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Peacekeeping and Prostitution: A Case Study of the Swedish Experience from Kosovo and Bosnia

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the connection between Swedish peacekeeping and prostitution. Initially an explanatory model is developed based on the concept of hegemonic masculinity. The model indicates that it is likely that Swedish peacekeepers' demand for prostitution can be explained as a result of a need to confirm manhood and homo-social bounding. However, it is also pointed out that more research has to be conducted before any certain conclusions can be made.

The second part of this thesis analyses the strategy of the Swedish Armed Forces to prevent sexual misconduct by the Swedish peacekeepers. This strategy is based on a combination of education, leadership, orders and the Swedish law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services. The methodological approach used is based on interviews conducted with Swedish peacekeeping soldiers.

It is concluded that the progress of the strategy is being held back by a lack of good leadership among some veteran officers and by lack of implementation.

Keywords: Peacekeeping, Prostitution, Hegemonic Masculinity and Military.

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1. Introduction

It has long been a well-documented fact that in times of war and peace, soldiers stationed abroad use women and children in prostitution (See Seol 2003, Enloe 2000a, Enloe 2000b, Moon H.S 1997). During the 1990s it further became increasingly clear that this exploitive pattern of behaviour also to some extent applied to peacekeeping soldiers during missions mandated by the United Nations. Hence, the peacekeeping operations in the Former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Eritrea, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cambodia and East Timor have all, to a varying degree, contributed to the sexual exploitation of women and children and also to closely related problems such as the spread of HIV/AIDS, Organised Crime, corruption, sex tourism and trafficking in women and children (Cockburn and Zarkov 2002 p. 62, DPKO 2004, p. 1 and Mgathangelou and Ling L.H.M. 2003, p. 135).

Also Swedish peacekeeping soldiers have on several occasions been found guilty of sexual misconduct, which has caused heavy reactions in the media and among several politicians.

Clearly, this stands in stark contrast to the United Nations' fundamental principle of gender equality and can even work against the goals set up for the peacekeeping operations effected. We therefore need to ask ourselves why peacekeeping soldiers use women and children in prostitution and what can be done to change this unfortunate pattern of behaviour?

1.1 Statement of Purpose

The sexual misconduct by peacekeeping soldiers has, however, not gone unnoticed and local, national and international Human Rights Organisations and Non Governmental Organisations committed to the subject of women's safety and emancipation have put pressure on the United Nations to put an end to the sexual exploitation of women and children by peacekeeping soldiers (See Human Rights Watch 2003, Amnesty International 2004a, Amnesty International 2004b and Kvinna till Kvinna 2001).

The sexual misconduct by peacekeepers has also been identified as a major threat to the credibility of the United Nations as well as to the ability to carry out the goals of the peacekeeping operations and to establish durable peace (Mgathangelou and Ling L.H.M. 2003, p. 134 and DPKO 2004, p. 4-5).

As such, the problem has caught the interest of the leadership of the United Nations as well as that of the national political and military leaders of countries' contributing troops to United Nations' mandated peacekeeping operations. This has led to the development of several United Nations and national policies,

guidelines and Codes of Conduct aimed at eradicating any future sexual misconduct by peacekeepers. However, the impact of these preventive attempts and strategies seem not to have had the restraining effect on the sexual misbehaviour of peacekeeping soldiers intended. Due to this, calls have been made of the need to apply a more nuanced and into deft going gender perspective when it comes to the training of the military staff and the planning and management of the future peacekeeping operations (Försvarsdepartementet 2004, p. 1 and Olsson 2002, p.1).

However, the research on the relationship between peacekeeping operations and sexual exploitation, such as prostitution, is at present suffering from large insufficiencies (DKKO 2004, p. 5-6, and Mendelson 2005, p. 2).

Hence, although there are many studies available on the subject of peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction, very few studies deal specifically with the relationship between peacekeeping and prostitution (Mendelson 2005, p. 2). This cosides with an insufficient base of knowledge regarding male demand for prostitution, especially in the case of peacekeeping soldiers as customers. Further, the research on trafficking in women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation has long foreseen making demand side factors a part of the explanatory models and suggested solutions (Higate, 2004, p. 69 and Cheng 2000).

As a consequence, there is very little reliable data available on the subject. In addition to this, very few cases of sexual misconduct by peacekeeping soldiers have been fully investigated. This weakness applies not only to the system of the United Nations' and the individual nations' contributing troops to peacekeeping operations, but also to the world of academia (DPKO 2004 p. 5).

Further, there is substantial evidence suggesting that United Nations as well as national officials handle allegations of sexual misconduct quietly by sending home perpetrators without a full investigation or the intention of demanding convictions. Hence, it is difficult to estimate the scale of the problem based on the number of reported cases of sexual misconduct or the number of peacekeeping soldiers convicted (Lynch 2001). As I shall later prove, this unfortunate pattern of behaviour is also indeed valid in the Swedish case.

At this point of time there is therefore an urgent need to increase our understanding of why peacekeeping soldiers end up sexually exploiting the women and children they initially set out to protect. We therefore need to ask ourselves why peacekeeping soldiers use women and children in prostitution and why not the United Nations' and individual countries' policies and codes of conduct are working as intended? And finally, what can be done to prevent this unfortunate pattern of behaviour from being repeated in future peacekeeping operations?

The purpose of this thesis will be to try to answer these questions. I will therefore initially create a theoretical model that can be used to analyse and explain the relationship between peacekeeping operations, prostitution and trafficking in women and children. This will be followed by an empirical survey specifically targeting the Swedish experiences on the subject. Based on this, I will

finally evaluate the present Swedish preventive strategy, identify weak areas and suggest possible improvements.

1.2 Method and Material

1.2.1 Theoretical Approach

At this point in time, with few exemptions, there is no given comprehensive theoretical approach ready to be used for the specific purpose of explaining peacekeeping soldiers' demand for prostitution. In the theoretical part of this thesis I will therefore develop a theoretical model that can be used to explain why peacekeeping soldiers use prostituted women and children during peacekeeping missions. This will be done by using the work of a wide range of different researchers mainly active in the scientific field of sociology and political science.

The core of my model will be the concept of hegemonic masculinity. To illustrate the essence and impact of the concept of hegemonic masculinity on the structure, management and everyday life of peacekeeping forces and to prove its relevance when it comes to explaining peacekeeping soldiers' demand for prostitution I will use the work of R.W. Connell, Cynthia Cockburn, Dubravka Zarkov, Jeff Hearn, David H.J. Morgan, Arthur Brittan, Cynthia Enloe, Katharine H.S. Moon and Paul R. Higate¹.

The authors and researchers presented above do not, with the exemption of Paul R. Higate, address peacekeeping soldiers' demand for prostitution directly. Rather, their theories have been developed with the intention of researching masculinity or as in the case of Cynthia Enloe and Katharine H.S. Moon, as a reaction to the use of prostituted women and children by American soldiers stationed in Asia.

1.2.2 The Empirical Approach

I will begin the empirical analysis by presenting the general empirical evidence available on the connection between peacekeeping and prostitution. For this purpose I will first and foremost use reports developed by the United Nations, the Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

I will then continue by tracing and proving the presence of a hegemonic masculine structure and identity within the Swedish Armed Forces and connect it

¹ R.W. Connell is a Professor of Sociology at the University of California. Cynthia Cockburn is a feminist researcher and writer based at the City University London, where she is a professor in the Department of Sociology. Dubravka Zarkov has studied sociology and anthropology in Belgrade, and development studies and women's studies in the Netherlands. Jeff Hearn is a Professorial Research Fellow, Department of Applied Social Science, University of Manchester, UK; and Guest Professor, Swedish School of Economics, Helsinki, Finland. David H.J. Morgan is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Manchester. Arthur Brittan works in the Department of Sociology at the University of New York.

to the evidence regarding the sexual misconduct by Swedish peacekeeping soldiers.

For this purpose I will use reports developed by the Swedish College of Defence and by researchers at Swedish universities regarding gender equality, sexual harassment, homophobia and ethnical discrimination in the Swedish Armed Forces. Since sexual harassment, homophobia and ethnical discrimination are important signifiers of hegemonic masculinity, I find this approach particularly rewarding when it comes to operationalising the concept of hegemonic masculinity and trace its impact on the ordinary life and gender relations in the Swedish Armed Forces.

Hence, the inclusion of women in the Swedish Armed Forces as officers in 1980 and as conscripts in 1995, and the increased presence of openly homosexual men and men of different ethnical belonging has revealed and made visible previously concealed or taken for granted values and standards regarding sexuality and gender equality fundamental to all institutions of hegemonic masculinity (Kronsell 2005a). And as we shall see, these values and standards can be used to understand and explain peacekeeping soldiers' demand for prostitution.

In addition to this I will present information derived from several interviews that I have conducted with Swedish soldiers and representatives of the Swedish women's organisation, Woman to Woman.

I will finally analyse the Swedish policy and preventive strategy and point out weak areas and suggest improvements.

1.2.3 Interviews with Swedish soldiers

Clearly, the subject of sexual misconduct by Swedish peacekeepers is indeed a sensitive subject and getting Swedish soldiers with experiences from peacekeeping missions to participate in interviews has proven most difficult.

Further, there is also proof indicating a substantial so called "whistle blower" problem within the United Nations system, and both human right officers and internal affairs investigators have faced retaliation after reporting cases of sexual misconduct by peacekeepers (Human Rights Wash 2002, p. 54). I am therefore proud to be able to present information from interviews with six Swedish peacekeeping soldiers with experiences from serving in Bosnia and Kosovo.

The information derived from these interviews will be presented as a part of the empirical analysis. The goal of these interviews has however not been to capture the essence of a hegemonic masculine identity or evaluate its relevance when it comes to explaining Swedish peacekeeping soldiers' use of prostituted women and children. Rather, I have used the interviews as an opportunity to collect information about the pattern of behaviour regarding sexual misconduct by Swedish peacekeeping soldiers, and to trace and identify weak areas in the Swedish preventive strategy. As such, the interviews have not been characterised by asking direct question, but rather as an open discussion of the subject of peacekeeping and prostitution.

This approach has several explanations. First and foremost, as the research on masculinity and sexuality has proven, men in general, including peacekeepers, are not a homogenous group. Hence, general conclusions based on interviews with a specifically selected and limited number of peacekeepers will most likely be invalid due to shortcomings when it comes to representativity (Higate 2004 p. 69). Further, the open approach when conducting the interviews, contributes to creating an environment where the participants can feel safe and in control, which is of utter most importance given the sensitive character of the subject.

Nevertheless, I believe that the interviews I have carried out have given my an insightful view of when and how Swedish peacekeeping soldiers buy women in prostitution, and react in relation to Swedish preventive strategies, policies and codes of conduct.

The following Swedish peacekeepers have been interviewed as a part of the empirical analysis:

Peacekeeper Captain Lars Wetterskog, who is a military instructor at the international division of the Swedish Armed Forces. Wetterskog has served twice in Bosnia (BA 06 and BA 10). His main areas of responsibility have been commanding observation posts and patrolling.

In addition to this, Wetterskog is responsible for implementing Resolution 1325 and for training Swedish peacekeeping soldiers in gender related issues such as prostitution and trafficking. The interview was carried out face to face in Uppsala 1 April 2005.

Peacekeeper Fredrik Yllemo, who is a Senior Military Personnel Officer at the Headquarters of the Swedish Armed Forces. Yllemo has served three times in Bosnia (BA 02, DB 01 and DB 02) and once in Kosovo 2001 (Ks 04). The interview was carried out face to face in Uppsala 1 April 2005.

Peacekeeper Captain Svensson, whose real name will not be revealed due to his wish to remain anonymous. Svensson has served as a Commanding Officer in Bosnia (Ba 05). The interview was carried out by telephone 3 Maj 2005.

Peacekeeper Ulf Sonneson, who has served as a military police officer at the Swedish battalion in Kosovo 2001/2002 (Ks 05) and 2002/2003 (Ks 07). His main areas of responsibility have been intelligence and security issues with a special focus on trafficking and prostitution. The Interview was carried out face to face in Kristianstad 16 Maj 2005.

Peacekeeper Larsson, whose real name will not be revealed, due to his wish to remain anonymous. Larsson has served in Kosovo 2003/2004 (Ks 09). His main area of responsibility has been operating armed vehicles on patrolling missions in the area of responsibility specially assigned to the Swedish peacekeepers. The Interview was carried out face to face in Kristianstad 17 Maj 2005.

Peacekeeper Nilsson, whose real name will not be revealed due to his wish to remain anonymous. Nilsson has served in Kosovo 2003/2004 (Ks 09). His main area of responsibility has been to operate armed vehicles on patrolling missions in the area of responsibility specially assigned to the Swedish peacekeepers. The Interview was carried out face to face in Kristianstad 17 Maj 2005.

Captain Lars Wetterskog and Fredrik Yllemo were interviewed at the same time in Uppsala, as was Larsson and Nilsson in Kristianstad.

In addition to this I have also conducted a telephone interview with Åsa Calman, from the Swedish department of the Non Governmental Organisation *Woman to Woman*. Calman has been responsible for educating Swedish peacekeepers in the subject of gender, war, peacekeeping and prostitution.

1.3 Definitions and Limitations

1.3.1 The Social Construction of Gender

During the 1990s, international peacekeeping forces took on a more leading role in international security politics (Försvarsdepartementet 2004, p. 1).

Nevertheless, despite several international conventions addressing gender, gender equality and women's rights, gender aspects of peacekeeping operations have long remained unresearched and unpreferential by the United Nations, supporting single countries and within academia (Olsson 2002, p. 2).

However, in 2000/2001 several positive initiatives were taken, indicating an ambition within the United Nations to take account of the significance and impact of gender in armed conflict and post-conflict environment. These initiatives co sides with years of activism and advocacy among local and international women's organisations arguing that war itself is strongly gendered and that peacekeeping operations therefore have to be specifically planned and carried out in an gender sensitive way (Cockburn and Zarkov 2002, p. 41).

As a consequence the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in October 2000. The Resolution 1325 has been regarded as a historical landmark putting gender on the highest decision-making level in the United Nations' system and making the experiences of women an integral part of peacekeeping operations (Olsson 2002, p. 2 and Datan 2004, p. 1).

Hence, Resolution 1325 deals exclusively with the impact of war and conflict on women and girls and states that the international community must take specific consideration to women's and girl's needs in wars and conflicts. This involve including women in the peace building process and as leaders and policymakers at all levels of decision making.

Resolution 1325, as any feministic attempt to analyse and highlight the impact of peacekeeping on women, such as the use of prostituted women and children by

peacekeepers, holds gender as a central concept. As such, gender is not to be understood as sex of biologically determined differences between men and women, but as socially constructed concepts of masculinity and femininity (Datan 2004, p. 1). Hence, the concept of gender gives a social meaning to the biological categories of men and women by including such things as for example professions, ranking in society, emotions and clothing to the identity of men and women (Försvarsdepartementet 2004, p. 2).

Seen from this perspective, gender and gender roles are formed by political, social, economical and cultural conditions and driven by expectations and obligations at household, community and national level. Per se, gender and gender roles are open to change and vary over time and across cultures and during times of armed conflict. In the context of researching peacekeeping and prostitution, it is therefore important to examine the effect of gender on power relations and how it is manifested and used by the different parties involved (International Alert 2002, p. 10 and Olsson 2002, p. 3).

In the rest of this thesis:

Gender thus refers to *“the socially constructed roles played by women and men that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex... These roles are usually specific to a given area and time that is since gender roles are contingent on the social and economic context, they can vary according to the specific context and change over time. In terms of the use of language the word ‘sex’ is used to refer to physical and biological characteristics of women and men, while gender is used to refer to explanations for observed differences between women and men based on socially assigned roles.”* (Report of UN Secretary general 1996 on the Implementation on the outcome of the Fourth World Conference on Women, September 3, 1996 U.N. Doc. A/51/3229.

As we shall later see, this definition of gender also corresponds to gender as it is used in the context of the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

1.3.2 Defining Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping is complex and encompass a wide range of activities and can be undertaken by both regional organisations mandated by the United Nations or by the United Nations itself (International Alert 2002, p. 7). Broadly it can be said that the United Nations undertakes four different types of peace supporting operations:

Observer missions are carried out to monitor and observe ceasefire during times of transition and to facilitate and monitor elections. The tools used are conflict prevention and diplomatic skills rather than military power or violence. The perhaps most known example of such a mission is the United Nations’ Observer Mission South Africa (UNOMSA) (International Alert 2002, p. 7).

Nation building missions where the United Nations are responsible for setting up transitional administrations and governments, establishing a justice system, facilitate the development of a new constitution and possibility to carry out free and democratic elections (United Nations Document SC/6799/3 February 2000).

Peacekeeping operations are regulated under Chapter VI of the United Nations' Charter. Peacekeeping operations have a history as long as the United Nations and have evolved rapidly during the past decade. These operations were initially usually carried out from a primarily military perspective, and involved observing ceasefires and to hold apart previously combating forces after inter-state wars. However, the most recent operations have instead been carried out in countries of civil wars and have been more complex containing both military and civilian elements working together to build peace and facilitate reconciliation (Brahimi report 2000, p. 2-3).

The operations are usually qualified as non-coercive and rest upon three fundamental principles stating that the local parties must consent to the presence of the peacekeeping force, that the peacekeeping force is impartial and do not use force except for self-defence. The actors involved, therefore usually include multinational military forces, police and humanitarian relief providers (International Alert 2002, p. 7).

Peace enforcement operations are regulated under Chapter VII of the United Nations' Charter and are qualified as coercive, that is, they use force to ensure compliance. Accordingly, the United Nations is empowered to use force against those who are responsible for threatening or breaking the peace or committing acts of aggression. The right to use force also includes defending the peacekeeping staff (Boutros-Ghali 1995).

The analysis of this thesis concerns the sexual misbehaviour of Swedish peacekeeping soldiers, as such, the focus is primarily at peacekeeping and peace enforcing operations.

1.3.4 Limitations

Clearly, the problem of peacekeeping, prostitution and trafficking is not limited to peacekeeping soldiers' demand for prostitution, also members of the civilian peacekeeping staff have been found to buy women and children in prostitution. However, empirical data regarding the involvement of civilian United Nations staff, is even less scarce than that of the involvement of peacekeeping soldiers. I have therefore chosen to focus my analysis primarily on the sexual misconduct by members of the military peacekeeping forces.

Further, although I will make some references to the experiences of other countries, it is not my ambition to carry out an extensive comparative analysis. That is, make a thorough comparison of the Swedish evidence and experience to that of for example Denmark and Norway.

Nevertheless I believe that the identified weaknesses and suggested improvements of the Swedish preventive strategy will most likely also in many

aspects be valid for other countries and from the perspective of the United Nations.

2. Theory

2.1 Introduction

Traditionally, war, national defence, armed forces, interstate relations, security policy and peacekeeping have primarily been seen as a male arena or activity. As such, the impact of militarism, and military objectives on women, women's identities and gender relations has historically been neglected or underestimated (Enloe, 2000b, p. 36).

Further, although militarised gender based violence has been documented in later years in numerous of instances involving occupying military forces and foreign military bases in South Korea, Japan, Thailand, Japan and the Philippines, a comprehensive understanding of why soldiers use prostituted women and children has failed to develop (Higate 2004, p. 68, Enloe, 2000a, Enloe, 2000b, Moon, 1997 and Hughes, Chon and Ellerman).

This co-sides with an overall reluctance to make male clients a part of the problem when it comes to researching prostitution. This reluctance has served to perpetuate an unfortunate assumption about the essential nature of men who buy women and children in prostitution, reinforcing the idea of a natural or biological male sex drive (Cheng 2000).

However, during the 1980s and 1990s several feminist researchers as well as women's rights organisations and advocates, have questioned what have traditionally been taken as logical or natural and successfully proven that war itself is a highly gendered activity, linked strongly to notions regarding sexuality, power, masculinity and femininity (Ethic and Racial Studies 1998, p. 19 and Cockburn and Zarkov 2002, p. 31). Accordingly it has been stated that men's demand for prostitution too is driven, shaped and determined by social, cultural and political processes, which therefore needs to be given an increased attention when it comes to finding explanations and solutions to peacekeepers' demand for prostitution.

In the following I will compose a theoretical model that can be used to explain why peacekeeping soldiers use women and children in prostitution. The model draws on the feminist research presented above. Hence, at such it seeks not to explain military peacekeepers' demand for prostitution in terms of a natural or biological male sex drive, but rather as a pattern of behaviour constructed and enforced by social, cultural and political notions regarding masculinity, femininity and sexuality. The core of the model is the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which I will begin with introducing below.

2.2 The Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity

2.2.1 Contesting Biological Determinism and Essentialist Notions of Masculinity

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been developed by Sociology Professor, Robert Connell, at the University of California and can be said to be a product of his critique of the biological determinism, essentialist notions and claims of universality of the early scientific studies of masculinity (Dementriou 2001, p. 339 and Wetherell and Edley 1999, p. 336).

Hence, according to Connell, four main strategies and definitions have historically predominated studies of masculinity:

Essentialist definitions that make claims of a universal masculine identity that stresses a number of manly virtues, such as for example risk-taking, responsibility and aggression. However, as Connell states, the weakness of the essentialist approach is its arbitrariness and easy falsifiability. Hence, according to Connell, masculine characters are not universal or essentially given but are rather determined by gender regimes found in different cultures and historical periods and therefore vary over time and places (Ethnic and Racial Studies 1998, p. 5, Wetherell and Edley 1999, p. 336 and Connell 1995, p. 68).

Positivist definitions that are formulated with the intention of describing what men actually are based on showing that there are patterns of male behaviour that can be statistically proven to be different from the behaviour of women. However, according to Connell, this approach is limited by insufficiencies when it comes to generalisations, researcher bias and tautology (Connell 1995, p. 69 and Ethnic and Racial Studies 1998, p. 5).

Semiotic definitions that approach masculinity through a system of symbolic differences in which masculinity and femininity are contrasted and given a meaning. In this approach, masculinity is usually defined simply as not-feminine. The phallus is perhaps the most prominent masculine signifier and femininity is usually symbolically defined by lack. As such, Connell criticises the semiotic approach due to its limited scope, only to be used in discourse analysis (Connell 1995, p. 69-70 and Ethnic and Racial Studies 1998, p.5).

Normative definitions, that offer a standard of masculinity, that is, what men ought to be usually drawing upon masculine icons such as John Wayne, Clint Eastwood and Rambo. This approach is common in sex role theory that treats masculinity as a social norm for behaviour of men. According to Connell, normative definitions of masculinity are limited by their emphasis on ideal types of masculinity that most men do not live up to, that is, most men do not behave according to a John Wayne or Clint Eastwood model (Connell 1995, p. 70 and Ethnic and Racial Studies 1998, p. 5).

Especially Connell's critic of sex role theory can be said to have inspired him to put forth the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Connell criticised sex role theory for its inability to conceptualise *power* and resistance to power, which is, according to him, an essential feature of the relationship between and within genders. Further, because of this, Connell stated, sex role theory also failed to grasp *change*, in this case seen as a product of the contradictions within gender relations (Dementriou 2001, p. 338).

The inability to grasp power was according to Connell an outcome of sex role theory's reliance on biological determinism and its failure to theorise the relationship between structure and agency. Hence, in sex role theory, the structure puts a pressure on the agents (men and women) to live up to the social expectations coming from the occupants of counter-positions. These occupants hold stereotyped expectations regarding the role of the agents and reward compliance and punish lack of conformity. This makes Connell question why agents who do not comply put up with the punishment (Connell 1985, p. 263 and Dementriou, 2001, p. 338).

According to Connell there can only be one answer, because the agents themselves lack the individual will to contest the punishment. Hence, the upholding of the structure depends on the individual will of men and women and the structure therefore dissolves into agency. In the end the structure of the sex role theory must therefore rely on the biological category of sex, which reduces the sex role theory to an abstract account of sex differences with little validity (Connell 1987, p. 50).

Accordingly, gender is reduced to two homogenous and complementing categories and because of this, sex role theory fails to take into account social inequality and power relations both within (internal) and between (external) the genders. Because of this, male and female roles are treated as equally powerful and mutually dependent on each other. Hence, the biological reductionism and dichotomy makes it impossible to speak of any other roles than the male/female and most importantly, it hides and legitimises the power that men hold over women. This is most troublesome, because it makes sex role theory unable to grasp the overall social subordination of women by men that is fundamental to the feminist struggle (Connell 1987, p. 50-52 and Dementriou 2001, p. 338).

As such, sex role theory fails to take into account the existence of multiple masculine and feminine identities based on differences between men and women regarding race, ethnicity, class and sexuality. Thus, sex role theory, according to Connell is of little use when it comes to analysing power relations between for example white and black men or heterosexual and homosexual men (Connell 1995, p. 26-27).

Instead homosexual men, for example, are seen as a result of imperfect socialisation or a personal deficiency and the power that heterosexual men exercise over them is being foreseen or concealed. This makes sex role theory unable to grasp the important element of resistance to power that according to Connell is fundamental for all social interaction where power is involved. This acknowledgment brings Connell down to the core of his critique of sex role theory. Hence, according to Connell, by picturing any deviance from the

normatively defined ideal as a consequence of imperfect socialisation or personal deficiency, sex role theory fails to take into account *change* (Connell 1995, p. 25-27 and Dementriou 2001, p. 339). So, change, according to Connell can only be fully understood and conceptualised when contradictions within gender relations caused by power and resistance to power are fully incorporated into the model.

In summary, Connell's critique of the sex role theory can thus be pinned down to three internally connected and dependent points. That is, the inability to grasp power, the presence of multiple masculinities/femininities and change as an outcome of a power struggle both within and between the genders. With the ambition of solving this dilemma, Connell presents the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

2.2.2 Hegemonic Masculinity: A Social Theory of Gender

As a point of departure Connell starts out by stating that different cultures and different periods of history have constructed gender differently. Hence, Connell defines masculinities and femininities not as something normatively given but as something socially constructed due to an interaction between gender, race and class. Accordingly, in gender studies the emphasis should be on what people actually do and not what they are expected to do according to normative notions. Or, in the words of Connell, gender is "*configuration of practice*" and should not be seen as a fixed set of social norms but rather as something that is constantly being produced and reproduced in daily social interaction. As such, there can be a diversity of masculinities and femininities within multicultural societies, a given culture or even an institution (Connell 2002, p. 34, Connell 1995, p. 76, and Dementriou 2001, p. 340).

Acknowledging the presence of several masculinities and femininities and taking into account the power relations involved both internally and externally is central to Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity. Hence, according to Connell, the power between and within genders in the western world rests upon a single fact, namely, "the global domination of men over women" (Connell 1987 p. 183).

Hegemonic masculinities, according to Connell, thus embody the strategy through which men's global dominance over women is achieved and constantly upheld. Hegemonic masculinity can therefore be defined as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell 1995, p. 77). Hence, placed in the centre of the system of gendered power there is a hegemonic form of masculinity whose advocates (individual and collectives of powerful men) work to uphold the present gender order of global domination of men over women (Connell 2002, p. 36).

However, since the men do not constitute a homogenous group, certain masculinities can themselves be subordinated by the hegemonic practise and gender order and this is strongly connected to the logic of the global domination

of men over women. In summary, hegemonic masculinity is therefore not only constructed in relation to women but also to subordinate masculinities and thus generates dominance over women as well as men belonging to subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity thus links relations within genders as well as relations between genders together and can therefore both be described as hegemony over women (external hegemony) as well as hegemony over subordinate masculinities (internal hegemony). (Dementriou 2001, p. 341).

2.2.3 External Hegemony

The external hegemony can, according to Connell, further be differentiated into three different structures of gender relations namely *power*, *production* and *cathexis*.

The structure of the power relations is also commonly named the *patriarchy* and is characterised by the overall subordination of women and dominance of men. This also allows men to control the means of institutional power in, for example, the state and the army.

The structure of the labour relations is built on a gendered division of labour, which gives men several advantages such as higher wages and better education. This is something that Connell also calls "*patriarchal dividend*".

Finally, cathexis refers to that men's emotional life in relation to women usually turns into superiority and violence rather than reciprocity and intimacy. Incorporated in cathexis is also the sexual desire of men. In this case, Connell subscribes to the Freudian school, where sexual desire is to be understood as emotional energy that is attached to an object. The practise that shapes and determines the nature of the sexual desire is thus an aspect of the external hegemony. Sexual desire is thus given a political meaning and we can gain important knowledge about gender relations by asking questions about the relationships involved, that is, whether they are consensual or coercive and whether pleasure is equally given and received (Connell 1995, p.74).

2.2.4 Internal Hegemony

The interaction of gender with race and class, leads to the social construction of multiple masculinities, such as black, white, upper-class, middle-class and working-class (Connell 1995 p. 76 and Connell 2002 p. 35). Further, as stated above, hegemonic masculinity also leads to internal hegemony, that is, hegemony over other masculinities. This relationship can be characterised in three ways, by subordination, marginalisation and complicity (Connell 1995, p. 78-81 and Dementriou 2001, p. 341-342).

In the case of subordination, hegemonic masculinity gives certain men or collectives of men the opportunity to exercise power over other men. According to Connell, the most prominent example in the contemporary Western world is the dominance of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men. Hence, homosexual men are subordinated to heterosexual men in several ways,

such as in terms of social status, allocation of material resources and due to legal, political and cultural discrimination. However, homosexual masculinity is not the only subordinated masculinity. Also heterosexual men and boys can be expelled from the privileged community of hegemonic masculinity. According to Connell, this process of exclusion is often marked by the abusive use of a scornful and diminishing vocabulary, such as wimp, nerd, sissy, ass fucker, ladyfinger and mother's boy (Connell 1995, p. 79). This type of masculinity can also be named effeminised masculinity.

Hence, men not found to qualify as real men worthy of hegemonic masculinity, are being effeminised and thereby placed at the bottom of the gender hierarchy amongst men.

In the case of marginalisation, Connell draws on the fact that gender also interacts with other social structures, such as race and class and thereby also creates other masculinities. Thus, race and class also become an integral part of the internal hegemony. Hence, in the case of the construction of a white elite masculinity, the presence of lower-class and black masculinities will also play an important role. Hegemonic masculinity will then position itself in the top of the hierarchy by marginalising men belonging to what is believed to be inferior masculinities (Ibid p. 80).

In the case of complicit masculinity, Connell points to the fact that many men, although they gain from the benefits ascribed to them by the patriarchal dividned, do not act according to the hegemonic model. These men have, according to Connell, a complicit form of masculinity that holds a fundamental position in his model. Hence, since the actions of the majority of men do not correspond to the hegemonic practise, hegemonic masculinity is thus rather a cultural ideal upheld and promoted by the civil society through the production of exemplary masculinities that are in line with the reproduction of the patriarchy. Complicit masculinities can therefore still benefit from the patriarchal dividned without being the most outspoken advocates of the patriarch (Connell 1995, p. 79 and Dementriou 2001, p.342).

2.2.5 The Connection between the External and Internal Hegemony

Given the presentation above, we can now stipulate the single most important theoretical principle underlying Connell's model stating that, "*the relationships within genders are centred on, and can be explained by, the relationship between genders*".

This means that the structural dominance of men over women also determines the conditions leading to the presence of differentiated and hierarchically ordered masculinities and femininities. Hence, the internal hegemony is upheld and practised so as to guarantee the reproduction of the external hegemony. Patriarchy is thus simply not only a question of men's global domination of women, but also a structure determining the relations between different forms of masculinities and femininities. Internal hegemony is thus a means for achieving the external hegemony rather than an end in itself (Connell 1987, p. 183 and Dementriou 2001, p. 343).

According to Connell this leads to men subordinating certain masculinities, because they represent a configuration practice that is not consistent with the accepted strategy for the global subordination and domination of women. This is particularly obvious in the case of homosexual masculinities. Homosexual men are therefore subordinated to the hegemonic masculinity, because the object of their sexual desires (other men) undermines the institution of heterosexuality and thus does not work in favour of the reproduction of patriarchy.

2.2.6 Hegemonic Masculinity and Change

According to Connell, hegemonic masculinity and structures of gender relations are constantly formed and transformed over time. Change can come from outside gender such as through technological change or class dynamics, but can also be generated from within gender relations. Hegemonic masculinity is thus always open to challenge and change (Hearn 2004, p. 49, Connell 2002, p. 36-37 and Connell 1995, p. 82).

Or as in the words of Connell him self, *“When the condition for the defence of the patriarchy change, the basis for the dominance of a particular masculinity are eroded. New groups may challenge old solutions and construct a new hegemony. The dominance of any group of men may be challenged by women. Hegemony, then, is a historically mobile relation.”* (Connell 1995, p. 77).

Change is thus an outcome of the power relations both within and between the genders, and where there is power, Connell continues, there will also be resistance to it. Because of this, women will always resist the external hegemony, and homosexual men and men belonging to discriminated ethnic groups will always contest the internal hegemony. (Dementriou 2001, p. 342).

Hence, patterns of hegemonic masculinity are not fixed over time but can be changed. According to Connell, this is best done by uniting the political and social forces, of those who will gain from dismantling hegemonic masculinity (Ibid, p. 343).

2.2.7 A Critical Note on the Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity

During later years, Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity has been subject to critique.

Mike Donaldson has for example pointed out that it is difficult to identify hegemonic masculinity because there is little that is counter hegemonic. For example, how are we to interpret men’s increased involvement in childcare and parenting? Is this a counter hegemonic movement or not? (Donaldson 1993, p. 647)

His thoughts are carried on by Jeff Hearn who continues questioning what exactly hegemonic masculinity is. Is it a masculine ideal or image, or perhaps even a fantasy? Is it toughness, aggressiveness and violence, or is it simply heterosexist

homophobia? Hence, according to Hearn, several challenges still remain. For example, is hegemonic masculinity to be understood as everyday practices, cultural representation or institutional practices?. And most importantly, how exactly do the various dominant and dominating ways men are interact with each other? (Hearn 2004, 58).

Demetrakis Demetriou has also pointed to the weakness of Connell to construct hegemonic masculinity and non-hegemonic masculinity as a dualism, that is, as two distinct and totally differentiated configurations of practise. Hence, he states that “Non-Hegemonic masculinities appear only as possible alternatives, as counter-hegemonic masculinities forces that exist in tension with the hegemonic model but they never penetrate it” (Demetriou 2001, p. 347).

Social psychological researchers, such as Margaret and Wetherell and Nigel Edley, have also argued that the notion of hegemonic masculinity is insufficient when it comes to understanding the complex and multi dimensional nature of negotiating masculine identities. Connell is thus criticised for leaving aside the question of how the structure of the hegemonic masculinity effects and regulates men’s lives in reality. That is, men may conform to hegemonic masculinity, but Connell gives no answer to what this conformity looks like in practise (Wetherell and Edley 1999, p. 336).

Further, Connell presents hegemonic masculinity as a goal of aspiration rather than a lived reality for ordinary men. Hence, although he will try, no man will ever be man enough to fulfil the goals. According to Wetherell and Edley, this is indeed a questionable standpoint from the perspective of social psychological perspective. To what use, they ask, can a masculine definition of dominant masculinity be if no man ever can live up to it?

Hence, they criticise the inability of Connell to specify how hegemonic masculinity actually works in the psyches of men. What happens psychologically? What are the norms and how are they conveyed and through what routes? And above all, how do men conform to an ideal and turn themselves into complicit or resistant types, without anyone ever being able to live up to that ideal? According to Wetherell and Edley these are questions that have to be answered in order for the concept of hegemonic masculinity to be operational in social psychological research. Nevertheless, they end their discussion by stating that the concept of hegemonic masculinity indeed have proven successful in the past and will still be so for large-scale sociological, political, cultural, anthropological and historical studies of forms of masculinity in the future (Ibid p. 337 and 354).

2.3 Hegemonic Masculinity and Military Organisations

2.3.1 The Military as the Most Prominent Institution of Hegemonic Masculinity

The hegemonic structure credits certain men with more power than other men. However, the most visible bearers of hegemonic masculinity may not always be the most powerful men. Further, individual holders of institutional power and wealth may not always act according to the hegemonic ideal in their personal lives.

According to Connell, whether or not hegemony is established depends therefore on if “*there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective if not individual*”. Hence, “*So the top levels of business, the military and government provide a fairly convincing corporate display of masculinity, still very little shaken by feminist women or dissenting men*” (Connell 1995, p. 77).

Clearly, this makes the concept of hegemonic masculinity especially interesting and valid to use in the analysis of national defence organisations, such as the Swedish Armed Forces (army, air force and navy). Hence, organisations dealing with military defence and security issues have historically been an arena exclusively by and for men and men’s bodies which has influenced the politics, policies, practises and norms produced by these institutions in favour of masculinity and heterosexuality. According to Connell, the military is therefore the single most important institution when it comes to promoting hegemonic masculinity (Kronsell 2005a and Connell 1995, p. 213).

In the case of the Swedish Armed Forces, the institutional power has clearly been working in favour of men through the practise of universal (compulsory) male conscription to meet the need for manpower. Hence, men and not women have been required to undergo military training and, in case of war, protect the country. The image of men as the nation’s defenders has therefore successfully been maintained throughout the history of the Swedish Armed Forces and has thus made the connection between (heterosexual) masculinity and the military defence seem natural (Kronsell 2005a and Kronsell 2005b).

As such, due to the high degree of correspondence between a cultural ideal of men as warriors and defenders, and the institutional power manifested by the universal conscription of only men, the Swedish Armed Forces are indeed an institution that can be studied with great relevance by using the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

2.3.2 Hegemonic Masculinity and Homophobia in Military Organisations

Hegemonic masculinity, military organisations and homophobia, seem to go hand in hand. This is an outcome of the logic of the hegemonic masculinity. Accordingly, homosexual masculinities are subordinated to the hegemonic

masculinity, because their object of sexual desire works counter-hegemonic, that is, undermines the institution of heterosexuality, which is fundamental for the reproduction of patriarchy and domination of women. Hence, according to Connell, hegemonic masculinity rests on the notion that there is only one sex (women) that is legitimate as a sexual object and because of this men who sexually desire other men must be subordinated (Donaldson 1993, p. 645, and 648 and Dementriou 2001, p. 344).

In order to restore and maintain the external hegemony, the internal hegemony therefore works to subordinate homosexual masculinities by effeminising homosexual men which in turn explains the widespread homophobia in military organisations (Donaldson 1993, p. 645 and Goldstein 2001, p. 374).

Hence, because homosexual men are perceived as feminine, their presence in military organisations threaten the homo-social unity, which holds the military organisation together (Kronsell 2005b). Homophobia then becomes a central organisational principle in military organisations against which the hegemonic masculine identity is defined. That is, to be a man is not to be an effeminised man such as a sissy and weak homosexual. This strongly effects the actions of and relationship between homosexual military men and the fear of being perceived as a homosexual by other men leads to a never-ending quest for manhood. Heterosexual men therefore have to be constantly prepared to prove their manhood and act carefully not to do anything that can make them come off as effeminised men, that is show feelings, be too affectionate towards women and men of other races or turn down an opportunity of heterosexual intercourse (Broad and Kaufman 1994, p. 131).

Homophobia can therefore be seen as a signifier of hegemonic masculinity and thus be used to operationalise the presence of hegemonic masculinity within military organisations.

2.3.3 Hegemonic Masculinity and Degrading of Women in Military Organisations

Institutions of hegemonic masculinity, due to the external hegemony, produce a masculine identity that is based on the subordination and depreciation of women. This has strong implications for the military training of male soldiers and for the gender relations within military organisations. To become a real warrior and a man worthy of the status of hegemonic masculinity, the soldier must therefore be stripped of all his feminine attributes. Hence, acceptable masculinity is thereby created by degrading femininity (Moon 1997, p. 55).

Military drill instructors therefore use epithets such as *faggot*, *pussy* or simply *women* to describe and feminise the recruits who do not measure up and hereby make clear that not becoming a soldier means not becoming a real man (Goldstein 2001, p. 265).

The presence of women in military organisations therefore poses a challenge to the norms of hegemonic masculinity. Aggression, sexual and otherwise against women, therefore often become an integral part of military training and in the bonding of soldiers (Marshall 2004, and Brod and Kaufman 1994, p. 166).

As a consequence, women in military organisations are often subject to sexual harassment to reinforce the notion of women as inferior and subordinate to men, and to restore the external hegemony (Kronsell 2005a, and Hearn, Sheppard, Trancred-Sheriff and Burrell 1993, p. 35).

Sexual harassment, just like homophobia, can therefore be used as a signifier of hegemonic masculinity and thereby also be used to operationalise the presence of hegemonic masculinity within military organisations.

2.4 Hegemonic Masculinity and Peacekeeping Soldiers' Demand for Prostitution

2.4.1 A General Note on Male Demand for Prostitution

Existing research tells us with clarity that the general demand for prostitution comes almost exclusively from men. Further, available research confirms that some occupational groups, for example military, police, seafarers and truckers are more frequent sex buyers than others. Likewise have those men who travel for business or leisure been found to be more prone to buy sex. Existing research based on interviews and surveys with male sex buyers further reveals that they usually explain their sexual consumption habits with references to the desire for a particular kind of sexual experience, the desire for a particular kind of sexual partner and/or the desire for being able to control when and how to have sex (Anderson and Davidson 2002, p. 29).

Modern research on the subject of male demand for prostitution further concludes that there is a strong link between the social construction of masculine identity and the desire to buy sex. Accordingly, by buying women and children in prostitution, men can confirm and reinforce their masculine identity (IOM Dec 2003, p. 17).

This practise would also help to explain why men are more prone to buy sex in situations where they feel that their masculinity is at risk. Such as when men work in exploitive environments under conditions which they do not control and in situations where the social premium placed on the masculine identity is suddenly raised, such as during periods of armed conflict (Anderson and Davidson 2002, p. 29).

Further, modern research also suggests that there is a link between the social diminishing and devaluation of women and the male demand for prostitution. Hence, in situations where the society devalues femininity, the more important it is for men to confirm their masculinity by distancing themselves from everything that can be interpreted as typical feminine.

However, it is important to notice that male demand for prostitution also thrives in societies where gender equality is broadly politically accepted as something very desirable. This suggests that male demand for prostitution is not only about gender and power, but also a mean to confirm class and race privilege and identity (Anderson and Davidson 2002, p. 30).

2.4.2 Peacekeepers' Demand for Prostitution as Confirming Manhood and Homo-social Bonding

The general evidence presented above can indeed directly be translated into an explanatory model based on the concept of hegemonic masculinity. And as stated before, western military organisations are the most prominent historical and contemporary institutions of hegemonic masculinity. As such, they offer an arena primarily for and by men where a masculine identity is promoted based on degradation of women (external hegemony), subordination of homosexual men (internal hegemony) and marginalisation of men belonging to ethnic minorities (internal hegemony). The archetype of masculinity that contemporary national armed forces draw on is thus created in relation to a feminine complement, in such way that female attributes come to represent everything that is unwanted and bad in military organisations, in individual soldiers and in troop community (Enloe 2002, p. 23).

For male soldiers, taking on an acceptable masculine identity, therefore means that you have to get rid of all in you that can be perceived as feminine, and that you constantly have to be prepared to prove your manhood. Naturally this has a strong implication for how sexuality is being expressed and shaped by military organisations and individual soldiers.

For peacekeepers, buying women and children in prostitution then becomes the ultimate test and proof of manhood, hereby making clear that you commit to the external hegemony, by sexually dominating and penetrating women and children in prostitution (Harrington 2003, p. 5). Hence, prostitution then becomes a strategy for individual peacekeeping soldiers to show that they are real men who know how to take care of their "*natural*" bodily needs, that they can take control over their environment, that they are no effeminised or sissy homosexuals and that women's bodies are there for the sexual gratifications of men (IOM Dec 2003, p. 18). Prostitution thereby becomes the utter most visible sign of the fact that the masculine ideal promoted in military organisations makes some men believe that their sexual needs and pleasures and gratification are worth more than women's right to independence, health, sexual self-determination, sexual pleasure and integrity.

As such, the peacekeepers' actions are in line with the preservation of the patriarchy and thus a mean to promote men's global domination over women (Connell 1995, p.74).

Military organisations have also been found to be strongly bounded. This boundedness is manifested in several ways, such as by remotely located and well guarded military training camps, by the training of military violence and killing and by sustaining a sharp gender binary (Brod and Kaufman 1994, p. 169).

In this environment, prostitution has been deemed to play an important role in the homo-social bounding between soldiers at war and during peacetime (Harrington 2003, p. 3). As such, prostitution becomes one of many official and unofficial manhood making rituals commonly used in military organisations to bind the soldiers together (Goldstein 2001 p. 265). The use of prostituted women and children by peacekeepers can thus also be explained as a strategy, deliberate

or not, to create a spirit of community. As such, prostitution becomes the final integrative act one of many manhood and homo-social bounding rituals, that soldiers have to go through during their military career (Assuming Manhood 2000, p. 14).

Further, the social pressure on soldiers and peacekeepers to participate in the common act of prostitution has been found to be substantial, leaving no one insecure of what it means to be a man and a soldier (Moon 1997, p. 37). Making soldiers in groups use prostituted women thus plays an important role in promoting and upholding the heterosexual ideal that institutions of hegemonic masculinity are dependent on.

2.4.3 Peacekeepers' Demand for Prostitution as a Legacy of Colonialism

Colonialism has often been said to represent the first global gendered order based on a heterosexual white hegemonic masculine identity. As such, colonial empires were highly gendered institutions that established gender orders based on violent militarised hegemonic masculinity (Connell 2002, p. 37). In the contemporary world, colonialism and its implication for hegemonic masculinity of Europe and the USA has been said to have been replaced by a neo-liberal/neo-colonial world order based on capitalism and cooperate efficiency.

Hence, the hegemonic masculinity has continued to strongly influence the international economical and political relationships and therefore continues to contribute to a normalisation of racism and sexism. Especially third world women have been said to be most severely effected by this development through the commodification of their sexuality. This has created a strong relationship between western militarised hegemonic masculinity and sexual exploitation of third world women manifested by military brothels, sex tourism, sexual trafficking and radicalised pornography. Peacekeeping soldiers can thus be said to operate within a context of a neo-liberal order that draws on and reflects a legacy from colonial times and a patriarchy based on unequal treatment of race, gender, class and culture (Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling 2003, p. 133, 136).

Peacekeepers' demand for prostitution may thus also be driven by radicalised images and stereotypes (medial, cultural, historical and economical) stating that women and children from different cultures than that of their own are more sexually accessible and submissive. Especially Asian women have been said to become the "*global whore*" in the western sexual discourse and sex industry. Some researchers even go so far as to talk of the "*prostitution of entire societies*", hereby meaning that for example women from Thailand today invariably awake association to prostitution among western men (Taylor and Jamieson 1999, p. 267 and 272).

Claims have further been made that this image or identity also to an increasingly degree is being ascribed to women from Eastern and South Eastern Europe, whom to an ever increasing degree have come to replace Asian and other third world women in the western sex industry.

Hence, by buying women and children in prostitution, peacekeepers configure race, class, nationality, gender and culture, as to suit the hegemonic masculinity (Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling 2003, p 141). The hegemonic masculinity in western military organisations thus creates a link between the white heterosexual masculine warrior ideal, racism, gender and nationalism, which encourage the soldiers to engage in sexual predatory practices with women and children who are believed to belong to inferior nations or racial/ethnic minorities and groups (Anderson and Davidson 2002, p. 33 and Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling 2003, p 142).

As such, peacekeepers' demand for prostitution while serving in non-western countries corresponds directly to the connection between the external and internal hegemony. Buying women and children in prostitution who belong to "inferior" nations or racial/ethnic minorities thus, not only maintain the patriarchy and the global domination of women by white heterosexual men, it also effeminise the men from these nations and racial/ethnic minorities by pointing them out as unable to protect their own women and children from sexual exploitation.

3. Peacekeeping and Prostitution: An Empirical Overview

3.1 Introduction

As stated before, the Swedish Armed Forces are particularly interesting and relevant to analyse from the perspective of the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Further, as we have seen, sexual harassment, homophobia and ethnical discrimination are the most prominent signifiers of the hegemonic masculinity. As a first point of analysis I will therefore take a closer look at the experiences of the Swedish Armed Forces and peacekeeping troops on these subjects.

This will be followed by an empirical review of the evidence regarding Swedish peacekeepers' use of prostituted women and children while on missions abroad. I will thereafter present and evaluate the Swedish preventive strategy on the subject, trace out weak areas and suggest possible improvements. Throughout the empirical analysis I will further present the result of the interviews that I have carried out with Swedish soldiers and officers with experiences from serving in Swedish peacekeeping units in Kosovo and Bosnia.

3.2 The Impact of Hegemonic Masculinity in the Swedish Armed Forces

3.2.1 Sexual Harassment and Homophobia

As stated before, harassment of women is common in institutions of hegemonic masculinity, due to the external hegemony and the subordination of women. Likewise, homosexual men are usually perceived as feminine, and thus also as threatening to men's domination of women. As a consequence, both women and homosexual men may become targets of sexual harassment and discrimination in institutions of hegemonic masculinity such as the military.

Hence, by studying the experience of women and homosexual male officers and conscripts in the Swedish Armed Forces and international forces we can learn about how and to what extent the hegemonic masculinity is present and shape the gender relations in the Swedish Armed Forces. Based on this it is then possible to evaluate if the explanatory model on the subject of peacekeepers' demand for prostitution developed in this thesis is valid or not in the Swedish case.

The Swedish Armed Forces has traditionally been an arena exclusively for men. However, since 1980 it has been possible for Swedish women to pursue a

carrier as officers and since 1995 it has also been possible for women to voluntarily undergo military training as conscripts. The inclusion of women as officers and conscripts has a broad political support and representatives from the Swedish Armed Forces have often publicly expressed their pride about the positive change taking place due to the presence of women in the military organisation (Kronsell 2005a). Today women make up 3.6 percent of the total number of officers in the Swedish Armed Forces and the military command and academies actively support and motivate female conscripts to pursue a military carrier. However, concerns have been expressed that negative and discriminative attitudes among men in the Swedish Armed Forces have a deterrent effect on women's willingness to pursue a military carrier (Försvarsdepartementet 2004, p. 16).

This concern seems not groundless and it has been confirmed in several recent studies on the subject of gender equality in the Swedish Armed Forces, that many female officers and conscripts have experienced gender discrimination and sexual harassment.

Hence, according to an investigation carried out in 1999, 59 percent of the female officers in the Swedish Armed Forces experienced that they had been subject to sexual harassment within a period of three years back. After initiating and carrying out educational programmes on the subject of gender equality the situation seemed to have improved somewhat and an investigation carried out 2002 showed a drop to 47 percent (Kronsell 2005b and Försvarsdepartementet 2004, p. 16).

Gender inspections undertaken at Swedish forces stationed abroad have also proven the problem to be substantial in these environments. For example, in the spring 2004 eight of the total 40 female peacekeepers serving in the Swedish battalion in Kosovo reported their male colleagues for having sexually harassed them. In each different case, between one to ten men were accused (Mattmar 2004). On behalf of one of the women the Swedish Equality Representative sued the Swedish Armed Forces in the Labour Court for damages for being sexually harassed, which in the end led to her being forced to resign (Kihlström 2004).

Homosexuality was written off as a criminal act in Sweden 1944, but was still viewed as a condition of disease until 1979. Because of this, homosexual men were automatically ruled out as conscripts and officers until 1979 (Kronsell 2005b).

According to Annica Kronsell, who has conducted research on the subject of gender and the Swedish military service at the Department of Political Science, University of Lund, there are at present very little data on the subject of homosexuality in the Swedish military. However, according to Kronsell, the anecdotal evidence that is available indicates very clearly that homosexuality is a problematic subject. In 2003 the Government initiated a survey involving 20.000 individuals on the subject of homo-and bisexuals' working conditions. The investigation showed that male dominated working places such as the military and the police were more discriminative against homosexuals than other working sectors (Kronsell, 2005b).

This indicates that the explanatory model developed and presented in this thesis indeed can be valid in the case of explaining Swedish peacekeepers' demand for prostitution as a result of Confirming Manhood and Homo-social Bounding. However before any certain and general conclusions can be made, I believe that into depth interviews with Swedish peacekeepers who actually have bought sex have to be undertaken.

As regards to explaining Swedish peacekeepers' demand for prostitution as a legacy of colonialism it seems rather more uncertain. To assess the explanatory power and validity of the model in this case would entail analysing Swedish male peacekeepers' view of women and men belonging to ethnical minorities.

According to Kronsell, Conscription practises have generally tended to be undertaken as to homogenise soldiers and differences related to gender, sexuality and ethnicity have either been silenced or openly abhorred (Kronsell 2005b). In the case of the Swedish Armed Forces differences related to ethnicity, gender and sexuality have been silenced until just recently when it became a goal of the Swedish Armed Forces to promote ethnical diversity in the conscripted force. According to an investigation undertaken recently indicated that around six percent of the conscripts had non-Swedish sounding last names. However at this point of time there seems to be no data available on the subject of how these conscripted are treated by Swedish conscripts and officers (Kronsell 2005b).

Given this, I therefore believe that is impossible at this point of time to assess whether or not the Swedish peacekeepers' demand for prostitution can be explained by a hegemonic racist view of women and men belonging to ethnic minorities, as was suggested by the model presented in this thesis.

3.3 A Note on the General Evidence Regarding Peacekeeping and Prostitution in Bosnia and Kosovo

3.3.1 The Link between Peacekeeping and Prostitution in Bosnia and Kosovo

During the 1990s Human and Women Rights Groups as well as different agencies within the United Nations on several occasions sounded the alarm on peacekeepers' use of prostituted women in countries where the United Nations had mandated an intervention. Especially the peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Kosovo have on numerous occasions been connected to the rapid growth of organised crime, prostitution and trafficking of women and children (Mendelson 2005, p. 1).

Hence, although it is impossible to grasp the entire magnitude of the involvement of international peacekeeping civilian staff, police officers' and soldiers' involvement in prostitution the evidence undoubtedly points in one direction. Accordingly, members of peacekeeping forces in places such as Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Slovenia, Cambodia and Mozambique have used prostituted women more or less openly and in some cases also participated directly in the trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation (Ekberg 2004, p. 1198).

The evidence available from these countries varies substantially in significance and quality. However, in the case of Bosnia and Kosovo several safe sources exist. Especially Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have developed several high quality reports on the subject. Accordingly, shortly after the arrival of United Nations and NATO peacekeeping personnel to Bosnia and Kosovo, the sex industry grew rapidly and the number of brothels increased with haste.

In November 2000 the International Police Task Force (IPTF) in Bosnia raided a brothel in Prijedor. During the raid, 34 women and girls who had been trafficked to Bosnia were, rescued. The women and girls stated that IPTF officers and NATO SFOR soldiers were frequent clients of the bordello, and 11 IPTF officers were identified. This eventually led to the repatriation of six IPTF officers. In 2001 four more IPTF officers were identified by trafficking victims and were sent home. There is also evidence that some IPTF officers have purchased women directly from the bordellos by paying of the women's debts directly to the owner of the bordello (Human Rights Watch 2002, p. 49-51).

These cases are indeed only the tip of the iceberg and ever since the arrival of United Nations Personnel in Bosnia there has been documented proof of a relationship to prostitution. One expert NGO operating in the region has showed that ever since the arrival of peacekeeping personnel in 1995, 90 percent of the use of brothels in Bosnia can be attributed to peacekeeping personnel. The NGO also identified a troublesome pattern where new bordellos constantly appeared in villages in close range to the peacekeeping bases. The situation has improved during later years and IPTF estimated that the peacekeeping personnel constituted 30 percent of customers in 2001. A substantial drop indeed, nevertheless international personnel continue to generate 70 percent of the earnings of the bordellos (UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute 2002, p. 13-14). This pattern of development was repeated in Kosovo after the arrival of the United Nations personnel (UNMIK) and the NATO KFOR soldiers in 1999 and several independent cases of sexual misconduct have been reported since then. UNMIK police officers have on several occasions been found guilty of buying sex from prostituted women, and also directly taking part in trafficking. For example, the UNMIK repatriated two officers in 2001 and one in 2003 for using prostituted women. In 2002 it was further proved that German KFOR soldiers used women in prostitution. When questioned on the subject, one German Officer complained that German soldiers had no choice but to visit local bordellos since they, unlike the French and American soldiers, had no army brothels of their own. The Russian KFOR soldiers have also been found to use women trafficked into prostitution as well as engaging in trafficking of women themselves. For example, in 2000 Russian soldiers were accused of trafficking women from Moldavia and Ukraine into the Russian Military base in Kosovo Poljie. Likewise, several French soldiers were suspected of trafficking women for the purpose of making them providing sex for other KFOR soldiers (Amnesty International 2004b, p. 42-45).

Once again, this is only the tip of the iceberg and in the year 1999 and 2000 the international personnel in Kosovo have been estimated to constitute 80 percent of the prostitution customers. This share dropped to 40 percent at the end of 2000 and continued to drop to 30 percent at the end of 2002. However it is important to

notice that these 30 percent generated 80 percent of the income in the sex industry. In 2004, when the final estimation was made, the peacekeeping personnel were calculated to constitute 20 percent of the customers (Ibid, p. 41-42).

3.3.2 Accountability, Legal Aspects, and Codes of Conduct

The use of prostituted women and children by peacekeeping soldiers in Bosnia and Kosovo has indeed not gone unnoticed and has been debated on a numerous of occasions in the international media as well as in the Swedish media. As such the subject has reached the political agenda of the United Nations and of some of its member countries. United Nations' officials as well as politicians and military leaders from countries contributing troops to international peacekeeping missions, have on several occasions publicly expressed their concern on the subject. As a response, some initial preventive initiatives have been taken, such as the Special Trafficking Operations Program (STOP) in Bosnia and the Trafficking and Prostitution Investigation Unit (TPIU) in Kosovo. The United Nations has also developed Codes of Conduct on the subject, such as for example the *United Nations Peacekeepers Code of Conduct*. According to which the personnel are not to “*indulge in immoral acts of sexual, physical or psychological abuse or exploitation of the local population or United Nations staff, especially women and children.*”(Code of Personal Conduct, Rule 4, as cited in International Alert 2004, p. 21).

Likewise does the *Peacekeeping Handbook for Junior Ranks* advice, “*Do not involve yourself with a sexual affair with any member of the local population*” (United Nations Peacekeeping Handbook as cited in International Alert 2004, p. 21).

These are indeed welcomed initiatives, but several challenges still remain before any substantial change can be reached.

One of the most significant problems holding back the progress is the lack of accountability found within the peacekeeping operations' structure (UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute 2002, p. 16). Hence, the multi-national character of the United Nations mandated peacekeeping operations and the complex jurisdictional responsibilities involved have created a situation where it is difficult to hold individual peacekeeping soldiers legally responsible for their actions in cases of sexual misconduct. This means that military as well as civilian personnel are immune to the laws in the country of the mission and can thus not be trailed locally for crimes related to prostitution and trafficking. In these cases the peacekeeping soldiers are instead subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the sending state, all in accordance to the standard agreement between the United Nations, the troop contributing countries and the host country.

The agreement between the United Nations and the troop contributing state is also known as *Contribution Agreement (CA)* and the agreement between the United Nations and host state is also named the *Status-of-Forces Agreement (SOFA)* (International Alert 2004, p. 21-22).

The SOFA provides that the Secretary General will obtain assurances from the governments of the countries that are contributing troops that they will exercise jurisdiction over their soldiers if they commit crimes during the peacekeeping mission. In reality however, this is seldom done. Further, according to the CA, troop contributing countries are required to keep the United Nations and the leaders of the mission abreast and informed of the progress of investigations undertaken after a soldier has been repatriated. Once again it can only be noted that this is seldom if ever done (Ibid, p. 23).

In the specific case of Bosnia and Kosovo, where the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) has been responsible for carrying out the military parts of the peacekeeping missions, the SOFA is slightly different from that of the peacekeeping missions exclusively lead by the United Nations. In this case the jurisdiction is shared between the host country and the NATO troop contributing country. This means that the NATO SOFA allows host countries to exercise secondary jurisdictions over soldiers belonging to troop contributing countries if their own countries decline to prosecute. In reality however, this is of little help since the often extreme power imbalance between the host country and the gusting countries clearly does not work in favour of the host country on these matters (Ibid, p. 23).

It has been proven that in most of the cases, the troop contributing countries do not prosecute repatriated soldiers. This has sent a signal to the peacekeeping soldiers that the prohibition to use prostituted women and children is not to be taken seriously and has thus worked against the ambition of the United Nations (Human Rights Watch 2002, p. 60 and Mendelson 2005, p. 7).

There is also a lack of transparency in the United Nations' system of internal investigation. Hence, IPTF officers have stated that their reports regarding sexual misconduct by peacekeepers' have withered and disappeared as they have moved up in the chain of command in the United Nations' system. Further, there is substantial evidence suggesting that United Nations as well as national officials handle allegations of sexual misconduct quietly by sending home perpetrators without a full investigation or the intention of demanding convictions (Human Rights Watch 2002, p. 56 and Nancy 2001).

The easy access to condoms at the military bases has also been questioned as to sending a mixed message to the soldiers whereby making them believe that the use of prostituted women and children is unofficially sanctioned (United Nations 2000, p. 14).

In summary, it can thus easily be stated that the United Nations' official stand on prostitution and peacekeeping is not always supported by the actual practise in the field and by the actions of some officials in the United Nations system. As we shall see, some of these insufficiencies are also valid in the Swedish case.

3.4 The Swedish Preventive Strategy

3.4.1 A Strategy Based on Education, Leadership, Commitment to a Common Set of Core Values, Orders and Accountability to the Swedish law

To grasp the magnitude and design of the Swedish preventive strategy I have interviewed Lars Wetterskog and Fredrik Yllemo. Lars Wetterskog is a Captain and a military instructor in the Swedish Army. His main responsibility is to carry out the implementation of Resolution 1325 and to educate the becoming Swedish peacekeeping officers in matters related to gender, such as prostitution and trafficking. Hence, he is one of the leading officers behind the Swedish preventive strategy. Fredrik Yllemo is a Senior Military Personal Officer at the Headquarters of the Swedish Armed Forces.

According to Wetterskog and Yllemo, the present Swedish strategy to prevent their soldiers and officers in peacekeeping units from using women and children in prostitution rests upon four principles, namely, Education, Leadership, commitment to a common set of core values and direct Orders.

3.4.2 Education and leadership

According to Wetterskog, the Swedish Armed Forces started to include more “softer” topics into the training of the becoming Swedish peacekeeping officers in 1996. This was mainly done by inviting the Swedish department of the NGO, Save the Children, to lecture 30 minutes on the subject of the impact of armed conflict on children.

In 1999 the Swedish Armed Forces also included gender related issues into the training by initiating cooperation with the Swedish department of the NGO, Woman to Woman. The goal of this cooperation was to increase the Swedish peacekeepers’ understanding of gender, conflict, prostitution and trafficking. The soldiers, both officers and those without rank were therefore initially all given the same lecture.

However, according to Wetterskog, the lectures given by Woman to Woman received very bad feedback already from the start, which made Wetterskog and his colleagues question the future of the cooperation. Today, Wetterskog means that the cooperation with Woman to Woman was bound to fail:

“We did everything wrong from the start and did not predict the alienation that were bound to develop between military men in uniform and female representatives from a civilian women’s organisation....It was not fair to them, you now, putting one hundred Swedish soldiers in the same room as a civilian women and closing the door. It was bound to fail....You know, the men are already in a teambuilding phase and they are to one hundred percent focused on the mission lying ahead of them in a few weeks....Naturally, making military men

in this hyper masculine environment perhaps for their first time think and talk about gender is not easy and fair to anyone”.

This picture is also confirmed and shared by Åsa Calman, who is one of the representatives from Woman to Woman who has been involved in the education of the Swedish peacekeepers. Hence, According to Åsa:

“It did not work well at all in the beginning. The officer in charge presented us and then left the room....And with him left also the authority and the message that we were about to deliver was already from the start marginalised and ruled out as unimportant, something just to sit through”.

In 2002 Wetterskog and his colleagues felt that something new had to be done and according to Wetterskog:

“By now several cases of sexual misconduct by Swedish peacekeepers serving in Bosnia and Kosovo had been reported in media....We felt that we had to redesign and improve our training concept on the subject of gender, prostitution and trafficking. We therefore intensified the cooperation with Women to Women and most importantly, we changed our approach to deliver the message.....We prolonged the training to four hours and started to make use of Resolution 1325, and to show the movie “Lilja 4-ever”This movie is extremely useful because it reflects the conditions of prostitution and trafficking that we are about to meet in reality in the area of the mission....It is also very strong emotionally and the men really get moved and touched by it...we use the movie as a springboard for further discussion....The men get to know that the experience of the trafficked and prostituted girl, Lilja, in the movie, is a reality for many women and children in Kosovo and Bosnia”.

Wetterskog then continued by saying that the most important aspect behind the success of the new approach is the use of the military leadership to spread and implement the new message:

“For our new approach we had truly learnt from the mistakes made in the past....We had come to understand that we had to involve and use our officers who were about to take on a leading position in the field in Kosovo in order to really be successful.... You now, it is quite logical, after all military activity is all about leadership, it is what we do best, so why not use it?”.

The new leadership based approach is therefore based on educating every officer who is going to lead and be responsible for other men in the field in Kosovo, Bosnia or any where else Sweden sends military peacekeepers. These officers will in turn be responsible for carrying the message further by holding briefings and discussions with their own men, both in Sweden before leaving and well at place. According to Wetterskog and Yllemo, this has several advantages:

“First of all, by having a commanding officer present and in charge during the lectures held by Woman to Woman, we really make the other officers feel and understand that this is something that is to be taken seriously, that it is prioritised by the headquarter and that it can help the officer and his men to become better peacekeepers....It is our strongest opinion that the messenger should be a military man dressed in uniform.....It is the only way to reach out to other men dressed in uniform.....And we believe that our changes have had a strong improving effect”.

Yllemo further explains to me in detail the importance of good leadership:

“We provide the officers who are about to take on a leading position in field with the tools they need to understand the relationship between conflicts, gender and prostitution. You see, in the end Lars and I are not coming with the soldiers on their missions. We will not be there to discuss these issues when it is the most needed in the field...But what we can do is to prepare other officers operating in the field for this task...The key to success is to use the leadership at all levels of the Swedish military. To make the leaders understand that they have the power and responsibility to affect the men in the right direction...They have to become exemplary role models, it has to start already during the training of conscripts...And we need to look at these problems from a broad perspective...I guess you know that in the 2002 and 2003 it became obvious that many of our own women, our own officers and conscripts too was subject of sexual harassment. Since 2004 we therefore discuss this in the same way and room as we discuss prostitution.....We make clear that sexual objectification of women is not acceptable, not here in Sweden in our own ranks and not during peacekeeping missions”

Yllemo pauses and gives me the opportunity to ask if he sees a connection between sexual harassment of Swedish female officers and conscripts in Sweden and the Swedish male peacekeepers who buy sex? Do we send out men on missions who have a fundamentally unsound view of women?

“I do not share your thinking that Swedish soldiers should have a fundamentally sexist view of women.... Naturally it is there but we have come a long way, we have admitted that we have a problem and that this is something that does not belong in the Swedish Armed Forces.....Naturally not everyone has taken this message to their hearts, we have to recognise that we work in a conservative, patriarchal environment dominated by men.....It is a work in progress, it will take time, but we have come a long way....The situation today I so much better than ten years ago....So much has happened.....And there are huge differences between the Army, the Navy and the Air Force”.

3.4.3 Commitment to a Common Set of Core Values, Orders and accountability to the Swedish law

Where other countries as well as the United Nations have chosen to use Codes or Conducts regulating the relationship between their staff and the local women in the country of the mission, Sweden have chosen a different approach. Or as Yllemo explains:

“In Sweden we do not need any Codes of Conduct, because we have our guidance documents and standing orders to every peacekeeping force we send on a mission. We have therefore replaced other countries’ Codes of Conduct by a common set of Core Values (Firm, Fair and Friendly) and direct orders.....End of Discussion, it cannot be any clearer than that..... Prostitution is not an option, it is just not allowed to happen”.

When asked to specify what the Core Values and orders entail, Yllemo provides me with a modified version of the actual set of documents valid for the current Swedish peacekeeping force operating in Kosovo at present (KS 11). These documents are specifically designed for each mission but according to Yllemo the overall structure is in most parts identical to that of other missions.

The documents include written orders that state that the Swedish peacekeeping staff serving in KS11 is subject to disciplinary accountability under the law of disciplinary accountability (1994:1811) of the Armed Forces as well as to the enactment of disciplinary accountability (1995:241) of the Armed Forces. Hence, if orders, instructions and regulations are violated, the responsible individuals can be subject to deduction of his/her wages corresponding to a maximum of thirty days work and to repatriation.

Further, if a serious crime is committed according to Swedish legislation, the soldier can be repatriated and subject to a legal trial in Sweden (Swedish Armed Forces 2005). This is of utter most importance, since it makes Swedish peacekeepers bound to the Swedish law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services, which came into force January 1 1999. According to which, *“a person who obtains casual sexual relations in exchange for payment shall be sentenced unless if the act is punishable under the Swedish Penal Code-for the purchase of sexual services to a fine or imprisonment for at most six months”* (Act Prohibiting the Purchase of Sexual Services 1998: 408).

According to Yllemo the Swedish law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services, is extremely useful for the Swedish Armed Forces:

“It makes our job so much easier than to that of other nations. The Swedish peacekeepers know that that there is no room for discussion. They know that buying sex is illegal and that they will be sent home, that they might lose their employment in the Swedish Armed Forces and that they even may be trialled according to Swedish law”.

Yllemo's conclusion stands in direct line with that of Janice G. Raymond, from the non governmental organisation Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. Accordingly, she states that:

"It would be a great leap forward in the campaign against sexual exploitation for governments and UN agencies to prohibit their diplomats, military personnel, UN police, and peacekeepers from engaging in prostitution activities on or off duty" (Raymond 2004, p. 1178).

Further she finds the best preventive strategy to be a combination of:

"Legal measures penalizing the demand, military measures and codes of conduct" (Raymond 2004, p. 1178).

Also Gunilla Ekberg, from the Swedish Ministry of Industry, Employment, and Communications, agrees that the value of the Swedish law in the matter of preventing Swedish peacekeepers from buying sex is substantial. She relates to the case from 2002 when three military officers serving in Kosovo were charged and convicted for having purchased sexual services in Macedonia. Accordingly she states:

"In contrast to peacekeepers from other countries, Swedish peacekeeping forces stationed abroad are subject to the Law....As a result of the convictions, they are no longer allowed to serve in peacekeeping operations and have been discharged from the military. As a result of the conviction, one of the former officers has also been dismissed from his civilian job" (Ekberg 2004, p. 1198).

Clearly, Ekberg means that this sends a clear signal that prostitution will never be accepted and that the repercussions indeed can be sever.

The document further stipulates the core values firm, fair and friendly, which the peacekeepers have to commit to in everything they do while serving abroad. Accordingly:

Fair, among other things, means that Swedish peacekeeping soldiers are to treat everyone equal regardless of their nationality, ethnical background, sex or sexual belonging. Further, Swedish peacekeeping soldiers are to protect and support ethnical tolerance and maintain the security for everyone in the area of responsibility and operation.

Firm, among other things means that the actions of the force are to be consistent and that the socialisation with the local inhabitants shall be friendly but restricted.

Friendly, among other things, means that the Swedish peacekeepers are to treat others like they would like to be treated themselves. Further, that they remember that they are guests in another country and that they are to respect the local

inhabitants and other represented nations' values, cultures, religious places and history (Swedish Armed Forces 2005).

Further, the document explicit regulates the sexual relations of the peacekeepers and it is stated that:

Purchase of sexual services is prohibited according to Swedish law (see above). Further, every form of sexual relations with the local inhabitants and locally employed staff is prohibited. Likewise, pornographic material is not to be obtained, stored and watched on computers belonging to the force and pornographic pictures and posters are not to be publicly posted and displayed. Moreover pornographic movies are not allowed to be watched in the public facilities belonging to the force. In addition to this, members of the force are not allowed to visit bars, restaurants or any other facilities where striptease or any other pornographic activity is taking place during official journeys in or outside Kosovo.

Wetterskog gives the final comment on the importance of the commitment to a common set of core values:

“The Swedish core values are most important....It is so easy to become intoxicated by the feeling of the power you posses....The feeling that you are untouchable and can do anything you want ...Our core values constantly remind us that we are representatives from Sweden and that we are expected to behave in a respectful way”.

3.4.4 Do the Orders Always Apply?

As long as the Swedish peacekeeping soldiers are on duty, they are thus ordered not to engage any sexual relationships of any kind with the local women. Further, they are ordered not to visit bars, restaurants or any other facilities where striptease or any other pornographic activity is taking place during official journeys in or outside Kosovo. In addition to this, they are reminded that they are bound by the Swedish laws and thereby also the law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services.

This seems indeed as a rather water proof strategy and there can be little or no room for soldiers believing that they can buy sex without violating orders or the Swedish law. Or put as in the words of Yllemo *“Prostitution is not an option... it is just not allowed to happen”*.

However, I ask, are there no situations and circumstances which the Swedish preventive strategy does not cover and thus can lead to Swedish peacekeepers using prostituted women and children?

Yllemo provided me with the answer:

“The soldiers are bound by their orders as long as they are in service or on duty....And basically they are on duty all the time in the mission area....they are also on duty during so called short leave... when you take a few days off and for example go to Italy or Greece ...It is also a short leave if you go to collect supplies for the force in Hungary.... So basically you can say that all short leaves are undertaken on duty... this means that the orders, and firm, fair and friendly always applies....it applies when you are standing there in full gear and are about to stop a riot and it applies when you are on short leave in Italy and are going to watch a soccer match.....and if you take the evening off and go out to have a beer when you are in Hungary on a supply mission....When it comes to so called long leave it gets more tricky....Long leave means three weeks off...The soldiers are first transported to Sweden before their long leave begins....This basically means that they are no longer subject to the orders that have been submitted before the peacekeeping mission begins...They are still bound by the Swedish law but the Swedish Armed Forces can not interfere if the men choose to go on a vacation together where they might buy sex.... Since the travel has not been arranged by the Swedish Armed Forces it is formally not under our responsibility”.

Hence, to summarise, the Swedish peacekeeping soldiers and officers are bound by their orders all the time in the mission area and during short leave, but not under so called long leaves. However, at all times they are bound by the Swedish law.

3.5 Swedish Peacekeeping and Prostitution

3.5.1 Evidence Based on Interviews with Swedish Peacekeepers

According to Wetterskog, the situation was worse during the missions undertaken before 2000:

“There was a much more unsound culture before 2000....There were frequent visits to bordellos outside the area of the mission....like in Hungary...it was like this 1991, 1995, 1996 and 1998...it was no question about it...short leave undoubtedly meant prostitution...it was a part of the peacekeeping service”.

Yllemo seems to agree:

“We really did not have any discussion about this back then....and if there ever was a discussion it was always undertaken from the perspective of HIV...that it was bad if you contracted HIV and then became a blood donor....that you needed to be absolutely certain that you could trust your friends if you needed their blood....and that the women gained from it because they did good money”.

Both Wetterskog and Yllemo further talk of Swedish peacekeepers' visits to brothels and sex clubs as something exclusively carried out during so called short leaves to Hungary, and Greece and not at all located in the area of the mission.

After acknowledging this both Wetterskog and Yllemo rather seem to prefer talking about the solution of the problem and the ongoing preventive work carried out in the Swedish Armed Forces instead of the actual presence of the problem. Hence, Wetterskog continues saying:

“Our progress in this matter has been swift....we have admitted publicly that we have a problem and we have taken our responsibility”.

The information received from Wetterskog and Yllemo is in most parts supported by Sonesson. After serving twice as a former military police officer in Kosovo, with a special responsibility for intelligence and security issues relating specifically to trafficking and prostitution, he can indeed provide high quality observations. After his many patrolling missions at bars, bordellos and sex clubs, Sonesson states that he has seen *“the most of it there is to be seen”*. Accordingly:

“It has been my responsibility to investigate the security aspect of prostitution and trafficking....and to identify possible threats to the peacekeepers....because the girls who are prostituted attract the same men who are dealing with drugs and guns....and peacekeepers who get involved in these environments can get them selves and others in trouble...it can be a threat to the security of the mission... I have therefore routinely patrolled many bars and sex clubs.... and I have found many men in the wrong place...especially French and Russian peacekeepers...but I have never found a Swedish peacekeeper at any bar or brothel...I don't think the Swedes buy sex in the area of the mission ”

I believe that Sonesson's statement is the most secure indication that the Swedish peacekeepers in fact did not to any greater extent use prostituted women and children in the area of the mission in Kosovo in 2001/2002 and 2002/2003. His experiences from serving as a military police officer makes his statement very trustworthy. It has been his responsibility to investigate and report sexual misconduct by the peacekeeping soldiers and his frequent patrolling missions are not scheduled so that other peacekeepers can see them. So, even if some Swedish peacekeepers would have the ambition of visiting bars, bordellos or sex clubs for prostitution, it would still be impossible for them to schedule their activities according to the investigative work carried out by Sonesson.

I meet Larsson and Nilsson at the City Library of Kristianstad. They know each other very well after serving together in Kosovo both in 2003/2004. They seem eager to tell their stories and speak surprisingly openly about their experiences related to peacekeeping and prostitution. They have not bought sex themselves they say, but they “certainly know the deal”, and have gone with their fellow peacekeepers to sex clubs on their short leaves.

Larsson takes charge of the discussion from the start:

“It is a good thing your research...people should know what is happening...we have been thinking of writing in the paper about it....but you know if you want to go on a future mission you do not want any one to be pissed at you...it is good to be able to be anonymous...I would not have done this otherwise”.

Nilsson seems to agree:

“It is a good thing that you are giving us false names...I mean some of they guys are my best friends....I hang out with them all the time...we have so much in common...it is a special thing...you have to have served as a peacekeepers to understand...so you do not want any one to know that you are telling...you would lose your friends if they found out”.

I begin by asking how the situation was in Kosovo on the subject of prostitution. Larsson responds:

“I have never seen any one of my friends buy sex in Kosovo...it is not that easy you know...you always have to tell your commander where you are going and what you are going to do and all that”.

Nilsson agrees:

“It is not that easy to buy sex...even if it has sounded like that in the papers...there are investigation units and all that shit and you don't want to get caught...you are a loser if you get caught ...so fucking embarrassing you know.”

But are there no bordellos in the area near the military base, I ask?

Nilsson replies:

“Naturally...what did you think...you must have read about it...Kosovo is full of bordellos... not only peacekeepers go there...everyone does...but the Swedes don't.”

Larsson agrees:

“It's like every town I have visited had their own bordello...you did not have to drive many meters before you came across one....they are not always easy to spot... not with signs and all that...but everyone knows that they are there”.

So why do you think the Swedes don't go there, I ask?

Larsson continues:

“Because it is too easy to get caught....and most don’t like the prostitution...for the girls shake and all that...it not right...trafficking and all that I mean...it is not voluntarily for them...it’s like slavery...and AIDS and all that”.

Nilsson takes over:

“Swedish men are special...we have all that talk about gender equality in Sweden...it makes you understand...understand the girls... it’s like they become your little sister...you just want to save them...it is not voluntarily for them...it is not like in Denmark ...a real man doesn’t buy prostitutes”.

What about the gender training you had before going to Kosovo? Is not that important, I ask?

Nilsson seems confused:

“What do you mean?”.

Larson fills in:

“You know all that talk about trafficking and prostitution...Lilja 4-ever and all that”

Nilsson remembers:

“All that is great...it makes you think...you can understand the girls...it must be hell for them...it is like if a man would get raped in his arse by twenty fucking Russians every night”

Larson takes over:

“I prefer talking about gender...it is not like that feminist shit...gender is good for everyone...it makes you understand...the girls I mean...how it is like for them...that it is not freely chosen”.

What about the Swedish Law against buying sex? Is not that important too, I ask?

Larson replies:

“I think it is great...the only good thing the Social Democrats have done...but I don’t think it is going to work...I mean it is hard to prove these things...like in rape...it is not easy to know whom to trust ”.

But does it prevent Swedish peacekeepers from buying sex, I ask?

Larson continues:

“I think so...at least in some cases....it is not like this is something we talk about....everybody knows about the law....but how realistic is it?...I mean no police will ever be able to prove anything...but it is a good signal”.

Nilsson agrees:

“I think the law against prostitution is great...everyone knows of it...even some British soldiers I met...to them it was all crazy...but they knew of it... for us Swedes it is important...it is impossible to avoid...I mean you can buy sex and get away with it...but you can not say it is legitimate....I mean emotionally...it is wrong...the law proves it”.

But what about short leaves to Greece, I ask? I have heard of much prostitution there.

Nilsson and Larsson both nod enthusiastically and smile ironically.

Larson replies first:

“We have been twice in Greece together...it is always the same...it is all about sex...I mean it is not illegal there...but I don't buy sex...I hate that...it is more like I follow the other guys there...not everyone buys sex...I mean you can watch the show...dancing and all that...you don't need to buy sex”.

Nilsson disagrees:

“It is not all about sex...it depends on who you go there with...if it is the wrong guys....like the veterans...they have been there so many times...they know all the good places”.

But why do you go, I ask? Can you not do anything else in the evenings?

Both Nilsson and Larsson laugh at me and Nilsson continues:

“Have you ever been there?...it is the only thing you can do...Greece and sex belong together....it is everywhere...like in normal restaurants...you do not even have to find a strip club”.

Larsson takes over:

“That is not entirely true...I mean you can do other things as well...but there is too much pressure...we rush each other...you do not want to be left alone...everyone goes there...but you do not have to buy sex”.

Soldiers always talk about group pressure, I say. Why is it so important?

Larsson explains:

“You would not understand...you have not served there...the guys mean everything...we are like one person...like you can always see what someone is thinking or is going to say...and what are you going to do instead? Sit alone in your room? ...you can go but just don't buy sex...not everyone buys sex...most don't dare...I mean AIDS and all that...you don't want your dick to fall off....it is mostly the veterans who buy sex...they know all the good places”.

Nilsson takes over:

“You must go...everyone talks about it...I mean even if they don't say sex or prostitution and all that...they more say it like they know of a good place... a good club...everyone knows what they mean anyway”.

What do you mean with the veterans, I ask?

Nilsson explains:

“Everybody knows about them...they have served like since the beginning of Bosnia...they went in there when it was a total war...they are strict you know...newer smiles...I guess it is from all the stuff they have seen”.

So do they introduce new soldiers to prostitution during short leaves, I ask?

Nilsson continues:

“Sometimes maybe ... I mean everyone would probably have gone anyway....but they know all the good places...they are so secure...it is good to have them with you”.

But does not your orders prohibit you from buying sex during short leaves or even to visit a strip club, after all aren't you still on duty, I ask?

Larsson replies:

“In theory yes...but when you go on short leave it is like a new world...it is not like in Kosovo...you are not a soldier anymore...we go there to have fun...as long as you don't buy sex it is ok”

But don't you think the girls in a sex club in Greece suffer like the girls in Kosovo, I ask? Trafficking and all that, I say. Isn't it all the same? What about the gender training and the Swedish law?

Nilsson replies:

"The Swedish law does not apply when you are not on duty...it would be crazy if it did".

Larsson interrupts him:

"The Swedish law always applies...it's more like connected to your Swedish citizenship...not the service".

What about the girls, I ask?

Larsson continues:

"I think it is all the same...same shit... trafficking and all that...but it is like you forget about it...I mean everyone goes...what can you do...as long as you don't buy sex it is ok"

Nilsson agrees:

"It may even be the same girls in Greece as in Kosovo...but you can't tell...it looks like no one is being forced...but it might be invincible...I mean the stripping and all that...it is not forced...not like prostitution...but I have never been with a prostituted".

3.6 Evaluating the Swedish Preventive Strategy

3.6.1 How have Swedish Peacekeepers Reacted in Relation to the Preventive Strategy?

I have not found any other documented evaluation of the impact of the Swedish preventive strategy on the sexual behaviour of the Swedish peacekeeping soldiers stationed in Bosnia and Kosovo.

However, the interviews I have carried out have returned interesting and useful information. Given this, it seems as if the majority of the Swedish peacekeeping soldiers have responded well to the preventive strategy of the Swedish Armed Forces, at least when it comes to not buying sex in the area of the mission. Hence, based on Sonesson's, Larsson's and Nilsson's interviews it seems quite certain that the Swedish peacekeepers do not use prostituted women and children in the area of the mission in Kosovo.

Sonesson's, Larsson's and Nilsson's experiences are especially interesting to analyse in relation to the Swedish preventive strategy. Hence, given their time of service, 2003/2004, they have received the *new and improved* gender training of the Swedish Armed Forces before leaving for Kosovo.

Especially the gender training carried out in cooperation with Woman to Woman seems to have been a success and it is quite obvious that the gender training works and is present in the minds of both Larsson and Nilsson. Or as they both put it, "*it makes you think...it makes you understand the girls...that it is not freely chosen...Lilja 4-ever and all that*".

Further, both Larsson and Nilsson also seem to understand that women in prostitution in Greece, just like in Kosovo also can be victims of trafficking, "*I think it is all the same...same shit...trafficking and all that...it may even be the same girls in Greece as in Kosovo*".

When it comes to the Swedish law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services it seems as if it has had a substantial impact in the minds of the Swedish peacekeepers, including Nilsson and Larsson. Hence, even though Nilsson seems to think that the law is only valid when on duty in Kosovo and Larsson points out that "*it is not realistic...no police will ever be able to prove anything*", they both also seem to agree that. "*it is great...everyone knows of it...even some British soldiers...it is a good signal...prostitution is wrong...the law proves it*".

Regarding their orders prohibiting Swedish soldiers from engaging in sexual relationships with the local women and visits to sex and strip clubs during short leaves, it seems as if Larsson sees them more as a theoretical construction that can not be expected to be followed on short leaves to Greece. Accordingly he states that, "*when you go on short leave it is like a new world...it is not like in Kosovo...we go there to have fun*". It does not seem to bother him that he is breaking a direct order from the military command.

3.6.2 Lack of Implementation

On the whole, the Swedish preventive strategy seems to have had a significant restraining effect on the sexual misbehaviour of the Swedish peacekeepers in the area of the mission. They know about "*trafficking and all that shit*", and that "*it is not freely chosen*" and that they will "*be sent home*". However, there seems to be an increased frequency of visits to bordellos and strip clubs during so called *short leaves* to Greece and Hungary. In much this seems to be located around the so called *veterans*, who "*know all the good places*" and make the first timers feel "*safe and secure*". I was therefore interested to learn more about the veterans when I interviewed Larsson and Nilsson.

Larsson explains it to me:

“It is like I said...they are veterans...been on like five different missions in Bosnia and Kosovo...mostly in Bosnia in the beginning of the war...it is like the only thing they are good at”

But are they officers, I ask?

Larsson continues:

“Some of them are...like lieutenants and captains....maybe 40 percent of them...it does not matter...everyone knows who they are”.

But should they not know better, I ask? Is it not their responsibility to prevent you from going to prostitutes?

Nilsson replies:

“It is not that easy...they have like done it forever...since Bosnia...we are not like them...they are like ten years older than us...it is a tradition”.

Larsson continues:

“it is n not like they force you or anything...it is up to you if you want to go...but you don't want to be left alone when everyone else is going”.

But don't they ever get caught, I ask? I mean the veterans, if they do it all the time?

“It is not like they don't know about it, the leadership I mean...it is like they don't care when it is the veterans...it is more the younger soldiers who are strictly controlled”.

The reasoning of Larsson and Nilsson on the subject of the veterans seems to co side with the view of Captain Svensson, who served in Bosnia 1995/1996. Captain Svensson served as a commanding officer and therefore had a total insight in the work of the Swedish military leadership in Bosnia.

According to Captain Svensson:

“It can be no doubt that the message from the force is clear...prostitution is not an option...everyone knows that...that is not the problem...the instructions are clear...it is rather how the regulations are practised that is the problem...there are insufficiencies in the implementation”

To exemplify, Captain Svensson retells a story of how two of his fellow officers went on a short leave to Hungary to collect supplies for the force and were caught buying sex and therefore reported to the highest commander of the Swedish

Battalion in Bosnia. However, to avoid the scandal following from a repatriation of two officers, the commander of the battalion gave the two officers an unofficial and internal reprimand, and then let them stay on the force in Bosnia. Further, even though several Swedish peacekeepers had witnessed the sexual misconduct of the two officers, the commander of the battalion even went public and denied in writing any allegations of Swedish peacekeepers' involvement in prostitution. Captain Svensson found it so astonishing and remarkable that he even saved the letter containing the denial of the commander of the battalion:

“you know there is a difference between people and people...no officer was ever repatriated because of prostitution...only soldiers without rank...to avoid the scandal....it was quiet down”.

So is there a “cover up” mentality in the Swedish international forces, I ask?

“It’s not like a cover it up mentality... the reasoning more seems to be that you do not want to destroy any officers’ carrier...you do not want to execute anyone...like they are thinking...this was a one time thing, basically he is a good fellow...and it will end his carrier if he is sent home ...after all he has a family to support...so they give him an unofficial and internal reprimand instead.”

This indicates that the leadership based approach not yet has been adopted by all the Swedish officers stationed abroad. Especially the actions of the so called *veterans* are troublesome given their function as role models for new and younger peacekeepers.

Clearly their actions directly violate and work against the strategy of the Swedish Armed Forces to make use of the military leadership to prevent peacekeepers from using women and children in prostitution.

3.7 Suggested Improvements

As can be seen above, the evaluation of the Swedish preventive strategy is in most parts based on the interviews with Larsson and Nilsson who only have served in Kosovo. Nevertheless I state that there are reasons to believe that the identified weaknesses and suggested improvements presented in this thesis in many aspects will be valid also in the case of Bosnia. Especially in the case of the actions of the so called *veterans*, given their frequent service in both Bosnia and Kosovo. After acknowledging this I would like to suggest the following improvements of the Swedish preventive strategy:

The gender training seems to have been received very well by the Swedish peacekeepers and enables them to identify and understand the severe situation of the women and girls in the prostitution in Kosovo (and Bosnia). However, given the statement of Larsson and Nilsson it seems as if some of the peacekeepers leave aside this insightfulness when they go on short leaves. It is therefore my

suggestion that it should be further included and emphasized in the gender training that women and girls in the Greece sex industry too can be subject to the same severe conditions as the women and girls serving in the prostitution in Kosovo (and Bosnia).

The orders prohibiting Swedish peacekeepers seem to be operational in the minds of some soldiers only while on duty in Kosovo. It is therefore my suggestion that it should be further pointed out to the soldiers that the orders prohibiting the purchase of sexual services as well as visits to sex and strip clubs also apply and are expected to be followed during short leaves.

The veterans seem indeed to play an important role in introducing new peacekeepers to prostitution during short leaves. It is therefore my suggestion that the gender training further prepares the new peacekeepers in how to resist group pressure and encourage them to report sexual misconduct by other Swedish peacekeepers.

The leadership, in this case represented by some *veteran* officers, seem not to have fully adopted to the leadership based approach of the Swedish preventive strategy. It is therefore my suggestion that it is more strongly pointed out to the officers going on peacekeeping mission what is expected of them as leaders and as role models.

The implementation seems to be the most urgent link in need of improvement in the preventive strategy. Clearly, any preventive strategy no matter how ambitious will be of no use if the tools designed for prevention and punishment are not being used. It is therefore my suggestion that the Swedish Armed Forces works out a system where peacekeepers can report, perhaps anonymous, neglectful actions of commanding officers regarding investigating and reporting sexual misconduct by peacekeepers.

3.8 A Final Note on the Validity of the Explanatory Model

Before presenting my conclusions I would like to make a final note on the subject of the validity of the explanatory model developed and presented in this thesis. As can be seen, there is evidence suggesting that sexual harassment of women is not an uncommon phenomenon in the Swedish Armed Forces. Further there are also indications suggesting that homosexual men are discriminated. Clearly, this co-sides with the logical signifiers of hegemonic masculinity. As such, the attempt to explain Swedish peacekeepers' demand for prostitution in terms of confirming manhood and homo-social bounding may indeed be valid.

However, there are also reasons to remain critical to the explanatory power and validity of the model. Hence, in the case of Connell's concept of hegemonic

masculinity, several critical statements have been made (see 2.2.7 A Critical Not on the Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity).

Demetrakis Demetriou has pointed to the weakness of Connell to construct hegemonic masculinity and non-hegemonic masculinity as a dualism. That is, as two distinct and totally differentiated configurations of practise. Accordingly, non-hegemonic masculinities appear only as possible alternatives, as counter-hegemonic masculine forces that exist in tension with the hegemonic model but never penetrate it. Non-hegemonic masculinities can thus not appear and exist beside hegemonic masculinity unless as subordinated or marginalized.

Hence, change can therefore only take place as a result of a power struggle, which makes Connell suggest that women and marginalized and subordinated men, such as homosexuals, shall join together in their fight against the hegemonic masculinity. Change, he concludes, can only be a reality if the power shifts to the advantage of women and homosexual men. He thereby rules out the possibility that men of hegemonic masculinity can be affected and adopt a more tolerant and appreciative attitude towards women and homosexual men.

In my opinion this is a too static property, which indeed is not reflecting the reality in the Swedish Armed Forces of today. Hence, there is substantial evidence suggesting that there are several strong non-hegemonic movements and individuals within the Swedish Armed Forces of today that are neither marginalized nor subordinated.

On this subject it is worth mentioning that the highest command of the Swedish Armed Forces works actively to increase the ethnic diversity and to include more women at leading positions in all levels of the organisation (www.mil.se 050520 and www.pliktverket.se 050520). In September 2004 the Swedish Armed Forces also initiated a gender equality plan with the goal of facilitating parenting with a military career and to eliminate wage differentials. Further, in 2001 the organisation for Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transsexuals was set up for military personnel (Kronsell 2005a). On several occasions leading male (heterosexual) individuals within the Swedish Armed Forces have also publicly expressed their support for women, ethnic minorities and homosexuals and strongly rejected sexual harassment, sexual misconduct and homophobia (<http://www.mil.se/article.php?c=art&id=7886&do=print> 050520).

These actions, as well as the entire preventive strategy presented and analysed in this thesis, are clearly non-hegemonic activities initiated and promoted by non-hegemonic, non marginalized and non subordinated male (heterosexual) individuals within the Swedish Armed Forces.

Clearly, this violates the theoretical foundation of Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity and therefore also affects the explanatory validity of the model developed and presented in this thesis.

In order to fully understand and explain why Swedish peacekeepers buy sex during international missions it is therefore my overall belief and conclusion that alternative theoretical models must be developed and empirically tested before any general and certain statements can be made. However, I do not fully want to reject the explanatory model developed and presented in this thesis and believe

that more empirical data has to be collected and analysed before a once and for all falsification can be made.

It should also be noted that several researchers have further developed Connell's theory in an attempt to overcome some of the identified weaknesses. It is therefore possible that an explanatory model based on a more developed concept of hegemonic masculinity can be more suitable to explain Swedish peacekeepers' demand for prostitution. Once again, I can conclude that only future research can tell.

4. Conclusions

The goal of this thesis was to develop and test an explanatory model on the subject of peacekeeping and prostitution and to analyse the Swedish preventive strategy on the subject.

As stated above, it is my conclusion that the empirical evidence available at present on the subject does not suffice to fully assess the value and validity of the explanatory model that I have developed and presented in this thesis. Further, given the inability of Connell's original concept of hegemonic masculinity to allow for the presence of non marginalized and non subordinated non hegemonic masculinities to coexist with hegemonic masculinities, it is questionable if it is even suitable to use in the analysis of the contemporary Swedish Armed Forces.

However in the case of evaluating the Swedish preventive strategy I believe my analysis has returned some valuable pieces of information.

Accordingly I can conclude that the Swedish Armed Forces has been successful in preventing Swedish peacekeepers from buying sex in the area of the mission. Further, the gender training seems to have been most efficient and allows the Swedish peacekeepers to analyse and understand the severe working conditions in the sex industry. Although, it does not seem to prevent them from visiting sex and strip clubs on short leaves.

As regards to the military leadership, it seems as if some of the so called *veteran* officers have not yet responded to the gender training and not taken on a position as sound leaders and role models. I believe this calls for an intensified gender training of all officers going on peacekeeping missions.

Further, the orders given to the peacekeepers prohibiting them from visiting bordellos, strip and sex clubs seem by some peacekeepers not to be taken seriously during short leaves.

I can finally conclude that there are severe insufficiencies when it comes to the implementation of the instructions and regulations developed and launched to counter act sexual misconduct by the Swedish peacekeepers. Hence, the practise of some military commanders to quiet down and neglect to investigate and report cases of sexual misconduct, damages any preventive attempts and strategies. Once again it comes back to a question of good leadership.

It is therefore my final and overall conclusion that the preventive strategy developed by the Swedish Armed Forces has every possibility of being an efficient mean to prevent future Swedish peacekeepers from buying women and children in prostitution, if only fully implemented and adopted by the military leadership.

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