

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background

One of the most important aspects of a nation is its military. A military or an armed force is a professional organization formally authorized by a sovereign state to use lethal or deadly force and weapons to support the interests of the state. It typically consists of branches such as an Army, Navy, Air Force, and in certain countries, Marines and a Coast Guard. But the military in the past usually applies to men. It is because, at that time, the military has been defined traditionally as a masculine institution since the society still differentiates gender role where men have to have masculine traits like a firm, dominating, rational and women has to have feminine traits like gentle, submissive and emotional. These different social traits make men and women have different roles in a society like men have to go to work and go to war while women have to take care of the house, cooking, and taking care of the baby.

However, since world war 1, the role of women in the military has begun to increase. For example, at that time, women did participate in the military, but many of them only do support roles like nursing, doctor educates people about the war, etc., like the United States and Serbia. Only a few participated in combat. During the first World War, the only nation to deploy female combat troops in substantial numbers was Russia. In World war 2, the number of women that participated in

combat continued to increase. At that time, all the major participating nations enlisted women. The majority served in nursing and clerical or support roles. Over 500,000 women had combat roles in anti-aircraft units in Britain and Germany, as well as front-line units in the Soviet Union.

As time goes on, along with the development of gender equality, the role of women in the military has begun to increase up until now, and many countries start to permit women to participate in the military even though the number of women in the military is still very small compared to men, for example, it is approximately 3% in India, 10% in the UK (UK armed forces biannual diversity statistics: 2017, 2017), 15% in France ( "Rapport d'information du Sénat N°373 : Des femmes engagées au service de la défense de notre pays", 2015), 13% in Sweden (HISTORIK, n.d.), 16% in the US, 15.3% (Support Army Recruiting, n.d.) in Canada (Women in the Canadian Armed Forces, 2019), and 27% in South Africa (defenceWeb, 2011) even though there are still some countries have not yet allowed women to enter the military, such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

One of the ways a country can increase the number of personnel in the military is through conscription. Conscription in Europe was broadly and simultaneously introduced around the beginning of the nineteenth century, in France as early as 5 September 1798; in Prussia in 1814 (and in other German states a few years later), in Spain, 1831; in Sweden, 1812; in Norway, 1814, and in Denmark, 1849. The first great conscription army was established by Napoleon in 1812, who led 0.6 million French soldiers against Russia.

In 1970, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway shared somewhat similar conscription arrangements. At that time, conscription was an obligatory for almost all young men of a cohort, and conscripts constituted the bulk of all armed forces personnel: in Denmark one half, in Sweden two thirds, and in Norway three fourths. Even though in the past, conscription is only allowed for men, but as time goes on up until now, some countries also begin to implement conscription not only for men but also for women but only for some countries and with some difference in service exemptions, length of service, and more. In 2006, those countries were: China, Eritrea, Israel, Libya, Malaysia, North Korea, Peru, and Taiwan. In 2018, only two countries conscripted men and women on the same formal conditions: Norway and Sweden (Persson & Sundevall). Norway, as one of the only two countries that conscripted women and men on the same formal conditions in 2018, was also the first and remains the only NATO country to introduce obligatory military service as an act of gender equality (Koranyi, Fouche, & Char, 2014).

The Norwegian military was established in 1814, but until the German occupation of Norway in 1940, the army did not see action. In 1949, Norway left its status as a neutral country to become a founding member of the Organisation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Since the 2000s, the military has transformed from a focus on defense from an invasion to a mobile force for international missions. Among European NATO members, the military expenditure of US\$7.2 billion is the highest per capita.

The Norwegian Ministry of Defence has been determined to hire women for a long time. Parliament set a target of 15% females in the armed forces in 2004 and 25% in officer candidate schools by 2008. Women were called up by the draft board to do voluntary military service in order to accomplish this. The Minister of Defence would recommend compulsory military service for women if voluntary service did not achieve the desired results (Skard, 2015).

The Norwegian Parliament makes a law in which women in the country must take part in military training or military service. If drafting this Law, all women in this country will submit the same military requirements as men. The draft law was first announced in June 2013. It was later authorized in Oslo this week, with the support of 96 parliamentarians on the grounds of gender equality. Only six members of Parliament rejected the rule. The Law says that all medically healthy women aged between 19 and 44 must take military service for at least 19 months. This rule will apply to women born in Norway from 1997 onwards. They will be conscripted for the summer of 2016. The women will also be subject to military service during the war (Muhaimin, 2014).

According to Party member Laila Gustavsen from Labour Party, before voting to ratify the Law, rights, and obligations must be the same for all. The armed forces need access to the best resources, regardless of gender, and now most men are recruited (Muhaimin, 2014). As of March 2016, Norway employs a weak form of mandatory military service for men and women and is the first country to conduct mandatory military service for both men and women. In 2012, while 63,841 men

and women were called in for the examination of persons liable for military service (mandatory for men), 9265 were conscripted (htt1). Recruits are not obligated to serve in practice, but only those who are motivated are chosen. (Norway's military conscription becomes gender-neutral, 2014). In applying this Law, in addition to including women in participating in military service with the same provisions, women are also asked to stay in the same room with men in the military. On the other hand, some disagree with the application of this policy. First Lieutenant states that there is no military justification for general female conscription in Norway. Høiback believes that it has great costs for combat ability to include many women in the Armed Forces, and it is sensible and relevant that the operational forces also include women. Second, Nina Rones, a researcher at the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment, believes that it is startling that the civilian research community is so uninterested when such a historically important reform is implemented. It is strange that both the evaluation of conscription and other issues concerning the Armed Forces are left to the Armed Forces alone. Third, Norway research what they want to know. Høiback believes the Armed Forces is currently researching what they want to know something about. They put away research on what they would rather not know anything about, Fourth, there have been conflicting messages. There has been feedback from several quarters that girls are struggling with the physical requirements that the Army sets in order to be "approved army soldiers." Fifth, Høiback believes that it has great costs for combat ability to include many women in the Armed Forces. Sixth, there is a critique of

research on gender-mixed rooms. According to Rones, “Is it really possible that mixed gender rooms can de-sexualize gender roles?” She is critical of the fact that results from individual studies are established as a universal truth. And that they also form the basis for politics without it having been followed up and criticized.

The reason author choose Norway is because Norway is the first country that conscripted men and women with the same formal conditions and was the first country in NATO to implement conscription for both men and women. Based on the article above, this article aims at examining the cause of Norway's adopt mandatory military service for both men and women from the perspective of International relations.

**B. Research Question:**

Why Norway implemented mandatory military service for both men and women?

**C. Theoretical Framework:**

To answer this phenomenon, author use some concepts and theory which is:

1. Constructivism

Constructivism in international relations is one of the more recent theories in the field, following the current theories of realism, liberalism, and Marxism. Realist and liberal assumptions regarding anarchy and the international system are challenged by constructivism. Constructivism, as we can see, focuses on the ideas of norms, the creation of systems, the interaction

between actors and those structures, as well as how identity affects acts and behavior between and amongst actors (Reus-Smit, 2005: 188), as well as how norms themselves shape an actor's character (Reus-Smith, 2005:198).

Constructivism argues that identities and interests in international politics are not stable; they have no pre-given nature. This is as true for the identity of the sovereign nation-state as it is for the identity of international anarchy. The important thing is to look at how identities and interests are constructed how they are made or produced in and through specific international interactions (Onuf, 1989; Wendt, 1994). (Weber, 2009; Weber, 2009).

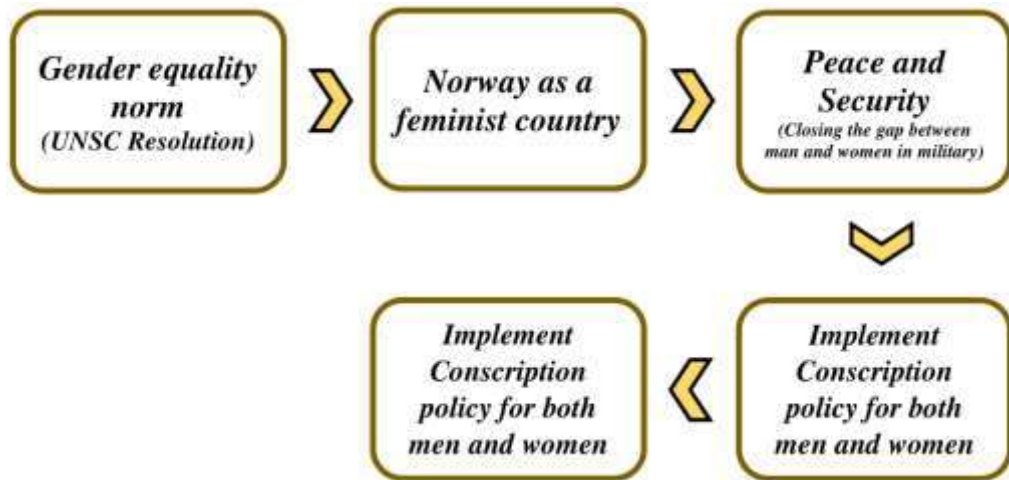
Norms, which are constructed by society, are one of the things that construct actor identities. Constructivists look at how these norms develop, who presses these norms, and who sets up different norms from the ones currently set (Adler, 1998: 338). Constructivists do this in everyday international relations settings or in more particular contexts, such as the development of norms in international organizations. This notion of norms is one that has occupied international relations for quite some time (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

Constructivists often assert that 'anarchy is what is made of it by states' (Wendt 1992). This suggests that, depending on the definition that actors give to it, anarchy can be perceived in various ways. States can also have multiple

different identities that are socially constructed through interaction with other actors. Identities are embodiments of the understanding of who they are by an actor, which in turn indicates their interests. They are important to constructivists because they argue that interests and behavior are constituted by identities. The identity of a small state, for instance, implies a collection of interests that are distinct from those suggested by a large state's identity. While the big state is concerned with dominating global political, economic, and military affairs, the small state is potentially more focused on its survival.

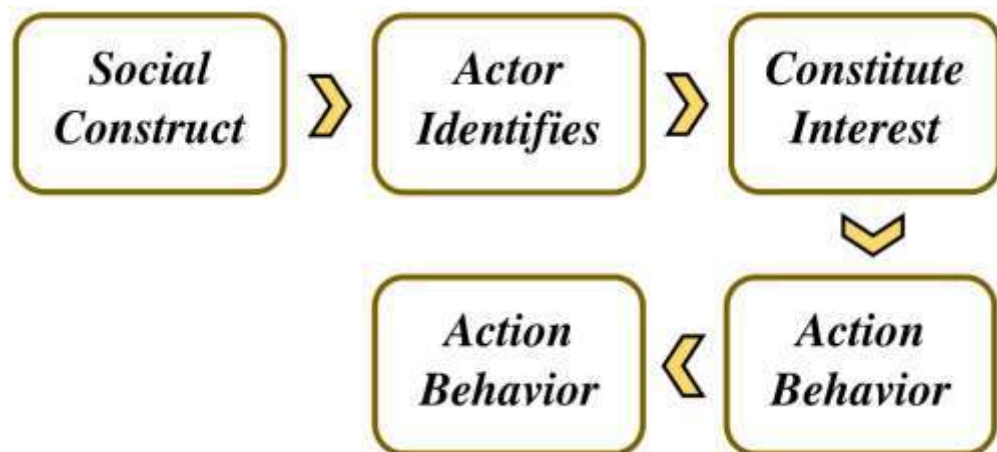
It should be noted, however, that a state's behavior should be compatible with its identity. Thus, a state should not behave contrary to its identity. Otherwise, the validity of the identity, and its preferences, would be called into question. This problem might explain why Germany did not become a military power in the second half of the twentieth century, despite being a great power with a leading global economy. Following the aggression of the Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler during World War II due to unusual historical circumstances, German political identity changed from one of militarism to pacifism (Theys, 2018).





*Figure 1* The major directions of research in state identity in international relations theory

In the case of Norway, this theoretical framework can be used to examine the reason why Norway decided to implement conscription for both men and women.



*Figure 2 Theory Implementation in Norway*

It is hoped that from this theory can help to analyze this case even further.

## 2. Gender Equality

Gender Equality the fifth of Sustainable Development Goals. Gender equality is more than a fair representation. It is closely related to women's rights and often demands policy changes. Gender equality is achieved when women and men have equal rights and opportunities in all aspects of society, including economic activity and decision-making, and when women and men's different aspirations, behavior, and needs are valued, respected, and favored equally.

UNICEF notes that gender equality "means that men and women, and boys and girls, enjoy the same opportunities, rights, protections, and resources. It does not require that women and men, or girls and boys be the same or that

they be treated exactly alike" (LeMoyne, 2011). Gender equity, which is used in a particular situation to assess gender representation, may help promote gender equality.

### 3. Gender Mainstreaming

Gender Mainstreaming is a globally accepted strategy to encourage equality between women and men. Mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a tactic, an approach, a strategy, a way of achieving gender equality objectives. Mainstreaming means ensuring that all practices - policy development, research, advocacy/dialogue, legislation, allocation of resources, and planning, implementation, and evaluation of programs and projects - are central to gender perspectives and commitment to the objective of gender equality.

#### **D. Hypothesis:**

Norway decided to implement mandatory military service for both men and women because international resolutions, mostly in United Nations Resolutions 1325, highly influenced Norway to uphold the Gender equality norm, which constitutes Norway's Interest by Involving and advancing women's participation in the military. This can help Norway promote gender equality, especially in the military, and in increasing women's participation in peacekeeping operations, which can make Norway a leading country in upholding the Gender Equality norm in the World, especially in Europe.

## E. Methodology

The data collected into this research is based on qualitative research.

### 1. Types of research

This study uses qualitative research methods. Qualitative research is a scientific method of observation to gather non-numerical data. Qualitative research aims to get in-depth data, a data that contains meaning. Meaning is actual data, definite data which is a value behind visible data. (Sugiyono, 2013: 3). This research answers why and how a certain phenomenon may occur rather than how often. Here author make an analysis which is collected from various data like book, jouranls, and internet.

### 2. Writing System

To understand this report more clearly, the materials listed in this Thesis Report are grouped into several sub-chapters with systematic delivery as follows:

- CHAPTER I : Introduction  
This chapter contains: Background, Research Question, Research Objectives, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Research Methodology, Limit of Research, Writing System.
- CHAPTER II : The Mainstreaming of Gender Equality In The Military  
This chapter explains the history of gender equality and the mainstreaming of gender equality in the military that is introduce to the world.
- CHAPTER III : Norway's Policy of Mandatory Military Service for Both Men and Women

This chapter contains the application of Norway's policy on mandatory military service for both men and women.

CHAPTER IV : Meta-Analysis of Norway's Policy in Conscripting Men and Women in the Military  
Author tries to explain the reason Norway conscript women in the military.

CHAPTER V : CONCLUSION  
This chapter contains the conclusion based on the author's view of the results of the research that has been carried out. The conclusion in this chapter is the final results of a series of author research processes.