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Tiivistelmä: The aim of this thesis is to explain how the benefits of gender are understood in NATO's official gender policy agenda. During the past decade, gender issues have gained increasing attention with regards to conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. The research material is gathered from NATO's website, where the special section dedicated to gender policy has existed for some years. The empirical material consists of multiple kinds of documents, thus the analysis method is content analysis. By applying feminist international relations theory and Michel Foucault's concepts of biopower and governmentality, it is shown that gender is perceived in NATO as a concept that is supposed to collaborate with organizational objectives. However, the accelerating "gender awareness" is not challenging the existing masculine power structures in NATO. At NATO, an inside enquiry has yielded the results that gender is not unequivocally defined. Regardless of the intricacy, gender is articulated to indicate the biological female sex. Gender is also a biopolitical apparatus to govern the sexual difference between male and female.

This thesis concludes that NATO's intentions of increasing female participation by mainstreaming gender perspectives is an attempt to react to the ongoing change in the security sector and to support peace and humanity, that by turn are the very concepts of modern era that should be re-evaluated. In Foucauldian sense, this is also a question of war and its definition. There is a relational force to the ways in which war intersects with power and life under modern conditions. It also has an individuating force.

The main dilemma of gender is twofold: female NATO-personnel are presented as empathic communicators, thus independent, whilst the women in targeted countries become presented as a homogenous group, which needs to be secured. All together the discussion about the role of women in the military, as the discussion of "women as victims" is a part of the process of globalization. The conclusions of this thesis are twofold. Firstly, we shall analyse the role of women working for the military, and the gender roles within the military. Secondly, when attention is given to the local

women, we receive another concept of "womanhood", which is created within Western feminist academic discourse by creating the "other" women. These "other" women are the ones to be secured. These two ways of perceiving womanhood does not lead to universal feminism, as it ends up promoting the division between the (developed) West and the (underdeveloped) rest. Another question is, if there should be a common feminist objective based on gender that is a very fluid concept even within feminist discourse.

Avainsanat: Feminism, biopolitics, militarism, war, security

Muita tietoja

Suostun tutkielman luovuttamiseen kirjastossa käytettäväksi_x_

Suostun tutkielman luovuttamiseen Lapin maakuntakirjastossa käytettäväksi __

(vain Lappia koskevat)

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1. Introduction

This thesis is about gender in international relations, viewed through Feminist Security Studies (term: Tickner 2011, 576). The object of study is NATO's gender policy, which was officially launched in 2007. NATO serves as a valid example to show how the current changes in the security sector are causing all actors in the field to react to the new demands in (civil) crisis management, post-conflict reconstruction and nation-building, which by turn is a consequence of the changed nature of wars. It is said that one should choose a topic that is irritating and disturbing. The issues between gender and military combined with the Western interventions we have seen during the past decade have been, for me, an unsolved, mysterious structure that I was unable to make sense of, but that certainly was irritating –and it still is, but in a very different sense. I started to write this thesis in order to solve that mystery behind military rhetoric, which never explains its existence. It leaves the reader an impression that intervening in another country is the only thing to do, and the military is because it just is. What started as a curious peek into the complicated field of the military, ended up as a feminist journey, as I found that the implications of gender were impossible to ignore.

While trying to make sense of the nature of current conflicts, I found a book about a Finnish forensic dentist, Helena Ranta, who has contributed to several international forensic investigations in conflict areas, for example, in Kosovo. When reading the book, I had difficulty placing Ranta into any existing category or field of international (civil) crisis management/military personnel. By this stage, I had already started emphasizing the relevance of gender as a shaping force in world politics. However, I did not have any theoretical tools to form a proper argument about the subject matter. It seemed that gender played irrelevant role in Ranta's work. In the book Ranta describes the circumstances in Kosovo, where she worked under multiple different doctrines and bureaucracies, and was therefore sometimes unable to do the exact job that she was supposed to do. In addition, the political situation in Kosovo was, by that time, extremely complicated. In these extreme circumstances Ranta relied on her professionalism and sensitive form of intelligence in complicated situations. The book is not a school book, nor does it have any political objectives. It is a description of what it is to work as an apolitical actor in a conflict zone. However, this form of security agency is easy to politicize.

I wanted to be able to place Ranta somewhere on the imaginary political map. The book *Tasa-arvoinen turvallisuus? Sukupuolten yhdenvertaisuus suomalaisessa maanpuolustuksessa ja kriinsinhallinnassa*, edited by Pirjo Jukarainen and Sirkku Terävä, was the first academic book on

this subject matter. The book, published in 2010, was a good foundation in acknowledging the complicated relationship between feminism and the military. The book consists of eighteen, rather short, articles on Finnish national defence and gender equality. Also, the book co-incidentally contains an interview with Helena Ranta. The article concludes that because Ranta and her colleagues work separately from large (military) organisations and their bureaucracy, it is easier for her kind of experts to work effectively and influentially on a grass roots level. Even though reading this book pushed me to continue studying security agencies', the book itself was not enough to make sense of the larger structure. Also, even though Ranta's story as a security agent is easy to read "genderlessly", I still emphasised studying the connection of gender and military. Following Michel Foucault's concept of power, governmentality, and subjectification, offered me the tools to understand the political-historical development of modern politics and power (Foucault 2007) and to structure the scene of war in world politics. However, as Michael Dillon and Andrew W. Neal stress on the introductory chapter of *Foucault on Politics, Security and War,* Foucault does not tie his departures, forays and novel problematisations very closely together (Dillon and Neal 2008, 1). Foucault's genealogy of the early history of political modernity is not complete, but they function as provocative sketch of some aspects of it (Dillon and Neal 2008, 3; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1984, 126–127). One of the key questions that Foucault's lectures pose is what role "war" played in the constitution of political modernity, its problematisation of politics and rule, its discursive practices of politics and rule, its institutions of politics and, above all, its everyday mechanism of governance (Dillon and Neal 2008, 9). In addition, Foucault does not offer comprehensive definition of security and its relation to war, nor does he extend his interrogation of war to political economy as he pursues the translation of political economy to biopolitical govenrnmentality (Dillon and Neal 2008, 11). NATO's gender policy takes place on a complicated field of (modern) war, political economy and biopolitical governmentality. The phenomenon includes multiple intersections between gender, ethnicity, and religion – not only between NATO personnel and people in targeted countries but also in between NATO personnel. Also, what is notable especially with regards to NATO is the absence of contemporary nation-state cartography and geographical boundaries. As Michel Shapiro claimed almost two decades ago: 'the war is a fact without any hint of territorially based interests of grievances' (Shapiro 1997, 73). This fact is troubling to the common IR notion of the interlink between traditional nation-state and identity formation.

After Foucault, I concentrated on feminist theories in international relations by going through the works of Christine Sylverster, Cynthia Enloe, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty. These women represent, to me, the pioneers of feminist IR research. All the theorists made important and

interesting points of the placement of women in world politics, but I was not satisfied. There seems to be no feminist international theory that I could use. I realized that Ranta presents the kind of security agency, or agent in IR, which was not present in official military discourses. In addition, the feminist IR theorists that I had decided to rely on did not seem to produce any fruitful outcomes with stories like Ranta's. I read and re-read feminist articles of gender in military and became aware that the topic that I was interested in had been under debate for some time, mainly in context of the impact of UN Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security to gender equality. Feminist research done on Resolution 1325 and its impact show that gender is generally perceived in an essentialist way. I decided to study NATO's policy agenda on women, peace and security in order to see what has happened since the Resolution 1325 was launched in 2000: Have any lessons been learned?

As a student of international relations, I interpret the world according to the paradigms of IR, and unlearning them is somehow impossible. These paradigms have caused exhaustion and despair in the world. I do not mean that science as such should be joyful, but if trying to be self-reflexive, I wish to recognize that –especially when relying on poststructuralist theories − one is a part of the complex engine that produces the thing we call reality. The article about Helena Ranta in the book *Tasa-arvoinen turvallisuus? Sukupuolen yhdenvertaisuus suomalaisessa maanpuolustuksessa ja kriisinhallinnassa* is written by Elina Penttinen, whose work plays an important role in this thesis. The chronology of the publications of Penttinen go from her doctoral dissertation about the effects of globalization, to the prostitution/sex market in Finland (2004), to the book *Joy and International Relations,* published in 2013. Both of her books and her publications on the role of gender in Finnish national defence form a remarkable piece of the theoretical understanding used in this thesis.

1.1. Research question

UN Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security was launched in 2000 and NATO's gender policy agenda seven years later. Between these years much feminist research on the implementation and adaptation of Resolution 1325 was published. They are introduced with more detail later in chapter 1.2. However, this thesis is studying the phenomenon of the interest in including women in the military and connecting that to a larger context.

Choosing a feminist approach means assuming that gender plays a crucial role in world politics and thereby, of course, in the military. According to J. Ann Tickner, the problem with feminist security studies and mainstream security studies is that the latter does not recognize gender enough (Tickner

2011, 576). Rather than focusing on causes and consequences of war, feminists concentrate on what goes on during the war and on individuals, both civilian and military, and how their lives are affected by conflict. Whilst UNCR 1325 has been widely recognized as an important move towards recognizing the role women and gender play in conflict, the resolution has been somewhat disappointing in terms of its impact on the international policy community (Tickner 2011, 579). The debate over resolution 1325 started shortly after its adaptation. To further the dialogue between policy makers, activists and academics, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom held a conference in New York, in 2002, that focused on UNCR 1325. The outcome was that policy makers and activists agreed that there is a need for more scholarly research in the implications and implementation of UNCR 1325 (Tickner 2011, 579). This recognition led me to think of NATO and its rather recent interest in gender on its policy. The emphasis in both cases – UN and NATO – is on the word gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is considered as a strategy that helps with achieving gender equality, which I discuss later in this thesis.

On the opinions ventured below, this thesis seeks to analyse the NATO's online publications of its gender policy agenda through feminist IR theories and Michel Foucault's concepts of governmentality, biopower and power. The umbrella-like research question is, how are the benefits of gender understood in NATO? More specifically: What is NATO hoping to achieve with gender mainstreaming, and more importantly, why now, a decade after the launch of the United Nations Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security? Has the broader recognition of security and, in particular, gender and security, influenced the way defence and military are organized and if so, how has this occurred? Furthermore, because of UNCR 1325, in which gender mainstreaming is defined as a strategy to implement gender awareness, how is the security agency formed more than ten years after launching the resolution?

1.2. About the Previous Research

As mentioned in the introduction, the book *Tasa-arvoinen turvallisuus? Sukupuolten yhdenvertaisuus suomalaisessa maanpuolustuksessa ja kriisinhallinnassa* was the first publication that I read about the topic of gender and the military. However, the articles in that book discuss gender in the context of Finnish national defence only touching on UN Resolution 1325. It does not explain, for example, what led to the adaptation of UN Resolution 1325, nor does it explain the phenomenon of gender in IR in a larger context. The aim of this chapter is to proceed from the origins of feminist IR thinking to ongoing topics in the field. It is a chronological trip, which ends

up demonstrating the multiplicity and complicity around recent feminist IR topics on the complicated relationship between gender and military.

The feminist contribution to IR starts with the notion that gender is a power shaping power in relation to world politics. In this thesis, this interpretation is made by three feminist IR pioneers: Cynthia Enloe (1983; 2000 (1989); 2000), J. Ann Tickner (1992; 2001) and Christine Sylvester (2002). These three feminists explore the function of gender in an international context and offered me the basis on which to build a feminist understanding of world politics. These feminist IR scholars have succeeded in including the feminist perspective to the field of security studies, though it still appears marginalised. When Simone de Beauvoir noted that one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman, she actually stated that the relationship between men and women is not reciprocal. In a way feminist inquiry places itself similarly into the debate of what is world politics and how it should be done; it is in relation to the mainstream.

By the time Enloe, Tickner and Sylvester started off feminist IR at 1980's and 1990's, feminist inquiry concentrated on issues of global economy, human rights, and development, rather than issues of military conflict and war (Tickner 2011, 577). Military, conflict and war are the latest interests of the inquiry. According to Cynthia Enloe, the politics of masculinities and the politics of femininities have to be paid close attention in order to not just understand the way states operate, but also the way all sorts of groups operate internationally (Enloe 2012). To Enloe, the crucial issue is patriarchy and how it is not just made up of men and of the masculine but to make any woman overlook their own marginal position and feel instead secure, protected and valued. Patriarchies – in militia, in labour unions, in nationalist movements, in political parties, in whole stated and entire international institutions – may privilege masculinity, but they need the complex idea of femininity and enough women's acceptance or complicity to operate (Enloe 2004, 6).

J. Ann Tickner interprets that the recognition of Feminist Security Studies comes from the gendered notion of international politics, particularly from the issues of national security and identity politics associated with the militarized form of masculinity (Tickner 2011, 576). According to Nicole Detraz' recent book *International Security and Gender* in feminist IR, the critique is towards the military because of its effects on society (Detraz 2012, 24). Detraz's book functions as a comprehensive cross-section of the recent topics discussed in feminist IR: Gender and security, gender and military, gender and peace-building, gender and human security and gender and terrorism (Detraz 2012). Most of the feminist research is conducted in the U.S. or in the U.K., though during the past ten years feminists from Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway and Finland)

have contributed to the discussion, especially about the role of gender in the international military/peacekeeping operations (see e.g. Stern 2006, Kronsell 2006 & 2012; Valenius 2007a; Penttinen 2009, 2010, 2013a).

When discussing gender in a military context the discussion turns to gender equality and what is meant by it. According to Cynthia Cockburn, women do not gain equality trough their active engagement in war nor do the character, culture, and hierarchy of armed forces become more feminine because of the presence of women (Cockburn 2009, 163). However, in the book *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* Annica Kronsell notes the opposite in her case study of Swedish military (Kronsell 2006, 108–128). In her article one of the subtitles is even "The woman at arms challenges hegemonic masculinity". To me the feminist field of IR appears with many complexities, which are recognizable especially in recent research: there are indeed many different kinds of feminist interpretations not only of the objectives, but also the interpretations of the same issues vary.

As mentioned, after the shift from the issues of global economy and development to military conflict and war, feminist IR scholars especially in the U.S. and Nordic countries have been interested in the role of women and gender in military. These two feminist traditions differ slightly: the former one concentrates on U.S. foreign policy and the latter on discovering the implications on gender in peacekeeping/military missions. The argument now goes that gender mainstreaming documents and practises tend to rely on essentialist notions of women as victims or motherly enablers/communicators (see e.g. DeGroot 2001; Valenius 2007a; Väyrynen 2004; Simic 2010). Deploying more women personnel is seen as necessary to achieving a more successful mission, and not as an end itself. Also, gender mainstreaming should not be mixed with increasing women's participation in military or civil crisis management missions. According to Kathleen Jennings, who has studied the role of women in UN Peace Operations, gender mainstreaming is an attempt to institutionalize gendered approaches in the design and implementation of legislation and policy (Jennings 2012, 19). Gender essentialism in UN's gender policy agenda has been recognized already for example in the context of UN documents and practices and in the U.S. military (see e.g. Pin-Fat & Stern 2005, Valenius 2007b). Nations and militaries have adopted the ideas of UN Resolution 1325 through National Action Plans (NAP's) aiming to give women more visibility in crisis management/military. One concern of NAP's is that it does not seriously trickle down the operational reality of the missions when the issue of gender equality and the recognition of gender specific violence would remain mainly on policy level. Then, we can ask, what has NATO as a

military organization to do with Resolution 1325 and the feminist interpretations of it? NATO is composed of its member countries, which by turn have or have not made their NAP's to implement the resolution. As a result some members of the troops the alliance uses might be at least acknowledging the role of gender in their work, and some might not. However, NATO launched its gender policy agenda six years ago and the scale of it has enlarged remarkably from that.

Recently, it seems that Nordic feminist research has focused on gender mainstreaming and its implications. That is an issue one can find from most of the NAP's and also from NATO's agenda (see e.g. Olsson & Tejpar 2009). Gender mainstreaming indicates the aim to increase gender awareness in every level of military and crisis management operations. While there is an agreement on this basic point, at least in official discourse, there is less concurrence on what gender mainstreaming means and how it should be achieved. Within NATO, some research has been conducted in order to produce more information and indicators on the subject matter. However, being largely a policy field, gender is quite understudied and under-analysed. In their article "Beyond 'Gender and Stir'" Maria Eriksson Baaz and Mats Utas argue that gender policy is a field characterized by handbooks rather than empirical studies of how security institutions are already gendered (Eriksson Baaz and Utas 2012, 5). After passing Resolution 1325, gender mainstreaming has, at least rhetorically, been at the heart of UN and UN-mandated peace and security operations, including also NATO-led operations for example in Afghanistan and Kosovo. Pirjo Jukarainen and Sirkku Terävä argue that the demand on gender mainstreaming is based on acknowledgement that more stable peace and development can be secured only if women are included in the peace processes (Jukarainen & Terävä 2010, 211).

One of the targets of feminist critique is the acknowledgement of the assumptions of gender being essentialist and therefore the arguments that women's participation will increase the operational efficiency are false. For example, the politics of gender equality adopted by Sweden and Norway in relation to crisis management indicates that increasing the number of women will result in operational efficiency (Penttinen 2009, 51). In addition, research of peacekeeping missions from a gender perspective tends to show that, although some slow progress has been made in mainstreaming gender perspective into crisis management operations during the past ten years, huge contradictions between the official 1325-rhetorics and reality on the field in the peacekeeping missions remain (Väyrynen 2004; Penttinen 2009). At the same time the acknowledgment of the gendered consequences that conflicts have on women has pushed militaries to pay attention to recruiting more women. This is due to the assumption that, firstly, some militaries have problems in

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recruiting a reserve, and secondly because of the capacities women are expected to bring to the operations. According to another important scholar in this thesis, Tarja Väyrynen, women peacekeepers are just one element in the process of thinking about peace operations after the Cold War (Väyrynen 2004, 125).

While the nature of armed conflicts has changed/is changing and crises are more complicated, demands on international crisis management, to act and work effectively and change, increase (Penttinen 2010, 185). However, a great number of nations do not anticipate been called upon to fight an aggressive war. In these countries, the role of the military has changed, with peacekeeping and disaster relief becoming the most common reason for deployment (DeGroot 2007, 24; Kronsell 2012). In military-based data, women are often described as a "key to success" which will improve civil-military relations, diminish violence against civilians, especially against women, and particularly sexual violence. There is, however, a lack of data supporting these claims (Hendricks 2012; Jennings 2012). Also, this "just add women" –perspective places the responsibility on women. Current research indicated that women are seen, in a very essential way, naturally less violent than men. Those who have struggled hard to attack the stereotypes, which have prevented female participation, suddenly find that those stereotypes point to an important contribution women can make (DeGroot 2007, 24).

According to Johanna Valenius, gender mainstreaming is being developed in a context where gender is understood as a difference between men and women and not as a system of femininities and masculinities (Valenius 2007a, 513). While gender has become part of the rhetoric and actions of crisis management, the critical feminist perspective claims that two different discourses are arising, when it comes to the word *gender*. The first, and the more powerful one, concentrates on increasing gender equality between men and women, and on empowerment of women. Gender is seen as socially constructed, not biologically defined (Jauhola 2010, 257). The other, less influential, discourse also questions the underlying hetero-normative way of thinking. Critical feminist scholars have also criticised the feminist movement of valuating gender inequality over the inequalities in other social categories and hierarchies. Western feminism, which is often synonymous for white, middle-class feminism, can be criticized from many perspectives. Feminist studies seems to be a disunited field of studies –there definitely is a lack of common front.

Before proceeding forward, I wish to mention one more branch of feminist thinking that I think is worth thinking of. It is because of the changed paradigm of war why the wars are waged exterior to the countries. According to Marjaana Jauhola it is for this reason possible to debate how gender

expertise produced in the West reproduces the constitution of otherness in the global South (Jauhola 2010, 258). The ability of crisis management personnel to cope with the many women victims of war has become widely acknowledged after the change of the paradigms of war and security. National defence is now understood more widely and more globally, and it is done less from the perspective of defending one's state. At the same time, questions of security are done more from the perspective of the individual. These two developments are not separate, yet they are both part of the discussion of human security. As I explain with greater detail later in this thesis, the material of analysis deals with women working in NATO leaving the women in targeted countries in the shadow. In order to approach this problematic arrangement between different feminisms I have found the work of Chandra Talpade Mohanty useful. Her main argument is that the Western feminist discourse produces Third World women as Others (Mohanty 2003). According to her, it is (feminist) solidarity that should be increased in order to overcome these problems (ibid.)

1.3. About the Material

Launching UN Resolution 1325 in 2000 has pushed nations and military organizations to respond Resolution's demands, NATO included. After choosing NATO as my object of research, I started to follow NATO online on a regular basis. NATO's commitment to the resolution resulted in a NATO/EAPC format policy on implementing the resolution in December 2007. The policy was updated in June 2011 and is now done so every two years. The frequency of publishing accelerates notably towards today. Women, Peace, and Security remains as an independent information section on NATO's online front-page, but that is not the only place gender-related information could be found. Gender is mentioned, for example, when publications discuss NATO's operation in Afghanistan. The aim of increasing gender awareness is part of NATO's public relations. One of the most used expressions is gender mainstreaming, an action that is expected to be done in every level of organisation. For example, The NATO organizational Development and Recruitment services have reviewed all job descriptions and vacancy announcements in order to ensure gender neutrality in their formulation (NATO 2013).

NATO has a fairly comprehensive online-database on gender and women's issues, which includes everything from videos and Women, Peace, and Security –playlist on Youtube to the alliances own online TV channel, newsrooms and official publications. Hence delimiting material was required. In 2011, the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (NCGP) published a field study under the title *How Can Gender Make a Difference to Security in Operations* (Publication No. 6). This 60-page long study forms a valuable piece of my primary material, but it is not comprehensive enough by

itself to cover all the mediated perspectives. During the past five years, NATO has changed its attitude remarkably regarding gender-related issues, one example being the creation of the NATO Committee on Gender Perspective (NCGP). NCGP was preceded by the Committee on Women in the NATO forces (CWINF). CWINF concentrated more on presenting NATO as a career option to women, meanwhile the aim of NCGP is to promote gender mainstreaming in military procedures. In addition, NCGP recognized that the indicators created in previous research were very general and basic after its annual meeting in 2011 (NATO 2013).

The empirical material is divided into five different categories according to where in NATO's website they are situated. The documents are from the period between 1st of January 2007 to 1st of May 2013. The most extensive body of documents are the six PDF publications about the role of gender in the alliance. These publications are instructive in their nature, and they are produced in order to promote gender awareness within the alliance. The first of them, *Guidance for gender Mainstreaming in NATO* was published in 2007, and the latest BI-strategic command structure in 2012. Publication number 5 of Women, Peace and Security is an exception as it is more informative and explains the role of civilian women. The six other publications concentrate on explaining the aims and problems of equal gender participation within the organization.

The next category of empirical material are the news from NATO's own online-magazine, NATO Review. These are coded as Reviews when referring to them in the chapters of analyses. In the four reviews, people outside of NATO are interviewed, and they give another kind of perspective to the reasons for gender policy. The reviews deal with the role of women in Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo are the two most present countries in the empirical material, as gender mainstreaming is an issue in both of them due to the Western presence in the countries.

The third category is official texts, of which I found three from NATO's library, under the logical title "official texts". Official texts are informative reports on how the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 is ascending in the alliance. These texts are detailed and comprehensive policy papers using formal language.

The fourth category are the fourteen short news pieces which I found on NATO's newsfeed. The short but informative news pieces concentrate on showing what NATO is constantly doing in order to promote gender balance. For example, news about how a delegation of Afghan women visited NATO's headquarter in Brussels (News 8) or on how NATO is "boosting" women's role in peace

and security (News 13). The news discusses gender on a diplomatic level, mainly showing the efforts made on a diplomacy level. The last group of texts are speeches given by NATO's previous Secretary General's Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and Secretary General's Anders Fogh Rasmussen. I found three speeches which concentrated on gender issues. These five different categories of material present the alliance from several perspectives, which help me constitute a more comprehensive understanding of the situation that would have been possible to catch only by analysing, for example, the five pieces of research conducted by the alliance. The divergent contents of the different categories of material are interpreted in their specific contexts, depending on what purpose they are published.

1.4. About the Method

As explained above, the empirical material consists of varied types of documents and amounted to a great amount of pages. Content analysis as a method turned out to be most suitable method of getting out the pertinent information. According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi, the goal of analysing qualitative material is to increase its informational value, as the aim is to create reasonable, clear, and coherent material out of fragmented information. The material describes the phenomenon, and the purpose of analyse as creating a verbal and explicit description of the material. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2012, 108 (ref. Hämäläinen 1987; Burns & Grove 1997; Strauss & Cobin 1990; 1998)).

There are three forms of content analysis that I could choose from: Theory-based, material-based and analysis guided by theory. The mode of content analysis I am using is content analysis guided by theory (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2012, 117). In this way I was able to put the theoretical knowledge I had been gathering during the past months to use. According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi, the theory guided form of content analysis proceeds like the material-based one but the difference lies on the linkage of the theory, so the theory is put in at some point in the content analysis guided by theory (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2012, 117).

Even though the method books indicate frequently to writer's responsibilities and power, the amount of choices I needed to make regarding the material surprised me. The first step was to get something out of the material in order to form the basis for the further analysis. I posed four questions as simple as possible to the material. The process proceeded like an interview: The target cannot be expected to know anything about the connection between gender policy and feminist theories. The first step was to present such questions to the material that will allow me to collect a

variety of statements. I did that simply by concretely underlying the answers to the following questions with different colours:

i.   How does the material discuss gender?

ii.   What is considered as desirable in the material?

iii.   What is considered as undesirable in the material?

iv.   To what kind of an audience is the material targeted?

When searching for the different answers, I came to experience how widely and variably answers to my questions could be interpreted –and it was all my choice what I wanted to include. Considering the nature of my research questions I decided to roughly leave out, for example, the detailed explanations of NATO's structure that are explained by detail in some parts of the publications. I did that regardless as they could be interpreted, in some occasions, as a reply to question number four, but they were not valuable when related to my research questions. Content analysis is a method capable of analyzing fragmented texts, therefore I left out the pictures that the material contains. Actually, the pictures would have been an interesting object of study with another kind of a method. NATO's online site also included videos that I needed to leave out for the same reason.

According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi, a basic unit can be, for example, a word, several sentences (as a thought) or a sentence (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2012, 110 (ref. Polit & Hungler 1997, Burns & Grove 1997). All of these were found in this point of analysis. After the first "round" of underlying the answers I had 16 pages of listed sentences that were already divided in four parts. If a sentence belonged to two groups, I underlined it twice but with different colours. Next, Tuomi and Sarajärvi advised to make the sentences simpler (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2012, 110). This procedure made the further classification of the material possible and easier. The importance of this step was to help with the classification process, though I needed to pay attention not to manipulate the material. I did the simplification simply by typing the sentences to new Word document with my computer. In order to avoid illogic, I tried to keep the amount of different kinds of sentences limited. At first sight the material seemed to consist of rather similar kinds of expressions, but closer reading revealed the opposite.

The next step was grouping a set of sentences in such a way that sentences in the same group are more similar to each other than those in other groups. Grouping condenses the material, as single actors are incorporated into more common concepts (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2012, 110). After classifying the sentences, I had 50 sentences that required some more clarifying. Tuomi & Sarajärvi

suggest grouping the simplified expressions into sub-classes, which is what I did (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 20102, 110). For example expressions such as "security and gender" and "a demand to increase security" were placed under "Gender as an issue to security". When my analysis advanced and my understanding of the topic deepened, I noticed that some sub-classes were misplaced and were more suitable for another upper class. When this happened, I simply re-placed them under the proper upper class.

According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi, the grouping process is followed by making the material more abstract by distinguishing the essential information and forming theoretical concepts with the information (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2012, 111). This means that as I am using content analysis guided by theory, theory needs to be put in. Hence I formed the main classes, the concepts, following my theory. I have defined the theoretical background of this thesis to be grounded in feminist security studies and Foucauldian concepts of governmentality, biopower and power. Feminist theory is complicated, and even in such a marginal field of feminist studies as feminist security studies is, the division of the material to clear sections according to the theory was difficult. In addition, I had already decided to use Foucault, and at this point I was still uncertain of how strongly his work and the feminist interpretations of his work would influence the analysis. Certain themes pierce my material all along, but as I wanted to construct a clear and understandable structure, I decided to do vertical division with the main theoretical concepts and form the chapters according to that division. I think that the fragmentation of feminism theories can be easily noticed in the chapters of analysis, but I do not think that it diminishes the feminist efforts. When it comes to the role of Foucault, it is rather natural that concepts such as power, biopower and governmentality can be found functioning throughout the analysis.

1.5. Theorising Feminism in International Relations

Next I will specify and explicate the theoretical background of this thesis. As already explained, this is a feminist IR study of the military. However, in order to be able to understand the structure in which the researched phenomenon takes place, I rely on Michel Foucault's concepts of power, biopower and governmentality. These three concepts are interlinked with Judith Butler's theorisations on subjectivity and with the process of how one becomes one. The term *subjectifiation* means both the process of subjection as subordination and becoming a subject as agent (Term: Penttinen 2004, 80). However, before explaining these terms more deeply I will shortly discuss feminist IR theory and its main arguments and dilemmas.

In the feminist interpretation of IR, the focus has extended to cover different forms of knowledge production. Nina Lykke explains that sex/gender are interconnected with sociocultural categories of race, ethnicity and class, and that the transformative meaning of these categories should be understood as a product of social and political movements (Lykke 2010, 41). The main assumption with feminist IR scholars is that the field of IR is deeply gendered, which means that the gendered construction of state has by turn implications on IR theory. A challenge for feminist IR scholars is first to *deconstruct* and reveal the "invisible" gender and then to *reconstruct,* which means to explore the theoretical implications of taking gender seriously (Peterson 1992, 2). The opening paragraph of this study explains that this is to be a Feminist Security Study about gender in NATO's gender policy agenda. That indicates that there is a link between gender and security. According to Laura Sjoberg, Feminist Security Studies are "a dialectical-hermeneutic argument, an approach that has implications for its process and its product" (Sjoberg 2011, 602). Despite the many definitions, feminism generally, and feminist IR especially, is in process and transformative. However, too often when I found a satisfactory argument or definition that seemed to respond to that time, I soon found another, more recent one. Consequently for the theoretical "evolution", I ended up hunting for the most recent definitions and studies in order to be "up to date". It seems that, as Roseneil argues, the feminist politics is contingent and fragmented in an era in which beliefs in transcendental reason, rationality and "truth" have lost their grip and in which the grand systematic theories of oppression are no longer inspiring (Roseneil 1999, 163–164). However, whilst my material, method, and research questions placed me in the field of Feminist Security Studies, I contested the following definition given by Sjoberg:

> The purpose of doing research in Feminist Security Studies is to raise problems, not to solve them; to draw attention to a field of inquiry, rather than survey it fully; to provoke discussion, rather than serve as a systematic treatise…Feminist Security Studies is not the sum of the different approaches or the winner of the debate between them, but the narrative generated from their arguments, disagreements, and compromises (Sjoberg 2011, 602).

A variety of new issues are occupying the security agenda of international relations. The previous security topic on the war between the great powers is now occupied with new kinds of wars, ethnic conflicts, and global economical and ecological issues. The Sovereign state, which has traditionally been the subject in different traditional disciplines of IR, is not well suited to deal with these broader threats to their institutional security (Tickner 1992, ix). Unlike conventional IR theories, feminist theories draw from the social sciences and natural sciences as well as the humanities and philosophy, being a multidisciplinary discipline (Tickner 2001, 11). At the core of feminist studies

is the epistemological supposition that all the knowledge is located. To avoid the consequential result that science is nothing but stories, Donna Haraway (1991, 191–196) presents the postmodern claim that the researcher can obtain a partially objective knowledge through conscious reflection of her or his situatedness and her or his research techniques. That is knowledge of the specific part of the reality that she or he can "see" from the position in which she or he is materially discursively located in time, space, body and historical power relations (ibid).

In this study, the core feminist IR concepts of security and gender are situated in the military. Militarization and militarism are the terms with which feminist scholars have worked in order to critically reflect on the definitions of the terms and how they shape the world. According to Cynthia Enloe's definition, patriarchy is the structural and ideological system that perpetuates the privileging of masculinity (Enloe 2004, 4). The term is used in feminism to describe how patriarchal systems marginalize that which is associated with the female. Women's exclusion from mainstream theories form a fundamental structuring principle and key presumption of patriarchal discourse.

Feminist theory seeks to explain women's subordination. Therefore gender remains to be in the focus of research. Feminist theorists generally agree that gender hierarchies are socially constructed and maintained through power structures that work against women's participation in foreign- and national – security policymaking (Tickner 2001, 21). The political problem of feminism is that the word "women" comes with certain connotations to common (female) identity. I have taken this notion of separate identities due to the fact that the material of analysis does not discuss one but many different kinds of womanhood. Chandra Talpade Mohanty draws upon Western feminist discourse in order to show the hegemonic position of Western feminist scholars. The assumption of a common political identity that exists cross-culturally, often accompanies the notion that the oppression of women has some singular form discernible in the universal or hegemonic structure of patriarchy or masculine domination (Butler 1999, 6; see also Mohanty 2003). According to Butler:

> The masculine/feminine binary constitutes not only the exclusive framework in which that specificity can be recognized, but in every other way the "specificity" of the feminine is once again fully decontextualized and separated off analytically and politically from the constitution of class, race, ethnicity, and other axes of power relations that both constitute "identity" and make the singular notion of identity as misnomer (Butler 1999, 7).

To be able to discuss gender and to interpret how the field of IR is gendered, one needs to define its meaning. French feminist Simone de Beauvoir was the first one to separate sex from gender in the

1960's. In her influential, and widely accepted, *constructionist* approach, gender is a socially constructed (masculine/feminine) identity, therefore being of the female sex does not necessarily indicate that one is female in gender and the opposite. Postmodern feminist thinkers like Judith Butler were the ones to *deconstruct* de Beauvoir's ideas. Butler (1999) argues that one's physical sexuality is also a consequence of one's personal history and experience, that biology itself is a result of systems of social organisation. By deconstructing, feminists aim to reveal androcentrism in fundamental categories, in empirical studies, and in theoretical perspectives (Peterson 1992, 6). Simultaneous purpose is to *reconstruct* a gender sensitive theory that rethinks the relationship between knowledge, power, community and the developing of feminist epistemologies (ibid). In other words, as Foucault claims, it is both the physical and ideological that affect gender, and subjectivity is the result of operations of power over the body (Foucault 1978). Feminist IR theorists assume that globalization and the rise of neoliberalism has affected women in discriminating ways (Mohanty 1993; Tickner 2001). In this thesis' context that emerges in the separation between the women as military workers and women as citizen of the globalized South. Globalization is approached as a universal phenomenon, but it can at the same time be non-observable, real and posses causal power.

The feminist thinkers to whom I refer here mostly rely on Michel Foucault's concept of power. Consequently, this thesis follows Foucauldian thinking of power and his concept of sexuality being an apparatus through which the power operates (Foucault 1978). Instead of conventional understanding of power as "power-over", Foucault's concept of power differs from the conventional concept when assuming that power is exercised everywhere. The shift is in the approach to power, which to Foucault is from bottom-up. Power emerges in multiple force relations, which in turn constitute their own power relations and also resistance (Foucault 1978, 92–93). There is no escaping from power; it is always present constituting that very thing which one attempts to counter it with (Foucault 1978, 82). According to Foucault:

> The aim of inquiries that will follow is to move less toward a "theory" of power than toward an "analytics" of power: that is, toward a definition of specific domain formed by relations of power, and toward a determination of the instruments that will make possible its analysis (Foucault 1978, 82).

According to Biddy Martin, the obvious connection between Foucault's work and the interests of feminists exists in terms of focus and methodology, and how the intervention of experts and their knowledge has everything to do with the female body (Martin 1982, 10). This means that

Foucauldian power concepts are not gender neutral, but function differently according to a person's sexuality. To Foucault, sexuality is not the most intractable element in power relations, but rather those endowed with the greatest instrumentality (Foucault 1978, 103). Sexuality is, to Foucault and to many feminists, a vehicle for modern power in that it is through discourse about sex. Wherever there is a relationship, there is power and therefore subordination, but there is also resistance. Hence, social structures are hierarchical, as are gendered structures. Sandra Hardings notes in her book *The Science Question in Feminism* that the studies of the uses and abuses of biology, social sciences and their technologies have revealed the ways science is used in the sexist, racist, homophobic, and classist social projects (Hardings 1986, 21). These oppressive reproductive policies have been justified on the basis of sexist research and maintained through technologies, developed out of research, which move give control of women's lives to the group of male dominants.

The question of power is directly related to the question of subjectivity and to the process of how to become a subject (subjectification). Both of these concepts are also in connection with biopower, which I will discuss more at the end of this chapter. To Foucault, juridical systems of power produce the subjects they subsequently come to represent. The question of subject is crucial for feminist politics particularly, as these subjects are produced through certain exclusionary practices which are not visible in that juridical form of power. Juridical notions of power regulate life in negative terms that is through limitation, prohibition, regulation and control. The subjects regulated by such structures are, by virtue of being subjected to them, formed, defined and reproduced in accordance with the requirements of those structures (Butler 1999, 4). If this structural formation is correct, then women being subjects of feminism is itself a discursive formation and effect of a given version of representational politics, therefore the "subject" of feminism is discursively constituted by the political system that is supposed to emancipate it (ibid). Hence feminist critique has to understand how the (feminist) subject is produced and restrained. The process is individualizing and it is also "internalized", certain "inner space" is produced as a site where subjectification occurs. By subjectifying oneself to power, one is recognized as a social subject and granted agency.

Like power, gender is not produced alone. To Butler, following the Foucauldian notion of subjectivity, gender is not constituted but *performed.* The body is a site onto which power is inscribed. It is not only about speech acts, but also bodily acts that require repetitive performance "of a set of meanings already socially established; it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimatisation" (Butler 1999; 178). The substantive effect of gender is performatively produced

and compelled by regulatory practices of gender coherence. Gender is constituting the identity it is purported to be, and hence gender is always doing, but "not a doing by subject who might be said pre-exist the deed" (Butler 1999, 33). It is a process, an ongoing discursive practise…open to intervention and resignification (Butler 1999, 43). There are not only masculine and feminine genders, but there are many. Gender categories become complicated and multidimensional to the point where their boundaries become blurred. Butler writes: "gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity of locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylised repetition of* acts" (Butler 1999, 179). Gender is thus not understood as a noun but as a norm, in which the meaning is divided into male and female. Butler, recalling Monica Wittig, argues: "such a division suits the economic needs of heterosexuality" (Butler 1999, 43). The body becomes the subject of control and central to the process of gender formation. However, in the Foucauldian sense, power is action upon action, which means that it is not only possible for one to influence the actions of another against their will, but it is produced both by the dominant and the dominated through the identity of constructive discursive practices. Foucault stresses that subjectification occurs in three different modes, by naming the modern subject, dividing practices and how power seduces the individual into turning oneself into a subject (Penttinen 2004, 103). These three modes are not separate from each other. Butler by turn does not distinguish these three modes in the way Foucault does; her emphasis is on the establishment of the subject in language alongside the individual's need to seek social recognition (ibid).

Foucault introduces the concept of biopower in *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* (1978) to refer to the process by which techniques and institutions of power discipline the body and control populations. In his lectures at Collège de France, Foucault takes the development of biopolitics further and explains that as the 18th century political economy marked the birth of new governmental reason, and the liberalism that followed, liberalism is studied within the general framework of biopolitics (Foucault 2007; Foucault 2008). Power is exercised over human bodies not by domination of death but over the biology of humans. In relation to the argument of this thesis, the acknowledgement of biopolitcs of the neoliberal time means that the emergence of the requirement for women's participation in military/crisis management is due to the changed nature of wars. That by turn is consequential to the process of globalization. Following the logic that Elina Penttinen discusses in her doctoral dissertation *Corporeal Globalization – Narratives of Subjectivity and Otherness in the Sexscapes of Globalization*, to approach globalization from a Foucauldian perspective means to look at what kind of embodied subjectivities and abject bodies it creates (Penttinen 2004, 81). The

position of femininely gendered military workers is formed through the operation of the biopower of globalisation. Hence globalization has sex-specific causes. The position of military/crisis management workers is a result of subjectification, subjectifying biopower turns individuals into subjects and ties individuals to their self-identity (Foucault 1984, 25–27). The position of the female gendered military worker is thus interpreted as a process of power that produces sex-specific subjectivities. It is not only the individual who is subjected and disciplined according to time's ideal, but the social body as a whole. The process of subjectification is not only about subordination, but more ambivalent. The interest in this thesis is then in the process of how the subjects are produced.

As military and militarism more generally are objects of feminist research, I found an article by Véronique Pin-Fat and Maria Stern, about the link between women, biopower and military, which is useful for this thesis' rather marginal phrasing of a question. Pin-Fat and Stern have extended the Foucauldian concept of biopower to the military. Like Foucault, they argue for the relationship between sovereign power and bare life (Pin-Fat and Stern 2005, 26). Pin-Fat and Stern claim that the military is already feminised, and that gender and war are (im)possible constitutive dynamics (Pin-Fat and Stern 2005, 29). According to the authors:

> Addressing the connections between gender and war as relations of possibility highlights the ways in which attempts are made to create and sustain specific forms of knowledge, power, and identity in relation not only to war and gender as separate issues, but together. Hence the representations of masculinity and femininity can never be complete, because they maintain each other in a manner in which the seemingly coherent representation is constituted by the "haunting" one. (Pin-Fat and Stern 2005, 29).

The social body is thus produced as a norm that reflects the imaginary ideal. Foucault explains that modern capitalism could not have emerged without this kind of biopower that acts on and activates the subject. This means that the rise of capitalism requires certain types of bodies, whose purpose was to serve the structure by being orderly and productive. At capitalist times, biopower uses individualizing and totalizing techniques that aim to have perfect knowledge of both the individual and society. This process of emergence to govern the individual and the society is characterized by the term governmentality (see e.g. Foucault 1991, 87–104). Thus globalization operates as a form of governmentality (Penttinen 2004; 123). In neoliberal times it is not only individuals and populations but also states that are subjects of governmentality. Governmentality differs from governance in terms of to whom it is directed; governmentality means the underlying system of meanings of the

practises that governing uses in its organization of power in certain settings (Penttinen 2004, 124). I interpret governmentality to mean the way in which governing is done on different levels.

Foucauldian concepts of power, biopower, governmentality and the process of subjectification are interlinked. That is why I found it necessary to briefly discuss them. Also, what is essential in this particular context is Foucault's method of writing history-based text, and I think it is partly because of that that it took a long time to understand how these concepts work together. These concepts work as a foundation in this thesis; reading the chapters of analysis requires understanding of these concepts. In addition to them, I have oriented to think in a feminist way when assuming that gender is an influential power that shapes the way one perceives the world. A short theoretical introduction is done in each chapter of analysis to further explain which kinds of theoretical assumptions and anatomical parts of theory are used in each chapter. This is done because the analysis proceeds on different levels, by which I mean on a macro level (chapter 2), on a structural level (chapter 3), on a micro level (chapter 4) and on an individual level (chapter 5). The theoretical framework and its different concepts function differently depending on the context of their implementation.

2. Gender and Security

I will start the chapters by analysing how NATO reasons its interventions and it's connection with gender and security. The chapter is based on statements that the material makes about war, security, development and gender and the link between these four. NATO has five currently ongoing operations: In Afghanistan, in Kosovo, in the Mediterranean and in the Horn of Africa. In addition, alliance supports the peacekeeping operations in the African Union. Regarding my empirical material, the most visible case where gender policy occurs is in Afghanistan. Gender advisors work, for example, in provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan. The aim of this chapter is to sort and define the concepts of security and its objects and to explain their relation to gender.

2.1. Theorising Gender in Security Debates

The connection between security and development is grounded by the notion that the change in the paradigm of war has influenced not only the concept of war but also the rhetoric of it. Now the aim of international state-building and reconstruction is to promote the state by securing it (Sörensen 2012, 49). On its goals of securing, global liberal governance contributes to social and spatial fragmentation in different forms (ibid). Traditional operations dealt with the consequences rather than the sources of conflicts, their purpose was to stop the war (Valenius 2007a, 510). Now the purpose is in promoting peace and in reconstruction.

NATO defines itself as a political and military alliance, whose essential purpose is to safeguard the freedom and security of its members through political and military means (NATO 2013). If diplomatic efforts fail, NATO has the necessary capacity to undertake crisis management operations. NATO is implementing a gender policy within its organizational structures, which tells us about the importance gender is seen to play in modern conflicts. Gender is tied in to the larger structures of security (the ultimate aim of state-building and reconstruction) and development in two ways. Firstly, it has become a military issue. The changed nature of war has caused states and military organizations to consciously recruit female personnel, as these new kinds of conflicts require new kinds of expertise. Secondly, women and children are the group of civilians that are most influenced by war/conflict. Due to these two different approaches, we can add gender to the military/security debate. I have organized paragraph 2.2. to discuss about gender and security, while paragraph 2.3. discusses about the victimization of women. Development and security discourse cuts vertically through both of these paragraphs.

In Foucauldian thinking, war has made the modern age (Dillon and Neal 2008, 8). According to Neal and Dillon's interpretation of Foucault, the correlation between modern politics and war constitutes a state-instituted dialectic. To Foucault, modern politics arose as "the extension of war by other means" (Dillon and Neal 2008, 9). This understanding of war takes the war from the margin of sovereign power and makes it the force for shaping identity and hence is crucial to the use of the concept of biopower. According to Neal and Dillon, "The implication that war is not simply an attribute of the state, but related to the historical process of modern identity formation and the modern constitution of political subjectivity as well" (Dillon and Neal 2008, 9). At the beginning of the modern era the practices and institutions of war underwent a visible change, in which the practises and apparatuses of war were concentrated in the hand of a central power, state. Therefore state has the monopoly of war. This meant also that wars were now functioning at the outer limits of the state and that wars became technical and professional prerogatives of carefully defined and controlled military apparatuses (Foucault 2003, 48–49). According to Foucault, the extension of war to the outer limits of state is paradoxical. It is a new (Foucauldian) discourse in which previous philosophic-juridical discourse of war is placed with a historic-political one (Foucault 2003, 49). To Foucault, this historic-political discourse of war is the one which is understood as a permanent social relationship, "the ineradicable basis of all relations and institutions of power" (ibid).

The ongoing NATO-operations have taken place at times when conflicts emerge as permanent social relationships. Also, the discourse of war is a "out there", it is beyond the control of Western leaders who uttered its words, the discursive formation of "war" is now in circulation beyond the control of those governmental elites who promulgated it (Neal 2008, 62). To extend this thinking to cover gender, I rely on Judith Butler's notion of post 9/11 wars being enveloped by a question of how some people become grief-worthy and some not (Butler 2004a). The process of subjectification to Butler is not only about the establishment of the subject on the linguistic level and about the recognition gained through the process of subjectification, but the relevance is also on the excluded category of the abject. Globalization has altered the ways in which biopower operates, and because biopower operates on the level of individual, the task is to study what kinds of bodies are produced through the process to serve society's (and also the military's) need and how.

The following chapter explains the link between gender and war on a macro level, hence the dominant theoretical concepts that cross-sect the chapter are globalization, biopolitics and

governmentality. Butler's notions of the abject and the question of otherness are discussed in chapter 2.4.

2.3. Gender, Development, Security

The connection between women, peace and security is evident in the title of NATO's policy agenda "Women, Peace, and Security" that follows the naming of the UN's Resolution 1325. UN Resolution 1325 was amongst the first official statements that formally brought attention to the role of women in world politics. The resolution highlights the important role women can play in conflict zones. Logically, the empirical material highlights the importance of 13-year-old UN Resolution 1325 in the formation of NATO's gender policy agenda.

> ..and bringing security and stability to Afghanistan will be the most prominent feature of the alliance's work for the foreseeable future (Opinion No. 1).

> Women helped identify priority infrastructure and human development needs that differed from traditional male community leaders by focusing more on familial and community well-being and longer-term sustainability. At the same time, contributing to decision-making processes provided the Afghan women with a sense of ownership over Afghanistan's reconstruction (Publication No. 6, p.27).

The example above explains the role of women to be qualitative to the operation. This is because the changed nature of war has influenced the nature of the operations, and the capacities women are considered to bring are not the ones which traditional war heroes perform. In Butler's terms this means that in order to become accepted, to act according to pre-existing norms, the place the feminine can occupy is the place of the qualitative, "soft", action. In addition, the feminine is linked with peace, which is seen as the aim of the operation. Rather than being a contrast to war, peace is seen as something that (Western) women can bring to the targeted nation. Due to the fact that the empirical material does not discuss wars in their traditional terms, peace could not be built as a contradiction to war. Biopolitically, women employees are not only "letting" people live.

The example above indicates that something that is not yet in Afghanistan (stability) needs to be brought there by the alliance. Efforts to indoctrinate "softer" images of war and gender are made, for example, in NATO's public diplomacy general: the whole webpage section of Women, Peace and Security is about that. This webpage section concentrates on producing material that creates images of women's empowerment and mediates news from high-level policy meetings on women,

peace and security. It also underlines the role of NGOs and Civil Society (Text 1). Despite the fact that NATO is a military organization, the alliance's gender rhetoric emphasizes the words which indicate gender issues to be more about development and reconstruction than militaristic. For example, the title of News No. 8 "Women's rights essential for lasting stability in Afghanistan" indicates that the status of women in local population is a question of human rights, which in turn leads towards lasting stability. According to Michaela S. Ferguson, a rhetoric which takes its reason for supporting women's rights is a sign that feminist's claims of taking women's rights seriously have been taken seriously. Also, this rhetoric is itself a significant form of political action (Ferguson 2002, 9).

NATO uses feminist rhetoric of women's rights, and that rhetoric of women's rights is used simultaneously with the rhetoric of peace and stability. The adaptation of feminist rhetoric is misleading in that sense that it is used more as a justification of the operation than it is used for helping the women in the country in question. As the examples show, the aim is rather promoting peace, good governance and development than improving the conditions in targeted country. Johanna Valenius discusses peacekeeping as her object of study in the United Nations. According to the UN, peacekeeping today has evolved and expanded from the peacekeeping of the first forty years of the UN: "while it once emphasized monitoring and observing by military personnel, peacekeeping today can include many components, among them military, civilian police, civil affairs, elections, refugee return, humanitarian relief, demining, nation-building and human rights". According to NATO's definition of crisis management (NATO 2012), the only difference between the two is the military component, which can be done under the name of crisis management but not under UN's definition of peacekeeping. In case of NATO, Afghanistan is a place where the purpose of the military is twofold: it is supposed to engage with 'the war on terror' simultaneously when it engages with peacekeeping efforts. This relationship between war and peace promotion is paradoxical to the organization but also for the people "attacked" or "protected" by the forces (Kronsell 2012, 3)

> Engaging women in security work, reconstruction and stabilization is central to achieving international objectives in Afghanistan (Publication 5, 3).

> Women remain nonetheless too often excluded from taking part in maintaining, restoring, and defending stability. Their victimisation in conflict situation and marginalisation in peace building efforts continue to have profound impact on global security (Text 4).

Gender issues have been on the peacekeeping/crisis management agenda approximately three decades. It seems that when military conflicts and crises become more and more complex, more is required from international crisis management to transform and work effectively. As a result of Resolution 1325, states and militaries have implemented gender policies in the name of efficiency, which has very often led to an essentialist notion of sex and gender (DeGroot 2001; Valenius 2007b; Simic 2010). According to Elina Penttinen, the need for a more comprehensive approach in security stems from the situation during the Kosovo intervention when NATO had to take on a number of humanitarian tasks that they were not prepared for in advance (Penttinen 2013, 49).

To place the gender policy agenda in a wider perspective is to valuate it in relation to the aims of state building and reconstruction more generally. According to Jens Stilhoff Sörensen, the global liberal governance and state building contribute to social and spatial fragmentation, not to reconciliation and re-integration. It does so by dismantling previously existing frameworks and introducing market relations, where the state has limited instruments for attracting cross-sectarian loyalty, and through divisive biopolitics in both "soft" measures, like promoting civil society (Sörnesen 2012, 49). Liberalism appears as an ethos of government that aims to govern by promoting freedom, and that freedom is conceptualized in certain ways. The rhetoric is not state-centric, but takes people as its objective. The process is not to manage the risks on an individual level, but by securing the people most identifiable as civilian population, women and children. In the case of NATO, women and children are considered as objects. I will return to the "womenandchildren" in the following paragraph. According to Linnèa Gelot and Fredrik Söderbaum, the problem of intervention cannot be divorced from its external political origins (Gelot and Söderbaum 2012, 131). Global interventions by international actors are justified in the name of the "global good". For example in Afghanistan, humanitarian intervention is presented not only as a way of ending lethal conflict, but also as a means of "getting politics right" in the aftermath of war (Gelot and Söderbaum 2012, 132). Gelot and Söderbaum claim that the fundamental problem of this is that 'the global good' is often taken as synonymous with "the liberal peace" or as neoliberal "good governance", and the supposed fruits of intervention (stable/constitutional rule, macroeconomic stability, "good governance", law and order) are connected with the neoliberal project (Gelot and Söderbaum 2012, 132–133).

> The visit underlined the fundamental principle that the protection of human rights – including women's rights –represents an essential driver toward lasting stability in Afghanistan (News No. 8).

NATO documents make statements about the relation between gender and security. According to, for example, Publications 3 and 5, gender awareness increases security, security needs to be increased generally and a way to do it is to implement gender policy. Gender is a security issue partly because of the changes in the security environment and also because women have been left out of positions where they could have influenced their own lives in the process of peace-building and reconstruction. These claims NATO make are problematic, as the definition of security is not explained, albeit it is noted that for women, security is in relation to living circumstances, such as working infrastructure, education and being able to live free from the fear of sexual violence (Publication No. 5, 7). The parts of the empirical material made from the perspective of gender policy that takes place in the organization note that, despite the goals of increasing security, the security of operation should not be threatened in any case.

The material suggests that security is gained if there is development. The example below reflects partly on the plurality in the definition of security, but also on the undefined nexus between security and development. On an individual level threats to security are easily defined: corruption, inability to do daily chores, fear of sending children to school. When security is considered from the perspective of an individual, the definitions of it became less state-centric and less militaristic (Tickner 1992, 53). This is rather new phenomenon in the agenda's of military organization. When the question is about the overall security of the operation, the answer is not so obvious. The aim of the NATO-operation in Afghanistan is to bring stability in respect of neoliberal means and to win "hearts and minds". What follows is that the "enemy" is something than can threaten these goals. Also, here is the concept of international community on the one side but nothing identifiable on the other side.

> The summit discussion in Afghanistan was unique in that Allied Head of States met with their counterparts from all our partner countries supporting the operation, as well as with the United Nations Secretary-General, President Karzai, and senior representatives from the European Union and the World Bank. This served to highlight the importance of the whole of the international community acting together, in a fully coordinated manner, as it is very clear that security and development in Afghanistan must go hand in hand (Opinion No. 1).

The notion of different experiences of security is pointed out in the material: women perceive security in a different way to men (Publication 5, 3). The notion of different experiences of security is paradoxical in many ways, not only because the material regards the experience of security to be dependent on sex rather than gender. Firstly it assumes security and insecurity to be experienced on

an individual level, but on the other hand security is something that should be increased and taken care of on an operational level (on a more abstract level), when it is related to the security of the organisation itself. As described, the documents that I analysed consisted of various different types of documents. There are narratives from Afghan women, speeches by politicians from Madeline Allbright and Anders Fogh Rasmussen to special representatives, and research written in a very formal style. The material presents various perspectives also to security, depending on the kind of document which mentions the concept.

Maria Stern has problematized the experience of security on an individual level as, according to her, security is experienced on many levels (for example environmental, economical, societal) (Stern 2006, 179). The notion of an individual subject of security is based on universalising assumptions about human nature, whilst "human security" refers to people as the referents of security rather than individuals. These grammatical concepts do not offer a proper tool to discover the contingency and dynamics of racialized and gendered nature that the objects behold (Stern 2006, 180).

> Instead of the subject of security being separate and existing prior to the act of "speaking" or writing in security, it is through the very naming of the threat and danger that the "subject of security" is formed. This (subject) is evoked in a temporal narrative with a clear beginning and origin (the past), middle (now), and the promise of a happy ending (in the future) (Stern 2006, 181).

There are sharp differences between the subjects of security, which allow for thinking that the subject of security can have multiple "identities" based on the group. There are two groups from where these subjects arise: the "others" from the abstract group of local people and the ones within the U.S.-led Western allies. Security as a practice plays a role in shaping the political identities of these groups: the abstract collective of anonymous local people are thereby given an identity of vulnerable, which have to be protected. The meaning of security in this case is that it is something beneficial that can be offered by NATO personnel to the local community. According to Ann Tickner, security loses its meaning if it cannot be built on others' insecurity (Tickner 1992, 55). There is insecurity, but it is not pointed explicitly where it is, and female gendered women recruits are in key position to provide security. Stern notes that the concept of security and its practice have been transformed to reflect both the changing practice of global politics and alternative conceptualizations of political communities, actors and identities (Stern 2006, 177).

Another interesting topic is the assumed relation between development and security. A look into current academic debates reveals how notions of both "security" and "development" are emerging from disparate ontologies, and refer to many different empirical realities and processes, evoking much contestation over meaning (Stern & Ojendal 2010, 6). NATO is a political and military organization and development policy is not its core task, but it seems very obvious that development is at some level included in operations as their expected outcome, as stated in Publication No. 6. According to Maria Stern and Joacim Öjendal security and development can be seen on the one hand as the tools of scholars and policy analysts to *describe* and *analyse* macro processes in international affairs and to generate knowledge; on the other, they are used by actors applying these concepts to prescribe processes and determine outcomes (Stern & Öjendal 2010, 6–7). In the case of NATO and its gender policy, both fashions can be recognized. The empirical material, for example the Publications (excluding Publication No. 5) use security rhetoric and the changes in the security environment when describing the macro processes in which they are placed, meanwhile security and improvement in local and organisational circumstances are the expected outcomes. In NATO's official policy agenda development is understood as a process, and actions are done in the name of development. The definition of gender is defined in the documents, but development is taken for granted. For example, in Publication No. 6 an example shows how some Afghan women are given the possibility to organize local markets and sell their handicrafts there to NATO personnel. This is seen as an important step, as it helps women but also NATO personnel, because they were able to create a connection with the locals and gather important information. Here development is seen as the opportunity to create local entrepreneurship. This is part of human security –rhetoric that is done in the name of democratic goals. Also, when a constitutional democracy and free market economy are taken as unquestioned norms, the expected outcome of intervention is defined beforehand. This does not leave space for local voices, because the people in the targeted country are expected to share these same universal values. Understanding development and underdevelopment biopolitically means understanding them "in terms of how life is to be supported and maintained, and how people are expected to live, rather than according to economic and state-based models. According to Stern and Öjendal, the latest shift in the development policy is away from a traditional neoliberal trend and towards a call for stronger institutions and more responsible regulation (Stern & Öjendal 2010, 12–13 (ref. Craig & Porter 2006)). It is also toward bolstering "failed/fragile" states in the wake of the global "War on Terror". The critics of the politics of aid and development have called attention to how "development" has become a technique of governmentality, of disciplinary and biopolitical control (Sylvester 2002).

In addition to the complexity around what or who are the objects of security and what it means, the concept of peace comes with ambiguity. Peace is seen as something that the alliance can bring to its target countries, and this process of bringing peace is in connection to having women in the service. The fundamental reasons for intervention are in 'promoting' peace, saving the women in the target country, and this is seen beneficial for all.

> Adoption of 1325 opened a much-awaited door for opportunity for women, who have shown time and again that they bring a qualitative improvement in structuring peace and in the post-conflict architectures (Review 3).

Traditionally, building lasting peace was not part of peacekeeping mandates (Valenius 2007a, 511). I use the example of peacekeeping here because it shows clearly how the language of originally non-military operations have become part of NATO's rhetoric; NATO defines stabilization and post-conflict reconstruction as the expected outcomes of its operations. The material makes it clear that lasting peace is what the operations are for, and that female contribution is seen to bring additional value to the operation. For example, the empirical material entitled *Publications* (excluding Publication No. 5) were created due to the recognition of how women could better contribute in achieving organisational aims. For example in Afghanistan, the aim is to win the "hearts and minds".

This paragraph vividly demonstrated the rhetorical plurality in military. Peace, security and development are interlinked concepts that function as an outcome of neoliberal governmentality to support NATO's organizational aims, which by turn are presented through values of human rights and improvement in conditions of (women's) life. Despite the fact that NATO is a military organization, gender is discussed in the context of promoting civil society, the process from underdevelopment to development and the increase in security. Instead of paying attention to defend certain territory, this form of defence is concentrated more on a security situation outside the (Western) borders. I interpret this shift in rhetoric to be consequential to the changed nature of war, in which traditional military forms of action are not replaced, but extended to include softer mechanisms to serve operational aims. A good example of the fluidity of rhetoric is the confusion around what is military/peacekeeping/crisis management; the rhetoric of peacekeeping is now overlapping in NATO. The new rhetoric is a technology through which governmentality functions. Thus the hegemonic ideology of war is not questioned, but gendered concepts are co-opted and mixed with this rhetoric. From this perspective, these concepts may easily be used in a way that

they were not originally planned to. This rhetoric suggests collective commitment to a particular goal.

This paragraph aim is to find the objects of security from NATO's rhetoric. I found it more important to concentrate on the objects and subjects of security than to concentrate on the concept of modern war, regardless that the concept of war is inseparable from the gendered objects of security. I consider the concept of war as a framework in which the gender specific policy is a logical outcome of biopolitical governmentality. For Foucault, war is the source of individuating techniques of discipline, it also is the source of the forces that constitute the power relations within modern societies (Reid 2008, 78, see also Reid 2009).

2.2. The "Other" woman

The empirical material discusses not only gender mainstreaming as a tool to increase women's participation in military, but it also discusses women in targeted countries. In this paragraph I will examine how the material discusses these women. For example, News No. 7 notes that "Helping Afghan women to overcome some of the enormous problems they face has been part of Pashtu's life ever since she became an active member of the university's women's group and self-help group". The news is about the efforts made in Afghanistan to develop the role of women. According to the news, this development is seen to happen when women are given opportunities to set-up businesses. Throughout the material, the most obvious case in which the non-military women are discussed is Afghanistan, as it is a place where gender advisors work.

> Developing business is a strategy to achieving peace, avoiding terrorism and avoiding the lack
> of economic opportunity (News No. 7).

> Over pastries and tea, the women presented the officers with their often unheard perspective on
> life in Afghanistan (News No. 9).

News No. 8 is entitled "Women's rights essential for lasting stability in Afghanistan". News No. 8 highlights the importance of promoting human rights when bringing stability to Afghanistan. News No. 8 is about a meeting between the Afghan Ministry of Women Affairs, the Afghanistan Independent Human Right Commission and the Afghan Women's Council visiting NATO's headquarters in Brussels. Generally, the material presents the situation of women through the pro-women and pro-human rights –organisations. The message is that great efforts are made to advance the role of women in society, but according to material it is the women's NGO's that are doing the

promotion of women's roles (News No. 9). The quotation from News No. 9 is a typical example of how the material approaches women in the targeted country. There are no direct quotations from Afghan women, but a gender advisor explaining how important it is to have a gender strategy to promote the role of Afghan women. Then the news is not about Afghan women, but about NATO's good intentions in Afghanistan. News No. 10 notes that "the greater empowerment and more effective protection of women against the dangers of armed conflicts benefits everyone, not only women". News No. 13 explains that boosting the role of women in uniforms is essential because they can help women and children, who are most affected by war and conflict. More generally, the News as empirical material notes that the role of women is not respected and their living circumstances and roles can be promoted by NATO personnel. The material recognizes the "disproportionate effect of armed conflict on women and children in particular" (Text No. 2) and the invisibility of women participating in peace negotiations (see e.g. Text 3). At the same time the material highlights the importance of mere female participation in alliance, as it is considered as an effective tool in gender mainstreaming that can help to give, for example, easier access to justice for the victims of sexual violence (News 3). Women in targeted countries are thus presented through their invisibility, through victimization or through victims of sexual violence. They are also presented as the major sufferers of the consequences of the conflicts.

> In many parts around this world women and girls suffer from the consequences of conflict and war. They deserve all support and protection (News No. 5).

> Lack of financial resources, a pervading view of women as property of their family, marriage at a young age and a lack of education mean that women's rights and views are rarely taken into account (Review 4).

Women in targeted counties are approached slightly differently in Publications. They deal mostly with international personnel being increasingly in contact with the local population, so knowledge about the roles men and women have in the host culture is important to the operation (Publication No. 7 and 6). Approaching the military from an economical point of view gives us the tools to extend the military to contain also social-economical issues, and to widen the discussion above the military discourse. For example, Publication No. 7 (Bi-SC Directive 40-1, 2009) explains NATO standards of behaviour for operations and missions in detail. The importance of personal and professional behaviours is underlined as they are considered to be the crucial characters in a multicultural environment. In this context the multicultural environment indicates not only the local culture but also the multiplicity of nationalities in NATO. The manner in which the empirical

material presents "the victims" was twofold: in official speeches and newsfeeds, women and children were referred to as a rather abstract group of people, whose destiny depends on the international community's capabilities of reconstruction and conflict resolution. The part of the material, mainly the field study conducted in Afghanistan (Publication No. 6, 2011) lowered the focus from the abstract group to a more individual level. What followed is that women who were previously known as a homogeneous group of local women became less (abstract) victims and more human in a sense that they became valuable messengers and active participants. The way the victims/civilians are discussed when they appear as a group or as an individual shakes the norm of the ones to be protected. NATO's argumentation about the gender topic follows the rhetoric of human security and it considers democratic values to be universally beneficial for all.

The examples above demonstrate the feminist difficulties of defining the "women", as women are often referred to as a coherent group in policy texts. In the case of NATO, there are two separate groups of women, of which the "women as victims" is presented as a collective group of women without agency. According to von der Lippe and Väyrynen, the combination of "women and children" is culturally bounded and derives its meanings from its specific applications. It also supports the visions that are essential to boosting wartime nationalism and to presenting citizens with a sense of their nation's special benevolence (von der Lippe & Väyrynen 2011, 11.) In the case of NATO one cannot talk about nation's aims, but rather some suppositions that are presented as a universal. There is an evident separation between the women working for the alliance and the women in targeted countries. A strong emphasis is on the politics of location separating women according to their historical, cultural, physical and ethnic backgrounds. It is not that race and ethnic background should be invisible in order for gender to be visible, but presenting women in a targeted country as a common homogenous group prevents their agency and makes theorising their experiences impossible.

The UN defines the two main components of human security to be freedom from fear and freedom from want; later the concept extended to the inclusion of empowerment and the idea of human security being about the "freedom to take action on one's own behalf", that shifts the "bottom-up" approach for moving the agency from states or other powerful entities (Detraz 2012, 133). Detraz notes that: "protection is regarded as the first key or step to achieving human security, but after protection is achieved then individuals can be empowered to act on their own behalf" (Detraz 2012, 133). This is the case for example with ISAF-led Provincial reconstruction teams (PRT'S) giving the Afghan women a chance to earn their living by selling local products to NATO-personnel (own

interpretation). The question of who has the ability to act on one's behalf is essential and demands clarification in terms of the definitions of humanity and the capacities of the individual.

> By appealing directly to female Afghans (and their husbands who participated in the market) they leveraged Afghan women as wielders of familial influence and increased the likelihood of support for NATO objectives (Publication No. 6, p.26).

Even though my method of analysis is unable to use pictures, I think it is worth mentioning that my material includes three kinds of visual presentations of women: women are either wearing uniforms, or holding a high political position in NATO, or wearing a veil. The latter one emerges in text via narrative stories of how their lives are now or how important it is to have contact with NATO personnel. All three, I argue, present a very traditional and dominant worldview of how women are, and come with certain presuppositions. That is not to say that women are *not* victims of war, or that they do not suffer most of the consequences' but that the pictures of veiled women are easy to associate with women being merely victims. Chandra Talpade Mohanty blames Western feminism for producing the "Third World Woman" as a singular, monolithic subject in some (Western) feminist texts (Mohanty 2003, 17; see also Accard 1991). In previous paragraphs I have mentioned the adaptation of feminist rhetoric to serve the purposes of foreign policy issues. This is a political and discursive practise that is purposeful and ideological. The victimisation of women is rhetorically parallel with the victimisation of children and civilians, but women are, in certain contexts, given the special subjectivity of a victim. According to Mohanty, the effect of Western feminist scholarship into women in Third World is based on the critics of Eurocentric humanism, that draws attention to its false universalizing and masculine assumptions (Mohanty 2003, 223). Certainly the situation of Afghan women is unfair, no matter what feminist glasses one is wearing. The Eurocentric values that NATO is reproducing in its policy framework are the ones where the definition of both security and peace are taken for granted, leaving out the importance of particular in relation to universal.

Mohanty separates "Woman" as a cultural and ideological composite other constructed through diverse representational discourses from women as real, material subjects of their collective histories (Mohanty 2003, 19). The material does not draw attention to the collective histories of women, but presents women as a homogenous group that is not in relation to their identities. According to Mohanty, this is an arbitrary relation set up by particular cultures. Women become presented as a coherent group with identical interests regardless of their class, ethnicity or racial location. This hegemonic discourse of presentation is itself a form of the Foucauldian model of

power, in which the power operates through this institutionalized discourse, where women in the third world are discursively oppressed. Also, as News No. 7 at the beginning of this paragraph demonstrates, women can help to fight against terrorism. This leads to thinking about the sides one can have when valuating the causes of the intervention: there are only two sides, the common Western "We" and the other "Terrorist", between civilization and barbarism. There seems not to be a place for historical valuations considering location. Also, the articulation produces a consensus on what certain terms mean and how they can be used, and furthermore what lines of solidarity are implicitly drawn through this use. In her 1988 article *Can the Subaltern Speak* Gayatri Spivak claimed that western academic thinking is produced in order to support western economical interests. In the Spivakian way, the material presents third world people to exist "over there", as being objects rather than subjects (Spivak 1996, 201–232). However, instead of asking if the subaltern can speak, the question should be who is listening the voices of these women?

Judith Butler discusses the means by which some lives become grief-worthy whilst others do not in her book *Precarious Life* (Butler 2004a). According to her, the frame for understanding violence emerges in tandem with experience and that frame functions as a moral justification for retaliation (Butler 2004a, 4–5). By this Butler means the way to commonly analyse post 9/11 and the wars that have taken place after it as a justified act because suddenly it was U.S. that became violated and the audience was able to sympathize with the victims because the victims personal stories were narrated to them. Similarly the empirical material uses narration to present the Afghan women as a homogenous group of victims, without explaining the reasons why there is an intervention going on. However, to shift this discussion back to the "other" women I follow Butler's book's second chapter entitled *Violence, Morning, Politics* in which Butler discusses the complicity behind becoming grief-worthy. According to Butler, loss and vulnerability follow when one is a socially constituted body and attached to others. This notion is based on Butler's theorisations of recognition on the psychic level: subjects are in relation to each other and the question of becoming recognized is to be relational to another (Butler 2004b, 131–151). My argument here is not criticizing the emergence of recognition of women, as I believe it is, despite all complexities, a good thing. However, I think that the reasons why these women in the third world are made worthy of sympathizing just now by a military organisation are worth criticizing. Women in the third world are constructed as being unable to govern themselves or being unable to critically assess the problems, solutions and needs locally. This assessment enables NATO to overlook north/south divisions, meaning marginalization within these regions, which are in fact also a result of biopolitical governmentality.

3. Gender in Military

This chapter concentrates on examining NATO on a structural level. The feminist assumption behind it is that military institutions maintain a hegemonic masculine culture (see e.g. Enloe 2004; Kronsell 2006; Flén 2010, 91–110). The aim of this chapter is to look at how the feminine and masculine function in NATO on a structural level. Normally, the nexus between military organization and gender is handled from the point of view of *what* difference gender makes, leaving out how gendered the organisations already are. The aim of this chapter is to examine the way in which the organization is gendered and what kind of consequences gendering has had on the organization.

3.1. About Gender, Military, and Militarism

The main argument of feminist IR scholars dealing with gender in military is the critique toward the masculinity of militarism and military organisations, in which military masculinity is assumed to be "already known" and a globally shared experience (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2012, 36). Armed forces have traditionally been built around the complex idea of military masculinities. Training of male soldiers is supposed to create combatants, which on a bodily level means discipling the body to aggression and strength but also to the rejection of the feminine. In this chapter I assume that due to the fact of the changed nature of war, military power and performance are gendered in many ways. Following Judith Butler's notions, gender is approached as a continuously reconstructed category, such reconstructuring taking place in the continuous processes of daily life (Butler 2004b, 40–56). Concentrating on structure means that the interest is on how practices and institutions keep gender hierarchy by generating conformity and compliance (Tickner 1993, 19). Whilst this chapter concentrates on the masculine military structure, the following chapter (no. 4) concentrates more on the representations of the gendered political subject(s). According to Annika Kronsell, military institutions are institutions of hegemonic masculinity, as male bodies dominate them and because of that historical reason masculinity has become the norm (Kronsell 2010, 108). When studying gender institutions through documents, close attention has to be paid to what is *not* expressed in the texts.

I ground my thinking in the notions of militarism and ideology, militarization and patriarchal hierarchy. Militarization and militarism are the terms with which feminist scholars have worked in order to critically reflect the definitions of the terms and how they shape the world. Cynthia Enloe defines patriarchy as the structural and ideological system that perpetuates the privileging of

masculinity (Enloe 2004, 4). The term is used in feminism to describe how the patriarchal system marginalizes that which is associated with the female. Militarism is an ideology, and thus refers to a system of beliefs. These beliefs include notions of human nature and social life, and by these they justify the status quo in political, social, and economic arrangements (Tickner 1993, 26). The importance of Enloe and Tickner lies in the notion of the gendered structures of world politics and military. However, there is more recent research about gendered militarism. The ideas of Veronique Pin-Fat and Maria Stern about *feminized* military work as fruitful ground for analysing NATOs' military structure (Term: Pin-Fat and Stern 2005, 25). Assuming that the military is feminized requires a biopolitical reading of the material. Feminization of the military means understanding war and gender as constitutive dynamics which cannot exist without each other. The military is perceived as a zone of indistinction, due to the contradicting, but nonetheless limited, female representations. Knowledge, power, and identity are related not only by gender and war as separate issues but as one issue (Pin-Fat and Stern 2005, 29.). Perceiving the military as feminized is not to deny the "imbalanced" presentations in which the dominant male one is supplemented with certain forms of womanhood. When people act in these military institutions, these gender norms are reproduced.

Institutions both organize and materialize gender discourses in historically dynamic ways, while simultaneously enabling and restricting the individuals involved in institutional activities. Institution plays a part in forming subjects (Kronsell 2010, 108–109). As masculine norm is dominant, women's identity is constantly negotiated in relation to that. The military has traditionally lacked the female norm to which the women in military could relate.

3.2. Appearance of a Gender

Logically thinking, the inclusion of the feminine gender into the military alters the institution's gendered structures. The presupposition is that because the military is male dominant and therefore masculine, it sustains a hegemonic masculine culture within its institutional rule. That culture becomes visible through the male body and in its way to perform it, but also through the institutional practices of rituals, procedures, routines and symbols (Kronsell 2006, 117 (ref. Gherardi 1995; Alvesson and Billig 1997)). NATO as a male dominant military organisation has made efforts on mainstreaming gender in its operations during the past decade. One of the latest instances of that happened in 2012, when NATO's Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security was appointed (NATO 2013). Naturally I see this and more generally the promotion of equal gender presentation a reaction to the imbalanced gender representation

within the organization. In addition, gender is not a feminist issue but rather everybody's issue as it is interlinked with (human) security.

> Awareness of gender-specific issues should be viewed as another available tool to enhance the survivability and capacity of our troops on the ground (News No. 9).

> As a tool for transformation within NATO structures, gender is being included in staff exercises (Text No. 1).

The examples above show how gender is expected to transform the organisation to function more effectively. In addition, the word "tool" presents the way in which gender is approached: a tool is something that is supposed to fix something. In this case the thing to be fixed is the way to operate in changed circumstances. Also, it is noted that special attention to gender is required and gender awareness is an issue that can be increased with training and education (News 2 and 3). Publication No. 4 explains in detail the topics that should be learnt (for example the concept of gender) and the object of learning (to understand the concept of gender) and who should learn this (soldiers, officers). In practice, this means that every person working for the organisation should transform one's mindset to respond to the demands of gender awareness. As women and the feminine have traditionally been less represented in the military, this means that special attention should be given to the presence of the feminine. The aim of gender mainstreaming in NATO is an effort to train and educate its members to understand the importance of gender for the operations. Gender awareness is seen as a matter of study, and research such as *Template for Pre-Deployment Gender Training – Topics and learning objective* (Publication No. 4) are conducted in order to find out the best practices to do that. Those brochures point to the lack of acknowledgment of what gender sensitivity means, it is presented as a mindset (Publication 3). Peterson and Runyan note that, when traditional power structures are threatened by change, it is effective for them to repeat ideological claims that emphasize how natural and thus unchanging inequality is (Peterson and Runyan 1993, 28). Due to that, ideologies are most effective when taken for granted, as they depoliticize the difference in power that serves some more than others. In NATO, the taken-for-granted ideology is militarism that works in a neoliberal context. Militarism, when understood as an ideology that maintains the masculine norm as dominant, functions in a way that makes the discussion of other possible femininities and masculinities impossible. In addition, I argue that it is a certain kind of masculinity that serves military's needs.

Military masculinity has been described in terms invoking a wide range of behaviours including aggressive, rational, courageous, calculating, chivalrous, protective and emotionally expressive (Higate 2012, 32 (ref. Connel 1995)). In social science, scholars have illuminated the hidden naturalized power-practices of a variety of relational values, beliefs, performances and ideologies known collectively as "masculinity". Within social science scholarship, masculinity has gained a variety of definitions that reveal the difficulty of its explicit definition. However, its key feature is that it is not femininity (Higate 2012, 31.) The difficulty of defining masculinity affects the outcome of analysing the masculinity of military organisations as in the international scene; military institutions are the most powerful arenas of social power and violence. Despite at least three decades of academic debate on masculinity and policy implementation, it is somehow implausible that the word "gender" remains synonymous with "woman", this being the case also in NATO's gender policy documents. NATO's gender policy approach and plans of implementation and recommendations leave out the possible existence of multiple masculinities, as they forgot also the possibility of multiple femininities. Even though gender is defined to be socially constructed, the material deals with the outcomes of recruited female gendered women, which narrows the meaning of gender remarkably. The policy framework goes under the title "Women, Peace, and Security," yet the name indicates not only the gendered nature of security but by not including men into it, it can be interpreted as indicating that masculinity or masculinities do not play such a crucial role in peace promotion. This is based on my interpretation of the words, but also Eriksson Baas and Stern have recognized that the attempts to reform (violent) militarised masculinity have been intimately linked to the fight against sexual violence (Eriksson Baas and Stern 2012, 38).

The taken-for-granted assumptions in NATO are found in the maintenance of gender roles that support the structure. This is done for example in public campaigns, in which famous female leaders present "womanhood". There is a need to highlight the female leaders that already work in the organization (News No. 1).

> Women such as Madeleine Albright, Hillary Clinton, Condoleezza Rice and Claude-Rance Arnould all managed to break through traditional barriers. They are living proof that female power is totally different from masculine power – but also that women can be as tough, as professional, and as effective as males (Review No. 2, an interview of NATO-worker Ionna Zyga).

The example above demonstrates the situation vividly, in which female leaders often are: climbing through the "glass ceiling" requires capacities that are considered to be masculine. This presentation

of masculine female leaders is a typical example that oversimplifies and overgeneralizes the characterisation of a female leader. The message behind it is that in order to be a leader, a woman needs to be more like a man, but in order to be a cosmopolitan soldier, one needs to be feminine. In a military context, a female leader needs to conduct herself in masculine manner.

Judith Butler explains the notion of the hegemony of certain articulation as a force that produces a consensus on what certain terms will mean, how they can be used, and what lines of solidarity are implicitly drawn through this use (Butler 2004a, 4–5). Both the female leaders in the military and feminine gendered cosmopolitan-like military workers have their own place within the structures. Also, the way in which women leaders perform their gender in order to embody masculine norms reveals how masculine is not dependent on the male body. According to Judith Butler, to assume that gender always and exclusively means the matrix of the "masculine" and "feminine" is precisely to miss the critical point that the production of that coherent binary is contingent, that it comes at a cost, and that those permutations of gender which do not fit the binary are as much a part of gender as its most normative instance (Butler 2004b, 42). Also, the permutations of gender that are present in the structure serve the structure. According to Butler, actions take place in the name of the norm, which is confusing, as normativity has double meaning (Butler 2004b, 206). Women and men exist as social norms and they are the way in which sexual difference has assumed content (Butler 2004b, 210). When studying gender, the words female, male, man and woman start to get deeper meanings when they emerge in text. In NATO, the words are overlapping each other, which is confusing but it also reveals the terminological obscurity, in which gender is related to feminine and masculine. Butler notes the many explanatory models to explain how gender is understood depend on the way in which the field of power is articulated (Butler 1999(1990), 25). The women are not to be understood as simply "Other" but they are not a negation either, but a difference from the economy of binary opposition, "itself a ruse for a monologic elaboration of the masculine (Butler 1990(1999), 25). The binary construction of hegemonic rhetoric around my topic implicates that "masculinity" and "femininity" can never be complete as the full representation always includes, by exclusion, its opposite.

Summarizing the material's argument of feminine in military it can be said that the distinction between feminine and masculine in military is not based on a traditional division between male warriors and women housekeepers, but rather to the inclusion of certain femininity. However, the highlighting of the importance of women, of which the whole women, peace and security policy agenda is the largest form, reveals the hegemonic masculine norm of the military. Women appear as

an exception in relation to that. The difficulty of breaking the masculine hegemony of military can be approached from another direction. Annica Kronsell explains that, for example in the Swedish military, the masculine norms of military, in this case sexualized way of using language, are entangled with the notion of women as objects of sexual desire and "others" outside the realm of military activities. When a woman enters this culture, she challenges and tests the norms of the entire military (Kronsell 2006, 120). Thus women do not present an object of sexual desire, but are supposed to be equal colleagues.

In her study of the Swedish military, Annica Kronsell challenges the general notion that a woman in institutions of hegemonic masculinity is "a male disguise" or a "mere token" and hence unable to contribute any valuable knowledge and experience. Her statement is that even the smallest percentage of female participation makes all the difference, because a woman's presence can make gender and masculine norms visible, "break the silence", and completely alter the way the institution is perceived and understood (Kronsell 2006, 119.) Generally my material does not regard women as a minority or less capable in any field of tasks, but the highlighting of their communicative/enabling capabilities differentiates them from hegemonic masculine norms, which are considered to be something else. To put it another way, it is both certain forms of masculinity and certain forms of femininity that are beneficial for the organization. This is the point where I think Foucault's notions of sexuality as an apparatus are useful (Foucault 1978, 81–91). For Foucault, the body of natural, essential sex becomes invested through a discourse. The body is not "sexed" prior to that discourse, but it is the discourse that makes it "sexed" (Foucault 1978.) Following Foucauldian notions of power, the body gains meaning within discourse only in the context of power relations. So, in this particular military discourse, the body functions under the power that shapes it to be performed in an expected way.

The feminist notion about the distinction between sex and gender served the argument that whatever biological intractability sex appears to have, gender is culturally constructed: hence gender is neither the causal result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex (Butler 1990(1999), 9). If gender is socially constructed as the material suggests (Publication No. 1, 37), it cannot be logically expected to follow sex in any ways, but despite the notion of separation between the two concepts, the material regards them as mirroring each other, holding a certain assumption of what the content of the word "woman" actually is. The argument of essentialist discourse in the material is based on the textual expressions, in which female gendered women working for NATO are given certain characters. This characterization by turn does not support a variety of notions of what gender

means. Gender is in a way beneficial, as it means that female gendered capabilities are now included in the military. These expressed roles also support heterosexual assumptions that are typical in the military.

When women are included in the military, another issue that becomes visible is sexuality. However, this topic is handled with pronounced sensitivity or silence throughout the material. Publication No. 2 (Best Practises to improve Gender balance, 2009) explains in its chapter 3: *Best Practises on the integration of the Gender Perspective into Operational Planning & Operations* that all teams should be formed from both male and female, and that female personnel's body differences should be recognized in the procurement of protective equipment and organizational clothing. Also, it is recommended that there are separate female accommodations and ablutions (Publication No. 2, 25–26). According to the material, the problem is that because female participation is marginal, the ratio of for example toilets would not be equal for both. The separation forces the personnel to choose their position as (gendered) subjects, and because of the pre-existing cultural norms a shower or a toilet door tells its user what is "wrong" or what is "right". Some research shows that women working in the military/peacekeeping missions wish that their womanhood would not be emphasized, as it highlights the separation between the two sexes (Flén 2010, 107; Kronsell 2010, 122). Also, it is suggested that male and female accommodations and ablutions should be kept physically separate in order to "decrease the risk of inappropriate sexual behaviour" (Publication 2, pp. 26). Things related to sex are regarded unsuitable in relation to military objectives, and they should be kept separated. Naturally, the purpose here is not to suggest that everybody should have common toilets and sanitary areas regardless of sex, but to bring that sensitiveness and shame that sexuality as an apparatus makes visible –in military, sexuality is silenced. Sexuality seems to be a more challenging topic to a military than biological sex. According to Foucauldian interpretation, this is due to the historical developments that took place during the Victorian era (Foucault 1978) and placed the issues around reproduction as private, for the home.

Separating the toilet doors is one example of how the two possible sexes are distinct from each other. According to Foucault, military institutions are the ones from which the distinctive norms are bubbling (Foucault 2003, 23–31). Sexuality must be controlled and kept out of the organization. Institutions such as NATO both organize and materialize gender discourses in dynamic ways and thus they have a part in the formation of subjects for their purpose. According to Cynthia Enloe, things become militarized when their legitimacy depends on their association with military goals, hence when something becomes militarized, it appears to rise in value (Enloe 2004, 145). That is, I

argue, the case with gender. It has become a valuable, effective tool of the post-conflict military era. In NATO, efforts have been made to include gendering into operations. If following Enloes way of thinking, it is gendering itself that has been militarized. Femininity seems to be a tricky and fluid concept for the military and militarism. The narratives included in the empirical material present the same female gendered role of women as the more political documents. There are no notions of exceptions in femininity. Thus this military as an institution functions upon the social body, making it centralized to the process. Organisational rules, norms and features influence actors and this has political outcomes.

In this thesis my intention is to concentrate on studying gender from a feminist perspective, that in this particular case means observing and interpreting the military from a feminine perspective. Additionally there is the masculine perspective, which would be another interesting perspective to study military organisations. One of the reasons why gender and military are such a complicated topic but nonetheless inextricably interlinked is the nature of military. The material approached gender as it is already known and commonly acknowledged. As stressed in this chapter, there are many kinds of femininities and masculinities, out of which only few are "allowed" in a military organisation. Those masculinities that differ from the norm of a military masculinity can nevertheless be part of the circulation of power. Gender mainstreaming tends to be translated into the representation of women in armed forces, in which the word "gender" is understood narrowly to indicate women. Masculinity assumes a deeply contradictory status, it is both explicit and hidden, visible and invisible. The (in)visible' tends to emerge as already known through the concept of military masculinity. Militarised masculinity is ascribed various characteristics that assumed to be shared by military males globally. While they are shaped in a global landscape, military masculinities are constructed in national and local contexts and are also often articulated in various ways within different sections and parts of the same military institution (Erikkson Baas and Utas 2012, 6).

3.3.   "Feminized" Military

The nature of the armed forces is to resolve tensions and military hierarchies which are supposed to produce effective action. To the military, efficiency is characteristic (Higate 2012, 34). Now, when feminine skills are assumed to be beneficial for the military, the action is taken upon to integrate gender awareness into operations – I think that is the purpose of every piece of the empirical material. For example, the category of empirical material entitled *Publications* is produced in order

to gain information and spread it about gender; the more one knows about the influence of gender, the more it can be used.

According to Foucault, biopower works in the embodiment of subjectivity and the production of individual behaviour at the level of the body. The corporeality of the effects of subjectification is of primary importance. This means that power operates through the corporeal bodies by regulating and formulating them (Foucault 1978). The military body is governed within the frameworks of an institution. Training, manipulation and shaping of the bodies is done in order to make bodies responsive and for the military requirements. Also, by subjecting oneself to power one is recognized as a social subject and a granted agency (Penttinen 2004, 95). In order to produce and maintain the domain of subjectivity, the category of the abject is required as well (ibid). Abject is the other that is the constitutive "other" of the dominant. In this thesis the relation between abject and subject refers to the relation between the constitutive dynamics between femininity and masculinity.

To extend my analysis, I align myself with Veronique Pin-Fat and Maria Stern, who claim that "identifying an (im)possible constitutive dynamic differs in that (im)possibility implies that what is excluded is an integral, constitutive part of that which is included" (Pin-Fat and Stern 2005, 29). By this assumption Pin-Fat and Stern stress that the military is already feminized, not including female bodies but by including the feminine. The gendered story NATO is telling in its official gender policy agenda reflects more than just the difficulty of discerning "reality" from its textual presentations. To understand the possible femininities within NATO I associate with Pin-Fat's and Stern's notion of the (im)possible constitutive dynamic between war and gender, that shows how representations of war and gender make each other possible (Pin-Fat and Stern, 2005). According to the authors:

> Addressing the connections between gender and war as relations of possibility highlights the ways in which attempts are made to create and sustain specific forms of knowledge, power, and identity in relation not only to war and gender as separate issues, but together (Pin-Fat and Stern 2005, 25).

There are widespread information campaigns outlining possibilities to develop military careers for women and to combine professional and family life by men and women. For example: Publication No. 2 suggests that women should be represented in Recruitment centres, campaigns, brochures, leaflets, community-based festivals, events and also on Recruitment websites (Publication No. 2, page 10 about best practises to integrate the gender perspective into recruitment). In page 13 of the

same publication it is stressed that physical tests directed to women should be postponed if the woman is pregnant or has recently given birth. In addition, NATO considers the lack of women working for the organization as a problem that should be acted upon. For example, chapter 2 in Publication No. 2 (Best Practices to Improve The Gender Balance) concentrates on best practices that could be used in recruitment in order to increase the amount of female recruits and Publication No. 1 explains the best practices and recommendations to implement gender mainstreaming in operational and educational levels, and evaluating processes.

> Female military personnel can be very valuable at the checkpoints and search operations, where they can perform any required searches on local women, for illegal weapons for example. Also, female victims of violence often find it easier to approach and talk to other women (News No. 13).

NATO sees the inclusion of more women as a solution to its problem, as it expects to get certain female characteristics that are beneficial for *the whole* operation by recruiting women. Also, it is mentioned that gender mainstreaming is not a "soft" issue but it is at the core of security (Publication No. 1, 7). The aim of the sentence is to encourage taking gender issues seriously by relating them to the operation's main goal. Also, women can gather essential information on other women thus the knowledge gathered of local people is considered to be power. In addition, these efforts are made in order to protect local people from enemies.

> Greater empowerment and more effective protection of women against the specific dangers they face in armed conflicts is of benefit not only to women, but to all of us (Publication No. 4, 9).

Discussion of gender order in NATO is about the lack of women in high positions and about the problems of recruiting women in general. In addition, the material presents the female body as a thing that should measured, restricted and controlled more in order to serve military purposes. The question is not only about right clothing and physical measurement, but also due to the feminine gender about family policy (Publication No. 2, 28–29).

According to Pin-Fat's and Stern's biopolitical reading of a military, the representations of masculine and feminine can never be complete because they include always the impossible other, that maintains the possible presentation (Pin-Fat and Stern 2005, 29–30). This means that what is kept outside of the possible presentations is kept there for some purpose. Therefore any seemingly coherent presentation of femininity or masculinity is always "haunted" by its (constitutive) exclusion. That constitutive exclusion has to be kept in the margin in order for the other side to

function. However, that co-constitutive marginal hunter is the one that threatens the stability of the dominant presentation. The masculine norm of the organisation is ruptured when we look at the dress code and its implications to femininity and feminine norm. The debate of the military dress code is ancient: The origin of the question on how female soldiers should be dressed can be traced as far back as the story of French peasant girl soldier Jeanne d'Arc, or even further. However, the question remains the same. According to Enloe, the female soldier question rises regularly when military officers are trying to find out how women can be used in the army without changing the meanings of man, woman, and soldier (Enloe 1989, 123). However, the feminine is present with or without a uniform and when following Pin-Fat's and Stern's interpretation, the constitutive other is present regardless of the outfit. It is suggested that life/safety vests and uniforms must fit the female body to ensure maximum protection and functionality. The advantage of that is that it is "an integral part of force protection and operational success" (Publication 2, pp. 25). The question of female soldiers and their special needs are taken into account in NATO documents when dealing with the questions of physical power, breastfeeding, and maternity leave, the latter frequently in the context of family/career (Publication No. 2, pp. 28–31). These are all issues that rise from biological male/female differences and shows how tailor-made the military is for the male and the opposite.

Feminist IR research that is concentrated on studying rape as a weapon of war supposes that military institutions operate in orderly and efficient ways, but Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern took a different view in their research (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013, 71). According to them, even military institutions understand that military ideals do not come naturally or easily. Recruits learn how to become a military person through various degrees of training and initiation rites. The story of military masculinity is based on this reasoning, but places its focus on how a "person" is necessarily masculine, and how militarization involves the production of violent masculinities. Eriksson Baaz and Stern emphasise the approach in which producing soldiers, the military hierarchical structure and institution, in part, as a mechanism to cover the use of violence. In order to become part of the (total) institution recruits are supposed to undergo a process of reconstruction of their civilian status (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013, 72–73.) In NATO, another commonly used phrase is equality. The argument for gender mainstreaming is that it is done in order to increase the equality between the two sexes. The rhetoric of equality suggests that the two present genders are even. The masculine/feminine gender division is associated with the natural and it provides seemingly stable categories of distinction; this gender coding offers unquestionable categories to organize political life. Yet what I think is interesting is the absence of war words, such as fighting, combat or any other nouns associable with traditional war rhetoric. This gives a general impression

that conflicts are not about fighting anymore but are rather fields of new, feminine, operational tactics. This supports the old feminist claim of women's association with peace, which provides the constitutive other against which the man and war are defined (Enloe 2000). Of course NATO's women, peace and security is just one section of the organization's public agenda and presents only marginal sampling of the organization's PR entity. The feminine cannot be kept at bay because the feminine is inside the military, not outside it. This means that the traditional zones of distinction public/private and feminine/masculine have become blurry and unsettled. The question now is how to maintain the military's own femininity, because the more traditional zones of distinctions that used to serve military purposes cannot be distinguished anymore. The feminine cannot be kept away since the "outside" is "inside", not only through the inclusion of women but through inclusion through exclusion.

The "feminization" debate of the military is a demonstrable expression of unsettling the identity of the military, but the debate itself can be read as a strategy that attempts to resettle its identity. Same time the abjects embody the lived position that is marked as socially dead. According to Penttinen, the central feature of the abject is that it disrupts the order and threatens stability and harmony (Penttinen 2004, 95). When the empirical material approaches feminine, it assumes it to be certain characters suitable for military means. The abject, the excluded, is sexuality and the sexual characters of reproduction, the home. By implying the terminology of an abject it becomes possible to see that the other (feminine) is not passive and oppressed, but contingent and creating indistinction. Therefore the abject has to be controlled.

4. Female Subject in NATO

One of the core issues in feminism is the concept of the female subject. In this chapter I will examine the representations of gender that arose from the material. I seek an answer to the question, what are the main assumptions made of (female) gender and why? Contrary to the typical discussion of women working in the military, female gendered NATO-recruits do not fit into the classic military traditionalist argument of women's supposed physical and psychological weakness, that made them unsuitable for combat (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013, 39).

4.1. Theorising the (Feminist) Subject

The logical question after analysing the structure is the question of subject itself, because it works as "a foundation" for the female presentations in the material. In feminist IR tradition, gender is an element that shapes the power relations in world politics. Understanding the connection with gender and war is complicated, because both men and women play a myriad of roles in it. As explained earlier, I rely on Judith Butler's theorizations of gender. The most characteristic to Butler's gender theory is that gender is *performative* (Butler 1999, 33). Neither gender nor power is produced alone, but "one is always doing it with or for another" (Butler 2004b, 1). Gender is an ongoing discursive practice that does not have a beginning or an end (Butler 1999, 43). It is therefore an act that requires repetitive performance. Also, because gender is thus more "imaginary" than real, there cannot exist a dualism such as male/female, as there are multiple genders. Social constructions of gender divide gender into male and female, but Butler argues that gender is rather norm and act, and this is because gender is an identity "tenuously constituted in time, instituted in exterior space through stylized repetition of acts (Butler 1999, 79). To Butler, as there is to Foucault, there are norms which people are following. Disobeying these norms leads to some kind of punishment, thus norms also create abnormality, because only certain representations (male/female) are allowed in them.

By using his genealogy, Foucault addresses the fact that the 19th century's institutionalization and psychiatrisation of society made sexuality an apparatus, as that was the time when sexuality was made open by the repressive compulsion of ritual confession of sex (Foucault 1978). Thus sexual identity is "always constructed within the terms of discourse and power, where power is partially understood in terms of heterosexual and phallic cultural concentions" (Butler 1999, 40). Gender is related to subjectivity as the subject (women) is categorized in public discourses precisely because of gender. Butler argues (1999) that one's physical sexuality is also a consequence of one's

personal history and experiences, the biology itself is a system of social organisation. This *deconstructionist* approach is strongly based on Foucault's notion of subjectivity as the result of the operations of power upon the body (Foucault 1978). Foucault names three modes of objectification of the subject.

For this chapter, another concept that is approached is the concept of truth. For Foucault, there are no universal truths, because in the history of knowledge human nature has played the role of designating certain types of discourse in relation to or in opposition to theology, biology or history (Rabinow 1984, 4). The concepts that are presented as universal truths function socially and make the regularities of science possible: by naming the modern subject (different ways of categorization and objectification), the process of normalization and naming the subject. In relation to the concept of truth, another formation that I want to specify is Foucault's three stages of subject formation. The spoken subject becomes objectified through linguistics and philology or subjectifying it through wealth and economics, meaning the subject who labours and who is productive. Dividing practices mean that the subject is divided in itself or divided from others, like male/female, hetrosexual/homosexual etc. The last stage of objectification means the way in which a person turns oneself into a subject and how people have learned to recognize themselves as subjects of "sexuality" (Penttinen 2004, 86–89; Rabinow 1984, 8–9).

4.2. About Addressing Women

The statements that the material makes of women are based on characteristics that are normally perceived as feminine. Women bring "extra" value to the operations (Review No. 3), as they perform tasks that have not been necessary in the past but that the transformation in the security paradigm has now made valuable. Women "give new perspective" to issues or they hold/can get information that is crucial to the operation's success (News No. 5). For example News No. 7, "Stability Providing new Opportunities for Afghan women", claims that "many misconceptions were held by, and about, Afghans". According to the text this is because of the lack of situational awareness and lack of information, and women especially are seen to perform acts that can increase awareness on both sides. Afghanistan is the country most constant in the material, as it is one of the countries in which gender policy is implemented and where there is still an operation going on. Also, Afghan women and the war on terror have gained a lot of media attention. One of the statements explaining the intervention in the media has been the claim that NATO-led ISAF-troops are there promoting women's rights and peace (see e.g. Ferguson 2005).

The documents highlight the communicative role that women have. The explanation is that because of the feminine gender, in places like Afghanistan women can better reach the unheard part of population, local women, and make them to be heard. Also, the role of local women is to inform NATO personnel about ongoing situations in their local community. In addition, if one of the aims is to make local women visible and their voices heard, that is not seen in the material, as the direction of information is presented as locally sourced and translated into knowledge/information through NATO personnel. Local women, as explained in chapter 3.3. form a homogenized community of local women. The only place where local women are present is in Publication No. 6, in which it is explained in detail how the women in target countries were thankful for the trade opportunities created for them by NATO (Publication No. 6).

The feminine gendered women subject in NATO online content disentangles itself from the familiar gender coding of men as protectors and women as protected, due to the phenomenon that when working in the military, some women appear as protectors that protect the "other" women from the local community. Also, contrary to traditional discourses of women in military, women are not presented as a serious threat to combat efficiency (see e.g. Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013, 41) but rather the opposite. When women are seen as tools that "increase effectiveness", they are made part of typical military rhetoric, in which effectiveness is valued (Higate 2012, 34).

According to Judith Butler, the structure of address is important for understanding how moral authority is introduced and sustained if we accept not just that we address others when we speak, but that in some way we come to exist, as it were, in the moment of being addressed, and something about our existence becomes precarious when that address fails (Butler 2004a, 130). To be addressed is to be, from the start, deprived of will, and to have that deprivation exists as the basis of one's situation in discourse (Butler 2004a, 139). It is both men and women who are talking on behalf of women in order to make women more visible. Foucauldian feminist analysis tends to explain the existing power structures within the Foucauldian concept of discourse, that is "a system of possibility of knowledge" (Phelan 1990, 422 (ref. Philip 1985)). It is assumed here that the agents highlighting the importance of women's communicative value are within a discourse, where certain characteristics of women are taken for granted, like for example a pre-given ability to communicate. This is inconsistent with NATO's own definition of gender (gender as socially constructed) but also bounding women working in the military in their pre-existing roles. To get more women into operations is considered to be beneficial for the operation, as women are considered to present new perspectives, which bring "extra value". In addition, the

enabler/communicative woman can make the "other half of the population" heard, as it is impossible for men in certain cultures to talk to local women. For example, News No. 7 notes that due to a lack of communication, many misconceptions were held about Afghan people.

According to Judith Butler, gender is regulated but not only by an exterior force of regulation. This thinking of hers is based on a Foucauldian approach to subjection and regulation, in which regulatory power not only acts upon a pre-existing subject but also shapes and forms that subject. In addition every juridical form of power has its productive effect. Also, to become a subject of regulation is also to become subjectivated by it, which means to be brought into being as a subject precisely through being regulated (Butler 2004b, 40–56.) Butler notes that the domains of political and linguistic "representation" set out in advance the criterion by which subjects themselves are formed (Butler 1999 (1990), 4). This means that the qualifications of subject must advance the representation. Further analysis with the same logic leads towards the notion that perhaps the subject as well as the temporal "before" subject is constituted by the law as the "fictive foundation of its own claim to legitimiacy" (Butler 1999 (1990), 5).

Butler, when talking about the U.S. invasion to Afghanistan writes that: "A subject has been instated in national level, a sovereign and extra-legal subject, a violent and self-centric subject; its actions constitute a building of a subject that seeks to restore and maintain its mastery through the systematic destruction of its multilateral relations, its ties to international community" (Butler 2004a, 41). When this subject reconstitutes its wholeness by denying it's vulnerability, it exploits that feature in others making those features "other to" itself (ibid). Butler is not particularly discussing crisis management personnel, her critique is toward images created by the media and emerge from a conservative feminist movement that started during the Bush administration. Butler ends up insisting "a common corporeal vulnerability" as a new basis for humanism (Butler 2004a, 42). If vulnerability is one precondition for humanization, and humanization takes place through recognition, then vulnerability depends on existing norms of recognition (Butler 2004b, 43).

When military women are given the status of a communicator they become positively recognized. This recognition creates a dualism, where men are not communicators, but human beings that come with a lesser capacity to complete tasks that require communicative skills, and thus they can maintain the traditional masculine military characters. Certainly, this is not the objective, but yet again reveals how men in the military are seen as ungendered. Also, in the context of NATO's gender policy men are not even encouraged to communication. The distinction between masculine and feminine qualities should not be reduced on the level of the individual. The material gives the

impression that all the women are communicative and ethical, but these are actually the capacities that should be entailed to every person working on the field. However, it seems like people's identity is unavoidably linked with their sexuality.

When NATO's gender policy asks for more recognition for gender specific issues, it is also asking the ones in existing structures (mainly men) to be more sensitive with the new (feminine) values suitable for military. This does not challenge the role of traditional military personnel, only asks the person to be more understandable towards the "new" values. Highlighting women's aptitude for communication gives the impression of essentialist assumptions of men being unable to fulfil communicative tasks. As I have pointed out earlier, the gender essentialism in peacekeeping has already been criticized by various feminists, mainly in the context of UN Resolution 1325. The ontological base of male-female difference appears contentious and problematic. Are the differences between male and female "nature" physiologically determined or essential in some sense, or in what extent they are a cultural outcome?

However, it seems that various things can be placed under essentialism in its critique. Communication, feelings, empathy, non-violent peace making can all be found there for understandable reasons. I think that the things that are placed under essentialism should be given extra attention, because it is a question of what do we think is true, and more interestingly how did we come to think like that. It is as if women can develop their ways of knowing what is morally and scientifically preferable grounding for different explanations and interpretations. Also, it is interesting that all women are expected to be peaceful, even within the military. That is to assume that there is a single category of women, who share this common characteristic regardless of one's cultural background. There are many different nationalities and working cultures that are intersecting in NATO. Furthermore, it would be interesting to further investigate who these women are who participate in the military.

According to Judith Butler, recognition is neither an act that one performs, nor is it literalized as the vent in which we each "see" one another and are "seen", but it takes place through communication where subjects are transformed by virtue of the communicative practice in which they are engaged. Recognition is a norm toward which we invariably strive, the norm that ought to govern therapeutic practice, and the ideal form that communication takes when it becomes a transformative process (Butler 2004b, 132–133.) According to this interpretation, it is a notable advancement that women are taken into account in NATO's policy, though the reasons behind this (the aim of intervention) are more complex. Studying documents includes being sensitive to the things that are not visible in

them. In this case I was able to find two: men are not discussed as a category at all. That, of course, is logical as the documents were particularly about women in the military. Part of the hegemonic military masculinity is the traditional assumption that men are responsible for defence policy. However, men as such are not a political category here as women are. According to Annica Kronsell, naming men as a political category would transform them from universal nothing to specific something (Kronsell 2010, 110). What would happen if men would become a category? How would the documents be?

All together, the contender of the masculine military paradigm stems from the behaviour of an individual. However, that does not mean the form of the political visibility of the subject is limited to follow the norms that stem from a power/knowledge discourse. The problems of elaborating "woman" as a subject of feminism and in opposition to man is tricky especially in post-structural approaches, that emphasize the contingent and discursive nature of all identities (Randall 2010, 116). Because feminism is a political project, it is sometimes politically necessary, in Butler's words, to speak "as and for women", that is, to use this language in a rhetorical or strategic way (Randall 2010, 116–117).

4.3. About Recruiting the Feminine

NATO presents recruitment as one of the main challenges to increase the amount of women (Publication No 2, 8–13). Generally, the material concentrates on emphasizing the numbers rather than transforming power relations and cultures of the institution in question. This is one of the shortcomings that has been acknowledged already in similar cases for example by Cheryl Hendricks (Hendricks 2012, 14). In NATO documents about the biological sex are taken into account, as the military as an organisation is constructed to serve the needs of the male. For example, Publication No. 2 explains the best practices for promoting family-friendly policies. It highlights the issues of pregnancy, family leave and breastfeeding, which are normally placed as topics in the private sphere, but the requirements of increasing women in the reserve has gained attention in a military context. Publication 2 (Best Practices to Improve Gender Balance) lists the best practices to integrate gender perspective recruitment. What follows is for example:

> Targeted recruitment focuses on special groups (of women) (Publication No. 2, page 12).

> Incorporating women to these bodies (Recruitment and selection boards) or, at least, integrating some feminine presence in them (Publication No. 2, page 13).

When NATO wishes to integrate a feminine presence to its selection boards and to recruitment, it tries to overcome the glass ceiling that is preventing women accessing higher positions. Women are still a minority, especially in high military positions. The organization highlights the special women friendly adaptations in its structure, of which the whole gender policy program is maybe the most visible mark. The military is presented as a career option for women who want to contribute to overcoming security threats, but also for those who wish to become female leaders. Now, special representatives and policy formulations are framed to invite women, to make women see the military as a field where there is special place for them.

Because of the multicultural role of the alliance, recruitment functions differently depending on the member country's national tradition. According to Publication No. 3, UN Resolution 1325 is implemented in a inconsistent way across nations. Some countries have well-developed NAP's and directives, while others have just started to consider the topic (Publication No. 3, 17.) This means that in addition to the complicity in recruitment, people join NATO forces from a very different starting point. However, despite of the gender-based recruitment there are still very few women working in the missions. Responsibilities of care and success become assigned to these few as they are marked by their gender. According to Cynthia Enloe, in order to keep a certain number of men in the ranks, military policy makers have to control both men and women (Enloe 2000, 235). She continues: "states have to think more consciously about masculinities and femininities than nonfeminist observer realize and that most state officials care to admit. Second, states have to expend more energy and resources in trying to shape their citizens' ideas about what constitutes an acceptable form of masculinity and an acceptable form of femininity than nonfeminist observers realize and that most state official care to admit" (Enloe 2000, 236).

Recruitment is considered as a problem for NATO; it has launched advertisement campaigns to attract more women. It is also making an effort to make women visible in brochures and other visible channels. Enloe notes that, during the times when the US military was lacking (and still is) recruits, it has directed advertisement campaigns to the young men and their parents of ethnic or racial communities, in order to create a sense that volunteer soldiering is somehow integral to their particular masculine identity (Enloe 2000, 237). In this light, the military appears to be a great identity project from recruitment to negotiating identities in conflict zones. However, Enloe's approach is problematic as it means, in practice, the way in which recruitment is done mainly in US. For example, in Finland, a military career has traditionally been appreciated, conscription

touches every man and is supposed to create equality amongst young men from different social backgrounds.

Starting from recruitment, certain feminine characteristics become presented as crucial for the mission. Naturally, not every woman (or man) fits this storyline. Feminist inquiry emphasizes subjectivity and personal experiences, hence it is logical that there has recently been a trend within feminist IR toward looking at the lives of women who do not fit the storyline of gender subordination and victimization, and women as more peaceful and empathic as men (Penttinen 2013a, 11). For example narratives of individual women capable of atrocities as bad as their male counterparts and who experience fulfilment in militant movement exists (Penttinen 2013a, 11 (ref. Sjoberg and Gentry 2007; Parashar 2011; MacKenzie 2011)). According to NATO's online documents, women are holding a key position in operations due to their feminine gendered capacity to act in situations; that means, as already noted, communication and somehow a more advanced emotional level. It is expected that the communication between two women is different from the communication between a woman and a man. This is partly based on the limits that certain cultures/religions set to one's acting: for example in Afghanistan, the Afghan women are not always allowed to talk to the (foreign) men.

Elina Penttinen has taken the military personnel and their capacities to perform as their true selves as an object of study (Penttinen 2013a). According to her, the change in the paradigm of war calls for the comprehensive approach to security that in turn can be operationalized if there is enough competence and willingness to act according the situation on an individual level (Penttinen 2010b, 46). This calls for the re-evaluation of the expertise required in the field, and paying attention to recruitment and training of the individuals for international crisis management. In NATO, special attention is given to recruitment but the problem is that the material ends up suggesting that it is femininity what is needed. This femininity is, according to the rhetoric, naturally accompanied by action competence and the kind of intelligence that is required on the field. This is problematic in many ways. NATO is constituted of its member countries, hence recruitment depends partly on the state's legislation, culture and tradition. The operations of post-conflict reconstruction emphasize words such as human security, gender and comprehensive security approach. At the same time, there are multiple actors working in conflict areas. According to Penttinen, what is essential to an individual member of crisis management personnel is to be able to work in such a surrounding, where there is synergy and a common goal, so the person can concentrate on their efforts on effective crisis management and does not have to put energy into bureaucracy or the fluency of the

process itself (Penttinen 2010b, 48). The key word is synergy, that sets new demands for the personnel and also to their recruitment: it is not enough that people working for civilian or military crisis management are experts in their own fields, doing their work separately from each other. There is a need for the capacity to understand the whole picture, for the capacity of co-operation and certain sensitivity (Penttinen 2010b, 48–49.) As noted before, gender in NATO is seen as socially constructed and in the theoretical framework of this study it is considered to be an even more complicated structure. Penttinen writes:

> Crisis management operations are conducted in a time and place in which the coherent boundaries of self and other, nationalities and communities, sovereign states and international institutions are no longer stable and fixed. Yet, political theories underlying crisis management may be the last to recognize that fixed boundaries between states, identities or individuals are an illusion (Penttinen 2010b, 51).

In Gender Trouble (1999(1990)) Judith Butler suggests a deconstruction of the notion of the subject in order to expose the binary oppositions of male/female, masculine/feminine and I/other. These are repressive constructions, which gain their meaning through the discourse of identity, and do not precede it. By deconstructing the subject and its sustaining discourse Butler wishes to point out the fact that women's "we" is only a discourse dependent on its social construction. It is therefore limited, fragmented and imagined and subjected to the change and resistance (ibid.) I see the military as an identity project that shapes personalities. Also, the phenomenon of women serving in the military is interesting from the point of view of who the women are who want to have a military career. To oversimplify my argument is to acknowledge that because the military is a very masculine career option, women who wish to have a military career are not necessarily the most "feminine" ones. However, the material suggests that all women regardless of their background carry the same feminine characteristics. The military career option is presented through advertisement campaigns to attract more women into service. Of course it is not possible to valuate what makes the women turn to the military, and that is not even the point. Global governmentality changes the position of the individual subject as an object of governance. This means that the individual subject is no longer viewed as a subject to be guided in order to lead to convenient ends by the state or institution. Therefore the position of the subject is formulated through adaptation of new governmentality, meaning a subject who is fit to survive the landscapes of the neoliberal world order. It is through this adaptation and adjustment to power that one gains the possibility of agency. This process of power is inherently gendered which means that the means of adaptation vary along the gender divide (Penttinen 2004, 144–145.) Those who can adapt the gender specific requirements

have access to the "common" goal of securing security, and they become accepted into the dominating system of power. However, on the opposite side, there are the women who become excluded by not being able to adapt to the suggested values. This category of people can be found in chapter 3.3 in which I discussed the women in targeted countries. In order to improve their position and gain subjectivity within the system, the option for them is to adapt the values from the dominating system of thought.

But what do these findings of the importance of femininity mean to feminism? What is meant for equality in the context of the military, do men and women have to be treated interchangeably? In this sense feminism seems to be a mess that is unable to stabilize the terms that facilitate a meaningful agenda. Gender is integrated into NATO's conception's planning, but it is difficult to define where the biological, the physical, the discursive and the social begin and end. Gender has become a policymaking catchword in the form of gender equality rather than functioning in a neoliberal context. Also, it is important to understand that a debate on terms of the management of gender equality is one premised on the liberal problem of the governance of governance.

5. Feminism, Biopolitics, Posthumanism

In this last chapter of analysis, I concentrate on discussing the statements that the material makes about security personnel and their capability for ethical behaviour, as the importance of action competence, self-awareness and cultural sensitivity are highlighted throughout the material. Generally, the material relates these personal characteristics to women personnel. Hence, my aim is to examine what these characters mean and what implementing them means on a very personal level. However, at this stage I think that it is fruitful, for the purpose of this thesis, to extend the Foucauldian concept of biopolitics to cover the concepts of feminism itself. This is not to deny the function of power in the micro- or macro levels of this analysis, but rather to concentrate on evaluating the outcomes of individual's capacities beyond traditional constructivist feminist thinking.

5.1. From Biopolitics to Posthumanism

Because this chapter concentrates on analysing the expectations of how security agents are supposed to behave in today's circumstances, I think that theorising the texts must start from the complexity of feminism itself and then proceed to the individual's behaviour and to the question of ethics and the meaning of individual's behaviour. In her book *The Science Question of Feminism* Sandra Harding has written that the issue of gaining equal opportunity in the sciences has deepened as science's very notions are challenged by feminist perspectives (Hardings 1986). However, through a genealogical approach to gender it can be argued that because feminism and liberalism share a common genealogy in liberal biopolitics, the main problem is not that neoliberalism has usurped feminism. In her doctoral dissertation about gender and biopolitics Jemima Repo writes that: "Feminism that engages with the liberal question of governance inadvertently entwines itself with the biopolitical order" (Repo 2011, 17). That means that feminism is oriented towards questions on how to govern or how much to govern gender through government as its main political arena. According to Repo, because the liberal problem of freedom and the governance of governance are used in the political and development theories of gender equality, the governance of gender is often intertwined with the presence of freedom (ibid.) Traditionally this has meant that the feminist struggle with questions such as freedom to or freedom from something, or more commonly around the question of reproduction. However, I want to return to the Foucauldian notion of freedom, in which freedom is a discourse by which liberal biopolitical governmentality operates, then the controlling of reproduction is not a question of maintaining the patriarchal control but a

question of administering life itself. For this thesis I think the strategic point is to acknowledge that part of the endurance of liberalism is also that it paradoxically seems to be contradicting itself, for example when demanding more women for a labour market when needed. These women are supposed to behave as self-interested individuals and be beneficial from an economical point of view. As previously discussed in chapter 2, the women working for NATO are working in order to promote life outside of their own national borders. Repo concludes, relying on Foucault, that: "Feminism becomes entangled with the liberal axis of danger and freedom when it accepts the liberal biopolitical premise that treats life as "constantly exposed to danger", specially to the danger of demographic decline and racial degeneration, and whereby life can only be managed through management and limitation of freedom (Repo 2011, 21 (ref. Foucault 2008, 67)). Therefore the problem of feminism today, as Repo claims, is in its (in)ability to envision political possibility outside the biopolitical. This means that the struggle against gender equality is still mostly about how to redistribute freedom equally around men and women.

This is not to deny gender inequalities, but it is precisely for this reason that instead of looking at how gendered human behaviour is and how the distinction is maintained (as I have already done) I wish to think anew about creating concepts that do not obey the mode of liberalism. The birth of liberal modernity is a place where history became conceptualized as both linear and human. That was also when the concept of modern science was born and discovery of human life became its objective. Starting from the Foucauldian notion of modernity, societies have undergone substantial change, especially in recent decades. For example struggle for sexual liberation, the emancipation of women and promotion of feminist agendas have become a new social norm that embraces difference. In this context the whole discussion of gender equality can be seen as biopolitical apparatus (see e.g. Repo 2011, 154–173). The problem is that Foucauldian way of approaching the topic offers scarce means what life could be beyond liberal biopolitics. When controlling human life becomes a scientific objective, it does not very often focus on the spiritual side of people. As questions of interaction and how to treat others is a moral question, I think that approaching gender from a posthuman perspective may count as a productive view within this liberally framed discourse of feminism and gender equality.

Contributing to feminist IR is a tricky place, where one can easily fall into many traps by oversimplifying statements. This is the case, for example, with the word "essentialism" that can be used to describe almost everything within feminist critique. Consequently, its efficiency and accountability starts to vanish. The problem is that observing the world through feminist lenses easily leads to considering women as subjectivated by power and politics. Yet again, I do not think

that women work in equal circumstances and I do also believe that power structures use gender as an apparatus, as Foucault claims. However, in her 2002 book, Cristine Sylvester advises us to use world travelling as a method of open-hearted inquiry, without striving to conquer the world. This would allow us to explore the pre-given foundations of our belief systems and might bring about alternative ways of conceptualizing feminism' (Sylvester 2002). This means allowing interpretations from alternative directions to contribute to the discussion. As Ann J. Tickner stresses, feminists have made a great contribution to the field of security studies and the research agendas in Feminist Security Studies is flourishing (Tickner 2011, 576). I have interpreted the fluid concept of feminism to be an umbrella term, under which the multiple intersections of race, gender, ethnicity and cultural background overlap.

The material of analysis highlights the importance of action competence and emotional intelligence. Surely, that can be read as an outcome of neoliberal policies that produce self-interested people and "feminizes" the labour. It can also be interpret as using gender as an apparatus of control and a way of organising troops. However, in her article Posthumanism and Feminist International Relations, Elina Penttinen speaks about building bridges between feminist evolutionary analytical approach and constructivist-linguistic approach (Penttinen 2013b). According to Penttinen, the problem lies in the way in which nature has been dismissed as passive and irrelevant for social sciences, since the linguistic approach has, according to her: "focused on how knowledge/power discourses shape the relations in the social world, create subjectivities, and exclude other" (Penttinen 2013b, 97). Inserting biology into feminist studies provokes a danger to feminism because it might lead to biological determinism. However, according to Penttinen, posthumanist understanding of nature is about acknowledging that nature is more productive and resilient that constructivist approaches let us consider (Penttinen 2013b, 98).

In the following chapter the analysis proceeds on a very individual and personal level, considering the human capacities to act correctly and what it means to act correctly. With this approach I wish to overcome the problems that I think feminist IR faces when it is supposed to analyse human potential and openness, regardless of outside circumstances. Also, despite the fact that Foucault does not offer a philosophical or ethical perspective, becoming a subject, the process of subjectification includes the analysis of self-interest and thinking anew about the modes of acting.

5.2. About Good Military Behaviour

In the introduction I wrote about my experience when reading the book about Finnish forensic dentist Helena Ranta. Her story in mind, I wanted to pay attention to the kind(s) of security agencies

that the material presents, and this is related also to the way in which the material discusses security agents. The last chapter of Publication No. 6 explains the good practices learnt from gender mainstreaming in detail. According to this, the tactical and operational good practices of incorporating gender perspective into the operation "require inclusion of female soldiers in outreach units and patrols. This is of special importance for Civil Affairs/Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC), Psychological operations, (PSYOPS) and Human Intelligence (HUMINT). The teams may be all female of mixed, reflecting local needs and circumstances" (Publication No. 6, 37). Publication No. 7 notes that "female perspectives, insights and skills add value across all its activities, and will pursue a practical measure to optimise the integration". All the publications emphasise the importance of the use of gender advisors and the expertise they provide, albeit the expertise is not defined unequivocally. However, this expertise that NATO talks about works under military structures of command and in gendered circumstances, but is characterized differently than the expertise of the traditional warrior-soldier. The strategic "place" where the action happens is in human contact.

> Ensuring operational and tactical plans include women to conduct sensitive tasks such as body searches for females; work as language interpreters; work in engagement teams, and provide medical care are just a few vivid examples of integrating gender perspectives (Publication 5, pp. 4).

The acknowledgement of the complexity of the security environment places new demands on crisis management personnel and these demands are, according to the material, especially to women. Also, in many post-conflict contexts, the efforts to teach soldiers about "good" and "legal" and "illegal" masculine behaviour in order to create a soldier who respects the right of women not to be raped by them, take the form of workshops and training sessions on human rights and international humanitarian law. According to Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern the production of military identities is locally specific (ibid).

> The presence of female personnel encourages appropriate behaviour amongst deployed troops and fosters good camaraderie (Material 6, pp. 24).

> Men "behave better" in the company of women (Material 6, pp. 25).

One remarkable reason for recruiting women is their expected influence on men's behaviour in a positive manner. The examples above are sexist, and it also presents a good military behaviour to be

dependent on gender. Women are expected to bring stability to the organization, as men are behaving themselves differently around women.

Gender-related data is recommended to be collected and analysed, the effectiveness of gender and cultural awareness training should be monitored. Gender policy is seen as beneficial for everybody, and a tool to increase gender equality is gender education and training. The reason behind gender mainstreaming, as mentioned many times and as written in *CWINF Guidance for NATO Gender Mainstreaming* (Publication No. 1), is the change in security environment after the Cold War. According to the publication, only an organisation that truly respects and fully exploits the diversity of backgrounds, skills and experience of its members can operate effectively in a complex security environment (Publication No. 1). The aim of the guidance is to provide recommendations to NATO nations and NATO authorities on identifying gender issues and integrating a gender perspective. The material mentions multiple times how important it is to understand "gender issues" and "gender awareness" on every level. Gender mainstreaming becomes an apparatus of organizing the military structure to respond to its demands. Gender, firstly co-opted by feminists, has become a tool for getting the policy right.

The emphasis on self-relation and the importance of correct behaviour makes the people in the material sound like cosmopolitan peacekeepers, who de-militarize the military by their behaviour. This is true due to the acknowledgement that neoliberal governmentality produces subjects who act as individual entrepreneurs across all dimensions of their lives (Oksala 2012, 41). According to Johanna Oksala, although it is normally the masculine neoliberal subject that is taken for granted, there is a philosophical discrepancy between liberal governmentality and the corresponding female subject (Oksala 2013, 41). This counter argument is grounded to the fact that the subject of liberalism as a figure of fundamental self-interest and self-orientation is at odds with what women have been constituted as. Women's traditional role in the family has been to surrender their self-interest so the rest of the family can attain their autonomous independence. Oksala continues:

> Global neoliberal economy relies on women's labour, but also increasingly on *feminized labour.* This widely used, but ambiguous concept denotes, on the other hand, the quantitative increase of women in the labour market due to the growth of service industries and the increasing demand of care work. However, it also denotes a qualitative change in the nature of labour: the characteristics historically presented in women's work – precariousness, flexibility, fragmentary nature, low-status and low-pay – have come to increasingly characterize all work in global capitalism (Oksala 2013, 42).

However, I think neoliberal critique in this context fails to recognize human willingness to do good. Action competence is not only about expertise or professionalism and learned skills, but the capacity to act in the present moment, according to context. Action competence in crisis management is not about the strengths and strategies that worked well in the past in another situation, but about the capability to recognize the situation one is in and acting based on that specific situation with the goal of human security in mind (Penttinen 2013a, 56.) Action competence is bounded with culture or background (Penttinen 2013a, 47–61). In the context of NATO, much depends on the background, because the alliance suffers from a lack of gender specialists, both male and female, and is unable to fulfil all current and potential operational requirements, and part of these problems are rooted in member countries' military traditions and can only be overcome gradually (Publication No. 5, 2).

The ideology behind the comprehensive security approach, which gender mainstreaming is a part of, is that this would ensure better effectiveness in recognizing and responding to gender-specific human insecurities (Penttinen 2013a, 49). NATO documents speak the same language of the changes in the security environment, where NATO personnel are now facing situations that have not been traditionally considered as tasks to crisis management personnel. Implementing both, the politics of gender mainstreaming in the basis of UN Resolution 1325 and the more comprehensive security approach is challenging and as discussed more deeply in chapter 3, the feminine/masculine division in the organization's structure is a zone of indistinction. The introduction of CWINF Guidance for NATO Gender Mainstreaming illustrates the pressure that is placed upon female personnel by stating that the addition of women in operations is due to the gendered effects war and conflict have on women, including incidents of prostitution, human trafficking and the exploitation of local women and men in post conflict communities (Publication 1, 7–8).

The publications are instructive brochures and directive official texts that are targeted to NATO personnel but made public. In Publication No. 3 (Recommendations on Implementation of UNCR 1325) there is a chapter based on Gender Expertise. It is noted that there is a need for creating a better network through which the gender-based information could be shared. Gender advisors are in key positions in this. Publication No. 6 by turn explains how military women were in critical positions when collecting information related to security (Publication No. 6, 33). In the same Publication, the members of the Swedish Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT's) explain the impact of gender to the operation to increase the multi-disciplinary perspectives that contribute to a more holistic understanding of peacekeeping missions and to promote general stability and "the

likelihood that local populations will associate peacekeepers with protection and turn their allegiances towards them rather than insurgents and armed combatants" (Publication No. 6, 32). Valuating (gendered) know-how means valuating individual's capacities to act in situations.

According to Elina Penttinen, the new values of crisis management not only place new demands on the expertise and competence of security agents in implementing and acting according to the new security paradigm, but the new security paradigm also calls for a re-evaluation of expertise required in the field, turning the focus back to the recruitment and training of individuals for international crisis management (Penttinen 2013a, 49). Also, there are still only a few women working in NATO. That places a great responsibility upon these few. The material notes also that comprehensive security approaches and the efforts for gender mainstreaming require re-evaluating the expertise required in the field (Publication 3). Yet the discussion is done within the framework of gendering. That entails the notions of gender awareness and gender sensitivity on every operational level, for both men and women. It seems like gendering is a component that one should be able to include into one's thinking when working, and in making everybody aware of the importance of gendering and gender mainstreaming, and in this NATO relies on gender expertise. How should a feminist think of that? The material relates the term 'gender' to women, who by turn are presented as ethical. This by turn is made by governing the meaning of gender discourse. The focus is more on gender that it is on the ethical behaviour or in the analysis of what a good military behaviour should and could be.

The sexual body is always discursive in the sense that it is an object of scientific research and disciplinary technologies, of which the latter particularly influence women's participation in the military. According to Johanna Oksala, the sexual body is as capable of "multiplying, distorting, and overflowing its discursive definition" (Oksala 2002, 181). If, as Foucault claims, scientific discourses create norms that are utilized by political discourse and institutionalized practises and vice versa, then structures of power/knowledge create both new objects of science and new subjects. According to Oksala, there is a "freedom" in the unpredictability of our embodied experiences, which establish the incomplete character of the body's cultural constitution. Foucauldian understanding of this "freedom" is opening new possibilities for living our bodies, sexualities and lives. This is not political freedom. Therefore, instead of letting "the body to do the job for us" we need to reconsider the meaning of emancipation again. According to Oksala, that requires a body that is inscribed in ways that are open to re-interpretation and multiple meanings, "the undefined freedom of lived body opens up a space in which political freedom can be caught"

(Oksala 2002, 221). To discuss the meaning of concepts such as action competence and emotional intelligence is difficult if relying only on Foucauldian concepts of subject and subjectivity, even though, as Oksala points out, there is a space for apolitical evaluation. In addition, Butler's approach is limiting for the same reason: I see action competence and emotional intelligence in relation to spirituality that I am unable to recognize from the works of the two "main" authors.

Elina Penttinen explains that, no matter which camp of IR we identify with, we "trust our conceptual analytical minds to make sense of, theorize and analyse the politics in this chink of material hurling through space, simultaneously offering us a space-time in which to live" (Penttinen 2013a, 20). Therefore it is reasonable that in this process we should narrow our attention to a particular area, and therefore we have chosen an inquiry, which focuses on what is wrong in the world (ibid). It is easy to say that NATO sustains unsurprising gender indistinctions in its language, that is to say, the way organization has chosen its policy framework reproduces exactly the two dominant gender norms of which the masculine gendered one is more dominant. Being critical is an expected condition. But where does that lead? We must repose the question of what life is and may become outside its biopolitical parameters. This means that we must look beyond the liberal concept of humanity which by turn is interlinked, if thinking in Foucauldian way, with security and war. War and security play a crucial role in this thesis, but re-focusing the interests sets them to function as a framework in which actions take place.

Penttinen calls the people working in civil crisis management security agencies 'persons' whose action competence is based on mindful action aligned with the present moment (Penttinen 2013a, 56). At this point it is also easy to agree with Butler's idea that: "We are all, in the very act of social transformation, lay philosophers, presupposing a vision of the world, of what is right, of what is just, of what is abhorrent, of what human action is and can be, of what constitutes the necessary and sufficient conditions of life" (Butler 2004b, 205). In her book *Joy and International Relations* Penttinen introduces the frameworks of positive psychology to overcome the certain from of negativity typical for feminist IR. Positive psychology, that Penttinen uses as her approach to IR, sounds distant for the realm of IR. This is because in IR, naming the subject to be a human being itself is still a marginal phenomena, and mainstream IR questions are not made about individuals but about nations, whilst both can be subjects of research. When the subject acting is a nation/organization, it establishes a concept of what it means to act as a citizen, it establishes a norm by which that subject might be known. According to Penttinen: "the basic premise of positive psychology is quite simple. Instead of studying what is wrong, or concentrating on alleviating illness, scientific research is focused on what makes individuals and societies thrive, and what

makes life meaningful" (Penttinen 2013a, 21.) What follows is the question of what makes a good, fulfilled life. Authentic happiness, as Penttinen calls it (ibid). The approach that Penttinen presents of a new security agent generally, and through a positive approach to feminist IR, differs fundamentally from the ones presented by some other feminists, who tend to claim that viewing women's military service as connected to women's liberation masks the consequences of militarization or society (Detraz 2012, 54 (ref. Eisenstein 2008; Enloe 2000; Peterson and Runyan 2010). These claims recall that men and women working for the military are actively involved in supporting patriarchy without even recognizing that they are doing so.

In security and feminism, Penttinen sees a step away from this constructivist and poststructuralist tradition as a key to a more comprehensive approach to security (Penttinen 2013b). According to her, posthumanism and new (vital) materialism together is a way of building bridges with feminist evolutionary analytical approach (Penttinen 2013b, 96). Inserting evolutionary biology into a social science framework is provoking for feminist studies, as it demands us to extend the linguistic constructivist approach to biologism, to the field that has been traditionally pushed aside in feminist IR inquiry. The focus is on the capacities and incapacities of NATO personnel to implement gendered ways of thinking and enforce effective crisis management. What is required then is a fundamental change in the mode of thinking, and not only about gender, but if following the thinking of Penttinen, also in one's subjectivity as an agent in international crisis management. Even if neoliberalism benefits from "feminized" labour, it seems that in the context of the military, women rely more on their professionalism than on their gender (Penttinen 2013a, 51; Kronsell 2012; Flén 2010).

Changes in the global security environment have pushed global militaries and states to reconsider their defence strategies. According to Annica Kronsell, the development of two distinct types are these: armed forces that engage in the "war on terror" and those that engage in "peacekeeping" efforts (Kronsell 2012, 3; see also von der Lippe & Väyrynen 2011). The latter applies for example to Sweden and Finland. For example, the field research *How can Gender make a Difference to Operations* is based on interviews of Dutch, Canadian, American, Swedish people in Afghanistan, UN troops in the Congo and EUFOR troops in Chad. The answer that the publication gives to the question posed in its title is: The difference of including women in the operation is valuable because the PRT's were able to gain necessary situational information, which also meant that NATO-personnel became more familiar with the culture they were working in. Afghan women were able to practise small business with NATO-personnel. A special gender adviser worked with all of the PRT's. Afghanistan is a place where both types of militaries – war and peacekeeping oriented – are

present. The U.S. Armed forces are engaged in war on terror and war-making activities against the Taliban forces, whilst International Security Assistant Forces (ISAF) are there for peacekeeping purposes. ISAF is led by NATO. Kronsell notes that all these are militaries, but some of them are more prone to violence and regular war-making, such as the U.S. forces, while others are expected to come with security and peace, such as the Swedish forces (Kronsell 2012, 3). A similar notion of the difference in images of different national military/peacekeeping forces is also made by Penttinen. According to her, Nordic women are seen as the solution for better crisis management in the form of operational efficiency (Penttinen 2009, 48). I think that the notions of how the military personnel's cultural background is in relation to the ethics of behaviour is interesting –not only because the arguments that present Northern people to be more ethical come from the North. For example, in their article *Co-opting feminist voices for the war on terror: Laura Bush meets Nordic feminism* Berit von der Lippe and Tarja Väyrynen stress that it is difficult to talk about war without co-opting the hegemonic rhetoric of war. According to the authors, co-optation is a common discursive, rhetorical and linguistic practice that absorbs and neutralises the meanings of the original concepts to fit into the prevailing political priorities. I think there are two of these kinds of priorities to be concerned: the common war-rhetoric co-opted by NATO and another one co-opted by feminists.

During the writing process of this chapter I found it most problematic to overcome the gap between theory and practice. The feminist debate has been conducted at such a level of abstraction that one must grasp for concrete discussions'. I try to bear in mind that the women participating in the military come from different circumstances both on a national and an international level. However, military career is very different career option for women that it is for men. There is a need to bring more than one's technical expertise to the field. Gender mainstreaming entails that it is not enough that people working in crisis management are experts in their own respective fields, instead there is a sense that something more is needed. I think that when a person seeks international crisis management or peacekeeping as a career option she or he already has a perspective of oneself and of what it is to work on international missions. Also, I believe that the way in which one engages with the world depends on one's culture. The concerns of one's home country and personal life are in all probability very different from the circumstances and human contacts on the field, but it does not necessarily mean that one cannot engage emotionally in foreign circumstances and in culturally specific problems.

6. Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the analysis and represent the questions and the topic in wider discourse. The process of writing this thesis started with the question, how are the benefits of gender understood in NATO? Later, when I proceeded with the material and theories, more specific questions were formed when I had difficulties to understand, why is gender mainstreaming now, more than a decade after UN Resolution 1325, such a popular topic in the military? What is a military organization like NATO hoping to achieve with gender mainstreaming? I also wanted to know, if the broader recognition of security, especially gender and security, influenced the way the defence and military are organized and if so, how is this occurring? Because gender mainstreaming became a part of international policies in 2000, how is the (military) security agency formed a decade later?

In the first chapter of analysis I concentrated on theorising gender and security, because these two concepts are interlinked. The analysis proceeded on a macro level and was in part guided by the material. The debate on gender and security is connected to the rhetoric of development, which is used as a concept to argue the interventions together, with the strong rhetoric on democratization and peace. More generally, NATO's military agenda follows the rules of Foucauldian governmentality, in its unquestioned support of intervention and its reasons (this is of course natural, as NATO is a military organisation). By adopting the rhetoric of development and re-construction, NATO slides the focus from the purposes and reasons of intervention to support the operation. By co-opting gendered rhetoric into its war rhetoric the argumentation fits into underlying political priorities. To sum up, feminist potential inherent in UN Resolution 1325 is what is co-opted into NATO's rhetoric. The given image is thus that interventions and crisis management operations are conducted because the "other half of the population" (women) are vulnerable and invisible in world politics. When referring to the word "gender" NATO means mainly women. The function of gender in this debate is to increase security, and thus the women personnel are considered to perform tasks that help to win the "hearts and minds" of the local civilian population. The intervention is therefore justified in the name of the universal "global good", it is not just about ending the conflict but of getting the politics "right". The supposed outcomes of this project of stabilising and reconstructing are ideological and normative, originating in liberalism.

The concept of security works in a dualistic way: In order for there to be security, there needs to be insecurity. Insecurity is made apparent in the way in which the material discusses the women in targeted countries; insecurity is over there. This is also a question of peace and humanity and how liberal states (and in this case, organisation) uses them: The historical development of liberal regimes has been inextricably tied to their capacities not simply to represent themselves as promoters of the well-being of humanity, but to command and control prevailing conceptions of what constitutes well-being in human life (Reid 2009, 5). Women in targeted countries are constantly referred to as a homogenous group with no individual agency. The exception was Publication 6, a field study in which NATO personnel were interviewed and asked about their experiences of contacting local people. In this case, the women in targeted country were presented as speaking on their own behalf and explaining how important it was to be able to practice entrepreneurship with NATO personnel. In public discourse, women in targeted countries formed a separate group from women working for NATO. For feminism, this is a question of the possibility of common womanhood. There seems not to be commonalities between the women working in NATO and "the women as victims", because women working in NATO present independent, effective and rational subjects. These "womenandchildren" are not protected by statesmen, but rather stateswomen. No attention is given to these women's historical-political circumstances, individual agencies nor to their concepts of security as an experience. Rather, security is provided to them from the top down. There is not a common feminist goal between these two separate groups of Western women and oppressed other women. In this sense, the women working in NATO share more values with their male counterparts that they do with the women from the global South. Even so, the women personnel are expected to share some kind of shared womanhood with the women in targeted countries. The benefits of gender in the context of a security paradigm, comes from the use of feminist rhetoric of saving the (Third World) women with the help of the (Western) women. The official public discourse of NATO's gender policy is gendered, and it shows that at least on the level of rhetoric, women's participation is considered important if not essential. In the feminist sense, this juxtaposition inhibits us to explain how the differences can create feminist commonalities and solidarity, and it also inhabits us to theorize universal concerns fully.

Being a military organisation, the dominant masculine norm in NATO's organizational structure is evident. Gender mainstreaming became part of NATO's official policies in 2007, and an effort has been made on implementing it on every level of organization. This means that attention to gender specific issues are given on an operational level but also by underlining the importance of women in high-policy positions. Also, the Women, Peace and Security –policy agenda is itself a sign of how

gender is included in the structure. Albeit, there is a great effort to boost gender awareness in the organization, gender is approached from a rather limited perspective. On a rhetorical level, the importance given to gender is based on essentialist assumptions of what gender means and how it will function within the structures. Female gendered characters are equated with womanhood, and masculine gendered characters with manhood. These pre-given norms limit the possibilities of differently gendered action.

In a Foucauldian way, the circulation of power in military organization reaches the personnel through multiple networks of power rather than a form of power that functions directly from the top down. The distinctions between two possible sexes are maintained through these networks of power. Biopolitical reading of gender in the military reveals that the military does not function upon gender dualisms in which the feminine gender appears in a private sphere and is apolitical but the military is instead *feminized* (term: Pin-Fat and Stern 2005). Remarkable amounts of research concentrate on explaining how the military reproduces gendered and sexualized discourses, and presuming that the military is feminized it is possible to understand the gendered way of functioning better. In the case of NATO, a more traditional interpretation of gender dualism would mean that the masculine military norm cannot exist without the feminine norm supporting it. The biopolitical reading of NATO addresses the military as a zone of indistinction, as the ways of constituting the femininities and masculinities informs the constitution of the subjects. The feminine identities in the military reinforce the particular form of military masculinity.

However, claiming or showing the ways in which gender informs the politics of war is just one advancement. Now, when nations and military organizations are in the process of implementing gender awareness, gender equality, or under whatever title the project goes, it is possible to take one step closer and look at how gender/war entails much unsettling of sedentary "truths". Instead of remaining looking at the effect of gender in the military as dualism, it is more fruitful to see gender/war as a dynamic process, in which the parties constitute each other. Addressing the connections between gender and war as relations of possibility shows the ways in which efforts are made to produce and maintain certain forms of knowledge, power and identity in relation to war and gender as one issue. This is the structure that prevents other kinds of femininities and masculinities appearing. Reading the relation between gender and war this way indicates that full representation of "masculinity" or "femininity" can never be complete as they both rely on the constitution of the "other" in its own constitution. The "masculine" and "feminine" identities are unstable but reinforced at the same time. Women personnel can be equal to their male counterparts,

but only if they are presented through the masculine terms of efficiency, tough leaders or protective soldiers. The feminine is suppressed because it is unsettling for military purposes. There is indeed a mixed image: an effective war hero whose task is to care of not only the victims in the targeted country, but also of her male counterparts. Contrary to the traditional feminist claims of the military, the feminine now appears inside the military, not in a private sphere. What is taken as a possible representation of gender in the military also creates the impossible presentations. Maria Stern and Veronique Pin-Fat describe the impossible to be "haunting" the possible representation, in which case the impossible is always present (Pin-Fat & Stern 2005, 29–30). The presence of women in the military is a rupture in "normality" and discloses the military as a zone of indistinction.

There are no debate on whether or not women should join ranks beside men. This is seen as a question of equality; that women have an equal opportunity to join whatever task they wish to participate in. In this framework, gender becomes equated with biological sex, as it is biological sex that requires extra attention in cases like dressing and combat equipment. A closer look at the grammatical features of the equality conversation reveals that it is not just equal opportunities that are at stake. Equality in the context of "feminization" of the military means not only equal opportunities and sameness in military roles, but also that women should, in order not to emasculate military, be traditional soldiers at the same time but do that by applying their feminine characters of communication and care. The (im)possible roles women are given are "designed" to suit the military in such a way that they do not threaten the military cohesion or hierarchy. Above all, the division between the two genders is taken as a natural division, with no exceptions. The consequences of the broader recognition of security is thus evident in NATO, but the way this recognition is handled or implemented is what demands more attention, as the role of women in the military is supposed to be a silent, supportive rupture in the traditional military form. Gender coding creates a natural order of distinctions, whose grammar serves the political organization.

When the original research question "how are the benefits of gender understood in NATO?" is applied on the level of a (female) subject, the answer is that the benefits of women in service are based on the capacities that women are expected to hold. This is due to the change in the security paradigm and in the paradigm of war. These feminine gendered capacities are communicational and moral, and they help to increase the security of the operation but also the cohesion inside the operations. These kinds of capacities have not been essential to a military operation before, but have become so during the recent decades.

The most obvious case in the material is Afghanistan, and according to NATO's own studies, implementing gender perspectives has helped to increase knowledge of the local culture and increase operational security. Instead of truly challenging the hegemonic masculine culture of the military, women work as complementary elements in relation to men, who are taken as a universal unit rather than a category. Sexuality works as an apparatus when the military is dividing the sanitary areas but also, maybe in a more important context, when women and men are expected to contribute different kinds of personal characters. For NATO, recruiting women is strategically important, because there is a lack of women in the military. This is partly because of the hegemonic masculine military culture into which it might be hard for women to integrate. Women, Peace and Security policy agenda can be interpreted as an attempt to smoothen this image, in order to attract more women.

According to Elina Penttinen, acting according to the demands of a new security paradigm is possible, if there is enough competence and willingness to act according to the situation's needs. This is also the reason why NATO wishes to increase the participation of women: they are expected to act according to these circumstances. In chapter 3, I discussed the military as a zone of indistinction, in which masculinity is always haunted by femininity. The discussion about the role of women in the military has gone through a rapid evolution during which women have "transformed" (in Western feminist academic discourse) from constitutive military outsiders (Enloe 1989) to military workers with special qualities. The accelerating political interest in women's military participation stems from a change in the paradigm of war that by turn is a part of the liberal project. Projects on gender equality are consequential of the wider framework of the rise of biopolitical liberalism: The discourse of gender that was first strategically used by feminists is now done so by many others. Violent struggles are often ethnified, they have religious overtones or they might be conducted over resources. These changes are reflected in the nature of warfare but also in the constructions of nationhood and citizenship. The intervention in Afghanistan was the most present in my material. It is also a place where there are two kinds of militaries working parallel: the one that engages in the "war on terror" and the other that engages in "peacekeeping". The emergence of peacekeeping and waging war occurring at the same time in the same place reflects the change in security and defence in a global context.

To NATO, recruitment is an important process through which the alliance wishes to recruit feminine capacities (I assume that also masculine, but in different policy papers). Also, there is an urge to recruit more people to the reserve, especially women. The process of recruitment is also a

process of negotiating identities. From this perspective, the broader recognition of security has influenced the military as it seems to have a keen interest on recruiting women. From the position of a female subject, the problem is that every woman is expected to perform in a similar manner. In addition, this way of behaving oneself and the emphasis on responsibility can be interpreted as consequential for a neoliberal environment. However, organisations work for their own purposes, and it is natural to have targeted recruitment for its own purposes. What I consider to be problematic is the pre-given strategic and conceptual understanding of the mission, of which the recruits are supposed to serve.

In the last chapter of analysis I concentrated on the emergence of a new security agent, that I found not only from the material of analysis, but also from the research conducted by feminist scholars, who have studied the role of gender in the military (Penttinen 2009, 2010, 2013c; Kronsell 2010). The other chapters of analysis discuss military security, the nature of the military structure and the subjectivities in it. In the last chapter of analysis I concentrated on individuals and the capacities that the material addressed as 'essential' for the new security agent: action competence and emotional intelligence. This chapter was hitherto the most difficult to write, as I found it contradicting to discuss how an ideal security agent behave oneself in the situation that I had already questioned morally and ethically. The military cannot wage war for the creation of peace that exists outside of the war. However, there are women working in the military, and to criticise the fundamental reasons of intervention is not same as to expect that they will disappear. Maybe the context in this case should not be judged to be a limiting element. In order to overcome this problem, I read feminism biopolitically, which means placing feminism and neoliberalism inside the same genealogy in liberal biopolitics. This means that feminism can orient itself towards questions outside the liberal definitions of politics and political action. The (liberal) questions "how (and how much) to govern" and how to orient towards governance shifted to posthumanism, in which it is more important to interpret the world in less fragmented manner. With this move I also became closer to the question of biology and the social world, which I think is the most complex and difficult question for a feminist to approach. This shift allows for new research questions and makes subjectivity open for new experiences, and by that, for new interpretations.

The material emphasises the importance of gender expertise, on which the policy relies on in its knowledge production. This means that the problems are expected to be solved and recognized by experts. The gradual emergence of making female military participation a policy issue is an achievement but it comes with great complexities. In her article *Hankala sukupuoli – kriittisiä*

näkökulmia sukupuolten tasa-arvon edistämiseen Marjaana Jauhola asks the questions of the normative limits and the roles of gender experts as creators of these normative limits in crisis managements equality policies. If a gender is perceived as constantly negotiable and duplicative, it is a parody that gender experts should know this gender (Jauhola 2010, 268). Due to the limits of a feminist approach I think it is fruitful to think about the concept of gender and the limits it sets anew. In order to move away from the ontology of problem making, one needs to address the unquestioned belief systems that guide the research. This move prevents us from perceiving, creating and focusing on the same things again and again. On an individual level this means not forgetting that gender makes a difference, but placing another character of an individual into focus. Maybe a person gains personal fulfilment through her actions in the military, maybe the motivation comes from a sense of responsibility to share the expertise. Maybe thinking in terms of what unites people instead of what separates them is what counts on a personal level.

The problem is considered to be the low number of women in the operations and the recruitment of women. The original goal of UN Resolution 1325 is to make women true participants in the conflict and peace processes. Gender mainstreaming is, I argue, mainstreamed to be adaptable to whatever war story. In addition, the general rhetoric of war refers little to the real world, in which human contacts and feelings play the main role, no matter what context. Gender rhetoric is easily co-opted on a political level, and in the West it indicates to liberation. Launching UN Resolution 1325 was a great achievement that was preceded by women activists with the aim to gain more attention for women in conflict zones and women working in the military. In the context of NATO, the feminist issues of freedom from fear and freedom of sexual abuse are distant in recent conversations, in which the focus is on gender mainstreaming and safeguarding the lives of vulnerable other women. The military is still perceived as a masculine area, but the feminine is recognized in it not as dualistic other but as a complementary other. My original research question "how are the benefits of gender understood in NATO?" gets multiple answers. Firstly, the research question includes the feminist assumption that gender brings some kinds of benefits, as it does. These benefits are partly based on traditional and pre-given assumptions of gender, but if following a more joyful approach to IR, the benefits of gender lead us to emphasize a particular kind of professionalism or personal characteristics, that are increasingly meaningful in new kinds of security environments. NATO is taking action to increase gender awareness, which is a consequence of UN Resolution 1325, and to gain a broader recognition of security. Interestingly, on its rhetorical level NATO seems to have undergone a metamorphosis and has become an organisation of peace-building that is independent of the USA, rather than a military alliance. Because of UNCR 1325, gender equality is integrated

into training and education. Gender policy as a political agenda does not present women as combatants. Also, when gender is presented to mean women, discussing masculinities, violence and sexuality becomes difficult, also in education. Women are directed with other kinds of tasks, tasks that are more dependent on one's personality and capability to act according to the situation.

Before proceeding to the very last paragraph, I return to Foucault and his hitherto most complex sentence, in which "war has made the modern age". This means that liberal societies exist for the security and the promotion of peace, and this assumption comes with a paradox. In order to promote peace and humanity, life outside of liberal borders needs to be destructed; that is the only way to safeguard the humanity. The political constitution of life is the one that tests the liberal accounts of humanity. The liberal project of peace is not proceeding especially in the context of this thesis empirical material: NATO has adapted the concept of gender and it is using it biopolitically to govern sexual difference. Whilst gender has become rather familiar concept in policy papers, the other related concepts such as masculinity and sexuality are silenced. On rhetorical level, gender is a political category that should be acknowledged. However, for example Antti Häikiö stresses that it is too early to assume that wars are transforming from men's wars to women's missions (Häikiö 2010, 63). Häikiö argues that capacities performed by women are more suitable for civil crisis management missions than capacities traditionally performed by men. Again it seems that argumentation that uses gender as an explanatory category is actually not about gender, but about thinking anew, giving up of the thinking that I based on an old paradigm of war.

In social science one of the key problems is the relation between structure and agency, the material and ideational and stability and change. The researcher's ontological and epistemological positions define his or hers attitude to these questions. Because this thesis has a poststructuralist nature, the questions of socials change are difficult to respond because change is untheorizable and ubiquitous (Marsh 2010, 225). Applying the posthuman thinking means shift in the epistemological position. It allows us to think beyond the structures of power offer to us by Foucault and Butler and embrace the human potential, even in the most challenging circumstances. However, it is a very different approach. The problem is that in IR, the counter arguments are formed of the exact opposite. It is like the discipline proceeds in that way; one needs to be dramatic. Also, it seems that there is a wide gap between the critical academic research focusing on the moral flaws of recent crisis management and the state-building missions, and the more policy-oriented research that produces technical lessons learnt from reports of the implementation of such missions. That became evident when I used NATO's own lesson learnt –type of publications as my empirical material, and tried to reflect

them with critical research. The plurality of the topic became evident during the writing this thesis. In order to get the big picture, I decided to do the analysis on different levels and observe them separately. Therefore chapter two is written on a macro level, and chapter five on a micro level. What still remains unsaid is *how* international communities measure their achievements and overall impact. Another question is, if NATO's implementation of UNCR 1325 has had effect on anything other than a practical level and can it trickle the problem of gender specific violence, that is apparent on a policy level, down? Also, feminist concerns are easily ridiculed, thus what concerns me is whether the gender policy agenda can result in concrete changes in the ways the personnel are conducting their work.

7. Empirical Material

Publications:

Publication 1: Guidance for NATO gender mainstreaming

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50327.htm (2007) (Last checked 8.10.2013)

Publication 2: Improving the gender balance

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50327.htm (2008) (Last checked 8.10.2013)

Publication 3: Gender training and education: Recommendations on implementation 1325

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50327.htm (2009) (Last checked 8.10.2013)

Publication 4: Template of pre-deployment of gender training

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50327.htm (2010) (Last checked 8.10.2013)

Publication 5: Women, Peace and Security (2010)

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_82718.htm (Last checked 8.10.2013)

Publication 6: How Can gender Make a Difference to Security in Operations?

http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_topics/20120308_1869-11_Gender_Brochure.pdf (Last checked 8.10.2013)

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News 2: Women's role in promoting good governance in the defence and security sector **http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_99149.htm** (Last checked 16.10.2013)

News 3: Experts discuss mainstreaming gender perspective in georgia

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_90098.htm (Last checked 16.10.2013)

News 4: NATO Committee on Gender perspectives is granted…

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News 5: NATO discusses women and defence in Munich conference

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News 6: NCGP Annual meeting at NATO HQ
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News 9: Changing Gender Perspectives

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News 10: NATO promotes the Role of Women in Peace and Security

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News 11: NATO Secretary Genderal addresses conference on Women, Peace, and Security in **file://localhost/Brussels http/::www.nato.int:cps:en:natolive:news_61039.htm** (Last checked 16.10.2013)

News 12: Female Opinion Leaders visit NATO

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_61123.htm (Last checked 16.10.2013)

News 13: Boosting Women's role in Peace and Security (Feature Story) (Last cheked 15.10.2013)

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Opinion3: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-56F7F218-C702F360/natolive/opinions_61040.htm?selectedLocale=en (2010) (Last cheked 8.10.2013)

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