify their key priorities and shortcomings. This is followed by a discussion of its efforts to increase the number of women in the military, which is an objective consistent with SCR 1325. To further substantiate this discussion the report briefly explores a select few personal stories told by Danish women employed in the armed forces. The conclusion puts forth a few discussion points and summarises the key recommendations provided in the first part of the report.

Part I:

INTRODUCTION, THE GLOBAL CONTEXT AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

For me, as I suspect for many of you, this Summit has been an emotional experience. We have all come together, based on a common desire to end warzone sexual violence, and mapped out every area of action we need to take. There is no doubt, after these four days, that we know what to do: We need to entrench the international protocol, so that we begin to deter these crimes and end impunity. We need to put survivors in the forefront of our efforts – not as victims, but as inspiring and resilient people who can guide us to the right choices and decisions. We need to pool our expertise and close the gaps in our laws and capabilities. I thank everyone who has played a part and shared their wisdom, from Presidents to practitioners in the field. (Jolie, 2014:1).

Angelina Jolie's closing remarks at the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict summarise many of the issues that this report seeks to address, not least the urgency of ending gendered violence. Sexual violence in conflict is a prominent issue in international politics. However, issues of economic development and women's participation in peace building and peace negotiations are also part of the WPS agenda.

Background

The analysis below takes place against the backdrop of the shift towards military interventionism for strategic and human rights purposes that defines much of contemporary global politics. A related normative development is the recognition that the international community has an obligation to protect distant other citizens

from human rights violations, when their governments do not/can not offer such protection. The responsibility to protect norm (R2P) challenges the deeply embedded international norms of sovereign integrity and non-intervention. Protection has become a global buzzword and women and girls are seen as the individuals most in need of such help (Bergman Rosamond, 2013). SCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security recognises that women and children are the ones most 'adversely affected by armed conflict' and therefore in need of global protection (UN Security Council, 2000:1). However, it also states that women are not only victims of war and violence, but key partners in the resolution of conflict and peace building processes. As such they should enjoy 'equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security' (ibid). In 2004, the former UN General Secretary Kofi Annan urged the member states to increase their commitment to the implementation of SCR 1325 and to adopt national action plans (NAPs) for this purpose.

Denmark was the first country to adopt such a plan in 2005, and has since then adopted two additional ones (2008-2013; 2014-2019). What is more, it has sought to mainstream the contents of SCR 1325 into its external policies. For example, the Afghan initiative that Denmark adopted in 2012 seeks to further the objectives of SCR 1325 by supporting the 'voice of the Afghan women in the peace- and reconciliation process' and to 'incorporate the views and advice of women much more systematically into the process' (Udenrigsministeriet, 2012:1). Denmark favours a broad approach to the implementation of the SCR 1325 agenda by involving a wide range of actors (Ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice and Trade and Development, 2014; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008). Hence, it has demonstrated a clear commitment to the WPS agenda which guides its contemporary foreign policy behaviour as well as its engagements in military operations beyond borders. Given this, it provides a very interesting case in point for the study of the WPS agenda.

Key objective

The key objective of this report is to take stock of Denmark's policy towards SCR 1325 by situating it against the backdrop of broader global developments. It focuses on three national action plans on SCR 1325 and includes a short section that brings attention to the actual experiences of women within the Danish armed forces. A central assumption is that there is a co-constitutive relationship between Denmark's domestic and international commitment to gender equality and security (Bergman Rosamond, 2013) and as such it does not significantly differentiate between its commitment to the security and peace of women within and beyond borders.

However, Denmark's gender activism across borders is also a response to the normative shift towards protection and interventionism in global society more broadly. Another key contention is that although Denmark is at the forefront of discourses and practices of protection of women and girls in conflict, there are some gender gaps in the country's efforts to further the SCR 1325 agenda. For example, policy-makers and soldiers point to the low number of Danish women who opt for a career within the armed forces. This assumes that adding more women to national armies and assigning certain biological qualities to their soldiering skills would automatically enhance the WPS agenda, which is a contention that will be unpacked throughout the report. Indeed, what might be needed is to rethink masculine militaries (Kronsell, 2012) so as to change the culture of national defence structures in a fashion consistent with the SCR 1325 agenda. One way of opening up the SCR 1325 agenda and making it more legitimate is to enhance the involvement of civil society in the implementation of SCR 1325, which is a point that we shall return to below. These issue areas, and others, will be addressed throughout the report. A set of recommendations will be provided below, which seeks to address these problems in the Danish context and which will hopefully be of some value beyond the boundaries of that country.

Structure

The report is divided into two parts. The first part sets the scene for the discussion of the global WPS agenda by drawing attention to a set of pressing global developments regarding women as victims and perpetrators of violence. Against the backdrop of Denmark's active support for SCR 1325 through military and civilian means the report provides a set of policy recommendations.

Part two provides an analysis of UNSCR 1325 and other resolutions so as to set the normative scene for the analysis of Denmark's specific interpretations of the 1325 agenda. The report argues that although the UN agenda is ambitious and grounded in normative commitments, there are shortcomings relating to the occurrence of gendered assumptions about men and women. This is followed by a close up discussion of Denmark's NAPs on the SCR 1325 agenda and the unpacking of their normative commitments, catchphrases and problem areas. Key here is the argument that there is a co-constitutive relationship between Denmark's domestic and international commitments to the protection of women and the promotion of gender equality (Bergman Rosamond, 2013). This co-constitutive platform informs Denmark's gender activism in the context of SCR 1325. This section of the report also identifies the key measures that Denmark has proposed to combat gendered violence and other gendered practices.

To shed further light on Denmark's promotion of the SCR 1325 agenda, the report turns to the presence of women within the Danish armed forces, by bringing some attention to issues of recruitment and gendered practices within the Danish military. The last sections of the report zoom in on a select few testimonies of Danish women soldiers. The emphasis is placed on their war experiences in Afghanistan (Sylvester 2013). Such personal accounts can tell us something about the expectations placed upon women soldiers in furthering the broad goals of the SCR 1325 agenda. A set of key questions are posed in this context; how do women soldiers experience their roles in the armed forces? Do women soldiers perform what could be defined as typically female tasks, such as the pursuit of dialogue with local women and/or gathering intelligence through such links? The conclusion summarises the findings of the report and identifies its key arguments and recommendations with the view of stimulating new and interesting debates on the WPS agenda.

The Global Context

The Responsibility to protect (R2P) distant other citizens from human rights abuses and the adoption of a human security concept rather than a traditional state-centered view of security are key developments in contemporary global politics. The WPS agenda is part of this normative shift by assuming that women and children are in particular need of protection. The SCR 1325 states that women and children suffer disproportionately in conflict and war and news reports frequently bear witness to women suffering rape and gendered violence in places such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Syria and Iraq. Feminists have argued that western interventions rest on an understanding of the man as a protector in war (Goldstein, 2001; Hick, 1982) and women as victims. However, this gendered dichotomy is inconsistent with the broad objectives of WSP agenda. The adoption of SCR 1325 and related resolutions is testament to the international community's commitment to the obliteration of gendered violence, but also the tendency to reduce women to non-agents in need of male protection. Meanwhile, the resolution recognises that women suffer disproportionately in conflict and post-conflict societies. This commitment to gender justice across borders has been key to Denmark's military and civil engagements in Afghanistan (Bergman Rosamond and Kronsell, 2013). Denmark's support for the US-led operation against the Islamic State (ISIS) of militants in Iraq in 2014 has also been justified on human rights grounds with the current Foreign Minister deploring ISIS's 'total lack of respect for human rights and the most basic humanitarian values' (Lidegaard, 2014).

The Jihadist war that is currently fought in Northern Iraq and the sexual violence that is systematically employed by ISIS show us that the SCR 1325 agenda is incomplete and far from universally implemented. Many newspapers have recently reported on the tragic situation of Kurdish Yazidi women who have suffered systematic rapes and been forced into sex work in brothels after having been captured by ISIS Jihadists. The British newspaper the Daily Mail reports on the testimony of one such woman:

'If you know where we are, please bomb us... There is no life after this. I'm going to kill myself anyway - others have killed themselves this morning... I've been raped 30 times and it's not even lunchtime. I can't go to the toilet. Please bomb us.' (Mail OnLine 21 November 2014).

There are also reports on ultra-religious British women Jihadists who have joined the ISIS cause and as such having been given the responsibility of running brothels (The Huffington Post, 2014). Their task is to discipline the Yazidi women who have been forced into sexual slavery and Jihadist women justify their involvement in such practices by arguing that the Yazidi women are guilty of 'un-Islamic behaviour' (ibid.). The United Nations has condemned this systematic employment of sexual violence and classified it as genocide. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence (SRSG) in Conflict, Zainab Hawa Bangura, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Nickolay Mladenov, have recently stated that '(w)e are gravely concerned by continued reports of acts of violence, including sexual violence against women and teenage girls and boys belonging to Iraqi minorities' (UN News Centre, 2014). Meanwhile young Muslim women are lured into marrying ISIS soldiers and carrying their children and as such contributing to the Jihadist cause.

The brief discussion above shows the incompleteness of the WSP agenda, and points to the importance of assessing the world's collective efforts in this field. This report is an effort to do so in the Danish context. It should be noted that ending sexual violence in conflict is not the only ambition of the WSP agenda - equally important goals are women's agency in conflict and post-conflict situations as well as their economic development. This is not to deny that women are disproportionately affected by the traumas of war and conflict, rather it is to recognise that their impact on peace negotiations, conflict resolution and peace building exercises have historically been limited.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Agency and Dialogue

The primary objective of the report is to unpack the contents and problem areas of the SCR 1325 agenda against the backdrop of Denmark's commitment to women's peace and security. More specifically, the report problematises the gender(ed) and normative underpinnings of the SCR 1325. An underlying assumption here is that gender identities are social constructions rather than static manifestations of male and female behaviour (Cockburn, 2007). While recognising that women and girls are disproportionately affected by gendered violence and abuse during times of war and peace, the report warns against drawing too close a parallel between victimhood and women. A key recommendation in this regard is to avoid reducing women to non-agents with little or no say in their own fate or life situation, but rather to highlight their entitlements to agency, empowerment and participation in peace building work.

Denmark, together with its European and Nordic partners, should therefore continue to promote women's participation in peace negotiations and peace building processes. Women at all levels of society should be invited to such deliberations. One step in the right direction is to promote political and cultural dialogue with victims of violence (women and men) and as such give them voice in local and international peace negotiations. Victims of conflict and violence ought to be given more opportunities to share their war experiences and policy preferences with local leaders, peacekeeping troops and representatives of international organisations. Indeed the members of the UN ought to ensure that new lines of thought related to SCR 1325 are grounded in such localised knowledge, necessarily involving women and men. Denmark, and its Nordic partners, should continue to play a significant role in this regard by drawing upon their extensive experiences of promoting gender equality at home and abroad, with their recent experiences in Afghanistan being central here.

BROAD CONCEPTIONS OF SECURITY, PROTECTION AND GENDER

A good deal of the discussion below centres on Denmark's commitment to furthering WPS matters, not least by continuously refining the country's national action plans on 1325. A recommendation here is that the country, in cooperation with its partners in various international fora, considers issues of livelihood and economic development to a greater extent. While Denmark's NAPs increasingly exhibit more sensitivity to such issues, there is room for developing further understandings of the

relationship between war, gender, economic development and human security. This requires a broad understanding of security that is not confined to militarising practices and defence matters, but includes engagements with the security of individuals, both men and women. Moreover, it demands of states, organisations and civil society to broaden the protection agenda to recognise that both men and women are in need of protection in times of war, conflict and peace. To this end Denmark should continue to emphasise the role of men in the promotion of the SCR 1325 agenda. Further, Denmark should through regional and international channels promote the pressing issue of male victims of sexual violence in conflict and continue to promote the rights and insights of LGBT communities.

What this amounts to is an approach to SCR 1325 that refrains from assigning stereotypical gendered roles to men and women in peace building processes. While women soldiers are important in establishing new forms of dialogue with women in conflict areas, such as Afghanistan and parts of Africa, they should not be assumed to have a natural ability to carry out such 'care work'. The employment of women soldiers for that purpose needs to be problematised and contextualised by paying attention to the distinct conditions of the war zone in question.

INTERSECTIONAL VARIATION AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SCR 1325 IN DOMESTIC SOCIETY

Denmark's most recent NAP on SCR 1325 carefully outlines the country's individual commitments to the WPS agenda across a set of core countries. To facilitate the implementation of the WPS agenda across a wide range of countries it is important to consider the variations and similarities between conflict zones and the distinct needs of the peoples living in those areas. This involves placing more emphasis on intersectional variation such as ethnicity, class and gender and consider the ways in which such differences impact on peace building projects and conflict resolution more broadly. However, human rights abuses that are justified on the basis of cultural and gendered difference need to be recognised. To this end the Nordic states could to a greater extent base their gender activism within and beyond borders on sensitivity to cultural difference and universal human rights, a process that the current author has defined as one of 'gender cosmopolitanism' (Bergman Rosamond, 2013).

Moreover, Denmark and other likeminded states should continue their attempts to add more diversity to their armed forces by recruiting women and people from different ethnic backgrounds. This should be coupled with a greater willingness to concede that the 1325 agenda is not something that only concerns poor conflict zones but rather all societies. A key question that all states which profess to promote the values of 1325 should ask themselves is therefore what aspects of 1325 are applicable to their domestic society? Such awareness would add credibility to their attempts to promote protection, participation and the combat of sexual violence beyond borders.

Part II:

GLOBAL AND DANISH DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES OF SCR 1325

This part of the report offers an overview of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions, by employing a set of ideas emerging from broad discourse techniques. Discourses attach 'meanings to social and physical realities. It is through discourse that individuals... and states make sense of themselves, of their ways of living, and of the world around them' (Epstein, 2008:2). Here we are interested in the ways in which UN discourse 'confers meanings to' gender, protection, gendered violence, men and women, and how these meanings turn into social and physical realities. The discourses examined below are intertextually constituted across several UNSC resolutions. The analysis below then draws on 'an intertextual understanding' which 'argues that texts build their arguments and authority through references to other texts: by making direct quotes or by adopting key concepts and catchphrases' (Hansen, 2006). This approach allows us to zoom in on the employment of gender discourses across key documents, in particular those related to women's assumed vulnerabilities and aptness for certain peace building tasks. In particular, it is useful to identify discourses and practices of gendering that reproduce certain dichotomies between men and women.

The SCR 1325 agenda

The UN has for a long period of time promoted every human being's right to gender equality and justice. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which was adopted in 1979, and the Fourth Beijing World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace, adopted in 1995, set the scene for the adoption of SCR 1325 in 2000. The UN agenda does not only assume that gender equality is a 'basic human right, but its achievement has enormous socio-economic ramifications' (UN Women, undated) By providing

education, health care, equal access to the labour market and by combatting gender-based violence, the international community can empower women and as such improve upon economic growth and development (UN Women, undated).

UN SCR 1325

SCR 1325 identifies a range of policy objectives in the area of women, children, peace and security, some of which are summarised below. The UN firmly establishes the position that:

'particularly women and children account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and are increasingly targeted by combatants and armed elements..'

recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation (UN Security Council, 2000:1).

It goes on to reaffirm 'the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution' (ibid.).

A step in this direction is to reinforce 'international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts' and to 'mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations' (ibid.) Furthermore, a large proportion of the resolution is focused on the significance of training peacekeepers in gender justice and recognising the special needs and rights of women and children. Another key objective is to ensure that women are allowed to participate in local and national peace processes. This is coupled by the appointment of women as special representatives, and enhancing the 'contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel' (ibid.), thus ensuring that operations include a gender dimension.

Promoting women's security and peace, increasing their participation in peace work and ensuring that national militaries recruit more women and ethnic minorities are objectives that are widely supported by the Nordic states, amongst others:

'Gender is one important piece of the puzzle on how to best set favourable conditions in nation building and creating a lasting peace. In complex PSO environments we will not achieve neither the political nor the military operational goals and end-states of our missions if we do not succeed in handling the gender factor among the civilian societies where we conduct our military operations... During the last years, the Nordic countries have increased efforts in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations, undated).'

The resolution has been accused of being toothless, both in terms of furthering women's agency, but also regarding its ability to take punitive actions against perpetrators of gendered violence. Moreover, it has been criticised for victimising women and children on biological grounds. The implementation of UN SCR 1325 has been slowed down by the protection dichotomy that is present within the resolution itself as well as the international security structure more broadly. As Laura Shepherd (2011:506) has argued:

'In 1325, I identify constructions of gender that assume it largely synonymous with biological sex and, further, reproduce logics of identity that characterized women as fragile, passive, and in need of protection, and constructions of security that locate the responsibility of protection firmly in the hands of elite political actors in the international system.'

As such it neither deconstructs gendered binaries, nor does it sufficiently involve civil society and women representatives in its implementation, which is a criticism that has been raised in the Danish context as we shall see below. Moreover, the resolution does not seem to consider different expressions and attributes of masculinity, but perpetuates militarised ones. Nor does it offer an in-depth analysis of intersectional variation across cultures, religion and class. As 'recent post-colonial and critical scholarship on masculinities further complicates our analyses of gender/sex and the international' by 'calling for a more complex, fluid and situated understanding of gendered assumptions' (Parpart & Zalewski, 2008:12). In this context, it is worth reiterating the recommendation put forth above that the WSP agenda needs to take account of intersectional variation across conflict areas. This, however, does not imply that we should not seriously consider the objectives of the SCR 1325. Indeed, Nicola Pratt and Sophie Richter-Devroe (2011) argue that the resolution needs to 'be taken seriously'. In their words:

'UNSCR 1325 is legally binding upon states that are signatories of the UN Charter, and must therefore be taken seriously as a political document worthy of analysis, not least because it is argued that, despite the Resolution's many successes, significant obstacles remain in the translation of the Resolution from policy document to effective advocacy tool' (Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011:505).

Furthermore, they argue that certain expressions of feminism are not considered within the 1325 framework, for example they contend that:

'1325 marginalizes anti-militarist feminism in advocating for international peace and security. The innovative conceptualizations of human security... advanced in critical and feminist IR scholarship thus have yet to be fully embraced by mainstream international agenda on women, peace and security' (ibid. p. 493).

This criticism should be considered since human security is generally regarded as one of the key routes to security and gender just peace. A less militarized feminism would involve taking account of livelihood issues such as employment, water supply, everyday gendered violence as well as women's (and men's) economic abilities, needs and rights. As Carol Cohn (2013:28) has argued, 'women's vulnerabilities, like men's, cannot be understood without attending to the particular historical, political, social and cultural processes that constitute a specific armed conflict', which is consistent with the recommendation provided above that the WPS agenda needs to be more sensitive to cultural variation across policy contexts. Moreover, using militaries for the purpose of protecting distant other women across borders might lend ethical credence to military interventionism when indeed other measures are preferable. Arguing from a Nordic perspective Anne Mäki-Rahkola (2011:29) notes that 'implementing UNSCR 1325 cannot be reduced to the mere representation of women in international operations.' Moreover, Pratt and Richter-Devroe argue that 'A mission to eradicate gender-based violence and 'empower' women may end up being a justification for foreign (military) intervention, thereby maintaining global hierarchies' (496) rather than inspiring peace work. In addition, there is a strong presence of gendered protection within SCR 1325 that opens up for misuse so that 'Interventions by the international community to 'empower' and 'protect' women' (Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011: 498-99) are being privileged over peace building and conflict resolution on the ground.

In sum, the 1325 agenda has inspired a lot of interest in gendered violence, women's participation in peace building and within armed forces, and has as such enhanced women's agency across sectors. However, the resolution contains discursive

markers that help to sustain gendered binaries and power relations between men and women. It is important to not lock ourselves into firmly established “truths” about women and men as victims and perpetrators or indeed soldiers, but to assume that they can be both, which is a recommendation that has been offered in part one of this report. Moreover, the actual resolution does not sufficiently consider intersectional variations between people, men and women, and as such does not fully consider class, religion and gender and cultural identities (Nussbaum, 2000). As such, it reproduces the very power relations and primacy of masculine values that the resolution itself seeks to come to terms with. It is therefore important to raise questions about the emancipatory qualities of the resolution and the extent to which it furthers local peace initiatives by giving women agency. Indeed, this report, as noted in part one, recommends that a strong emphasis be placed on women’s agency and involvement in peace building so as to move away from stereotypical constructions of women as victims with no or little impact on their own lives. In what follows, the discursive contents of UNSCR 1820, 1960, 2013, 2122 will be unpacked.

SCR 1820

The inadequacies of 1325 have been recognised by the international community as suggested in the adoption of a range of complementary resolutions. SCR 1820 is a step in this direction. It discursively commits the international community to take further measures in combatting sexual violence in conflict. SCR 1820 notes that:

‘(c)ivilians account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict; that women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instil fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group; and that sexual violence perpetrated in this manner may in some instances persist after the cessation of hostilities’ (UN Security Council, 2008:2).

Moreover, the resolution notes that such violence has ‘become systematic and widespread, reaching appalling levels of brutality’ and reiterates the significance of women being given ‘equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security’ (ibid.). SCR 1820 is a significant normative step in the combat against gendered sexual violence. However, it does not offer an opportunity to deal with the impunity problem, whereby perpetrators can be prosecuted. Nor does it recognise that men and boys are also subjected to sexual violence in conflict – which is an area that has a lot of stigmatisation attached

to it. By subjecting a man to rape, his identity is feminised by the enemy, often making it hard for him to reveal his trauma to the authorities. For the purpose of dealing with impunity the UN adopted SCR1960 in 2010.

SCR 1960

SCR 1960 commits the international community to deal more efficiently with 'the slow progress on the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, in particular against women and children' (UN Security Council, 2010:1) and 'to end impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other egregious crimes perpetrated against civilians and, in this regard, noting with concern that only limited numbers of perpetrators of sexual violence have been brought to justice' (ibid. 2). To this effect Margot Wallström, the former Swedish Deputy Head of the European Commission, was appointed as the first Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict from 2010–2012. In her capacity as Special Representative she headed an office of legal experts at the UN headquarters and undertook many trips to war zones where she and her staff documented occurrences of sexual violence for the purpose of prosecution and ending impunity. The UN collaborates with 'national institutions, civil society organizations, health-care service providers, and women's groups to enhance data collection and analysis of incidents, trends, and patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence to assist the Council's consideration of appropriate actions' (UN Security Council, 2010:5) as well as gender advisers.

SCR 1960 is an important step in the international efforts to end impunity and identifying perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict. However, the resolution has also been criticised for stigmatising certain regions and countries by expecting them to identify and reveal and hand over to the International Criminal Court (ICC) nationals who are accused of sexual violence. Meanwhile, citizens of other countries go unpunished (Global Justice Center, 2012). Nonetheless, the resolution has potential to bring to the fore the problem of impunity in the context of sexual violence in conflict. It intertextually reiterates SCR 1325's commitment to involving women in peace building and conflict resolution (UN Security Council, 2010). However, at no point does SCR 1960 mention the possibility of male victims of sexual assault and violence and as such reinforces gendered assumptions about men and women in official discourses. In short, the resolution constitutes a significant normative instrument for dealing with women's and girls' particular vulnerability in armed conflict. However, as recommended in part one of this report such gendered binaries should be problematised so as to recognise men and boys as victims.

In order to further strengthen the SCR 1960 agenda the Security Council adopted resolution 2106 in 2013 which reiterates many of the objectives of 1960 regarding sexual violence and impunity. It reaffirms that 'the effort to combat all forms of violence against women is central to long-term efforts to prevent sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations' (UN Security Council, 2013a:1). Rather than discursively restricting the document to women and girls as victims and peace builders, the resolution recognises the significance of involving men and boys, which is one of the recommendations of this report. It states that whereas 'sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations disproportionately affects women and girls', it also impacts on 'men and boys and those secondarily traumatized as forced witnesses of sexual violence against family members' (ibid.). The document opens up for critical analysis of gendering of key discourses and practices and seeks to unpack such processes. It is significant to recognise that men are also victims of sexual violence.

In 2013, SCR 2122 was introduced, which committed the international community to 'strengthen women's role in all stages of conflict resolution' (UN Security Council, 2013b:1). In sum, it promotes the following broad objectives:

- women's leadership at the centre of conflict resolution and peace building
- women's participation in conflict resolution and recovery
- the providing of seats at the negotiation table for women
- women's agency and leadership in international peace and security

It identifies a strong link between empowerment and gender quality and argues that both are central to peace and security (UN Security Council, 2013b). SCR 2122 is intertextually linked to previous resolutions by reiterating the significance of combating gender violence and offering protection to women in conflict and post-conflict situations by for example providing 'medical, legal, psychosocial and livelihood services to women affected by armed conflict and post-conflict situations'. This is in line with Carol Cohn's (2014) argument that the 1325 agenda cannot be fully operationalised unless the international community consider the significance of economic security.

It is interesting to note that this is also the view promoted by the Nordic states. At the Security Council's Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security, Denmark and its Nordic partners expressed their joint commitment to SCR 2122. In their view, global security and peace can only materialise if the international community commits itself to '(s)afeguarding women's access to justice, applying a gender-sensitive approach to transitional justice mechanisms and including women in post-conflict reparations programs' (Grunditz, 2013:1). Further, the Nordic states agreed that this requires a close scrutiny of 'systemic barriers of gender inequality, including economic empowerment, women's citizenship rights, legal capacity, proprietary rights, as well as safety in terms of safe transportation and access to witness and victim protection programs' (ibid). Hence, they promote a broad conception of security that is not confined to traditional conceptions of security and have sought to adopt this way of thinking in the actual conduct of SCR 1325 activities. This way of thinking is in line with the recommendation put forth above that security should be understood and defined in broad terms so as to cater for the needs of the individual exposed to conflict and war. The five states, moreover, conceptualise gender as a broad analytical category that 'must encompass the whole population – women and men, boys and girls' (ibid). In the next part we shall turn to Denmark's efforts to further the broad SCR 1325 agenda. The analysis focuses on the country's national action plans and seeks to establish what discursive markers define those texts.

THE CO-CONSTITUTION OF DANISH GENDER AWARENESS AND THE SCR 1325 AGENDA

A key argument here is that there is a co-constitutive relationship between Denmark's domestic and international commitments to the protection of women and the promotion of gender equality and justice within and beyond borders. Denmark's gender-sensitive self-narrative domestically and internationally is present in the following statement:

'Gender equality is a priority for the Government of Denmark, both at home and abroad, and its corresponding vision is to create equal opportunities for all women and men. The goal is for women and men to be considered equal and be granted the same rights and opportunities. In this the Government aims to ensure that diversity and individual freedom are respected. Internationally, Denmark's policy is to contribute to international security responses to violent conflicts and, subsequently, to take part in addressing the humanitarian and governance crises that these cause. This is rooted within a view to provide protection, while promoting human rights of women, men, boys and girls.'

Denmark has expressed the same position as part of the wider Nordic family of likeminded states. The Nordic Ministers for Foreign Affairs (2010:1) stated in 2010 that:

'The promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment in the field of peace and security is a high priority in the foreign policy of all the Nordic countries. We have seen the positive impact of increased gender equality in our own societies. We are convinced that the advancement of women's rights and gender equality

worldwide can contribute to making our world more peaceful... Women can – and must – play a key role in conflict prevention, peace building, early warning and disarmament.'

Hence, Denmark has unilaterally and multilaterally recognised its dual commitment to the rights and security of women within and beyond borders. To this effect it has adopted three national action plans (NAP) on SCR 1325, all of which are intertextually linked to the discursive content of SCR 1325 and related resolutions. The discursive markers of women's presence within the processes of conflict prevention, peace building and disarmament are all plain to see in Danish key documents (Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010). In the next section we shall unpack the content and priorities that underpin the Danish action plans. This will be followed by a brief discussion of their effectiveness and shortcomings in realising the 1325 agenda.

DENMARK'S ACTION PLANS AND WIDER 1325 OBJECTIVES

The Danish NAP 2005

Denmark was first to adopt a NAP on SCR 1325 in 2005, followed by the adoption of a second one in 2008 and a third one in 2014. The 2005 document is brief and does not offer a detailed analysis of gendered violence and/or power relations. The 2005 document places a good deal of emphasis on the protection and operational peacekeeping aspects of 1325. In particular three priorities are highlighted, namely:

- increasing the number of women in the Danish armed forces and in international operations
- ensuring the rights of local women and girls where Danish troops are on mission
- increasing the number of women in peace building and restructuring work in the local areas

The focal point of the text, then, is on Denmark's involvement in international conflict resolution and protection, rather than on local initiatives or gendered violence. Yet, the latter are not lacking altogether. The NAP also commits Denmark to the promotion of the objectives of SCR 1325 within the UN, OSCE, NATO and EU frameworks. The second part offers a set of 'lines of actions' so as to facilitate the implementation of SCR 1325. More specifically it focuses on the ways in which the Danish military more effectively could further the goals of SCR 1325 by improving

the gender balance within the armed forces. This also involves promoting the rights of women and girls in conflict zones and working for the inclusion of women in peace building processes. Moreover, the NAP seeks to incorporate:

'gender perspectives in the mandates for the international operations, training of the troops in mainstreaming gender perspectives and identifications and development of other instruments, which can contribute to the mainstreaming of gender perspectives into the military operations as well as "best practices" of other countries' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence, 2005:4).

To ensure the effective implementation of 1325, Denmark will encourage the UN and its 'funds and programmes to assure women's and girls' rights and equal participation in post conflict situations' (ibid.) as well as promoting the prosecution of perpetrators of gendered violence. As a step in this direction Denmark seeks to promote gender awareness and mainstreaming as well as the general protection and rights of women within UN missions and other settings, such as the EU and NATO.

Moreover, the NAP states that the combat of trafficking within NATO is a key objective.

A recurrent theme in the NAP is also the significance of drawing upon the Danish aid budget in furthering the goals of 1325, a commitment that has been reproduced intertextually in the subsequent two NAPs. Thus, Danish development assistance provides a key channel through which the country can promote the goals of 1325 in 'post conflict societies such as Afghanistan, Uganda and Sudan' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence, 2005:3.). While the document constitutes a key normative platform for the development of subsequent documents its content is not earth shattering – there is little mention of cultural diversity in conflict zones and the role of men and boys in furthering the UN peace and gender agenda. As will emerge below, the two subsequent NAPs are more detailed in range and ambition.

The Danish NAP 2008-2013

The second NAP distinguishes itself from the first one in that it provides a very detailed set of key objectives, suggested measures and implementation lines. The decision to adopt a second NAP rested on the:

'recognition of the need to strengthen the response further, by including a more systematic approach to incorporate gender issues in all development and humanitarian activities related to armed conflicts. Moreover the new NAP would also

augment the role of the Danish Armed Forces, the Danish National Police and civil society in SCR 1325 related actions' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Danish National Police, 2008:5).

In contrast with the first report, the second one is broader in reach, involving a wider range of actors including civil society. More specifically it highlights the significance of civil society in seeking to implement 1325 as well as the mainstreaming of gender into various policy areas on women and peace. The official stance is that 'the mandates in SCR 1325 are naturally dealt with within the framework of a comprehensive approach to conflict resolution' involving Danish foreign development and security policies (ibid. p. 8).

The report is grounded in a holistic responsibility to the security and peace of both men and women in conflict zones (ibid. p. 8). Men as a gender category did not figure in the first NAP, but is a recurrent theme in the second one. The NAP states that both men and women are key to the achievement of 'sustainable peace'. Yet the NAP does acknowledge that men and women are affected differently by violent conflict and that women are the main victims of sexual violence and abuse. The second NAP offers a more flexible approach to gender and gender identities by including men as a discursive category. In some way, then, Denmark's discursive normative commitment goes further than the actual 1325 text (UN Security Council, 2000) by recognising men as stakeholders in peace building processes. Moreover, the NAP contends that the goals of SCR 1325 can only be achieved if there is a broad commitment to 'human rights protection' and 'consolidation of democratic and stable governance' in the conflict areas and if the objectives of 1325 are at the core of any peace efforts (ibid). The NAP identifies three key areas where there are challenges ahead:

- The higher level of vulnerability of women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situation.
- The employment of gender based violence as a war strategy in conflict and the issue of the impunity of the perpetrators. The lack of gender just solutions to conflict.
- The inadequate local and international emphasis on the protection of women in their role as victims and their limited impact on the division of resources. Further, their marginal role in transitional periods from war to peace is emphasised.

These are catchphrases that are also recurrent in key UN documents and there is thus a strong link between the Danish NAP and UN discourses. Indeed, the second NAP zooms in on women's vulnerabilities in conflict situations to a greater extent, while the first one tended to place the focus on the need to recruit more women to the Danish armed forces. The second NAP displays a stronger awareness and willingness to engage in the furthering of peace building processes and non-military measures in conflict and post-conflict societies. This is in line with the broad approach favoured by the UN itself. To further the ambitions of 1325 globally, Denmark identifies three key objectives, all of which aim to strengthen domestic and international 'capabilities in regards to women, peace and security.' The three objectives are summarised here (ibid p. 9):

- The promotion of women's participation in international and local peace building processes.
- The recognition that women and girls have 'special needs and rights' in the midst of armed conflict and after.
- Ensuring the protection of girls and women subjected to gender and sexual violence, and putting an end to impunity.

The three underlying objectives of the NAP are consistent with the goals of SCR 1325 (and later documents) to increase the number of women in peace building processes and to recognise their distinct needs. The three objectives identified above are implemented across policy sectors involving Danish foreign, security and other external policies. Indeed, the commitment to women's participation in peace building informs much of Danish security policy. For example, the Danish Afghan Plan (2013-2014) takes note of the significance of ensuring women's rights in future peace dialogues and settlements with the Taliban.

The NAP also recognises that women are disproportionately affected by sexual violence, but that they are also agents of change and progress. There is both an element of essentialism and agency in the wording of that commitment within the NAP:

'Victimisation and a sense of helplessness unfortunately are inevitable consequences of a failure to protect women in conflict. However, providing protection need not be a matter of passive reception of outside assistance. Denmark promotes existing and innovative humanitarian and peace support practices that also in the early stages of support encourage the participation of women in conflict solution and peace building' (ibid.).

Hence, there is a sense of awareness of not assigning the role of passive victim to women and as such reproduce unhelpful and potentially damaging gendered binaries (Shepherd, 2011). Indeed the victimisation of women might obstruct empowerment and agency and does little to offer long term solutions to conflict and women's full participation in society. Key here is the involvement of a wide array of actors in peace building processes, and the second NAP places particular emphasis on the significance of involving both government agencies and civil society. Moreover, it focuses on the presence of women leaders in senior positions in the context of international peace work, in local conflict zones, but also within the EU and NATO.

Domestically, Denmark, alongside many of its partners, is seeking to achieve a gender balance within its Armed Forces and the National Police as well as the Danish International Humanitarian Services (ibid. 16). Finally, the NAP emphasises the significance of cooperating with partners in NATO, the EU and the UN, not least Denmark's likeminded partners in Europe, including the Nordic states, all of which were quick to adopt national action plans. In what follows, we shall explore the normative content and discursive markers of the current NAP (2014-2019).

The Danish NAP 2014-2019

The most recent NAP provides a detailed account of key initiatives, objectives, actions taken and the division of labour across policy sectors and ministries. It reiterates Denmark's normative commitment to gender equality, security and peace beyond borders, in line with its foreign policy commitment to gender justice at home and abroad. Many of its short and long term objectives are intertextually linked with the key objectives of the SCR 1325 agenda. The co-constitutive discursive markers of Danish gender policy at home and abroad are visible in the preface to the NAP with the Ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice and Trade and Development (2014, preface) collectively stating that:

'A strong international engagement and the promotion of gender equality are two key policy priority areas for the Danish Government. Both have the aim of protecting the rights of the most vulnerable and contributing to the creation of peaceful, prosperous and just societies. The Government believes that there can be no sustainable peace without the full and equal participation of women. Women are first and foremost a great resource for their communities and countries – and in all efforts to achieve sustainable development and peace... Similarly, the Danish development cooperation combines promotion of human rights and justice with the fight against poverty. Protection of the most vulnerable – i.e. women and children – is at the centre of our humanitarian engagements.'

To this end Denmark draws upon the recourses and capabilities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Justice. The NAP reiterates the broad goals of the UN as well as those of previous Danish NAPs, as is shown below:

'The full and equal participation of women at all levels of conflict resolution, peace building and reconstruction is the only way to ensure that societies emerging from conflict are built on fundamental respect for the rights, needs and contributions of women and girls. The principles of protection and participation therefore go hand in hand' (ibid. 7).

By acknowledging the constitutive relationship between protection and participation and refraining from solely depicting women as victims, the NAP seeks to overcome some of the gendered binaries that are omnipresent in international discourses and practices on conflict resolution. This reasoning underpins Denmark's key goals throughout the period 2014-19 (ibid. 9), promoting women's full and equal participation in peace work, including conflict resolution and prevention, peace negotiations, peace building and reconstruction post-conflict, in a fashion consistent with SCR 1325:

- Promoting all gender aspects of the Responsibility to Protect and preventing impunity regarding gendered violence in conflict.
- Promoting peace and state building in fragile states and encouraging the current International Dialogue on Peace building and State-building, and to ensure that these processes include a gender dimension.
- Promoting women's participation in peace building processes in specified country programmes.
- Making sure that international operations and humanitarian work have strong gender dimensions.
- Recognising the exposed and often violent situations of women and girls. Such risks range from armed conflicts, emergencies and disasters. Humanitarian work and assistance are key factors in this regard.

Moreover, the NAP 2014-2019 favours a broad approach to gender equality and development that offers women 'opportunities for jobs and employment, particularly within the agricultural sector, but also in domains where women have taken over responsibility due to the absence of men at the time of conflict... In reconstruction efforts, gender equality should also be promoted as part of legislative reform processes in education and in the public sector' (ibid 10). To this end Denmark, along with numerous other states, has promoted women's and girl's education. As opposed to the previous NAPs, the current one lists the specific measures planned in each partner state, including, amongst others, Afghanistan, Kenya, Lebanon, Syria, South Sudan, the occupied Palestine and Somalia etc. To facilitate such country-based work, Denmark will cooperate with its international partners including the UN and the African Union, and also by involving various women's organisations as well as supporting the work of gender capacity advisors.

Summary

Denmark's three NAPs have been explored above and there are many indicators of the country seeking to widen the gender just peace agenda in terms of ambition, goals and actors. Denmark's commitment to the 1325 agenda rests on 'expressions of political will and determination', but lacks in 'concrete plans for implementation with clearly measurable results' (Jukarainen and Puumala, 2014:24). Moreover, Pirjo Jukarainen and Eeva Puumala (2014:18) argue that the 2008-2013 NAP does not fully capture the need to protect women from gendered violence as it largely centres on peace building rather than protection.

Lis Garval, former Minister Counsellor on Gender, Peace and Security, has recently argued that Denmark's current NAP is an improvement upon previous ones, because it lists the proposed actions in each country setting. What is more, it covers all areas of external policy. However, there is little mention of funding in the document (Garval, 2014). The former Counsellor also notes that civil society has not been sufficiently involved in the authoring of the plan, although various organisations have had some say in the final outcome. In this context Jukarainen and Puumala (2014:39) point out that Danish civil society does not have access to 'specific funding' for conducting UNSCR 1325-related work. A key recommendation here is to ensure closer involvement of civil society in the workings of the Danish WPS agenda. Yet, the Danish official position is that civil society ought to play a significant role in the implementation of 1325.

The three NAPs commit Denmark to the protection of women and girls while promoting their participation in peace building and conflict resolution. There is, thus, some effort on the part of various government bodies in Denmark to challenge the protection myth and embedded gender identities, in line with the recommendation above. Of course, this can be more effectively done if we take issue with the tendency on the part of the UN and its member states (including Denmark and its Nordic partners) to discursively group together women and children and as such reducing women to childlike vulnerable individuals. As recommended above, a greater measure of emphasis could be placed on the role of men and boys in furthering the normative content of the 1325 agenda. Finally, as has been highlighted in part one above, the NAPs tend to assume that the 1325 agenda is something that concerns conflict and post-conflict societies, rather than stable western democracies. However, gendered violence is not confined to such developing regions or conflict zones, but occurs in every national setting. Given this, many Nordic scholars and activists, such as the participants at the recent international women's conference Nordiskt Forum – New Actions on Women's Rights, held in Malmö in 2014, are starting to argue that it would strengthen the 1325 agenda to also consider what aspects of the 1325 are relevant in non-conflict western societies. The Nordic states are indeed at the forefront of gender equality, but they are not free from gendered violence and discrimination, and a stronger presence of 1325 thinking could benefit them as well.

The next part of the report turns to the presence of women in the Danish army and seeks to unpack a select few testimonies of Danish women soldiers as protectors and peace builders. Such accounts can tell us something about the expectations placed upon women soldiers in furthering the broad goals of the SCR 1325 agenda.

WOMEN SOLDIERS, PROTECTORS AND PEACEBUILDERS

The international framework

So far the discursive and normative contents of the Denmark's SCR 1325 agenda have been unpacked. In what follows, we shall investigate the role of Danish women soldiers in the armed forces.¹ Like other states, Denmark has sought to increase the presence of gender perspectives in international operations. The Nordic states' collective initiative to launch the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations, which is hosted in Sweden, is interesting in this respect. The centre aims at integrating 'Gender Perspectives into Peace Support Operations' that 'will support and strengthen the Human Rights and overall security situation for the whole population; men, women, girls and boys' (Dunmurray, undated: 1). Furthermore, such '(g)ender perspectives will support the outcome of a mission. Operations will benefit from the integration of gender perspectives (including UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions)' (ibid).

Women soldiers are seen as significant actors within such missions as it is assumed that they can to a greater extent reach out to local people (Information, 12 February 2011; Wriedt Larsen, 2011). A growing number of states have justified their participation in armed intervention for humanitarian and/or strategic purposes on gendered grounds. Denmark's self assessment in this regard is interesting, with prominent politicians pointing to their country's dual success in dealing with insurgents while supporting the schooling of young girls (Sovndahl, Haekkerup, Friis Bach, 2012), which are two policy goals that are not always easy to combine. In this context, Anders Wivel (2013:314) has noted that '(e)galitarian values were stressed in combination with liberal goals' in justifying 'Danish military activism' in Afghanistan and 'women's rights and secure education'.

Women soldiers have been used for the dual purpose of empowering local women and girls through dialogue, as well as gathering intelligence regarding insurgents. This practice has been criticised by feminist and gender scholars such as McBride and Wibben (2012). They argue that the inclusion of women in special intelligence teams to 'save Afghan women' is linked to US imperialism (ibid.). Moreover, they posit that this practice does not increase the agency of Afghan women or the women peacekeepers invested with the task of protecting them. But, as Bergman Rosamond and Kronsell (2013:1) contend, 'dialogue in peacekeeping practice in the local context offers a possibility to re-think' stereotypical constructions of men as protectors and women as victims. Moreover, they note that 'feminist research on the US military portrays the gender military order as overly deterministic with no escape from neo-colonial patriarchal discourses and practices' (ibid.). The same authors have contended that the Danish and Swedish militaries' self identities as 'forces for good' do not necessarily fit the US picture (ibid).

Recruitment

Western militaries have continuously sought to increase the number of women in the armed forces, but not always being successful in so doing (Schaub, 2012). By recruiting more women to the military and including them in international missions, historical understandings of the man as a protector and a soldier and the woman as a victim can be challenged, even if it is not self-evident that such recruitment policies necessarily change the masculine culture of modern militaries (Kronsell, 2012). The position of Denmark is nonetheless that a gender sensitive recruitment policy can challenge preconceived views of the white male peace-keepers as the sole protector of women beyond borders, by putting women soldiers in that role as well.

As much as recruitment of women add credibility to modern militaries, at home and abroad, we should also note that women soldiers are often assumed to have certain abilities that make them particularly apt for soft tasks within the military, such as conducting dialogue with civilians (Information, 12 February 2011; Wriedt Larsen, 2011). This gendered assumption is problematic and sustains binary oppositions between men and women that are unhelpful in seeking to eradicate gendered discrimination and violence. Such assumptions are, nonetheless, present in discourses and practices within most armed forces, including the Danish military, as we shall see below. Despite being exceptionally sensitive to issues of gender equality, as a key value penetrating national societies in Scandinavia, the Scandinavians have found it difficult to attract more women to the military profession. As Sand and Fasting (2012:12) have argued:

'The focus on gender equality in society at large has also had an important influence on the three countries' Armed Forces. One noticeable example is that for almost three decades it has been an explicit political objective to increase the female representation. The Scandinavian countries are also among the few countries where women have formal access to all military positions on the same terms as males: in Norway since 1985, in Sweden since 1989, and in Denmark since 1998... However, despite the long-lasting objectives, the Scandinavian countries have not been very successful in reaching a more balanced gender distribution in the Armed Forces.'

Denmark's commitment to increasing the number of soldiers on peace missions is in line with the key objectives of SCR 1325. The Danish wish to implement SCR 1325 is, in part, an attempt to diversify the armed forces and 'make changes important for female career advancement' (Schaub et al., 2012:4). There is a conscious effort to diversify the Danish military by recruiting women and people of different ethnic backgrounds (ibid.). Yet, the Danish Defence Agreement 2013-2017 does not specifically mention gender, nor does it address the issue of recruiting more women in the armed forces at any great length (The Danish Coalition Government, 2012). However, the Danish Defence has launched a set of measures to attract more women to the military profession. One such measure is to run a 'Day of inspiration for women' (Inspirationsdag for kvinder) to inform potential suitors of the various forms of training and education that are available to them should they decide to join the profession (Forsvaret, undated:1). In order not to put pressure on potential candidates or perhaps keeping them away from attending such information days the website clearly states that there are no strings attached to the visit. Rather, visitors are offered an opportunity to converse with women who are already employed in the military (Forsvaret, undated:1). In addition, open house events are organised whereby women can visit different parts of the Danish defence system. Despite such efforts to attract women to the military profession, only 6% women were employed by the army, 6,9 % in the navy and 8,6 % in the air force in 2010.

A brief account of Danish female soldiers' experiences

How do women soldiers experience their situation within the armed forces? A young soldier with experience in Kosovo and Afghanistan testifies to having had soldiering ambitions for a very long time (Information, 30 October 2009). She recalls the basic military training being very demanding. In her words: 'I was not in as good a shape as the lads... I was not as strong as they were' (she did, however, reach their level of fitness after three months). Moreover, she testifies that she was subjected to some indecent comments from male colleagues. Her account is, at least in part, defined

by her bodily experiences as a woman and a soldier and her ability to measure up to her male colleagues. Moreover, she tells how she 'had no issues with the boys, none at all' while she was serving in Afghanistan. However, she did experience some anxiety when going to the rest room in the evening in the camp, with Afghan men watching her, and then asked to be accompanied by a male soldier (ibid.). Another Danish soldier with experience from combative action in Afghanistan and Iraq admits to taking pride in being just as competent and strong as her male counterparts. The same woman professes to never having experienced any gendered discrimination while serving in the armed forces. At the same time she notes that her male colleagues expressed romantic interest in her, which she dismisses as a reaction to the difficult situation in Afghanistan (ibid).

These very brief personal accounts tell us that the women's individual bodily experiences and capacities are important in terms of overcoming physical restraints. While these testimonies for the most part indicate that the individual soldiers in question are content and enjoy their profession, there are signs of women leaving the Danish armed forces due to the difficulties of combining a career within the military with the pressures of family life (Interview, 2014). There is awareness of this issue amongst staff responsible for recruitment within the Danish defence command and steps are taken to facilitate women's situation within the military. Key here is to ensure that their male colleagues are supportive and trustful of their abilities to conduct different aspects of soldiering (Interview, 2014), particularly while on mission. Another measure is to assign woman soldiers with senior mentors who can guide them in their work.

Women's reflection on dialogue in Afghanistan

So far it has been established that Denmark has actively sought to increase the number of women within the armed forces and that at least the women cited here have generally been happy with their choices. In what follows, we shall briefly explore a select number of reflections offered by Danish women soldiers who have been posted abroad, with focus on Afghanistan. The importance of increasing the number of women in international operations for the purpose of connecting with local women in Afghanistan and elsewhere is highlighted in Danish media and public discourse. For example, Major Torben Grindersleve, who is employed as Press Officer within the Danish Military, openly states that 'women soldiers have better opportunities to enter into dialogue with Afghan women than men' and that this offers new ways of channelling through to the local population (Information, 12 February 2011, Wriedt Larsen, 2011). Similarly, an official employed in the recruitment section of the Danish defence structure argues that women soldiers are

important in international operations as they can carry out body searches of women and enter people's private homes, where male soldiers are not welcome (Nyheter, Radioavisen, 16 February 2009; Troldborg & Brahl Petersen, 2009). It is plain to see that women are deemed particularly useful in certain contexts simply because they are women, which is inconsistent with the recommendation launched above that women should not be asked to conduct certain forms of care work on the basis of their gendered qualities. The presence of women soldiers on international missions is particularly emphasised in the Afghan context. The number of Danish women soldiers in Afghanistan increased to 43 in 2012 from having initially been limited to 5 (BT, 2012). What experiences do such individuals have? More importantly, are they asked to perform what might be defined as typically female tasks? Of course, only a snapshot can be provided here, leaving room for future research of personal war narratives.

Danish women soldiers and dialogue

The Danish position is that women soldiers are 'role models for the local population', but also particularly good at 'obtaining... intelligence' in Afghanistan (Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011). The Danish Army Operational Command (2008) website provides insight into this women-to-women-relationship by describing the pursuit of dialogue between three Danish soldiers and five Afghan women, a so called 'shura' or meeting. The soldiers' narrative reveals a commitment to such dialogue with the conversations centring on military and human security, health, education and enabling women to enter the labour market. More importantly, the Afghan women representatives present at the 'shura' are women rights activists and as such cannot be easily slotted into gendered discourses of protection. The Afghani women in question argue that, 'if we can get the women out of their houses and join the labour market, we can create a better contrast and a better Afghanistan, and to see women soldiers on equal standing... creates hope for women' (ibid.). This appears to be the position of the newly elected government in Afghanistan. The Danish women present at the 'shura' profess to being 'honoured' by the meeting 'across national and cultural boundaries' and hope to help 'women in Afghanistan in the future' (ibid.). One of the Afghan women expresses her gratitude to the Danish soldiers for creating security in her country. This short narrative reveals a budding friendship of sorts across intersectional lines (ethnicity and religion) while challenging the picture of the Afghan woman as childlike and entirely helpless.

The most well-documented story about a Danish woman officer's experiences in Afghanistan is Ann-Cathrine Riebnitzsky's book *Kvindernes Krig* (the Women's War). The author worked as a language officer in the Danish armed forces and served in

Afghanistan twice, once as a Captain responsible for Civil-Military Cooperation, as part of the ISAF force (2007-2008), and once as an advisor employed by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2008-09). Her insights into the use of women as facilitators of communication with Afghan locals are interesting in this context. During her second posting in Afghanistan she was charged with the task of creating new contacts with Afghan women as well as assisting women's projects. In her view, a male soldier/officer would not have been able to conduct her special tasks, at least not for the time being (Information, 2013). In particular, male soldiers might have found it hard to disregard the gendered boundaries and hierarchies of Afghan society (and many other war zones). According to Riebnitzsky, such binaries 'entirely disappear' when a woman is in charge. (ibid.). Moreover, she highlights the difficulty of dispersing global norms, such as democracy and gender equality, in Afghanistan if there are no women soldiers involved in the actual soldiering on the ground (ibid.). Yet, it is also worth considering whether women soldiers' roles in such dialogue help to reinforce certain patriarchal attitudes of Afghan society by arguing that women are particularly good at talking to other women and as such investing them with inherent qualities, which is an argument that is inconsistent with the recommendations underpinning this report. Moreover, it would be wrong to assume that all Afghan women and men are the same and that there is no room for variation in Afghan society, which is a point that Riebnitzsky (2010) herself concedes.

The officer describes her encounters with local Afghan women as based on mutual trust and everydayness. Rather curiously, Riebnitzsky testifies to Afghan and Danish women being similar in their attitude to beauty and decorative items of clothing (ibid.). Moreover, she describes how Afghan women asked her personal questions regarding her marital status and personal experiences (Riebnitzsky, 2010:58). At the same time, her role was that of a protector with military rank and uniform. Riebnitzsky reports to having been aware of her privileged role (Information, 2013), but also reveals how her male colleagues sought to protect her from danger while on mission (Riebnitzsky, 2010: 25). This is suggestive of discourses and practices of protection figuring at different levels of any given gender system. The officer contends that her own gender identity was an advantage in Afghanistan as it enabled her to conduct dialogue with local women. However, she also concedes that those conversations were not always easy to establish (Freher, 2008). In this context, Tabita Hansen, a woman Captain in Afghanistan, notes that 'we mostly meet progressive women in the women's centre' in the town of Gereshk, while there was little contact with women in rural areas (Danish Army Operational Command, 2008).

Riebnitzsky (2010:112) provides insight into her own role as a gatherer of information in Afghanistan by describing situations where Afghan women willingly reported security risks to her, even if Riebnitzsky did not herself initiate those contacts. The officer reveals that her team did not deliberately approach Afghan women as informants (ibid.). The intention was to help them to 'a better life'. As two Danish television journalists reported in 2009, the 'rising number of women soldiers' that 'are being sent to Afghanistan' enables the armed forces to fulfil their mission, not least by being able to reach out to women in the local population (Trolborg and Brahl Petersen, 2009:1). Danish troops were stationed in the Helmand province, which is associated with insurgency and instability, and intelligence gathering is central to peace building and security processes.

Riebnitzsky (2010:118) also points out that Afghan women at times revealed important security information to the Danish officer in an effort to prevent the Taliban from dominating their lives. The depiction of Afghan woman as victims without agency does not resonate with the experiences of Danish soldiers, which add substance to the recommendation put forth above that women should not be reduced to non-agents with no or little say in their life situations. Riebnitzsky explains in an interview with the newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* (11 March, 2010) that she would have wanted to see more Danish women soldiers and advisers being sent abroad, so as to facilitate new links with Afghan women and contribute to their empowerment.

Of course, women soldiers are not only asked to be dialogic interlocutors, but are also charged with combat tasks, which was the case in Afghanistan. A 27-year-old Danish female soldier describes the difficulties associated with such work. She had to personally rescue a male colleague who had been injured in action (Information, 30 October 2009). Hence, stereotypical gender roles do not always apply in conflict zones. Yet, the paper in which the story is told constructs the woman soldier as somebody who has to have 'exceptional' physique and mind, and who has the capacity not to 'allow herself to be affected by the woman-hostile culture' that defines Afghanistan (ibid.).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The discussion commenced by locating the current study within contemporary developments in global politics and offered a set of recommendations that hopefully will stimulate further engagement with issues related to the WPS agenda. The second part of the report commenced by debating the normative and gender contents of the SCR 1325 agenda. While SCR 1325 and other resolutions have inspired a lot of international and domestic debate, there are certain shortcomings. First, the resolutions help to perpetuate certain stereotypical binaries that are inconsistent with the normative content of 1325, which seeks to bring attention to women's agency and empowerment. Moreover, they do not sufficiently take account of male victims of sexual violence, nor do they tell us much about men's role in peace building processes. In addition, SCR 1325 and related documents do not fully problematise the significance of considering intersectional variations across conflict areas, some of which might demand unique solutions. Furthermore, the SCR 1325 agenda does not adequately address the co-constitutive links between human security and economic development. Finally, although SCR 1960 is a stepping stone for the possibility of prosecuting perpetrators of sexual violence, there are some problems attached to its implementation. For example, some states might not admit to the practice of sexual violence in conflict and given this they will be very reluctant to cooperate with international regimes that seek to end impunity. Here Denmark and the other Nordic states, all of which are dedicated supporters of international law, could play important normative parts.

The report carried on by identifying a co-constitutive relationship between Denmark's commitment to protection and gender equality at home and abroad. This co-constitution is present in the measures, policies and documents that Denmark has put into place in order to further the 1325 agenda. The Danish NAPs were uncovered

and there are many indicators of Denmark seeking to add strength to the gender just peace agenda through the implementation of its action plans. What is more, its most recent action plan carefully lists the prioritised countries and what measures to promote in each setting and as such offer more opportunities to take account of intersectional differences across national settings. However, there are signs of civil society not being given much say in the authoring of the most recent document and as such grass root and localised knowledge is lost.

Moreover, the NAPs demonstrate that Denmark seeks to challenge the protection myth that underpins much of contemporary global politics. The Danish national plans are more progressive in this regard than the UN documents that they are intertextually linked with. Yet a greater measure of emphasis could be placed on the role of men and boys in furthering the normative content of the 1325 agenda. Finally, the NAPs tend to assume that the 1325 agenda is something that concerns conflict and post-conflict societies, rather than stable western democracies. Indeed, a recommendation developed in this report is that Denmark and other western states should explore what aspects of the 1325 agenda also apply to their domestic societies.

The final sections of the report discussed the efforts to increase the number of women in the Danish armed forces. This was followed by a brief analysis of a select few Danish women soldiers' personal accounts of their roles as protectors and peace builders,, whether soldiers or civilians, so as to acquire deeper insights into recurrent discourses and practices of gendering within situations of peace and conflict. For example, there is a general tendency in international society to assume that women have distinct qualities that make them more apt for certain kinds of soldiering, when in fact both men and women are equipped to conduct a variety of soldiering tasks, including dialogue with locals (Enloe, 2010). It is equally important not to victimise women (and men) in war zones, but to assume that they are capable of changing their own lives and acquire agency in the process (Bergman Rosamond and Kronsell, 2013). The challenge for Denmark and its partners is to question the historically-constituted dichotomies that assign stereotypical gender roles to women and men as victims and protectors, while recognising that women are disproportionately affected by sexual and other forms of gender-based violence in conflict. In order to stimulate further debate on the WPS agenda in Denmark and beyond, this report ends by returning to the policy recommendations offered in part one:

Agency and Dialogue

While recognising that women and girls are disproportionately affected by gendered violence and abuse during times of war and peace, the report warns against drawing too close a parallel between victimhood and women. A key recommendation is to avoid reducing women to non-agents with little or no say in their own fate or life situation, but rather to highlight their entitlements to agency, empowerment and participation in peace building work.

Denmark, together with its European and Nordic partners, should therefore continue to promote women's participation in peace negotiations and peace building processes. Women at all levels of society should be invited to such deliberations. One step in the right direction is to promote political and cultural dialogue with victims of violence (women and men) and as such give them voice in local and international peace negotiations. The members of the UN ought to ensure that new lines of thought related to SCR 1325 are grounded in such localised knowledge, necessarily involving women and men. Denmark and its Nordic partners can play a significant role by drawing upon their extensive promotion of gender equality at home and abroad.

Broad conceptions of security, protection and gender

A key recommendation here is that Denmark and other actors ought to consider issues of livelihood and economic development to a greater extent. While Denmark's national action plans increasingly exhibit more sensitivity to such issues, there is room for developing further understandings of the relationship between war, gender, economic development and human security. This requires a broad understanding of security that is not confined to militarising practices and defence matters, but include engagements with the security of individuals, both men and women. Moreover, it demands of states, organisations and civil society to broaden the protection agenda to recognise that both men and women are in need of protection in times of war, conflict and peace. To this end Denmark should continue to emphasize the role of men in the promotion of the SCR 1325 and avoid imposing stereotypical gendered attributes on men and women involved in peace building efforts. While women soldiers are important in establishing new forms of dialogue with women in conflict areas, they should not be assumed to have a natural ability to carry out such 'care work'. The employment of women soldiers for that purpose needs to be problematized and contextualised by paying attention to the distinct conditions of the war zone in question.

Intersectional variation and the significance of SCR 1325 in domestic society

Denmark's most recent NAP on SCR 1325 carefully outlines the country's commitments to the WPS agenda across a set of core countries. To facilitate the implementation of the WPS agenda across a wide range of countries it is important to consider the variations and similarities between conflict zones and the distinct needs of the peoples living in those areas. This involves placing more emphasis on intersectional variation such as ethnicity, class and gender and considering the ways in which such differences impact on peace building projects and conflict resolution more broadly. To this end the Nordic states could to a greater extent base their gender activism within and beyond borders on sensitivity to cultural difference and universal human rights, a process that the current author has defined as a one of 'gender cosmopolitanism' (Bergman Rosamond, 2013).

Moreover, Denmark and other likeminded states should continue their attempts to add more diversity to their armed forces by recruiting women and people from different ethnic backgrounds. This should be coupled with a greater willingness to concede that the 1325 agenda is not something that only concerns poor conflict zones, but rather all societies. A key question that all states that profess to promote the values of 1325 should ask themselves is therefore, what aspects of 1325 are applicable to their domestic society? Indeed such awareness would add credibility and humbleness to their attempts to promote protection, participation and the combat of sexual violence beyond borders.

- 1 Feminist security studies offer critical perspectives on the wide range of gendered power relations that sustain war and conflict (Enloe, 2010, 2000; Sjoberg, 2013), violence (Sylvester, 2013), sexual violence in conflict (Stern and Baaz Eriksson, 2013), soldiering (Whitworth, 2004), just war and military intervention (Sjoberg, 2006, 2008, 2013; Shepherd, 2006). Such scholarship urges us to analyse war through gendered lenses (Sjoberg, 2013) and to consider individuals' subjective experiences of war, in particular those of women (Enloe, 2010; Sylvester, 2013). Feminist IR also opens up for research on 'war as experience' (Sylvester, 2013) enabling us to consider relations between actual people (Bergman Rosamond, 2013) and the ways in which individuals relate to their task as soldiers for example.

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