

# Peace Support Operations from a Gender Perspective

Utgiven av Försvarsberedningen, Försvarsdepartementet  
Redaktör: Anja Stegen  
Produktion: Edita Norstedts Tryckeri  
Grafisk form: Kristina W. Smith  
Omslagsfoto: Anders Anjou  
Tryck: Edita Norstedts Tryckeri, Stockholm 2004  
Skriften kan erhållas kostnadsfritt från  
Försvarsdepartementet, 103 33 Stockholm,  
e-post: [bestallning@defence.ministry.se](mailto:bestallning@defence.ministry.se)  
Skriften kan även laddas ner från Försvarsberedningens webbplats:  
[www.forsvarsberedningen.gov.se](http://www.forsvarsberedningen.gov.se)

ISSN: 1650-1543

ISBN: 91-974667-7-8

Artikelnr: FORBER0401

Detta är nummer 13 i Försvarsberedningens skriftserie.

# Foreword

International peace-keeping forces are playing an increasingly important role in global security policy. This is particularly noticeable in the cooperation within the European Union, where discussions on the Union's crisis management capability have become more concrete. There is also an enhanced awareness of the need for operations to reflect the world we wish to live in. In the autumn of 2000, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 (2000), "Women, Peace and Security". The Resolution establishes that the international community must take special account of women's vulnerable situation in times of war, and that the UN member states must cooperate to involve women in peace-building and conflict-resolution efforts. A concrete example of this awareness is the current UN mission in Liberia, which is based on the guidelines from the Brahimi report.

For many years, Sweden has been well known for its progressive and successful gender equality policy. We also want to serve as an example with regard to gender equality integration in peace-support operations.

Just as it is important to increase the proportion of women in all peace-support operations, particularly at decision-making level, it is equally as important to support women's local peace initiatives. But the presence of women does not guarantee the existence of a gender perspective. Ensuring a gender perspective that is well-integrated into day-to-day activities requires knowledge and education for both women and men.



A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "Leni Björklund".

Leni Björklund  
Minister for Defence

For some years, the Swedish Armed Forces have been building up skills concerning gender and gender equality issues and equal opportunity that have received increasing attention and recognition, even internationally. It is important that the Swedish Armed Forces and Sweden continue this conscious commitment and that the situation and importance of women, both as actors and as victims in

conflict scenarios, and in their roles in peace-building and reconstruction processes, are given greater attention.

The reports included in the Defence Commission's debate series express the opinions of the individual writers themselves. I hope that this report, by giving a broad description and analysis of the need for a gender perspective in international operations, will stimulate continued, conscious gender equality integration and an active debate on the subject.

# Peace Support Operations from a Gender Perspective

International peace-keeping forces play an increasingly important role in global security policy. In parallel with this development, the gender issue has been placed on the international agenda and has had an impact on the way these operations are discussed and assessed, particularly in international media. In peace support operations, military forces will always be the first on the scene in conflict areas where the security situation is unstable. In many regions today, military forces are on the spot to secure or maintain peace by force. Research indicates that the presence of women and the incorporation of a gender perspective in these efforts have a favourable effect on the peace process (Olsson & Tryggstad, 2001). This is vital, particularly in light of the fact that women increasingly make up the majority of the local population and also, to be legitimate and be able to function as role models for both women and men, troops should reflect the entire population. International research has shown how the presence of women in areas affected by conflict has significantly helped to create confidence-building and stable relations with local populations in their efforts to reconstruct their countries and endeavours to establish democracy (International Alert, 2002).

What is meant by a gender perspective?

The term 'gender' began to be used in research in women's studies at the end of the 1970s as a result of these researchers' realisation that concepts of female and male are largely social constructions and far from being solely a biologically given phenomena. A simplified distinction between the concepts of sex and gender can be described in the following terms. Sex classifies individuals into one of two categories, male or female, according to their biological differences (genitalia). What membership of one or the other category means in terms of the content and significance of the concepts of male/female is, however, often a matter of social construction. Content and meaning vary over time, across cultures and at different phases of life. The concept of gender refers to this social construction of the biological categories, male and female. This

concept extends far beyond biological and physical attributes to areas such as professions, roles in society, colours, emotions and clothes. In fact, most of our surroundings may be interpreted as having female or male connotations. The gender concept has been used in research as an analytical tool to draw attention to the way in which gender differences are constructed and conveyed in social groups, institutions, the media and law, etc. The advantage of distinguishing between sex and gender is thus that it enables an analysis of behaviour patterns caused by social, historical and symbolic constructions of gender.

However, arguments have been put forward disputing the distinction between sex and gender and some people believe that there is a false clarity in this distinction, since biological sex and social gender are inescapably linked (Eduards & Manns, 1987). Biological sex, too, is a fluid concept, culturally and historically, and our perception of the body is a precondition for gender construction. Thus, most researchers in the field currently use the concept of gender to refer *both* to biological and social representations of women and men, female and male.

In the general debate the concept of gender is becoming increasingly common and refers to an awareness of the different conditions of life for women and men, as reflected by their different positions in society. The gender perspective means that various questions are analysed and elucidated from the perspective of *both* women and men. This means that analyses such as this must focus on the perspective of both genders, not just one of them. Irrespective of whether we assume that the differences between the lives of women and men depend on biological or social factors, these differences must be analysed and taken account of in each individual issue. A central dimension of the gender perspective is the question of the distribution of power between women and men. Drawing attention to and taking action to rectify the uneven, gender-based distribution of power and influence in society is thus one of the most important aspects of the gender perspective.

Science and the universally accepted accounts of history have, however, long been characterised by androcentrism, i.e., the knowledge we possess and regard as generally accepted is largely formulated by men, for men. This has frequently led to results being incorrectly analysed and to the knowledge, needs and experience of women often becoming marginalised. Feminist research originated from the need to correct this imbalance by allowing research and the formation of knowledge to fo-

cus on those factors affecting women's lives. Even if much research in the past few decades has filled in some of the gaps in knowledge, a good deal remains to be done, particularly in the field of armed conflicts. This text will therefore primarily focus on the situation of women and girls in these contexts.

### A gender perspective in peace support operations

At all stages of peace support efforts, there are important gender aspects.

*Prior to the conflict.* Peace and conflict research discusses early warning signals, which are comprised of the risk factors indicating the imminent break out of armed conflicts. One of these may be extreme oppression of the female section of the population and also other sections of the population. A significantly uneven distribution of power resources increases the risk of a struggle for control over resources. Control over resources, like the exercise of power, are gendered, where women generally have considerably less power and influence than men. Conflicts that flare up tend to worsen the balance of power resources existing between women and men (El Jack, 2003).

*During the conflict.* Although conflict situations tend to reinforce existing gender stereotypes, new gender roles also emerge. Women, for example, often must take over the main responsibility for the household so that men are free to fight. This means that they have to struggle on their own to obtain resources that are often inaccessible while conflicts are going on. This increases women's vulnerability and the risk of falling victim to blackmail, or trafficking. Some research has also shown more positive effects of this re-structuring of society, where women frequently obtain more power in the civilian sphere during the conflict. The outcome seems to depend on the type of conflict and the way in which society was organised prior to it. Because of these differences between conflict areas, it is essential that an expert gender analysis be conducted so that peace-keeping personnel can be properly prepared.

Another aspect are the roles played by women during a conflict. With the emergence of an armed conflict, access to weapons increases, often throughout the entire population. Women are made use of, or partici-

pate on their own initiative, in smuggling weapons, using, for example, pregnancy as a cover. The presence of weapons among the civilian population and the difficulties of detecting weapons smuggled by women hamper peace support efforts and increase the risk of new violent conflicts flaring up (International Alert, 2002). Women can also be more vulnerable since the roles they play are often not among those protected by international law (Chinkin, 2001).

*After the conflict.* One effect of war is greater criminality and acts of violence among the civilian population as a result of increased access to weapons and the lack of traditional institutions to maintain law and order. Studies have shown both an increase in domestic violence at the post-conflict stage and also an increase in domestic violence involving weapons. The needs and rights of widows to dead husbands' land and property, etc. are not, as a rule, regulated by law, which is why women often lose all their property to the deceased husband's relatives ((Bell & Narayanaswamy, 2003; El Jack, 2003).

#### Resolution 1325

On 31 October 2000, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 (see the entire text of the Resolution in appendix 1). It takes up the impact of war on women and girls and women's participation in conflict resolution and sustainable peace-building processes. It establishes that the international community must be sensitive to and take special account of women's vulnerable situation in times of war, and that the UN member states must cooperate to involve women in peace-building and conflict-resolution processes. This includes both increasing the proportion of women, particularly at decision-making levels, in all peace support operations and supporting local women's peace initiatives. The Resolution also stresses the importance of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all peace support operations. It stresses the importance of education. The inclusion of women into peace and conflict-resolution processes by no means automatically guarantees the presence of a gender perspective. Moreover, there has been a distinct lack of such a perspective on the part of many men. The inclusion of a gender perspective requires that both women and men who are to take part in peace support operations have knowledge of and training in the subject.

There is, however, a noticeable absence of women in several dimensions of peace support processes. Organisations such as the UN have a relatively small proportion of women employed in peace missions. In 2002, only a fraction of UN police and military forces consisted of women. Studies show, moreover, that little effort has been made to get member states to increase the percentage of women in police or military forces. Data from 1957-1991 show a marginal increase and the figures today are around 3-5 per cent (Hicks Stiehm, 2001). In 2003, only one of the UN Secretary-General's Special Representatives in regions affected by conflict was a woman and only three women have previously held such a post. All the members of the UN's most important body, the Security Council, are men. The UN goal of achieving a more equal gender distribution (50/50) in all professional posts is fairly remote. However, there has, in general, been a slightly higher proportion of female civilian personnel in most peace support missions (Olsson, 2001). The problem is that they have not been given a sufficient amount of attention, nor have they held decision-making posts.

Different countries have made varying degrees of progress in their efforts to incorporate a gender perspective into their work and increase gender equality. To make it easier to implement Resolution 1325, the Dutch Ministries of Defence, Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs, and Social Affairs and Employment initiated an EQUAL project, "Gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations". The areas that have been identified as particularly important to analyse from a gender perspective are the following:

1. the local population
2. the daily contact between peace support personnel and local civilians
3. the peace support personnel as a group

The aim of the project is to increase knowledge about how the gender perspective can be handled in the framework of peace support operations, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and reconstruction after conflicts in order to improve the quality of the mission and shorten the time period of the operation.

## Women as victims in war and conflict situations

Irrespective of the kind of conflict being waged, the traditional image of men on the way to the front while women stay at home with the children and elderly, is nothing but a myth. The distinction between conflict zones and so-called safe zones, where the home is seen as a safe zone, is also completely incorrect and has been critically analysed by researchers from a gender perspective. Attacks against women are in fact becoming an increasingly common war strategy, particularly in the type of conflicts we are seeing today (El Jack, 2003).

When women become targets for war and conflicts, the care that women provide and which often holds families and society together is disrupted, drastically increasing the burden on the social structure (Olsson & Tryggestad, 2001).

Throughout the history of gender equality awareness, women as providers of (paid/unpaid) care have been described as the invisible hand that holds up society. A fundamental precondition for a community's survival is that the members of that community provide the care that is necessary. Care is a task performed for one or more people. The production of care may take place in the public domain, such as health care, municipal services and nurseries, or it may be unpaid, caring for one's own children, ageing parents, etc. For small children, the sick and the elderly, the provision of care is essential for survival, but a certain level of care is required just to maintain all close relations (Johansson, 2001).

In the majority of known cultures it is most common for women to be the providers of care to a much greater extent than men and for men to be the recipients of care to a much greater extent than they are the providers of it. (Delphy, 1980; Gemzöe, 2002; Eurostat, 2002; Johansson, 2001).

Providing (paid/unpaid) care is a fundamental component among the factors upholding the gendered power system, i.e., where and in what capacity women and men are found in society, on the labour market, in the economic system, in private relations, etc. What particularly characterises care provision is that it is time-consuming and requires the presence of the care provider. Both the real and the *expected* responsibility of women regarding care provision leads to greater freedom of movement and a wider range of choices for men than for women. The advantages men gain from the existing gendered power system are, in

other words, greater room for manoeuvre and more time to devote to other things such as paid work, careers and hobbies (Delphy, 1980; Johansson, 2001).

In Sweden, the unequal distribution between women and men as providers of care has long been regarded as a crucial obstacle to achieving greater gender equality. However, despite far-reaching social changes in the last few decades, both in the form of a greater percentage of career/working women with small children and the introduction of new technologies in the home and household, the one-month paternal leave and extended parental insurance etc., the unequal distribution between women and men as care providers has only been marginally narrowed (Gemzöe, 2002; Statistics Sweden 2002). Figures recently showing that the time women spend on unpaid care work have declined, also show that this does not depend on men investing appreciably more of their time in unpaid care. Instead one of the more serious obstacles to gender equality in Sweden has been “solved” by transferring a growing proportion of this formerly unpaid work to a black or white labour market. This solution is hardly an alternative for women who are part of the local population of countries that the international community is supposed to be protecting and helping in various peace support operations.

These women are also usually regarded as the property of males, without rights of their own, but, if they behave according to conventional norms, a source of pride to their husbands and families and evidence that the male patriarchy has succeeded in its task of controlling women’s labour and sexuality. In parts of Africa and Asia, for example, daughters are sold to the husband to be and his family, and in some countries these women also by legal definition become the property of the husband (Nussbaum, 1999). Sexually raping women, preferably in front of their husbands, is a strategy of war that is often used in order to break down families and cause social instability (Rehn & Johnson Sirleaf, 2002). Rape of this sort sends a clear message to the raped women’s husbands: “You have failed to protect your women and thus you are not real men”. The contempt (an expression of a forceful projection directed at female victims, who remind their men of their failure by their mere presence) and the social exclusion confronting these female victims of sexualised violence by “their own people” frequently forces them to flee. This leads to particular hardship for women, since it reduces their ability to gain access to the necessities required to maintain a household. It also often

leads to social expulsion and poverty for these women and their children (Bell & Narayanaswamy, 2003; El Jack, 2003).

The numerous new roles shouldered by women in armed conflicts, entailing both reproductive, productive and social responsibility, are a heavy burden and often delegated to daughters who are therefore not able to continue at school. This naturally increases the imbalance between the genders, even after the end of the armed conflict. What is defined as peace from a gender perspective can differ from a traditional definition. For women, peace is not only the cessation of armed conflict, since gender discrimination is still going on. As long as the power imbalance and the unequal distribution of responsibility for care between the genders remain unaddressed, there can be no lasting peace.

Several studies also indicate that the presence of peace-keeping troops contributes to increasing the incidence of prostitution and sexual slavery (International Alert, 2002). Up to now, women's organisations' work and reports to the police have often been ignored. The majority of these police reports regarding sexual and physical assaults on women and children are directed at male, military peace-keepers. Examples from Cambodia, Namibia, Somalia, Bosnia and Kosovo bear witness to the fact that the response to these reports to the police from the military command responsible for peace-keeping troops has sometimes consisted of dealing out condoms and asking officers to be more discrete, such as avoiding wearing uniforms when visiting brothels and parking as far away from these institutions as possible! (ibid.)

Between 1999 and 2000, female minors were involved in armed conflicts in at least 32 countries. These girls are sometimes treated as sexual possessions given to soldiers as a "reward". In return for food and protection, these women and girls are often required to perform sexual services, which also drastically increase the risk of HIV infection. The forced pregnancies that this often leads to means that women have special medical needs in war and conflict situations, such as extra nutritional requirements and food during pregnancy and breast-feeding. In the UNIFEM (2002) report by Elisabeth Rehn and Elle Johnson Sirleaf, the authors write that the youngest victim of sexual violence that they had come across was a nine-month old baby girl that soldiers had queued up to rape.

Researchers have also begun to direct their attention to the grey area often arising in this context where many officers have proved to have

girlfriends among the local population during long postings. These officers sometimes pay for the upkeep of these girls, which leads to a dramatic social and financial transformation for these girls. The question, however, is whether this leads to an improvement. Male members of local populations often have very negative attitudes towards these relationships. Our knowledge of what happens to these girlfriends when their male officers return home is still limited. If girlfriends (often active themselves in forming ties with male officers precisely because it increases their social and financial resources at least temporarily) tend to have several such relationships, it naturally increases the risk of sexually transmitted diseases, particularly HIV. Similarly, the risk increases of unwanted pregnancies and “UN babies”, events that these women must deal with themselves, as it is very uncommon for male officers to take their girlfriends with them when they return home, although this is what many girlfriends want and have perhaps been led to believe (Barth, 2004).

The issue of relations between peace-keepers and local girlfriends is also problematic because of the unequal power situation between them. It should therefore be analysed on the basis of the social and economic changes brought about by the conflict. The issue of “UN babies” is also important to consider from the perspective of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Women and girls are thus exploited as sexual slaves in almost all dimensions of war and conflict situations, in refugee camps, by the police, the armed forces, UN delegates, etc. This slavery makes the reconstruction of countries impossible. All forms of gender-related violence must therefore be criminalised and the reporting of rape and sexual exploitation of women associated with peace support personnel must be improved and the perpetrators sentenced.

### Peace support operations often lack a gender perspective

Peace support operations usually lack a carefully prepared gender perspective. The result is that the majority of resources from these operations do not go to the women and girls who most need them. The contents of programmes aimed at supporting women and men at the various stages of reconstruction are, moreover, often very gender-stereotyped. In Sri Lanka, for example, income-generating activities such as gardening, pottery and needlework were targeted at women, whereas support to medical training or business studies was targeted at men. In Kosovo,

hydro engineers all of whom were male, were supplied with new technical aids, while women, who were most often employed in developing services for the disabled, hygiene services etc. had to settle with sharing old technical aids in need of repair. In this way, the power imbalance continues, even when armed conflicts cease.

This imbalance can also be found in rehabilitation and reintegration programmes, where the needs of the family tend to be neglected and support only goes to the husband. This is particularly apparent with regard to female ex-soldiers, who are often marginalised when armed conflicts cease, while male ex-soldiers are invited to take part in new political structures and veteran organisations.

The lack of relevant gender analyses also means that financial support and programmes do not achieve the same favourable results for women as for men. In Eritrea's war against Ethiopia, where military forces comprised almost 50 per cent of the population and a very large number of female soldiers, both female and male ex-soldiers were given financial support. Many of these women were single mothers and the financial support they received was immediately spent on the needs of the family, such as food and medicine. When this financial support ceased, these women rapidly became poor and vulnerable. Male ex-soldiers, on the other hand, were able to invest the money in land or businesses or put it into the bank. Rehabilitation centres that help boys who were soldiers start a new life offer rehabilitation, education, support in becoming engineers or teachers, food, clothes and medical assistance. None of this exists for women and girls in the same situation (El Jack, 2003).

Only taking account of women's needs during and after armed conflict is not sufficient. Even if international laws and conventions protect women from gender-related violence and recognise the particular difficulties faced by women in these situations, women must be allowed to work together with men in creating conflict-resolution and peace processes that allow equal terms for men and women. Lasting peace and democracy are not achieved by protecting women from different forms of gender-related violence, but by including them in important decision-making positions in the community.

## Women as actors in war and conflict situations

Even if the perception of women as victims in war and the patriarchal society is a gloomy reality, there is yet another perception that must be brought to attention and supported; women as actors, women who play important roles in peace processes. This applies both to women from the local population and women taking part in peace support missions.

Numerous studies have noted that gender roles change in various ways during armed conflicts and that this can entail positive potential for social changes in gender relations (Bell & Narayanaswamy, 2003). It is important to call attention to and support these processes. Women are often active in local peace activities and women's movements; in certain countries, such as Afghanistan, they lead an underground existence to avoid reprisals from men. These women's groups are knowledgeable about and familiar with their countries and have developed thoughts and ideas about the kinds of support women need. To ensure that even more stringent sanctions against women are not implemented after an armed conflict, it is very important to seek out, listen to and cooperate with these women's groups.

A number of studies have shown that it is often women in these countries who present the greatest resistance to our western ideals of gender equality. This is because women who go against the patriarchal system face very tough sanctions. Therefore, knowledge and sensitivity are needed to deal successfully with these issues.

Peace-keeping troops maintain close contact with the local population, and the fact that military forces include women facilitates the meeting between the two groups. Experiences from, for example, NOBATT, the Norwegian battalion in Lebanon, showed that the women taking part in the military forces developed very good relations with women from the local population, thereby obtaining access to valuable information both in terms of security and for being able to carry out the mandate (Karamé, 2001).

Women from the local population are reluctant to share their experiences with men, even if women personnel are present. If, however, women from the local population are left alone with women personnel, they are more inclined to speak freely. In some cases, this has led to what has become known as Women's Patrols. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, women from a Swedish unit took the initiative to form a special women's pa-

trol, which led to many women from the local population getting in touch.

The UNTAG mission in Namibia included many women and is considered to be one of the UN's most successful missions. There was very clear command responsibility with regard to the integration of a gender perspective both internally and externally, as well as gender expertise. A study indicated that those in command play a vital role when it comes to policies involving gender being implemented and gender equality aspects being reinforced in initiatives and in the host country.

Regular updates of the military troop's conduct, both on and off duty, resulted in the speedy detachment of personnel who behaved poorly. This sent clear signals regarding the zero tolerance position towards sexual harassment supported by those in command. According to the people interviewed in the study, the mission's female personnel were perceived as being more inclined to respect and cooperate with the local population in reaching peaceful solutions than the male personnel. The involvement of local women's organisations was sought with the aim of achieving free and independent elections regardless of gender, and a constitution based on gender equality (Olsson, 2001).

Other missions whose content has included a conscious gender perspective, such as in Sierra Leone, have also focused on encouraging women to vote, participate in peace processes and assume decision-making positions in the new social structure. Support aimed at expanding communal childcare has also been successful. It increases women's chances of generating an income, which is of particular importance when one or more male members of a family have disappeared or been killed in war and women are the sole breadwinners (Bell & Narayanaswamy, 2003).

One important task for military units participating in peace support operations is to disarm the combatants and confiscate light and heavy weapons circulating among the civilian population. International actors see DDR (disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration) as one of the most important steps in the peace process. The number of weapons collected under the DDR programme increased when women participated in the peace support efforts (Bell & Narayanaswamy, 2003).

When male personnel are conscious of the importance of gender aspects in peace support missions, it has a positive effect on the mission. A coming study from the Department for Leadership and Management (ILM) at the Swedish National Defence College (Blomgren & Johansson,

2004) contains a report on the experiences gained from leading peace support missions in Bosnia and Kosovo. In the report, there is a description of an episode in which Swedish officers negotiated with the people in a village.

The negotiations took place between several officers and some men chosen to represent the village. The dialogue was arduous and went on for several days. The Swedish officer leading the negotiations noticed that there were a few older women who remained in the background. They were always present but never said anything. It was clear that the dialogue was the men's arena, but the officer had the feeling that the women were important in some way. He decided to show that he was aware of their presence. He did this by going over to the women at the next day's meeting and greeting them one at a time by shaking their hands – but not saying anything. By the next day a change had occurred and there was a greater willingness to seek compromises. The officer interpreted this to show that the women played an important role “behind the scenes” and, through his actions, he had strengthened their influence over the process. It was also his impression that this increased confidence for his own persona in the eyes of the villagers.

The event describes the officer's own initiative in calling attention to a gender perspective and the positive outcome this produced. It also makes clear how important it is that gender analyses should play a systematic role in missions by Swedish international forces.

In summary, studies from areas like Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador and South Africa show:

1. That women from the local population would rather confide in women personnel.
2. Women negotiators understand and articulate the implications of peace processes for women better than male negotiators.
3. Peace support missions with a high percentage of women have had greater success than those with few women or no women at all.
4. When at least 30 per cent of a peace support mission consists of female personnel, women from the local population join peace committees quicker and to a greater extent.
5. When gender perspective is handled within the framework of peace support missions, the quality of the mission increases.

## The military profession from a gender perspective

Many nations have little expectation of being drawn into a war. In these countries, the traditional role of the military has changed to one in which peace support missions in war-torn countries have become one of the primary assignments for the armed forces. This change has also turned gender integration into a highly topical issue. Opponents of increased gender integration contend that women's physical and mental capabilities when it comes to combat risk bringing a uniform profile to the military profession. Women are thought to be softer and more peaceful than men by nature and therefore less suited to war. Another common argument is that deaths among women officers or soldiers are perceived as more disturbing than deaths among men by the civilian society. Yet another common argument is that women who have leadership roles in peace support missions are not accepted by the patriarchal society that characterises most of the host countries.

Advocates of gender integration claim that the arguments against gender integration have very little empirical support and are an expression of the established gender roles (i.e. stereotyped or idealised conceptions of gender) and what is felt as distortions of them. Furthermore, the arguments were contradicted by actual experiences, such as those of the United States in connection with the Gulf War. There was concern from the United States Department of Defence that fatalities among female US soldiers would produce strong reactions against the presence of women in these conflicts. However, experience showed that US society had adapted to the new gender roles, and announcements of deaths among female personnel caused no more of a stir or shock than announcements of deaths among male personnel (Franke, 1997).

A number of studies have shown that when women wear uniforms or have an official command position, men in local populations accept it (Karamé, 2001). It has been positive when female and male colleagues have collaborated and displayed an equal relation in their contacts with the host country (Olsson & Tryggstad, 2001). Given the contents of Resolution 1325, it is not self-evident that certain arguments advocating the acceptance of prejudiced concepts of gender among the local population of host countries should be allowed to serve as guidelines for the way the UN chooses to organise its activities. One task incumbent upon representatives of the international community is to communicate the value of gender equality.

Furthermore, advocates of gender integration contend that aggressiveness and suitability for military service are learned social skills, they are not something one is born with. Thus it is possible to train women to take part in war, just as you can train men. Other advocates maintain that it is precisely because women have been socialised in less aggressive and violent roles that they are particularly well-suited to partake in peace support operations, and armed forces in future will choose to have more women precisely because they are women (DeGroot, 2001; Karamé, 2001).

In this context, there are discussions that the current military training is problematic for the new military tasks, since it accentuates masculine characteristics such as violence and aggression. In peace support operations, personnel are expected to keep aggression under control and strive for understanding; violence in this context is a failure. Studies of war and conflict situations using a gender perspective show that women and men react differently in emergency situations. While men's violence has a greater tendency to be uncontrolled, women are, in general, more controlled. Men's aggressiveness also tends to escalate in strongly male-dominated contexts, which can be counterproductive in peace support operations (DeGroot, 2001). A number of studies on unit group cohesion show that the hyper-masculine culture that can arise in only male groups greatly increases the risk for negative social consequences. Winslow's (1997) studies of Canadian units in Somalia are one such example of hyper-masculinity resulting in violence and criminal acts. Furthermore, studies along these same lines show that the presence of women in these groups reduces hyper-masculinity (Rosen et al., 2003). Regardless of women's and men's natures, we are strongly influenced by the prevailing gender conceptions. In this respect, research shows that women are *perceived* as being more peaceful than men. In peace support operations, this has been shown to have calming and stabilising effects. Women police officers, for example, have calming effects on aggressive men while the presence of male police officers tends to be conceived as more provocative and likely to escalate violence (DeGroot, 2001).

It is not immediately obvious to see how one and the same person can be trained for both war and peace support responsibilities simultaneously within the framework of military education. Due to the unstable security situation that prevails in most peace support operations, the military force needs to be able to react to an escalation of violent

situations. At the same time, reacting with violence too quickly is devastating, something that military training for full-scale warfare aims at. The composition of units therefore plays a vital role, and the increased integration of female personnel constitutes an important dimension for handling the complexity that is expected of military forces in peace support operations. However, including more women does not automatically mean the inclusion of a gender perspective or that women are essentially different from men. That is why thorough educational measures in the field of gender and gender equality are needed, both in military training in general and specifically targeting peace support operations.

It is apparent that although women have participated in war throughout the ages, the military profession and attitudes towards it have not changed in any noticeable way through female influence, on the contrary (DeGroot, 2001). Throughout history, we see how women have normally been called in to serve in wars during emergency situations, since female military personnel have been a last resort. On those occasions, women have shown themselves to be just as capable as men, and sometimes better (Ibid.). During World War II, the Russians desperately appealed to women after the German invasion of 1941. The women served in a variety of combat positions, primarily as combat pilots. Even though they were assigned the worst planes, they generally performed better than the men (DeGroot, 2001). After the war, women's accomplishments seem to have been forgotten and those women who wished to remain in the military were prevented from doing so. Female war veterans were considered an embarrassment, a reminder of male failure. Women who had killed during war received no honours, while men who had not killed anyone were hailed as war heroes. Even if the military has changed many women, they have had little, if any, influence on the military profession. The expression, "real men don't do peacekeeping" also implies something about the way men might view the military profession's constraints towards both women and peace support operations.

#### The Swedish Armed Forces from a gender perspective

For quite some time, the Swedish Armed Forces have been exclusively male with regard to both numbers and connotation (Berggren, 2002; Ivarsson, 2002). The posts held by women (up until 1981) were not of a military nature, such as cooks, cleaners, switchboard operators etc. From

1980, when Swedish Armed Forces military positions opened for women to some extent (all restrictions were removed in 1989 and it became possible for women to apply for all military posts), until the present, the percentage of women officers has increased at a very slow rate. Today, the percentage of women officers is approximately 3.6 per cent. Explanations as to why women are so strongly underrepresented can be based on a number of different factors. Many international studies show, for example, that women are much more inclined to take a negative view of military actions than men (Ivarsson, 2002).

Another important factor involves men's attitudes to women in military positions. From a gender perspective, one problem with male-dominated professions is... "the homosocial relations that arise through men's tendency to prefer and seek out one another for self-reflection, relaxation, backup and support aimed at confirming their own sexual identities and the culturally prevailing male image and thereby, consciously or unconsciously, contributing to preserving male dominance" (Pingel, 2001, page 101).

Negative or ambivalent attitudes to women as officers and conscripts among the men in the Swedish Armed Forces can therefore influence the measures, or lack of them, taken to increase the proportion of women officers. They also influence women officers' daily situation in the organisation, ... "The chances for women to succeed in male-dominated professions therefore largely depend on how positively their colleagues, and primarily their male supervisors or management, view the presence of women." (Ibid.).

Based on a number of evaluations of gender equality projects in Swedish working life, we can now draw the conclusion that it is necessary for organisations that are to conduct external gender equality work to deal first with the lack of gender equality inside the organisation. The problem in the Swedish Armed Forces is not insignificant. The studies conducted regarding the existence of gender discrimination and sexual harassment within Defence showed that, over a three-year period, 59 per cent of women officers had been subjected to gender discrimination and sexual harassment (Berggren & Ivarsson, 2002). After various educational measures had been undertaken, the figure arrived at in 2002 was 47 per cent. Analyses of the results showed that the measures had had some effect but that the problem was still considerable (Berggren, 2003). This shows that the Swedish Armed Forces are in a position to deal with

the problem but that greater efforts must be made to increase internal gender equality. Otherwise, it will not be possible to conduct qualitative peace-support operations in which Resolution 1325 is observed. Furthermore, gender inspections conducted of units on international missions have shown that the gender problem is largely a question of gender discrimination and sexual harassment *within* units. This of course reduces the Swedish Armed Forces' chances of increasing the percentage of women officers and of retaining those they have.

What can the Swedish Armed Forces do?

Two themes dominate the international debate on gender and peace-keeping:

- 1) gender balancing
- 2) gender mainstreaming

The first means that financial resources and political pressure are used to increase gender equality numerically in units that will be sent out on international missions. The second deals more with content and the final result means that the gender question is well integrated into daily operations (this would mean, for example, that good gender knowledge is a prerequisite for participating in peace support missions). Gender mainstreaming can be said to stand in contrast with the practice most frequently used where gender questions are marginalised, for example when one or two hours are reserved for these questions during training without letting the perspective affect other relevant parts of the education or training.

Sweden has extensive knowledge about gender equality questions, which can actively be used to implement a gender perspective in peace-keeping operations. These fall within the framework for the efforts being conducted internationally. Three aspects are focused on here.

#### *Increased initiatives targeting recruitment*

A common argument with regard to recruitment is that there are no more women available; quite simply, that woman will not or cannot be recruited/promoted. However, studies show that it is usually the case that no major efforts have been made to find women to recruit (SOU, 2003:16; Sjöstrand & Petrelius, 2002). Another issue that should be dealt

with in this context is the question, “what can we then do/offer/change so that more women will choose/be able to apply for a post/promotion?”

An evaluation of civilian Swedish women in UN service shows that those women selected for, and who later take part in international missions, constitute an especially dynamic group, rich in resources, with a very high level of motivation (Tedfledt, 1997). The question, however, is whether these women are recruited to decision-making positions and what efforts are actually made to increase the recruitment of women, both to the Swedish Armed Forces in general and to peace support operations. Greater demands should be put on the Swedish Armed Forces to initiate more and better measures to increase the recruitment of women, primarily in military and decision-making positions.

### *Education*

A gender perspective for peace support operations does not merely mean including more women. Each unit dispatched in international service must be educated in Resolution 1325 and in gender issues of the area in question and the effects of the conflict. The Commanding Officer must be responsible for ensuring that Resolution 1325 is observed by all staff, in all operational planning and implementation, with the active support of the organisation as a whole. The manner in which Resolution 1325 has been followed should be reported upon by each unit and be followed up by the Joint Force Command (OPIL), which has employer responsibility for the Swedish forces abroad. Ultimate responsibility for its implementation, according to Resolution 1325, lies with the Commander-in-Chief of the organisation. It is therefore important that good knowledge of gender issues also is found at the higher levels of the Swedish Armed Forces.

### *Organisation*

Initially, the Swedish Armed Forces should establish positions that deal solely with issues relating to Resolution 1325 and that coordinate research and education in this field. A gender expertise group should also be appointed, to be involved in preparations of all international assignments.

A further proposal, put forward in Norway (Skjelsbæk, 2004) is to appoint one or two gender officers to each mission, preferably in the

framework of Civil Military Cooperation (CIMIC), which is a special unit in the UN peace-keeping forces working both with civilians and the military. The task of these gender officers is to act as coordinators and experts with regard to gender issues in all aspects of the mission and vis-à-vis the local population. In addition to training in gender issues and Resolution 1325, gender officers should receive special training with regard to sexualised violence and in recognising post-traumatic stress syndromes (PTSD) related to sexual violence. In this context, sexual violence is presented as a security threat, which is why gender officers' tasks should also include documentation and reporting of the incidence of sexual violence. The extensive inter-ethnic rapes in Bosnia (the figures for these vary from between 14 000 to 50 000 depending on the source) are, according to Skjelsbæk examples of sexual violence as a security threat.

Furthermore, Swedish and Norwegian researchers have stressed the importance of creating a Nordic network for women working with international security issues as a step in increasing women's expertise and participation in conflict interventions and peace support operations (Olsson & Skjelsbæk, 2004). The Swedish Armed Forces should actively take part in this, as in other international cooperation relating to Resolution 1325.

Our knowledge of gender issues in peace support operations continues to be very limited in Sweden and Europe. The Swedish Armed Forces should therefore invest in research on the implications of Resolution 1325. Today there is very little knowledge on what the Resolution entails for the Swedish Armed Forces and the way in which it should be implemented. Nor is any systematic research being conducted in the field. The extensive work that should be initiated within the Swedish Armed Forces will not be achieved without sufficient economic incentives or resources.

### In conclusion

Equality between women and men is one of the most important preconditions in a country's democratisation process and the integration of a gender perspective is the responsibility of both women and men. A country such as Sweden, which is well known for its progressive gender equality policies, can through experience and expertise contribute positively within the field of gender implementation and problem resolving. However,

this also means that Sweden has much to lose from poor behavior of its troops or poorly implemented policy in the field of gender equality. Up to now, the integration of a gender perspective has largely targeted the needs and experiences of women. This is because men's needs, unlike those of women, are already so well-integrated in most policies and programmes that they are regarded as self-evident. Gender equality is not a field that we can ever say we have achieved, but rather a goal towards which we must strive. In all countries, in different situations and through all generations, the gender perspective must be continually monitored. UN Resolution 1325 is one example of such monitoring in the field of armed conflict.

# References

- Barth, E. (2003). The United Nations mission in Eritrea/Ethiopia: Gender(ed) effects. In L. Olsson & I. Skjelsbæk (Eds.) *Gender aspects of conflict interventions: Intended and unintended consequences*. Oslo: PRIO.
- Berggren, A. (2002). *Undercover operations in no-women's land. The Swedish Armed Forces through a gender lens*. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.
- Berggren, A. (2003). *Replikering av 1999-års studie avseende förekomsten av sexuella trakasserier inom Försvarsmakten*. Stockholm: Swedish National Defence College.
- Berggren & Ivarsson. (2002). *Jakten sätter på attacken*. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.
- Blomgren, E. & Johansson. (2004). *Bataljonchefsrollen i ny kontext – exemplet Bosnien/Kosovo*. Stockholm: Swedish National Defence College/ILM.
- Chinkin, C. (2001). *Gender mainstreaming in legal and constitutional affairs: A reference manual for government and other stakeholders*. Stylus Publishing LLC.
- DeGroot, G.J. (2001). A few good women: Gender stereotypes, the military and peacekeeping. In L. Olsson & T. Tryggestad (Eds.) *Women and International Peacekeeping*. Chippenham, Wiltshire: Anthony Row.
- Delphy, C. (1980). A materialist feminism is possible. *Feminist Review* no. 4, 1980.
- Eurostat 2002. *The life of women and men in Europe: A statistical portrait*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Franke, Linda Bird (1997). *Ground Zero. The Gender Wars in the Military*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Fox, M-J. (2001). The idea of women in peacekeeping: Lysistrata and Antigone. In L. Olsson & T. Tryggestad (Eds.) *Women and International Peacekeeping*. Chippenham, Wiltshire: Anthony Row .
- Gemzöe, L. (2002). *Feminismer*. Stockholm: Bilda Förlag
- Hicks Stiehm, J. (2001). Women, peacekeeping and peacemaking; gender balance and mainstreaming. In L. Olsson & T. Tryggestad (Eds.) *Women and International Peacekeeping*. Chippenham, Wiltshire: Anthony Row.

- International Alert. (2002). *Gender mainstreaming in peace support operations: moving beyond rhetoric to practice*. London International Alert.
- Ivarsson, S. (2002). *Diskurser kring kvinnor i uniform – om attityder till kvinnor som officerare och värnpliktiga bland män inom Försvarsmakten*. Stockholm: Swedish National Defence College/ ILM.
- Johansson, V. (2001). *Där könsmakten ändras*. Umeå: Boréa.
- Karamé, K (2001). Military women in peace operations: Experiences of the Norwegian battalion in UNIFIL 1978-1998. In L. Olsson & T. Tryggestad (Eds.) *Women and International Peacekeeping*. Chippenham, Wiltshire: Anthony Row .
- Nussbaum, M.C. (1999). *Sex and social justice*. New York: Oxford university Press.
- Olsson, L. (2001). Gender mainstreaming in practice: The United Nations transitional assistance group in Namibia. In L. Olsson & T. Tryggestad (Eds.) *Women and International Peacekeeping*. Chippenham, Wiltshire: Anthony Row .
- Olsson & Tryggestad (2001). *Women and International Peacekeeping*. Chippenham, Wiltshire: Anthony Row .
- Olsson, L., & Skjelsbæk, I. (2004). *Gender aspects of conflict interventions: Intended and unintended consequences*. Oslo:PRIO.
- Pingel, B. (2001). Kvinnors karriär – hinder och möjligheter, I Gonäs, Lindgren & Bildt (Red.), *Könssegregering i arbetslivet*. Stockholm: National Institute for Working Life
- Rehn, E. & Johnson Sirleaf, E. (2002). *Women, war, peace*. New York: UNIFEM.
- Rosen, L.N., Knudson, K.H. and Fancher, P. (2003). Cohesion and the culture of hypermasculinity in U.S. army units. *Armed Forces & Society*, 29, 325-351.
- Skjelsbæk, I.(2003). The NATO stabilization force in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A military intervention facing new civilian challenges. In L. Olsson & I. Skjelsbaek (Eds.) (2004). *Gender aspects of conflict interventions: Intended and unintended consequences*. Oslo:PRIO.
- Sjöstrand, S-E & Petrelius, P (2002). *Rekrytering av koncernstyrelser: nomineringsförfaranden och styrelsesammansättning med fokus på kvinnors ställning och möjligheter*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Swedish Government Official Reports SOU series *Mansdominans i förändring: om ledningsgrupper och styrelser*. Stockholm: Edita Norstedts Tryckeri AB.

- Statistics Sweden. (2003) *På tal om kvinnor och män: lathund om jämställdhet*. Örebro: SCB-Tryck.
- Winslow, D. (1997). *The Canadian airborne regiment in Somalia: A socio-political inquiry*. Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing.
- Resolution 1325 (2000)

## Women, Peace and Security

Resolution 1325 (2000), adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000.

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and recalling also the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

*Recalling also* the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

*Bearing in mind* the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

*Expressing* concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

*Reaffirming* the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the main-

tenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

*Reaffirming* also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

*Emphasizing* the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

*Recognizing* the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

*Recognizing also* the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

*Recognizing* that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

*Noting* the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls.

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;
2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of

- women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
  4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;
  5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;
  6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;
  7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;
  8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:
    - (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
    - (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve

women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

- (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;
9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
  10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;
  11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;
  12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;
  13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;
  14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind

the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;
16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peacebuilding and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;
17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;
18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

I debattserien 2000-2004 har tidigare publicerats:

*Revolution i det svenska försvaret* av Michael Moore,  
artikelnr: FOBER0001, ISBN: 91-973320-2-x

*Missilhot mot Sverige?* av Stefan Axberg och Ingemar Dörfer,  
artikelnr: FOBER0002, ISBN: 01-973320-3-8

*Se upp med Asien!* av Ingolf Kiesow och Wei-Jen Hu,  
artikelnr: FOBER0103, ISBN: 91-973320-4-6

*Försvaret och det vidgade säkerhetsbegreppet* av Eva Haldén,  
artikelnr: FORBER0104, ISBN: 91-973320-7-0

*Totalförsvaret är överspelat – vi behöver ett samhällsförsvär!*  
av Bengt Sundelius,  
artikelnr: FORBER0105, ISBN: 91-973320-5-4

*Hotet från biologiska vapen – myt eller verklighet?* av Roger Roffey,  
artikelnr: FORBER0106, ISBN: 91-974233-0-0

*Folket, försvaret och framtiden* av Göran Lindmark och Göran Stütz,  
artikelnr: FORBER0107, ISBN: 91-974233-1-9

*Idéernas kamp i säkerhetspolitiken* av Ulla Gudmundson,  
artikelnr: FORBER0201, ISBN: 91-974233-3-5

*Den europeiska säkerhetspolitiska horisonten* av Hans-Christian Hagman,  
artikelnr: FORBER0202, ISBN: 91-974233-6-X

*Försvär i förändring* av Michael Moore,  
artikelnr: FORBER0301, ISBN: 91-974233-8-6

*The Transatlantic Link – 4 Voices on European and North American Relations*  
av Philippe Errera, Charles Grant, Bo Huldt, Robert E. Hunter,  
artikelnr: FORBER0302, ISBN: 91-974667-2-7

*Genusperspektiv på fredsfrämjande insatser* av Sophia Ivarsson,  
artikelnr: FORBER0303, ISBN: 91-974667-4-3