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Denmark in Afghanistan:

Security discourse and the image of the nation-state

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Abstract

In the present-day world, a state is only one of a number of social actors, each of which has its own identity, functions and structure. The successful functioning and even existential survival of the state is dependent on various factors, including its capacity to face the challenges of the processes of globalisation, including new threats which emerge from the development of communication technologies (e.g. Internet and the quick spreading of information) or transportation (e.g. long-range missiles which can reach a target even on another continent). Possessing the ability to execute power through laws and constitutions, states are trying to adjust to this new situation. One of the ways of achieving the state's security is through international relations. In order to construct and maintain these relations, the state relies on building a certain image and reputation for itself. Using the example of the Danish engagement in the military operation in Afghanistan I examine how the state's authorities (representatives of the executive power) use security discourse to construct a certain image of Denmark. The theoretical basis of the present paper embraces a poststructuralist approach to theories of discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and securitization (Copenhagen School). CDA as a method is applied in order to study the empirical textual data and is supplemented by discourse analysis applied to the visual data.

Keywords: security, securitization, image, Denmark, Afghanistan, discourse, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis

Words: 19.664

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List of abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CSS	Critical Security Studies
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
DA	Discourse Analysis
EDA	European Defence Agency
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
IR	International Relations
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOD	Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
USA	United States of America

1. Introduction

For almost ten years international security forces have been deployed in Afghanistan, resulting in both human and material losses and great monetary costs for the actively engaged nation-states and their taxpayers. The main reason for the continued engagement in Afghanistan seems to be to prevent the country from “*becoming a haven for terrorists once again*” (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 38), an argument which is directly linked to the 9/11 attacks on the USA. At the same time a number of concerns have been raised in the international community, such as whether the mission in Afghanistan will actually stop terrorism and whether or not the allied forces have already lost this war as the troops of the Soviet Union did in the 1980s.

When the mission in Afghanistan was initiated, Denmark was one of the first states to support the USA in the operation. More than 700 Danish soldiers are on duty in Afghanistan in 2010, which in proportion to the total Danish population makes up a higher relative number of soldiers than any other contributing state¹. But what are the motivations of a nation-state like Denmark – which, until January 2002, had not been actively involved in warfare outside of a NATO context since the end of the Second World War – for participating in military operations half a world away? Is the Danish engagement solely motivated by concerns of terrorism, or are there other agendas at play?

While the goal of preventing further terrorism in the West may have been of some significance, it might also be pertinent to consider other factors. The competitiveness and interdependent nature of the present-day world market increases the states’ need to be perceived as trustworthy and reliable actors in order to attract foreign investments and the interest of target-audiences which may contribute to the state’s development: prospective students, skilled workers, tourists, corporations willing to invest, etc.

Being interested in the interplay between security and the nation-state’s image construction, I argue that the state cultivates and uses security discourses to contribute to the construction of its reputation and image. Securitization is a process which makes an issue a matter of exceptional attention, requiring quick action beyond normal politics (Buzan et al., 1998: 23). In 2002 Denmark began securitizing Afghanistan by putting it as an object of

¹ Data taken from McDonald, Alistaire, 2010. “Denmark Rallies Public Behind Afghan War” in *The Wall Street Journal* from 24 February 2010. http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703503804575083430458306468.html#articleTabs_comments. 30 December 2010.

“*military aid*” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 14) and went along with the USA in the use of military intervention in order to emphasise its active foreign policy. This can be seen as an indirect way of strengthening the image and reputation of the Danish state in the international environment and obtaining the goals of the *Action Plan for the Global Marketing of Denmark*,² which was developed in 2007.

In the present thesis, I use critical discourse analysis to uncover the relations of power and dominance in the Danish security discourse regarding Denmark’s involvement in the international operation in Afghanistan and I argue that this involvement is part of the construction of Denmark’s wider image as an international actor. I further suggest that this construction may have implications for the position of the Danish state on the international arena, in negotiations and cooperation with other actors.

1.1.Outline

This paper consists of as the following parts:

The first chapter includes an Introduction, where I outline the main aspects of the research. I explain the research design, the project’s aim, and my criteria for data selection, and I present my research question and the delimitations of the research project. Ethical considerations are also taken in account.

In the second chapter I introduce the theoretical framework through which I look at different approaches to the notion of security and security studies, the nation-state’s image and reputation. Of particular interest to me is the theory of securitization of the Copenhagen School, as well as Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

In the third chapter I discuss methods applied to the empirical data.

In the fourth chapter I present background information about Denmark as a nation-state, its foreign and security policies and image formation strategies. This description provides an important context, which will facilitate the reader’s understanding of the subsequent analysis.

In the fifth chapter I apply outlined methods to examine the selected data. The sixth chapter discusses the findings.

² Action Plan for the Global Marketing of Denmark <http://www.brandingdenmark.dk/international/en-gb/menu/marketing-of-denmark/action-plan/action-plan-marketing-denmark/action-plan+marketing-denmark.htm> . 19 December 2010. See also p. 35 in the present paper.

In the conclusion I summarise the outcome of the study and propose ways to further the debate on this topic. And finally, the executive summary gives a condensed overview of the paper.

The list of bibliographic sources and a number of appendices to the main text are presented after the conclusion.

1.2. Objective

The **object of study** is the process of securitization of Afghanistan within the security discourse used by Danish authorities. The **objective of the study** is to determine how the concept of security related to Afghanistan is constituted, maintained and changed discursively during a specific period of time (2002-2010) and to investigate the interplay between the securitization of Afghanistan in the Danish political discourse and the construction of the *reputation/identity/image* of Denmark as a nation-state and an active agent in international relations (IR). I am specifically interested in exploring the ways in which the Danish state presents itself to its foreign partners and its own citizens in excerpts of communication on the Danish foreign policy concerning the securitization of Afghanistan.

The outcome of the study can be used in further research of discourse formation and contestation, in the analysis of the foreign policy strategies and prognosis, and in studies of security and the discursive constructions of social reality.

1.3. Research question

A clearly formulated research question is important for any kind of research. Drawing on the research problem, which concerns the use of security discourse(s) by authorities to build up a certain image of the state and the ones in power, the following research question emerges:

How do the Danish authorities use security discourse around the Danish engagement in Afghanistan to shape the international image of Denmark?

The supplementing sub-questions are:

- Which discourse(s) can be found in the rhetoric of representatives of the Danish executive power?
- How is security discourse displayed in this rhetoric?
- How is the state of Denmark positioned in it?

1.4. Delimitations

Since the scope of the present project is limited, I have chosen to work with a restricted amount of data, selected in accordance with the objective of the study and the research question. I use the methods of CDA and DA on data retrieved from the website of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and Danish Ministry of Defence (MOD) dated 2010 and excerpts from the New Year's speeches by Danish Prime Ministers in 2002, 2009 and 2010.³

In connection with the study, there have been certain language limitations. Since my knowledge of the Danish language is limited I had to get assistance from a native-speaker, who helped me with the translations of the New Year's speech from 2002, which is not available in English. The text of the speech from 2010 is available in an English version on the governmental website and so are the chosen texts from the MFA's and MOD's websites. This is of course an interesting fact in its own right, as the English translations make these texts accessible to a larger audience than those only available in Danish. For instance, the Factsheet on Foreign Policy is available in English in the section on permanent mission of Denmark to the UN,⁴ which makes it an official document that is supposed to represent Denmark in an international context.

The other delimitation is the subjectivity of any qualitative analysis, as any number of interpretations is possible. Fairclough points out that "there is no such thing as a complete and definite analysis of a text" (Fairclough, 2003: 14), and by this emphasises the subjectivity of any textual analysis. Even the choice of words to describe the paper reflects the experience and background of the researcher. Thus, with this paper it is not my ambition to arrive at any singular and undisputable "truth" about the analysed texts, but rather to present a credible interpretation founded on a thorough analysis of the empirical material.

³ Data is presented in Appendices.

⁴ FACTSHEET ON DANISH FOREIGN POLICY 2009
<http://www.missionfnnewyork.um.dk/en/menu/dkandtheUN/Facts+and+figures/Fact+Sheet+on+Danish+Foreign+Policy/>. 28 December 2010.

1.5. Ethical considerations

As a researcher I have an obligation to follow certain ethical standards for scientific work. As the material I use in my analyses is derived from official websites on the Internet which have been authorised by the Danish state, and which I therefore consider sources of information that are legitimately representative of the viewpoints of the Danish state, I believe I am in complete compliance with the scientific standards and practices.

1.6. Data selection

Taking into consideration the increasing role of the visual in the present-day world and the wider use of “a range of representational and communicational modes” (Kress, Leite-Garcia & Van Leeuwen in Van Dijk, 1998: 257), the data chosen for the analysis consists of both texts and images. The analysis of visual images is included, as the visual image is an interesting source of data, which is not always given the attention it deserves. David Silverman notes, that people usually take for granted what they can see and that it is difficult to transcribe images in words. Moreover, different theoretical approaches to image analysis complicate the work (Silverman, 1995: 70). At the same time images are part of the context and transmit certain information, which can shape the meaning of the written or said material, either emphasising its key points, changing it or even leading receiving audiences to the contradictory conclusions.

The website of the Danish MFA has only two language options: Danish and English. The interface of the website differs depending on the chosen language. On the English version, there are four links to the websites about Denmark in the middle of the page, which can be taken as an indication that the target audiences are primarily non-Danish nationals. The four links are:

- Denmark's Official Website
- Invest in Denmark
- Visit Denmark
- Danish Exporters⁵

⁵ Frontpage of the Danish MFA
<http://www.um.dk/en>. 28 December 2010.

Since the scope of this project is limited I have chosen a rather confined amount of data. As mentions Gillian Rose, “discourse analysis does not depend on the quantity of material analysed, but its quality” (Rose, 2007: 150). I think that the chosen data material is illustrative and applicable in the attempt to answer the research question.

I analyse the following data from Danish political communication, listed in the order that it is being analysed in the present paper:

1) Extract from the Factsheet about Danish Foreign Policy issued by Danish MFA in December 2009 (latest version) and available on the MFA’s website (chosen texts and images, Appendix 1.1. – 1.6.);

2) Article about Danish engagement in Afghanistan published on the MOD’s website (text and image, Appendix 2.1. – 2.4.);

3) Danish Prime Minister’s New Year’s speech in 2002, when Denmark joined operation in Afghanistan (text and stills from the video, Appendix 3.1. – 3.3.);

4) Danish Prime Minister’s New Year speech in 2009, which was after the December of 2008 when Danish Parliament renewed the decision behind the Danish participation in International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan (text and stills from the video, Appendix 3.4. – 3.6.);

5) Danish Prime Minister’s New Year’s speech in 2010, conducted by the next Prime Minister Løkke Rasmussen, who took over after Anders Fogh Rasmussen, when the latter became the Secretary General of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) (text and stills from the video, Appendix 3.7. – 3.9.).

The rationale behind choosing these specific speeches is that the speech from 2002 was conducted by the newly elected Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen right after the decision to join the military operation in Afghanistan, whereas the speech from 2009 was held after the decision to prolong the Danish participation in this operation at the end of 2008 (Appendix 2.4., Sentence 15). The speech from 2010 was chosen as it was the first speech by Lars Løkke Rasmussen, who became Prime Minister after Anders Fogh Rasmussen became

Secretary General of NATO. It has been included in order to show the continuity of the Danish policies.

The choice of data was also directed by a wish to combine analyses of different kinds of texts and images taken from a variety of sources concerning the Danish engagement in the operation in Afghanistan in the period between 2002 and 2010. All texts refer to the general topic of Danish foreign policy.

1.7. Validity and Reliability

Every study is in a way subjective, as the background and experience of different researchers can never be identical and will inevitably influence the selected data and applied approaches. Moreover, discourses constantly change and undergo modifications, and this means that this study captures the exact moment of the declared timeframe, but may not be replicated with the same result in any future study. As Flick points out, “qualitative research’s central criteria depend on whether findings are grounded in empirical material or whether the methods are appropriately selected and applied, as well as the relevance of findings and the reflexivity of proceedings” (Flick, 2006: 15). In the present qualitative study I aim to follow these criteria and produce knowledge on the basis of concrete empirical material, which can be helpful in further research on discourse analysis even despite the subjectivity of each individual study.

Jørgensen and Phillips note that in discourse analysis there is no general agreement on which criteria to use (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 172). There were attempts to define some, as, for instance, Potter’s and Wetherell’s criteria of coherence and fruitfulness (*ibid.*) or such as measures of solidness, comprehensiveness and transparency (*ibid.*: 173). In this paper I will be guided by the abovementioned principles and will aim for the analysis to be coherent, fruitful and comprehensive.

2. Theoretical framework

In the following chapter I introduce the theoretical framework through which I look at different approaches to the notion of security and security studies, the nation-state's image and reputation, discourses, and social reality. As mentioned previously, Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as theories are of a particular interest to me along with theories which discuss security issues (among others theories on securitization and critical and post-structural studies on security). A view of the world through a constructivist perspective appeals to my theoretical explanation of the researched issues.

2.1. Discourse, Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

The theoretical basis for the present thesis consists of theories of discourse, namely Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as well as theories which scrutinise security issues, like securitization (the Copenhagen School). The challenge I faced was to combine these approaches in a suitable framework which would allow for a critical look at the discourse of the Danish authorities on the engagement in military operation in Afghanistan and the role of this discourse in the construction of the image and reputation of the Danish state.

The notion of discourse is widely used in social sciences and has a wide range of meanings (Titscher et al., 2002: 25-26). Being both a theory and method, DA is used in various disciplines, helping to uncover the underlying messages in texts of various origins. Thus every instance of *language in use*, what Saussure calls *parole*, can be transcribed and used as a text, just like images can be studied as texts. Saussure distinguished between *parole* and *langue*, the latter meaning the stable structure of language without which the singular instances of language in use (*parole*) cannot exist (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 10). Exploring discourses I share these basic “premises regarding the role of language in the social construction of the world” (*ibid.*: 4) and the framework which presupposes using discourse analysis both as theory and method (*ibid.*).

Discourses are changed and shaped in a constant process of interaction. Their dynamic nature complicates the analysis, but also in itself reflects the diversity of social relations. Some discourses dominate others at a given moment in time, and may seem to be so natural

that people accept them as a normal part of their everyday lives: these discourses are understood as “common sense”. The discourse theory developed by Laclau and Mouffe states that “the aim of discourse analysis is to map out the processes in which we struggle about the way in which the meaning of signs is to be fixed, and the processes by which some fixations of meaning become so conventionalised that we think of them as natural” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 25-26). However, even when not consciously recognised as such, the world is a playground of discourses, constructed, maintained and transformed by the joint collective efforts of human agents and their organisations. As mentions John S. Dryzek in his book *Deliberative Global Politics*, “discourses are sets of concepts, categories, and ideas that provide ways to understand and act on the world, whether or not those who subscribe to them are aware of their existence” (Dryzek, 2006: vi). Thus, even while being guided by common sense logic one is unconsciously contributing to the interplay of discourses.

While exploring discourses, the study of language is important. Post-structuralism is a fundamental basis here, as it provides an idea of language as an unstable and changeable structure (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 10-11). Based on the linguistic theories of Ferdinand de Saussure, the structuralism developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss, and the deconstructionism of Jacques Derrida,⁶ post-structuralism, like constructionism, rejects the concepts of singular reality and unequivocal truth.⁷

The contribution of the discourse analysis is in its extension of the existing understandings of certain areas, in building theoretical perspectives and philosophical developments (Phillips & Hardy, 2002: 65-66). DA explores “the way in which the socially produced ideas and objects that constitute our “reality” are actually created and maintained” (*ibid.*: 63). Since discourse as a term is so ambivalent in nature, it is important to clearly and accurately define it. Drawing on a variety of definitions and the literature related to discourse studies in the social sciences (e.g. Fairclough, Chouliaraki, van Dijk), unless stated otherwise I regard discourse as *the way in which a certain aspect of social reality is discussed, what kind of meaning and words are embedded into it, how is it being presented and (re)constituted in a certain moment of time*. Thus, security discourse - the main topic of the present study – is the way the issues of security are talked about and includes a variety of notions, events and actors. In accordance with the Michel Foucault’s vision, security can be regarded as existing meaningfully within the discourse about it (Hall in Wetherell et al. 2008: 73). The image of

⁶ Post structuralism <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/472274/poststructuralism>. 01 January 2010.

⁷ What is social constructionism?. http://www.psy.dmu.ac.uk/michael/soc_con_disc.htm. 31 December 2010.

the Danish state can also be perceived as a discourse which constitutes the ways of talking about this actor, including oral, pictorial and written language.

Even though I find it rather challenging to capture a certain discourse due to the changeability of the social world and circumstances, I think that with the help of the developed methods of discourse analysis it is possible to define the characteristics of discourses and examine their relations with social events and actors.

In accordance with Willig's suggestion about the application of DA, three of its five types concern critique, providing the space for alternative versions, informing strategies and supporting arguments (Wetherell et al., 2001: 326). In its turn CDA is questioning and exposing how dominance is established discursively (ibid: 326-327, van Dijk, 1993: 249).

Taking into consideration the complex nature of the phenomena under scrutiny, I use different theories to look at my object of study in general and certain aspects of it in particular. One of them is CDA, which, according to Chouliaraki and Fairclough, is "both theory and method" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007: 16). CDA as a theory derives from the social constructivist stances, which sees reality as socially constructed, and the theoretical framework of CDA includes such thinkers as Michel Foucault, Louis Althusser, Mikhail Bahtin, Antonio Gramsci and members of the Frankfurt School (Titscher et al., 2002: 144). Van Dijk (2001: 353) mentions the absence of a unitary theoretical framework in CDA, which causes a certain diversity of research.

CDA in a broader sense represents a movement which encompasses a few common features as mentioned by Jørgensen and Phillips (2008: 61-64):

- 1) The partly linguistic-discursive character of social and cultural processes and structures;
- 2) Constitutive and constituted nature of discourse;
- 3) Empirical analysis of language in its social context;
- 4) Ideological function of discourse;
- 5) Critical research.

As with the notion of discourse, when making use of abstract terms like image, identity or security one has to provide a clear definition, which will facilitate the readers' following of the author's approach. In the present paper, I see the image as *a core representation of a state*, whereas identity is a set of *its actual characteristics*. Dennis Ager argues, that "the image others have of a country reflects its identity, nature and characteristics" and that creation of an

image is a “deliberate construction of what one wishes to see, think or believe about oneself, one’s country, a product” (Ager, 1999: 166). Thus, image is closely connected to identity: it is the way a subject (in this case a state) wants to be perceived in any environment, by any actor (individuals, communities, states as entities). Image differs from identity in that while the image is based on the features of identity, it may emphasise certain characteristics while downplaying others. A positive image in a given context empowers the social actor and raises its ability to maximise profits and further its goals. Security and securitization discourse, which will be discussed at length in the section below, are examples of parameters by which the state as a social actor may create an image for itself. Identity is jointly produced (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007: 41). Thus, different social actors through their relation and interactions participate in the production of identity.

2.2. Security studies in traditional, broad and deepened perspectives

As noted above, the notion of security is an abstract term, which in its very essence is about existential survival and its basic definition is the *absence of threat*.⁸ One can speak of a state’s security (usually referred to as “national security”), human security, and security of a community. Some scholars point out that reputation can also be a security issue. In the paper for the annual convention of the International Studies Association, Rasmus K. Rasmussen (2010) discusses the securitization of the national reputation of Denmark. In the present paper I investigate the use of security discourse, namely the securitization of an issue, as a basis for the state’s construction of its image and reputation. The reason for this securitization might be other interests of the state. As an actor on the international scene, the state’s interests may be furthered by the construction of a certain image through securitization, which may gain the state prestige and credit from potential contributors to its economy. In addition, power holders might use the execution of power to support their image, for instance in order to succeed in local or national elections.

The rethinking of the notion of security in general and international security in particular, as well as the constant brainstorming of its nuances and characteristics, has become a distinguishing feature of contemporary security studies. Being a widely used notion,

⁸ Wunderlich, Jens-Uwe, Warrier, Meera A., 2007. *Dictionary of Globalization*. Routledge. London.

“security” has attracted a lot of attention from both academia and the public, as in its core it deals with existential threats. The conceptualisation of security is needed and constantly debated. Below I will briefly discuss the major theoretical views on security and clarify which approaches I use to look at the specific security discourse on Denmark presented in excerpts of official Danish political communication.

Recently the term “security” has been widely discussed by a number of scholars, as for a long time its usage has been connected mainly with military issues and the perspectives of realism, which were focused on the “national security” of the states. Following Smith, who argues that the dispute on the concept of security is endless as “no neutral definition is possible” (Smith in Booth, 2005: 27), I would like to discuss the main constituents of the debate on security and outline my position within the wide field of theoretical approaches. The vast variety of approaches to studying security brings up the necessity of outlining them. This task was undertaken by Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen in their book on the evolution of international security studies, where they describe Conventional Constructivism, Critical Constructivism, the Copenhagen School, Critical Security Studies, Feminist Security Studies, Human Security, Peace Research, Post-colonial Security Studies, Poststructuralist Security Studies, Strategic Studies, and (Neo)Realism (Buzan & Hansen, 2009: 35-37).

In the 20th century, debates on security were mainly state-centric and concentrated around its military dimension, which refers to the **traditional approach** to security. Preconditions to this state of affairs were two devastating World Wars, numerous regional and local conflicts, the dangers of nuclear threat, the Cold War and the ensuing nuclear arms race. With technological developments, the sophistication and improvements of weapons are constant, including weapons of mass-destruction in general and biological and chemical weapons in particular. In the chapter on Post-Cold War traditionalism, Buzan and Hansen mention a range of factors, which became drivers for this approach: 1) The politics of deterrence between two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, 2) the abovementioned technological achievements, 3) events of international importance (e.g. The Cuba Crisis, Vietnam and Afghan wars), 4) the institutionalisation of international security studies and academic debate (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). Currently the (Neo)Realist approach to security which continues the traditionalism convention of seeing security as a military aspect.

The broadening and deepening of security studies has been a recent development caused by both by a development of theories and the re-thinking the variety of threats. Smith defines two main directions of work in this development process: a volume by Keith Krause and Michael Williams and the Welsh school (Aberystwyth) and the approach of Ken Booth

and Richard Wyn Jones. The first of these aims at the deconstruction of the current claims about security and its focus on the state. Smith lists the themes of the volume: the examination of substantive and meta-theoretical issues; a need to rethink the nature of political security studies; the exploration of the critical aspect in security studies; the reconceptualisation of the political after the problematisation of the state (Smith in Booth, 2005: 41).

Wyn Jones argues that **critical security studies** (CSS) should be placed within critical theory and committed to emancipation (*ibid.*: 42). For CSS's proponents an individual human being is a referent object of security. The core concept within CSS debate is emancipation, which goes back to Habermas and emancipatory potential in interaction and communication (Wyn Jones in Buzan & Hansen, 2009: 207). The proponents of CSS question the "traditional approach". One critique is that the traditional explanations lack flexibility and the analytical depth to explain current challenges connected with security. For instance, while the traditionalist approach concentrates on the role of the state, it neglects other social actors.

Booth considers emancipation to be at the core of security; he defines it as "the theory and practice of inventing humanity, with a view of freeing people, as individuals and collectivities, from contingent and structural oppressions. It is a discourse of human self-creation and the politics of trying to bring it about [...]" (Booth, 2005: 181). For Booth the concept of emancipation can be seen as a philosophical anchorage, a strategic process and as a guide for tactical goal-setting (*ibid.*: 182).

Realists question emancipation by claiming that it is too abstract when it comes to real situations in politics. These discussions have led to a more diversified view of the world, which can be seen as consisting of many realities (*ibid.*: 2). Subsequently, the current variety of theoretical approaches to security studies can be seen as a result of rethinking security issue in the fast changing realities of the present-day world, where globalisation processes in different spheres and advanced technologies speed up the exchange of goods and information, as well as the mobility of people.

There are different views as to whether or not other widening approaches share the same visions as CSS. For example, Wyn Jones argues that the traces of emancipation can be found in Post-structuralism and in the works of the Copenhagen school's authors on securitization, which are discussed below.

Securitization theorists are against the traditional view on security issues as something connected with war and force (Buzan, Wæver, de Wilde, 1998: 4). The key concept of this approach, initially developed by a group of security specialists in the Danish capital of Copenhagen, is the concept of *securitization*. Securitization theory sees security as

socially constructed (*ibid.*: 31) and deals with giving an issue a status of high priority on the political agenda and legitimating the actions beyond normal politics due to portraying it as precisely a security issue. As Buzan et al. put it, in “security discourse, an issue is dramatised and presented as an issue of supreme priority; thus, by labelling it as *security*, an agent claims a need for and a right to treat it by extraordinary means [...] The process of securitization is what in language theory is called a speech act.” (*ibid.*: 26). In relation to the present study, the analysis of the New Year’s speeches by Danish Prime Ministers in 2002, 2009 and 2010 are examples of speech acts, which, I argue, contain measures that lead to the securitization of Afghanistan.

When an issue is being securitized it reflects on the behaviour of actors, but the interconnectedness of the world means that more than just the immediate actors are affected by the securitization of a certain issue in one specific place. For example, the strict airport control which was implemented by the USA after the 9/11 attacks influences travellers from other nation-states. Another example is the securitization of money laundering (as a source of funding for terrorism). Due to strong pressure from the USA, this securitization process has resulted in the potential surveillance of all European bank transactions. Applied to the case under scrutiny here, the securitization of Afghanistan leads to the necessity of engaging more financial, material and human resources to deal with it. This engagement and the presence of foreign military power in the Afghan state causes numerous effects both on local, national, regional and even global levels, resulting in for instance refugee flows, human losses, and economic challenges.

In accordance with the securitization approach, the analysis of security includes three units: referent objects, securitizing actors and functional actors (*ibid.*: 36), and aims “to study discourse and political constellations: When does an argument with [a] particular rhetorical and semiotic structure achieve sufficient effect to make an audience tolerate violations of rules that would otherwise have to be obeyed?” (*ibid.*: 25). The framework for analysis of security includes the following levels: international system, international subsystems, units, subunits, individuals. Referent objects for security are different for each of these. Buzan identifies five sectors which are dealing with different kinds of threats and which are widely used in the broader agenda for security studies: military, political, economic, societal and environmental (*ibid.*: 7, Sheehan, 2005: 46-52).⁹ The concept of visual securitization is

⁹ Further Buzan et al. discuss mobility and immobility of the units, which is also an important aspect of the analysis, as well as security complex theory, which divides in relation to sectors: homogenous complexes and

introduced by Lene Hansen and concerns images, their meanings and challenges to the security studies.¹⁰ Matt McDonald problematizes the use of the securitization approach, as he sees it as solely focusing on the speech acts of political leaders, fixating only the moment of intervention and thus having a too narrow framework: “the *nature* of the act is defined solely in terms of the designation of threats to security” (McDonald, 2008: 565).

The theory of **social constructivism** has been largely developed during the last few decades and gives a theoretical framework for the analysis of different subjects in a variety of social disciplines. It sees the social world as consisting of thoughts, beliefs, ideas, discourses, language, signs, signals, norms, and knowledge (Karacasulu & Uzgören, 2007: 32). Constructivism assumes that a meaning is constructed by people through interactions and is a variation of social constructionism.¹¹ I share this view and, thus, use its epistemological premises as a basis for my analysis. The focus of social constructivism lies on things which do not exist in material life, but are a product of “construction”, the common belief of people, such as identity, sovereignty, security etc. Among the core features of constructivism is the concept of “social facts” which was implemented by John Searle (in Finnemore & Sikkink: 2001: 393). This concept is mainly used for non-material things, which are defined by ideational factors and intersubjectivity (meaningful to the ones who created it). However, there is also a material element, which can be, for example, weapons in the international system of security and defence, but the thought constituting it is still more important (Jackson, 2006: 165). During the last thirty years a large amount of empirical research has been conducted on the basis of social constructivism. Social constructivists focus on intersubjective beliefs and the notion that ideas build social structures. In contrast to conventional IR theories, social constructivism is focused on understanding rather than explaining (Karacasulu & Uzgören, 2007: 31), and as such, from a social constructivist point of view, it is interesting to gain an understanding of the way that social facts change and influence politics (Finnemore & Sikkink: 393). The system of international relations is also socially constructed, as are social identities (*ibid.*: 6f). Constructivists agree with realists that it is an objective of the state to be secure, but consider that the actual security policy can be discovered only by studying identities and interests shaped in the states’ interactions (Wendt in Jackson: 168).

heterogeneous complexes. It is important “who securitizes, on what issues (threats), for whom (referent objects), why, with what results (...) under what conditions (in Buzan et al.,1998: 32).

¹⁰ Hansen, Lene, 2010. Inaugural Professorial Lecture Lene Hansen: Visual Securitization - Taking the Copenhagen School from the Word to the Image. http://socialsciences.ku.dk/Calendar/visual_securitization/. 31 December 2010.

¹¹ Social Constructivism. Review of Social Constructivism. http://projects.coe.uga.edu/epltt/index.php?title=Social_Constructivism#Sorting_Out_Variations_on_the_Terms_.22Constructionism.22_and_Constructivism.22. 31 December 2010.

Further developments have led to both modern and postmodern variants of social constructivism, and there is also a distinction made between *conventional* and *critical constructivism*. The former rejects the notion of objective truth, whereas critical constructivism “emphasizes discourse and linguistic methods, [and the] use of language in social construction of world politics” (Karacasulu & Uzgören, 2007: 31). The proponents of the latter analyse connections between security policies and constitution of identities (Katzenstein in Buzan & Hansen, 2009: 197).

Critical constructivism differs from conventional constructivism in that its analysis embodies “discourses and discursive constitution of identities on the one hand and security policies on the other” (Katzenstein in Buzan & Hansen, 2009: 197). Unlike Post-structuralism, in this approach states are considered as actors whose identities are not discursively constructed (Buzan & Hansen, 2009: 199). One point of criticism of social constructivism comes from the neorealists, who point out the factors of uncertainty and deception, criticising the constructivist view on change (*ibid.*: 172-175). Social constructivism is part of a wider group of theoretical approaches, which looks for alternative theoretical explanations of security to the traditional realist vision. The clearer definition is a challenging but important task for the proposed study.

Further contribution to the widening of security studies were made by representatives of the **Feministic** perspective. Feminist studies on security are extensive and entail a number of different approaches, which have revealed the gender-blindness of the traditional approach (Smith in Booth, 2005: 46). Even though women constitute almost half of the world population,¹² their representation in positions of power is quite limited. At the same time they are overrepresented as objects of violence and victims of threats. Western media largely covers this issue in relation to women in Afghanistan. For instance, the cover of Time Magazine dated 9th of August 2010 contains a large picture of a young Afghan girl, Aisha, whose nose and ears were sliced off by representatives of the Taliban regime as punishment for her running away from her husband. The headline on the cover, which was also the title of the article, was “What Happens if We Leave Afghanistan”.¹³

The referent object, in accordance with the Feminist perspective, has to be expanded to include women. Male dominance in the sphere of international relations and decision-making concerning war and security has a significant impact on the lives of women, who are limited

¹² Total Population by Gender and Gender ratio, by Country http://www.xist.org/earth/pop_gender.aspx. 20 December 2010.

¹³ “What Happens if We Leave Afghanistan”/ *Time magazine* cover from the 9th of August 2010 <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20100809,00.html>. 9 August 2010.

in their possibilities to access and maintain power. However, even when women occupy strategic positions and have power to influence decisions on the national and international levels, their leadership style combines female and male features (Kunin, 2008: 65).

For the proponents of **post-structuralism**, security is a discourse and security politics is about the construction of a threatening ‘Other’ (Buzan & Hansen, 2009: 142-143). Poststructuralist discussion of security has its roots in the mid-1980s, and was further developed in connection with the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Of special interest for the debate on security was David Campbell’s book *Writing security*, where the author argued that American identity was formed by its foreign policy. Most notably, Campbell argues that the creation of a threatening ‘Other’, no matter what it is, reinforces the state’s identity and that “the constant articulation of danger through foreign policy is thus not a threat to a state’s identity or existence: it is its condition of possibility” (Campbell, 1992: 13). Also Post-structuralists “deny the form of foundations for knowledge claims that dominate the security studies debate” (Smith in Booth, 2005: 49). From the post-structuralist perspective, the conception of security and its referent object is undermined (*ibid.*) and is connected with the construction of identity (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 219). Post-structuralism has been criticised in the debate over the state’s construction of the “Other” in its search for security: “the state needed to be secure, but it also needed the threatening Other to define its identity” (*ibid.*: 218). The critics of post-structuralism point out that this approach refines the state’s identity in the same way as the realists (*ibid.*).

For poststructuralists, the identity of a state cannot be fully controlled, as it is something which is discursively constituted (*ibid.*). For instance, in her book on the Bosnian War, Lene Hansen implements post-structuralist discourse analysis in her consideration of identity as discursive and relational (Hansen, 2006:17-19).

Within the broadened view on security studies, **human security** occupies an important place, as it is dealing with the security of the individual. The concept became established during the debate on the United Nations Development Programme, issued in 1994 after the end of Cold War. The programme proclaimed the transition from nuclear security to human security, which presupposes freedom from fear and freedom from want (Smith in Booth, 2005: 51-52). Within the human security approach the themes of hunger, consequences of unequal distribution of wealth, poverty, environmental disasters and various threats to human beings were raised as topics. The referent object for human security is “people”, and the threats have a broad spectrum.

By placing the research project at hand within a specific theoretical approach to security studies, I highlight its constructive nature and critical aspect. However, this application of a constructivist perspective on discourse analysis is supplemented by post-structuralist views and securitization theory. I share the post-structuralist views on the role of the threatening “Other” and the discursively constructed identity of the state.

2.3. Nation-state’s image and security discourse: interplay

Domestic and foreign policies of states are shaped by a number of factors including debate on security issues and the necessity to implement certain decisions for the well-being of the state and its citizens. The image of the state is based on a set of characteristics which have been formed historically. As an abstract notion, image can have different displays and each person has a particular picture of any phenomena, the characteristics of which is built up by the individual’s unique life experiences.

Discourse theory operates with the abstract notion of identity (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 40). There are a number of characteristics which provides an understanding of identity in Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, which regards it as “identification with a subject position in a discursive structure [...] discursively constituted through *chains of equivalence*¹⁴ [...] *relationally* organised [...] *changeable* just as discourses are” (*ibid.*: 43). Also, the subject consists of fragments, is discursively represented, has other possible ways of being identified and is conditional (*ibid.*). Consequently it is clear that identity itself is influenced by discourses. Discussing images of places, Simon Anholt explains the connection between identity, behaviour and image by maintaining that who “you are determines how you behave; how you behave determines how you are perceived” (Anholt, 2010: 47). Taking into consideration the stance I took on the constructed and constructive nature of discourses, I argue that security discourse takes part in the construction of identity, and, by extension, the image of the object. More specifically, it can be argued that the image of the state is in part formed by its security discourse and discourse on security.

¹⁴ *Chains of equivalence* presuppose the connection of signs together in a chain opposing other chains (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 43).

3. Methodology

I have chosen to work in a qualitative manner, since this approach is most pertinent for gaining an understanding of the way that security discourse and the state's image are connected. There are a number of attendant questions to be raised: What kinds of discourses are present in the chosen data material? What are the target audiences? How did the context change over time (from 2002 till 2010)? I believe that DA and CDA provide helpful analytical tools to that may help answer these questions. At the same time it is important to introduce the way in which I use the term "discourse analysis" and my way of applying the methods.

3.1. Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis has its roots in linguistics, and in its basics is about language and practice, about a particular use of language. In other words discourse is a certain way of talking about for instance a phenomenon or a part of the world, which is also connected to a certain way of understanding it (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 1; Fairclough, 2003: 17). Discourse is placed on the intermediate level between the text itself and the social context (Fairclough, 2003: 37). Discourses as ways of talking about things, have a changeable nature, as perceptions and circumstances are constantly changing. For instance, the way of talking about Denmark as a successful participant in the international operation in Afghanistan has been questioned after the release of the documentary film 'Armadillo' by Danish film-maker Janus Metz Pedersen,¹⁵ which portrayed a daily life of Danish soldiers in Afghanistan. In the film, the soldiers' reasons for coming to Afghanistan are portrayed as quite different from the ones stated by the state officials. For instance, in the trailer to the film, soldiers talk about their activities in Afghanistan as possibilities for "a career move" and about being there for the excitement of it. One soldier directly states that he is "not there to help them [the Afghani people], because [he doesn't] think it [the Danish military presence] helps at all".¹⁶ However one might note that "Armadillo" as well as texts that include references to the film, like any other texts, are placed in a context. Consequently, the degree of critical questioning of the

¹⁵ "SYNOPSIS" at Armadillo movie website. http://www.armadillothemovie.com/armadillo/ARMADILLO_-_ENGLISH.html. 31 December 2010.

¹⁶ Pedersen, Janus Metz, 2010. "Armadillo" trailer. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R2rjhZqE7Pc> (clip at 2:07). 2 January 2010.

actions of the Danish state varies and depends on specific circumstances. Texts produced by Danish authorities reproduce their position as the ones in power and help to legitimise the presence of Danish forces in Afghanistan in spite of certain public opposition, while a film like *Armadillo* has been produced in a different context and with a different agenda. In other words, neither of the images portrayed in these documents can be considered to be “true”, but they both contribute to the formation of a discourse and an image of Denmark.

The role of language and social construction is discussed by Phillips and Hardy (2002: 58-59), who also argue that discourse studies “explore the discursive production of social reality” (*ibid.*: 63). As a “system of representation” discourse analysis is about talking about a certain issue in a specific way, using particular semantic structures and words, the meaning of which is tied to, and shared in, a particular context. Constructing a discourse on a topic produces certain objects of knowledge (Hall in Whethrell et al. 2008: 72), and a group of texts which share the same characteristics are a part of the same **discursive formation**.

The same logic can be applied to image and identity. This large security discourse contains the following elements:

- 1) Statements about security;
- 2) Information in what way is it prescribed to talk about it in a certain historical moment;
- 3) What are its “subjects”;
- 4) How does security become truth;
- 5) How do institutions practice it etc.

While applying discourse theory one can use tools such as: nodal points, master signifiers, myths, chains of equivalence, concepts around identity (group formation, identity, representation) and concepts on conflict (floating signifiers, antagonism, hegemony) (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 49-50). However, due to the limited space of this paper I will not be discussing these aspects.

3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

While answering the question on the security discourse(s) in Denmark I also use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This approach provides instruments to analyse the language use in

its context. The aim of CDA is “to shed light on the linguistic-discursive dimension of social and cultural phenomena and processes of change in late modernity” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 61) and it sees discourse as an integral part of social practices (*ibid.*).

The focus of CDA is to discover power relations by scrutinising a given text. CDA as a method assumes the use of a very concrete textual analysis. Of special interest to the present research is Fairclough’s analysis which tries to unite the following three traditions:

1. Detailed textual analysis within the field of linguistics (including Halliday’s functional grammar);
2. Macro-sociological analysis of social practice (including Foucault’s theoretical approach, which does not provide a methodology for the analysis of specific texts);
3. The micro-sociological, interpretative tradition within sociology (including ethnomethodology and conversation analysis), where everyday life is treated as the product of people’s actions in which they follow a set of shared ‘common sense’ rules and procedures (*ibid.*: 65-66).

The reason behind my choice of Fairclough’s approach is the fact that it implies the analyses of language in social relations of power and dominance, that it is interdisciplinary, and that it applies to the subject of the study (Fairclough in Wetherell et al., 2001: 229-230). The aim of CDA is to explore the links between language use and social practice (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 65-66). At the same time it is important to remember that different texts might have different interpretations. Discourse is more radical than just a speech act and puts an “emphasis on the context in its relation to the individual actor” (Christiansen et al., 2001: 90).

Fairclough operates with the notion of **intertextuality**, a term which means that a text contains elements of other texts (Fairclough, 2003: 39) and “refers to the influence of history on a text and to text’s influence on history” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 74). In CDA intertextuality and interdiscursivity are used. The latter “occurs when different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event” (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 73). For instance, a speech of a political leader is a *communicative event*. It is language in use. The *order of discourse* comprises of discourses and genres (*ibid.*, 67), and in the case under scrutiny would mean the order of discourse of the Danish Government in general and the orders of discourse of Danish MFA, Danish MOD and Danish Prime Minister in particular.¹⁷

¹⁷ Discursive practice within each order of discourse would include its discourses and genres (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 67).

Fairclough distinguishes between **discursive practice**, **social practice** and **text** (Fairclough, 1992: 62), a distinction which has become known as his three-dimensional model (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 68). It is challenging to apply certain part of this analysis, such as the production of empirical material, due to the complexity and closeness of the governmental bodies which produce texts for speeches. Another limitation concerns the audiences, as the text I analyse are targeted to different addressees. The chosen New Year speeches are conducted in Danish and are primarily directed to Danish citizens, whereas texts on the websites of MOD and MFA are available to anyone interested and capable of reading English. However there is another aspect, which concerns the accessibility of the Internet. Who has Internet access? Who understands English and/or Danish? Who would be interested in foreign policy documents? Would it mainly be educated people from the so-called “Golden Billion”?¹⁸ How large would this group of people be?

My aim is to look at the discourses on security and the context in which they occur, so as to uncover the relations of power and dominance, as well as representations of different social actors. CDA does not provide definitive answers to the problems but it enables one to understand the conditions behind a specific problem—the deep, ideological roots of the issue (Palmquist, 1999)¹⁹. For the proponents of CDA, discourse constitutes social practices and, at the same time is constituted by them (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999: 91-92). It should be noted that among the approaches to DA there are those that are critical to CDA (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007: 7). This criticism includes the questioning of issues of interpretation and possibilities of bias in conducting CDA (Blommaert, 2005: 31-33). However, I have chosen to apply CDA due to its focus on power relations and practical applicability to the chosen data.

As mentioned above, in CDA, questions of power and dominance are in focus. Another aspect is the relationships between *power* and *knowledge*, which, in accordance with Foucault “directly imply one another” (Foucault, 1977: 27). The Danish state claims to have a legitimacy which it gains through elections. This legitimate power brings with it certain knowledge of what is more suitable regarding different policies, which in turn brings power. The decision to participate in international operation is a part of this process of decision-making and implementation of policies and manifestation of power.

¹⁸ “Golden billion” is a term used in a Russian-speaking world to refer to relatively rich people from the West or industrially developed nations. <http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org/definitions/billion?cx=partner-pub-0939450753529744%3Av0qd01-tdlq&cof=FORID%3A9&ie=UTF-8&q=billion&sa=Search#906>. 31 December 2010.

¹⁹ McGregor, Sue L. T., *Critical Discourse Analysis-- A Primer* <http://www.kon.org/archives/forum/15-1/mcgregorcda.html>. 16 July 2010.

Compared to Foucault, Van Dijk has a different approach to power and mentions the restrictions of the discursive actions by such factors as the institutional power resources of group membership (Van Dijk in Wetherell et al., 2008: 304). Certain groups have more access to communicative events, using special discourse genres and style (Van Dijk, 1993: 256). Van Dijk mentions that CDA “focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (Van Dijk, 2001: 353). Consequently top-politicians, who have more access to public audience and are in the centre of media attention also have more influence on the formation, genre, context and change of discourses. This fits into the chosen New Year speeches, by which the Prime Minister got maximised access to the state’s population, as it is transmitted on a special occasion (Van Dijk, 1993: 260).

Following Van Dijk’s explanation of the formation of texts based on so-called models of opinions about an issue, newspaper articles about the military operation in Afghanistan are based on the existing knowledge about it which, in their turn, are based on previous information about the country, situation, and circumstances (*ibid.*: 258). In the present study I pursue the principles of CDA listed by van Dijk (1993), using the naturally occurring texts in the media and official informative resources of authorities. The importance of the context is highlighted, as events and actions are interconnected.

Another aspect of CDA are **semantic relations**, which are understood as relations between sentences and clauses, such as: reason, consequence, purpose, conditional, temporal, additive, elaborative, contrastive/concessive (Fairclough, 2003: 222). While semantic relations are not the most central aspect of my analyses, by looking at these I uncover the relations of similarity and difference in the chosen texts. The relations are marked before the sentence which expresses them and the words which signify them are underlined. Every sentence in each of the texts is given a number in order to facilitate the explanation of the flow and results of the analysis. Full texts with semantic relations are available in the Appendix.

For Foucault (1989) language is linked to power in society and discourse is central in constituting identities and social beliefs (Foucault in Larsen, 1997: 14). Fairclough defines a few concepts which are important for the understanding of discourse and I will be using his approach, which sees discourse as an abstract noun, discursive event, text, interdiscursivity, discourse as a countable noun, genre, and order of discourse (Titscher et al., 2007: 148). His assumption about the language being socially constitutive and socially determined is based on Michael Halliday’s functional-systemic linguistics, where a text has “ideational”,

“interpersonal” and “textual” functions. Consequently, discourse analysis deals with the relationships between social structures and the specific language use (*ibid.*: 148f).

Fairclough defines three different ways in which discourse is present in social practices: genres (ways of acting); discourses (ways of representing) and styles (ways of being) (Fairclough, 2003: 26). Genres have different levels of abstraction, which complicates the process of studying them. Using Fairclough’s approach to the analysis of the individual genres of a text I aim to define them in terms of people’s activity, social relations between them and communication technologies (Fairclough, 2003: 70). Answering the question on “what are people doing discursively?” in, for instance, the Factsheet on Foreign policy leads to a description of the activities of Denmark as an actor in international relations.

When representing a social event, this event is incorporated into the contexts of other social events, and by this it is being recontextualised (Fairclough, 2003: 139). For example, sending Danish troops to Afghanistan is presented in the context of the attack on the USA in September 2001. Thus, the Danish military presence in Afghanistan becomes recontextualised within a discourse of terrorism.

4. Background: events and context

Discourses exist within certain contexts, and are influenced by these. Consequently, background information on the characteristics of the Danish state and its policies is important as a background of the analysis of the specific case regarding its security discourse and image construction.

4.1. Denmark: an overview of the state's characteristics

Denmark is an economically and socially developed welfare state located in the northern part of Europe. Geographically Denmark is a part of the Scandinavian region along with Norway and Sweden. The Danish state includes the autonomous regions of the Faroe Islands and Greenland and Denmark (via Greenland) is a part of the Arctic region, together with Canada, Russia, the United States, Norway, Sweden and Finland. The Danish population is approximately 5,5 million and the combination of a developed economy and strong welfare system puts it at the top of the lists of stable states.²⁰ Denmark is a member of the European Union (EU) and one of the Scandinavian states, which in general are considered to be quite secure places in terms of guarantees of human rights, providing its citizens with social security services and a high level of life quality.²¹ Denmark is also highly rated in terms of economic development among the developed countries and used to be an example of a nation-state with clear ethnic, cultural and political boundaries (Buzan, 1991: 19).

Denmark's political system has a multi-party structure, where different political parties are represented in the Parliament (Folketinget). From November 2001, the government has consisted of a centre-right oriented coalition of the parties The Liberal Party (Venstre) and The Conservatives (Det Konservative Folkeparti) which relies heavily on the parliamentary support of The Danish Peoples Party (Dansk Folkeparti). Anders Fogh Rasmussen (Venstre) was the Danish Prime Minister in Denmark from November 2001 until April 2009, when he became the Secretary General of NATO. The appointment of Fogh in turn made Lars Løkke

²⁰ Failed States Index.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/files/fp_uploaded_documents/100629_FSI%20Scores2010Clean.pdf. 1 January 2011.

²¹ United Nations Human Development Report 2009

http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_EN_Complete.pdf. 28th of October 2009.

Rasmussen (Venstre) the next – and at the time of writing this paper current – Prime Minister of Denmark and leader of his party.

Abovementioned characteristics seemingly create a positive impression. However in his book on identity, reputation and image of places, Simon Anholt provides two reasons why Denmark may have misconceptions about its own good image. Anholt maintains that in reality Denmark is relatively unknown outside of its region and that its representation is deeply rooted in the past, which makes it harder for people to adjust to the fast-changing situation in the globalised world (Anholt, 2010: 51-53).

4.2. Danish foreign and security policies

The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Udenrigsministeriet) is a part of the executive power branch of the Danish state and deals with a number of issues concerning relations between the state and “the outside world”. Currently, Denmark’s strategies within foreign policy imply active participation in international relations, including the country’s membership in international organisations such as the European Union (EU), the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the United Nations (UN), and the regional Nordic Council. The EU is a large political and economic organisation, which unites twenty seven nation-states on the European continent. Geopolitically Denmark can be considered a former thalassocracy,²² and it still has extensive access to the sea and a history of possessing a lot of territories beyond its mother country, including present-day Norway, Iceland, and the southern parts of Sweden. Access to the sea and its natural resources is of importance for the Danish economy, which makes it easier to use marine transport, supplies energy (wind and oil), and is the basis of the country’s fishing industry.

Researchers mention the traditional aims of Danish Foreign Policy, which includes activities within NATO, Europe/the EU, the UN, and the wider world and Nordic cooperation (Larsen, 2009: 214). As for the area of security and defence, Denmark is involved in the development of the European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), but interestingly enough has an opt-out from the military part of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and is the only EU state which is not a member of the European Defence Agency

²² Thalassocracy (rom Attic Greek *thalassocratia*, from *thalassa* (sea) + *cracy* (power) - the government of a nation having dominion over large expanses of the seas
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/thalassocracy>. 9 August 2010.

(EDA). EDA was established in 2004 and works towards the improvement of Europe's defence capabilities.²³ Being a founding member when NATO was established in August 1949,²⁴ Denmark is active in its military operations.

Since 1993 the Danish state has had four opt-outs from the European Union, including the areas of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), common defence, justice and home affairs, and citizenship in the EU. Thus this state's national and international policies differ somewhat from the rest of the EU member states. The opt-outs complicate Danish participation in EU-lead military operations. For example, when UN forces pass control of a situation in an unstable region and former hot spot over to the EU commanders, Denmark has to cease its activities within that area. However, when summarising the outcomes of his post-structuralist analysis of the Danish foreign and security policy in relation to the US and to the EU, Henrik Larsen points out that despite its opt-out Denmark has had a much more intensive cooperation with the EU than with the US (Larsen, 2009: 226).

During the Cold War Denmark was a part of the so-called *Nordic balance* regarding the maintenance of security: together with the neighbouring states Sweden and Norway its politicians constructed *Nordic identity*, which portrayed "Nordic" policies of neutrality, disarmament, development aid, and peacekeeping as superior to the (dangerous) geopolitical and nuclear confrontation of the Soviet Union and the USA" (Joenniemi in Hansen, 2010: 39).

Meanwhile, the Danish state focuses on the following regions in the area of security cooperation²⁵:

- The Afghanistan-Pakistan region
- Africa/Yemen, with particular focus on the Horn of Africa
- Europe

The recent military actions of Denmark include its support to the war in Iraq, which was initiated by the United States in 2003²⁶, and taking part in the on-going international military

²³ European Defense Agency website. <http://www.eda.europa.eu/genericitem.aspx?area=Background&id=122>. 1 January 2011.

²⁴ Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs website on NATO. <http://www.um.dk/da/menu/udenrigspolitik/internationaleorganisationer/nato/nato.htm> (in Danish). 1 January 2011.

²⁵ Denmark's international security cooperation <http://www.fmn.dk/eng/allabout/Pages/DenmarksInternationalSecurityCooperation.aspx>. 14 July 2010.

²⁶ Oliver, Mark. "European Leaders support US against Iraq" in [guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk) from 30 January 2003. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/jan/30/iraq.politics>. 2 January 2011.

operation in Afghanistan. However, the military support in these regions is just one of many different dimensions of Denmark's active foreign policy. In December 2009, the Danish capital of Copenhagen hosted the United Nations Climate Change Conference – also known as COP15, or the Copenhagen Summit – a widely discussed international event dedicated to environmental issues and climate change. The 13th Olympic Congress (which chose the city of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil for the Summer Olympics 2016) was also held in Copenhagen in 2009.

However, not all events taking place in Denmark are of a positive nature. COP15 did not yield the results that the international community had hoped for, and the Danish hosts received heavy criticism for the way the summit had been conducted.²⁷ Also, in 2005 the Danish state attracted worldwide attention in connection with the so-called cartoon crisis. On the 30th of September 2005, the Danish newspaper *Jyllands Posten* printed a series of cartoons depicting the Muslim prophet Mohammed, and this became the catalyst of a series of events often called the cartoon crisis, the cartoon controversy or the Danish cartoon affair.²⁸ This controversy showed that an event which happens locally can have a large international resonance, which may threaten the state's national security and damage its economy and international reputation.²⁹ As Anholt argues, in the case of the cartoon crisis “the actions of one independent newspaper are blamed on the people of the country, the government is expected to explain and resolve the issue, and the country's exporters are caught in the crossfire and their products boycotted” (Anholt, 2007: 53).

The initial Danish publication (as well as the subsequent re-publications in other countries) was perceived as an insult by a large number of Muslims around the world and received critique from Muslim groups in Denmark as well as Muslim-majority states. In some Islamic countries a surge of anger caused riots where people were threatened and killed. Among other places, protests were held in Syria, Lebanon, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq. Denmark had to recall its ambassadors from several Muslim states and warn Danish citizens not to travel to some places in the Middle East and Africa. Saudi Arabia and Libya withdrew their ambassadors from Denmark, and products from Danish companies were boycotted in some parts of the Arab countries in the Middle East³⁰.

²⁷ See for instance “’Danish text’ threatens COP15 negotiations” at *Reportage Enviro* from 9 December 2009. <http://www.reportage-enviro.com/2009/12/danish-text-threatens-cop15-negotiations/>. 2 January 2011.

²⁸ These different phrases are used to name the described event.

²⁹ Muhammad cartoons 'global crisis'. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/4690338.stm. 2 January 2011.

³⁰ Browne, Anthony *Denmark faces international boycott over Muslim cartoons* <http://www.fco.cat/files/imatges/Butlleti%2037/Times.pdf>. 28 October 2009.

Despite these challenges, the active position of Denmark on the world arena is further underpinned by its involvement in providing financial aid to developing states (Engberg-Pedersen, 2009). It is due to the state's active participation in international relations on both the regional and global levels as well as the state's position regarding issues of common interest, including a debate of freedom of speech after the events of the cartoon controversy, that this study will have Denmark as its focal point. The choice of topic and Denmark as a case is also based on a personal interest in discourses, security and the Danish state.

Bailes et al. mention the increased international influence of Denmark through its active participation in international operations. In their book *The Nordic countries and the European Security and Defence Policy* the authors cite Sten Rynning, who argues that the Danish state "has changed its international role from that of a 'civilian actor' in the 1990s to that of a 'strategic actor' today" (Bailes et al., 2006: 45). This change and contributions (both financial and human) supposedly have a positive influence on the state's image, reliability and even reputation in other contexts.

4.3. The Danish image and reputation in the world: From the 'cartoon crisis' to the operation in Afghanistan

The events which followed the cartoon crisis were quite damageable for the Danish image, reputation and 'brand' internationally (Anholt, 2007: 53), and had to be remedied. In 2007, a number of Danish ministries developed and approved an action plan for improving Denmark's image. This new document was named *Action Plan for the Global Marketing of Denmark*. With a budget of DKK 412 mil, the plan focuses on five major areas:

- Denmark as a creative nation
- Denmark as a tourist destination
- Denmark as a study destination
- Denmark as an investment location
- Modernisation of the export promotion system.³¹

³¹ Action Plan for the Global Marketing of Denmark <http://www.brandingdenmark.dk/international/en-gb/menu/marketing-of-denmark/action-plan/action-plan-marketing-denmark/action-plan-+marketing-denmark.htm> . 19 December 2010.

While not an official part of the plan for the marketing of Denmark, I argue that foreign policy in the sphere of security and defence plays an important part in the construction and maintenance of the image of the Danish state. Thus, one motivation for the Danish power holders to send troops to Afghanistan is to strengthen the image of Denmark both in the international community and at home. The official positioning claims that Denmark's involvement is a support to the USA in their fight against terrorism after the events of 9/11, in accordance with the UN-mandate and the international nature of the efforts in Afghanistan. Denmark joined the US-lead military operation in Afghanistan in January 2002, and in 2003 became a part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)³², a coalition which holds a UN-mandate but is led by NATO.³³

A certain discourse, like the one that creates a link between the Danish involvement in Afghanistan and the fight against terrorism, can influence the decision-making process. The securitization of for instance Afghanistan presupposes the increased importance of this particular issue for the national security, and this increased attention to one issue shades less light on other issues. Discourses thus in some ways mask the complexity of interests and the interplay between actors on every level (local, national, international). In 2008, the former Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen became Secretary General of NATO. While this was of course never an official goal, Denmark's initial involvement in the military operation in Afghanistan (and Iraq) could be seen as a means to fulfil a personal ambition to obtain high position in an international organisation by Anders Fogh Rasmussen. Personal ambitions aside, the appointment of Rasmussen as Secretary General has also influenced Denmark's international profile, which goes to illustrate the complexity of international relations.

As mentioned previously, I see securitization as one of the instruments of formation of the state's image and reputation. However someone has to pay for it. Here there are different positions: tax-payers whose money go to Afghanistan, soldiers who risk their lives, and Danish authorities, the Afghan people. Identification of a "security issue" is a process which on the one hand is constituted by discourses, while on the other hand is taking part in the formation of discourses (Fairclough, 2003: 28-29; 159). In identifying Afghanistan as a former "*haven for terrorists*" (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 38), Denmark creates an alien and threatening 'Other', and a background against which it is easier to appear active, prosperous

³²OBJECTIVES: SECURITY & STABILITY. Denmark in Afghanistan.

<http://www.afghanistan.um.dk/en/menu/DenmarkinAfghanistan/DenmarksObjectives/SecurityStability/>. 2 January 2011.

³³ *International Security Assistance Force* website. <http://www.isaf.nato.int/history.html>. 2 January 2011.

and successful on the international arena. Consequently, it can be argued that Denmark is using security discourse in order to position itself favourably within the international community. In the following chapter I will demonstrate this through the analysis of a range of verbal and visual texts.

5. Analysis of textual and visual data

In this chapter I present the process and the results of the analyses of the chosen material. The main tools were provided by Critical Discourse Analysis as a method, and visual texts have been analysed using discourse analysis. As we shall see below, images which accompany verbal texts play an important role in constructing discourses and empowering what the words transmit. For instance, the image from the MOD's article (also used on the front page of the present paper) gives little presence – and, by extension, importance – to the Afghans, while the two main human gestalts are Danish soldiers. The image from the front page of the MFA's document *Factsheet on Danish foreign policy*, on the other hand, gives much more visual presence to the Afghan people

5.1. Critical Discourse Analysis of the Factsheet about Danish Foreign Policy

The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a document called *Factsheet on Danish foreign policy* in December 2009. The document, which consists of 12 pages and includes a number of images, can be accessed on the MFA's website.³⁴ In order to discover the relationships of power and dominance in this document I conducted a CDA which is presented below.

The genre of this text is a political document, authorised by the government. It is written in an official style and is part of the political discourse of the Danish state. The editor of the text is Flemming Axmark, who is listed as the editor of a number of texts by MFA.³⁵

The document consists of 14 subtexts and is accompanied by photos and other images, captions to photos, and headers at the top of every page separated from the general text by a thick dark blue line (blue is traditionally a conservative colour³⁶, for instance website of the Venstre, a liberal-conservative Danish party has blue as its background colour³⁷).

Of special interest to me are the first three subtexts, which are closely related to the theme of Afghanistan. The headlines of these subtexts are:

³⁴ NEW FACTSHEET ON DANISH FOREIGN POLICY
<http://www.um.dk/en/servicemenu/Publications/FactsheetsAboutDenmark/ForeignPolicy.htm>. 22 December 2010.

³⁵ Content providers. <http://www.denmark.dk/es/servicemenu/Contact/AboutDenmarkdk/ContentProviders/>. 22 December 2010.

³⁶ Chapman, Roger, 2009. *Culture wars: an encyclopedia of issues, viewpoints, and voices*, Volym 1, M.E.Sharpe. p. 461.

³⁷ Venstre. <http://www.venstre.dk/>. 2 January 2011.

- Denmark's foreign policy profile and policy objectives;
- Danish participation in international operations;
- Afghanistan

A transcription of these subtexts and markers of semantic relations within them can be found in Appendix 1.5. I also add a brief analysis of the rest of the document to provide a more clear and concise overview of the text which will contribute to the reader's understanding of the context.

The front page (Appendix 1.1.) of this document contains a large photograph (Appendix 1.2.) of a group of people, two of whom are wearing a military uniform, identifying them as soldiers. The soldier in the foreground has two Danish flags on his uniform, making it clear that these are Danish soldiers. The rest of the group in the photo are wearing dark civilian clothes, except for a third soldier who can be seen in the background. The caption states that the image shows Danish soldiers visiting a province in Afghanistan. The soldiers are not represented as carrying weapons, which might be taken as a signifier of the peaceful nature of the Danish military operation. The soldiers are depicted as active, one writing and while the other two are engaged in communication with the Afghan people. The horizontal format of the image can be taken to indicate social relations of involvement (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 139). The represented groups of people in this image include males of different ages, but exclude women completely.

5.1.1. Subtext 1: Denmark's foreign policy profile and policy objectives

The *Factsheet on Danish foreign policy* starts with a sub-section about the Danish foreign policy profile and objectives (Appendices 1.1. and 1.5., Sentence 1-24). Denmark's active and influential position is emphasised throughout the text:

Denmark pursues an active foreign policy combining Danish core values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law with a willingness to act. Based on these values, Danish foreign policy aims at increasing international security and stability, ensuring the greatest possible economic progress and prosperity and promoting democracy, human rights and good governance. Denmark's development assistance per capita is among the highest in the world. (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 1-3)

The above excerpt clearly positions Denmark as an active and engaged player within the international community. Denmark's role in the work of international organisations is also implicitly presented in a following phrase which states that "*the purpose of this engagement is not only to make Denmark's voice heard, but also to enhance the effectiveness of these organisations*" (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 8). This subsection mainly consists of 'realist' statements (Fairclough, 2003: 109). Security discourse is present in the mentioning of the new organisational structure in the MFA, which includes "*a stabilisation department that combines security and development, particularly vis-à-vis Afghanistan*" (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 22).

On the second page (Appendix 1.3.) there are two images. One is placed in the upper right corner and depicts a historical event. The other is placed in the middle left section of the page and shows a field of sea wind mills. The headline of the small text that accompanies the historical picture is "*The Vikings conquer England*". Vikings are here implicitly associated with the present-day Danish people, and this stereotype adds a historical perspective of power and dominance to the text.

The offshore wind farm from the photo, which accompanies the larger text, stands in the sea against a background of stark blue sky. The sea is calm, even though there is a wave, probably from the ship where the photographer was placed. The size of the windmills and the frog perspective of the photographs can be seen as a visual signifier of power, while the calm sea and the clear blue sky brings an idyllic feeling to the photo. This can be seen as a reflection of the combination of authority and good-humoured nature of the Danish soldiers in the picture from the front page of factsheet.

5.1.2. Subtext 2: Danish participation in international operations

The aim of the subtext is to explain and justify the Danish participation in international (military) operations. While the word "military" is avoided in the headline, throughout the text the Danish Armed Forces are clearly mentioned as a key subject, and the text creates a security discourse in its discussion of threats to Denmark:

Threats to Danish security often have their origins far away. Nevertheless, they can pose a risk to Denmark, our allies and our core values. Therefore, contributing to international peace support efforts is a key priority to Denmark.

The active Danish security and defence policy is aimed at countering threats where they emerge through a broad set of means ranging from diplomatic efforts to active participation in international operation. (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 25-28)

In the excerpt above it is seen that information about Denmark's allies and values is omitted, perhaps in the expectation that the reader will already be aware of it from the subtext that went before. At the same time, the duality "we-they" and the implicit construction of the "Other" is noticeable, such as in the phrase about threats which "*have their origins far away*" (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 25). A number of questions emerge from this excerpt: how far away is the locus of the threats to Denmark? Who are the allies? What are the core values?

The use of the pronouns "their" and "they" in connection to threats stands in contrast to the use of the pronoun "our" in relation to allies and core values. This framing is also in line with the creation of the "Other". A passive form of verbs means that the subject experiences some form of action which is enforced upon it.

The use of modality marker "must", which is applied to Danish Armed Forces, which "*must also preserve and develop the ability to execute other types of stabilisation tasks and international policing operations*" (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 31) can be seen as a means of empowerment of Denmark, whereas, for instance, Somalia is portrayed as a passive target for humanitarian assistance together with Afghanistan, Kosovo, and Lebanon.

The third page also has two images. In the upper left corner we find the depiction of a historical event, which again reminds us of the Vikings and Danish history. In the lower left corner there is a photo of a small Danish military boat next to a larger boat with a Yemen flag. Even though the Danish boat is smaller it creates the overall better impression: the latter looks messy and poorly organised. On the caption of the photo it is stated: "Danish soldiers talking to Yemenite fishermen in the Gulf of Aden". This image emphasises the peaceful nature of the Danish military, which is depicted while talking to people, and echoes the front page photo of the soldiers interacting with the Afghan people.

5.1.3. Subtext 3: Afghanistan

There are two subtexts on page 3: **Afghanistan** and **The relationship with NATO**. I will be focusing on the text on Afghanistan, which starts with the following sentence:

“Denmark is committed to an active effort in Afghanistan with the aim of contributing to national, regional and global security by preventing the country from becoming a haven for terrorists once again”. (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 38)

In this excerpt, Denmark is discursively positioned as passively “*committed*” to an “*active effort in Afghanistan*”, which is referred to as a former “*haven for terrorists*”. The latter phrase is also to be found in article of the MOD and the speeches made by the Danish Prime Minister in 2009 and 2010.³⁸ This indicates that this specific formulation has been purposely constructed in order to securitize Afghanistan. From the above excerpt it is not explicitly clear to who’s national and regional security Denmark is contributing. This ambivalence can be interpreted as a demonstration of Denmark’s engagement and concern for international security issues. By making the statement more general, rather than focused on state security, Denmark is discursively asserting its position as an engaged member of the international community.

A similar construction of the Danish image can be found throughout the remainder of the Factsheet. For instance, the fourth page contains a photograph of two men in suits talking to each other behind a couple of podiums with the symbol of the EU and a backdrop with the text “European Commission” in a number of European languages (Appendix 1.6.). The caption next to the photograph states that the two men are the President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso and Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen. The inclusion of this photo of the head of the Danish government in conversation with one of the key politicians of the EU signifies the central role of Denmark in the EU. In the photo, Rasmussen seems to be talking, whereas Barroso appears to be listening. This choice of image creates an image of Denmark as an active member that the EU listens to. Affirmative sentences which express the voice of Denmark throughout the text: “*Denmark believes*” (Appendix 1.5., Sentence 17), “*Denmark fully acknowledges*” (Appendix 1.7., Sentence 41), “*Denmark is contributing*” (Appendix 1.7., Sentence 44) signal the confidence of the ones who produced the text in the authority of speaking on behalf of the Danish state.

While it would be possible to go through an in-depth analysis of the remainder of the Factsheet, the focus and scope of the present investigation means that I will now move on to my second text, which is more directly pertinent to the issues of the securitization of Afghanistan and its influence on the image of Denmark in the international community.

³⁸ See Appendix 1.5., Sentence 38; Appendix 2.4., Sentence 17; Appendix 3.6., Sentence 29; Appendix 3.9., Sentence 9.

5.2. MOD's text on Afghanistan

The text is entitled *The Danish engagement in Afghanistan* and was taken from the official website of Danish MOD (transcript of text in Appendix 2.4).³⁹ The photo, which accompanies the text (see Appendix 2.1), focuses on two male soldiers in camouflage in the foreground with an out-of-focus herd of cattle and what looks like two herders in the background. The photo gives an impression of a prepared military force which is ready to confront the enemy, thus suggesting that the seemingly peaceful landscape can be misleading and threatening. This can be seen by the soldier's battle uniforms and microphones for distance communication as well as in the way they are positioned in camouflage next to a group of bushes. One of them is holding a gun, of which only the butt is visible. Both soldiers are wearing dark sunglasses and are looking in the same direction. As Kristina Bóreus suggests, lack of visibility, as well as the exclusion of voices, is a sign of discursive discrimination (Boréus, 2006: 413). In this image this is exemplified by the barely visible Afghan herders, who come to represent the invisibility and exclusion of the Afghan people from the Danish discourse on Afghanistan.

The website of MOD contains a number of texts, which shed light on the activities conducted by the Danish state in the area of defence. Retrieved from the section about Afghanistan (see picture in Appendix 2.1.) the text is surrounded by a few links (see Appendix 2.2.), which are named as internal and external. Almost all of the links refer to international aspect of Danish security policy, including 3 links to information on NATO, which signifies the importance of it to Denmark.

The genre of the core text on the chosen website is an informational article. It can be regarded as a part of a genre chain, which includes reports by the officials, debates, speeches and conversations about the Danish engagement in Afghanistan. In the text there are a number of markers of temporal semantic relations, as well as presentations of purposes. Through the use of evaluations Denmark is portrayed as a state which contributes to national, regional and global security. This is contrasted with the role of Afghanistan, which is described as a state which has been aiding terrorists in the past and which may again become “*a safe haven for terrorist activity*” (Appendix 2.4., Sentence 17). We recognise this phrase from the analysis of the third subtext of the *Factsheet on Danish foreign policy*, and as has been pointed out above, this indicates that this formulation has been purposely constructed as a means of securitizing Afghanistan. The formulations “*more safe and secure*” (Appendix 2.1., Sentence

³⁹ The Danish engagement in Afghanistan.

<http://www.fmn.dk/eng/allabout/Pages/TheDanishEngagementInAfghanistan.aspx>. 2 January 2011.

4) and “*more developed*” (Appendix 2.1., Sentence 18) in relation to Afghanistan indicate that nowadays they [Afghanistan] are less safe and less developed and, thus, threatening and backward.

It is interesting to note that the subsections titled “Purpose” and “The Danish Afghanistan strategy” are placed at the end of the text, after a thorough description of the international operation and actual characteristics of the Danish forces deployed in Afghanistan. This could be seen as an attempt to emphasise the international nature of this operation, providing a credible context for the Danish participation, which embeds the decisions on the matter by the Danish authorities within a credible context. It is interesting to note that information about the losses of Denmark during this engagement, both in human and material terms, as well as information about the initial decision to join ISAF operation has been left out of the text. However, it is mentioned twice that the all 26 NATO members are contributing to ISAF, which shows the importance for the authors of this text to stress the significance of the NATO context of the operation. Again, both Denmark and the country’s engagement in Afghanistan are portrayed as natural part of a bigger context, not as acting on its own. In the text there is no indication of a concrete timeframe within which “*the Danish military engagement will be correspondingly reduced*” (Appendix 2.1., Sentence 21), which leaves leeway for the power-holders to continuously reassess the length of the operation. The voices in this text belong to Denmark (Danish state officials, the Danish government), but there is also a reference to Afghan transitional government, whose voice is framed as a request for engagement.

This attempt of conducting CDA on the text by the Danish MOD regarding the Danish participation in the international operation in Afghanistan shows that Danish authorities strive for an image of Denmark as an active contributor to the international community, and also asserts Denmark’s position as a power holder in relation to the less developed Afghan state. The positive image building through the securitization of Afghanistan can perhaps be especially related to the goal of attracting foreign investments to Denmark in accordance with the *Action Plan for the Global Marketing of Denmark*.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Action Plan for the Global Marketing of Denmark <http://www.brandingdenmark.dk/international/en-gb/menu/marketing-of-denmark/action-plan/action-plan-marketing-denmark/action-plan+marketing-denmark.htm> . 19 December 2010.

5.3. The Danish Prime Ministers' New Year speeches: instances of securitization

As a third source of data material, I decided to include three New Year speeches conducted by Danish Prime Ministers in 2002, 2009, and 2010, and to subject these to CDA. The Prime Minister is a public figure and the head of the government, (s)he embodies an executive power branch and is associated with the state, which s(he) represents. Thus his/her political speeches are important for the construction and maintenance of the state's image and reputation. It is important to point out that the Prime Minister is a politician who not only represents the Danish state, but who also belongs to a specific political party, which has its own ideology, standpoints and program, which is communicated through certain discourses regarding social life and practices. However, the analysis of party politics falls without the scope of the present study.

The Prime Minister's New Year speech is always broadcast on national television on the first day of the New Year and is a strong tradition in Danish politics. The procedure of this formal speech is regulated and contains features of ritualisation, which is "first and foremost a strategy for the construction of certain types of power relationships effective within particular social organization" (Bell, 1992: 197). There is certain staging of the presentation of information, which reflects that "organizations have an interest in establishing and maintaining control through ritualization" (Fairclough, 2003: 73).

In this section I apply CDA to extracts from the three speeches, which focus on the Danish engagement in Afghanistan. The New Year's speech from 2002 was the occasion where the newly elected Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen introduced the Danish engagement in Afghanistan to the Danish people and, from my perspective, started the securitization of Afghanistan.

The speech of 2009 followed the prolongation of Danish presence in Afghanistan and was the last speech of Fogh Rasmussen as Danish Prime Minister before his subsequent appointment as Secretary General of NATO. The newest speech from 2010 was conducted by the current Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen and took place a short time after the COP15 conference, which was of quite some importance to Denmark's image and reputation in the international community.

I conducted the analysis based on excerpts from the transcripts of the speeches published on the governmental website, and not primarily from the actual videos (which were

in Danish). Thus, my analysis does not take into account the pauses and intonations of the speaker. Taking into consideration the visual construction of power, I do however describe and analyse the visual part of the speech – mainly in the form of stills from the videos – which includes the setting and the figure of the speaker.

The first New Year speech was held in 1940 by Prime minister Thorvald Stauning, and since 1946 it became a yearly event. Up until 1959 the speeches were broadcast only through the radio, but from 1961 the Prime Minister’s speech has been broadcast on television.⁴¹ The speeches are initially delivered in Danish and are available both in the form of a written text and in some cases in audio/video format on the website of the Danish Prime Minister’s office.⁴² The website also offers English translations of some of the speeches. However, the speech from 2002 is not available in English, unlike the ones from 2009 and 2010.

The texts are a genre of political speech, which is a part of a larger political context and as has been noted above they are held on a regular basis (once a year in January). Also these texts can be seen as a part of larger network of texts – speeches by the Prime Minister as a political leader and head of the government. These speeches are also a part of so-called “genre chains” (Fairclough, 2003, Paltridge, 2006: 89-90), together with other documents, reports, articles, books, conversations and speeches on the same theme. Below I apply more detailed CDA using recommendations introduced by Fairclough to the analysis of the text (Fairclough, 2003: 191-194).

5.3.1. The Danish Prime Minister’s New Year speech 2002

The video starts with a picture of a white and stately looking house during winter (Appendix 3.1.). The characteristic building can be identified as Marienborg, which is the official summer residence of the Prime minister and a building which is often used for official purposes. The next shot depicts Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen sitting behind a dark desk (Appendix 3.2). The Prime Minister is wearing what looks to be a brand-new suit, a watch and a golden marriage ring. At first glance his attire makes the Prime Minister look rather conservative. This impression is supported by the context, including the desk with a neat flower decoration and a classical Le Klint lamp in the background, which can be seen

⁴¹ New Year addresses since 1940 http://www.stm.dk/Index/mainstart.asp/a_2816.html. 19 November 2010.

⁴² *ibid.*

through an open double door that also reveals the size of the house. Dark tones dominate the picture. Apart from the flower arrangement, the papers with the New Year speech are lying on the table. The Prime Minister's hands are lying palms down, which in body language literature is taken as a sign of control and dominance.⁴³

In order to uncover the relations of power and dominance in this speech, I follow the example of the research presented by Van Dijk (1993: 270-279). Firstly, the Prime Minister is already in a privileged position by his post and the opportunity to give a speech which is broadcasted by radio and television throughout the state. As the Prime Minister, Fogh Rasmussen has exclusive access to the genre of New Year's speech. Marienborg as a location also signals his power, and it is no coincidence that the camera dwells on the exterior of the building for five seconds in order to set the stage before there is a fade-over to the Prime Minister.

Fogh Rasmussen held this speech as the newly elected Prime Minister, which is a high-rank political position within an elite group. The textual excerpt under scrutiny (Appendix 3.3.) was spoken during two minutes (between 00:29 and 02:29), out of the almost twelve and a half minutes that the speech lasted in total. Beginning with a reference to the events of the past year, speaker elaborates it and the rest of the passage contains a lot of additions. However the purpose is not clearly defined. The marker of temporality, adverb *always* (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 2) signifies that the speaker is confident in universality of his statement and that he speaks for everyone. By this the speaker places himself in a position of power.

Different discourses can be identified in this excerpt. I distinguish the following main themes touched upon: the events of 9/11; the USA as an enemy to terrorists; the Western world as civilised; Denmark as a part of the international forces in Afghanistan. The discourse of universal values is embedded in this text. "*Freedom*", "*democracy*", "*human rights*" are part of it (Appendix 3.3., Sentences 8 and 19). The speaker connects Denmark to the values of the USA and also embeds these values (and thereby the USA and Denmark) in the wider context of the "Western world" (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 9). By doing this, the Prime Minister is discursively embedding the decision to "*guard and defend*" these principles (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 11) in a wider international context.

This extract also contains different assumptions:

⁴³ Reeves, Clayton . *Body Language in Business: Palms*, written for Gaebler Ventures <http://www.gaebler.com/Body-Language-in-Business-Palms.htm>. 31 December 2010. See also Hand Body Language http://changingminds.org/techniques/body/parts_body_language/hands_body_language.htm. 31 December 2010.

- existential

The USA has been appointed as the enemy of terror organisations across the globe (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 5);

Because the USA represents everything that religious fanatics and power hungry tyrants [sic] fear and despise (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 7).

- propositional

2001 will always be remembered for the terrible terror acts against New York and Washington (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 2).

- value

We must fight terrorism without compromise (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 12).

As is pointed out by Fairclough (2003: 58), by assuming certain things, texts can work in an ideological manner. Portraying the USA as an “*enemy of terror organisations*” and as “*everything that religious fanatics and power hungry tyrants fear and despise*” and drawing on the definition of ideologies (Fairclough, 2003: 9) one can see that speaker contributes to a certain framework of power relations, where the USA is fighting against a fanatical and tyrannical enemy of the entire Western world.

Among other speech functions (such as demand, offer, and question), the declarative grammatical mood of this text shows that it contains a lot of statements. Through these statements is held a process of knowledge exchange. The statements found in this excerpt are (Fairclough, 2003: 108):

- of fact/’realis’

“Yesterday we have said goodbye to the old year” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 1)

“All over the Western world we have built our societies on similar values” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 9)

“Denmark has agreed to an American request for military aid in Afghanistan” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 14)

- ‘irrealis’

“2001 will always be remembered for the terrible terror acts against New York and Washington” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 2)

- Evaluations

“The 11th of September was a day, when the brutal reality surpassed even the worst imagined scenarios” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 3)

Additionally, there are a few desirable and undesirable evaluations:

- Desirable

“similar values” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 9)

- Undesirable:

“terrible terror acts” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 2)

“brutal reality surpassed even the worst imagined scenarios” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 3)

Discussing the notion of securitization, Buzan et al. mention that it is the utterance of the speech itself that is the act (Buzan et al., 1998: 26). While there is no explicit label to Afghanistan as a “threat” in this speech, it is implied by the context. The announcement that Denmark will join the military operation in Afghanistan (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 14) comes right after the statement that terrorism must be fought. This implicitly creates a connection between Afghanistan and terrorism, which gives the Afghan state a negative image. Discursively Afghanistan is here represented as a silent passive entity.

There are a number of issues which are expected to be obvious for the audience: the concepts of *“the Western world”* (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 9) and *“the entire free world”* (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 4), and the notion of what is to be included in the group labelled *“our societies”* (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 9). The voices of the Danish people are omitted, as well as the voices of the Afghans. The voice of the USA is presented indirectly by the *“American request”* (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 14). The speaker, being in a position of power, a number of times refers to “we”, which implicitly constructs and excludes a “they” – the threatening “Other”. The phrase *“our part of civilization”* (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 10), which is described as prosperous, also presupposes the existence of some other civilisation with different - and potentially threatening – principles.

The dialectically related aspects of meaning in texts, Action, Representation and Identification, are clear in case of **modality** (Fairclough, 2003: 166). Modality indicates the author’s (in this case speaker’s) commitment to truth in the Statements which assert (*“All over the Western world we have built our societies on similar values”* (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 9)) and deny (*“This is no coincidence”* (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 6)). The modalising adverb *“always”* and adjective *“possible”* (Appendix 3.3., Sentences 2 and 10) are also present in the text. There are also cases of explicit modalization, which is apparent due to the presence of the modal verbs (marked in bold):

- *These are the principles we **must** guard and defend.*
- *We **must** fight terrorism without compromise. And that fight **must not** be left to the USA alone.*
- *Denmark has agreed to an American request for military aid in Afghanistan.*

The use of the modal verb “must” shows a high level of modalization, and is an example of deontic modality (which signifies necessity and obligation). Thus the speaker obliges the audience to the denoted actions. At the same time one should note that the Danish word “skal” slightly differs and does not necessarily correspond directly to the English word “must”, as it can also be translated with the less strict “should”.⁴⁴

The legitimisation of Denmark’s joining the US-lead operation in Afghanistan is presented by a strategy of instrumental rationalisation in the terminology of Van Leeuwen (in Fairclough, 2003: 98; Van Leeuwen, 2008: 105-123). Van Leeuwen points out that it is important to consider “the intricate interconnections between social practices and the discourses that legitimize them” (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 123). Using the framework developed by Van Leeuwen I analyse the extract from the speech (Appendix 3.3) and present the findings in the table 1 below:

Actors	Actions	Reactions	Purposes	Legitimations
We	Said “good bye”			
The USA	Represents	fear and despise		
fanatics tyrants	Fear and despise			
We	Have built	raise from poverty to prosperity		
Denmark	Agreed		Military aid	obligation: must

⁴⁴ See for instance Axelsen, Jens, 1984. *Dansk-engelsk Ordbog*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag A/S: 465.

Government	Is prepared		To contribute	fight terrorism
Denmark	Will be sending Can play			
We	Think Are grateful	Effort	For freedom and peace	

Table 1. Social practices

Table 1. shows that Denmark actively “*can*” and “*agreed*” to contribute, and that its government “*is prepared*”. Unlike Denmark, Afghanistan is not portrayed as an active agent. Fairclough points out that “it is now a commonplace of political communication that political leaders appear to speak for themselves rather than just on behalf of the governments” (Fairclough, 2003: 76). In the 2002 speech, Fogh Rasmussen can be said to speak for himself when he states “*I am proud*” (Appendix 3.3., Sentence 17). This can be seen as an implicit manifestation of his dominant position, signalling that his opinion matters. However, throughout the speech Fogh Rasmussen also attempts to reduce the focus on his hierarchal position by the widespread use of “we” (Fairclough, 2003: 76), while at the same time creating “Others” of those who are not included in the “we”.

5.3.2. The Danish Prime Minister’s New Year speech 2009

Just as in the previous example, the 2009 video starts with a picture of a building in the evening, partly decorated with lights around its front door and two trees next to it (Appendix 3.4.). The initial image of Marienborg, which is this time seen from above, fades into an indoor setting, which is very similar to the one in the New Year’s speech from 2002. Anders Fogh Rasmussen is again sitting behind a desk with a flower arrangement and a classic Danish designed lamp on either side. The background differs somewhat from the setting in

2002, as there is no open door but rather a window with the view of a tree behind him (Appendix 3.5.).

The written excerpt on the Danish engagement in Afghanistan from the 2009 speech (Appendix 3.6.) is longer than the excerpt from 2002. The excerpt was delivered orally between 01:25 and 05:44, occupying more than four and a half minutes (almost 1/3) of the 15-minute speech. Below I have used the same framework of CDA as for the excerpt from 2002. The semantic relations are marked and explained after the excerpts.

The main themes or discourses that are touched upon in the excerpt are Danish soldiers in Afghanistan and international terrorism. There are also discourses on universal values (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 33).

Among the social events mentioned in this text are the terrorist attack on the Danish embassy in Pakistan's capital of Islamabad and the death of a Danish police officer in the same city (Appendix 3.6., Sentences 2-4), as well as the deaths of five Danish soldiers in the weeks leading up to Christmas (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 11). The mentioning of these social events can be interpreted as a means to discursively construct an image of a Danish state that is committed to its international obligations, and is ready to accept the (regrettable) consequences of "*fight[ing] evil at its root*" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 9). The excerpt also touches upon the visit of the Danish Prime Minister to the Danish soldiers in Afghanistan (Appendix 3.6., Sentences 21-22), which creates an image of an active Prime Minister.

The text contains a number of evaluations, which I group in relation to their desirability:

Desirable

"deepest sympathy" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 15)

"profound gratitude and respect" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 18)

"useful purpose" (Appendix 3.6., Sentences 19, 20 and 37)

"praiseworthy effort [...] provide a better life [...]" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 24)

"They are a credit" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 25)

"warmest thanks [...] active service" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 36)

Undesirable

"ruthless terrorism" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 5)

"ask themselves fearfully" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 6)

"Unfortunately" (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 10)

“terrible tragedy and a great shock [...] brutally have lost [...].”(Appendix 3.6., Sentence 12)

“painful losses” (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 16)

“difficult conditions” (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 18)

“a safe haven for terrorists” (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 29)

“hot spots” (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 35)

The phrase *“new world”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 26) is here used in a negative sense, as it is followed by the description of possible threats. The majority of the desirable evaluations concern the gratitude to the Danish people who are serving abroad, namely soldiers. The undesirable, negative evaluations concern the deaths of Danish soldiers in Afghanistan and the reactions to these: *“a terrible tragedy and a great shock”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 12).

The speaker communicates on behalf of *“many”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentences 6 and 19) and even purports to be speaking for everyone: *“You are a source of inspiration to us all”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 39). These rhetorical formulations put the Prime Minister in a position of power. This position of power is also assumed in the understood importance of his own personal experiences: *“I visited”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 21), *“I was impressed”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 22).

The securitization of Afghanistan is clearly seen from the following excerpt, where Afghanistan is once again proclaimed to be a potential *“safe haven for terrorists”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 29) and thus placed within a security discourse:

“We live in a new world. A world in which terrorists can strike anywhere – also in Denmark. A world in which the defence of our security begins far away from Danish soil. Afghanistan must not be allowed to become a safe haven for terrorists again. That is why we are in Afghanistan. It is a matter of security.”
(Appendix 3.6., Sentences 26-31)

Later on in the text, Afghanistan is mentioned as a place that indeed houses terrorists: *“terrorists in Afghanistan”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 35). At the same time a positive image of Denmark is constructed through the laudatory ode to the *“Danish soldiers, police officers and others posted abroad”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 35), who *“are a source of inspiration to us all”* and *“inspire us to take a responsibility ourselves”* (Appendix 3.6., Sentences 39-40). These descriptions lead to a discursively constructed image of Danes in general. Supposedly,

in the eyes of the international community it is “*this attitude that commands respect for us Danes in the world at large*” (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 46). We see here that Fogh Rasmussen speaks on behalf of different social groups: Danish soldiers, officers, and “*others posted abroad*” (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 35), as well as on behalf of “the world at large” (Appendix 3.6., Sentence 46).

5.3.3. The Danish Prime Minister’s New Year speech 2010

The video once again starts with a view of a two-floor white house (Appendix 3.7.). The angle of filming gives an aerial view of the building as the camera gradually zooms in. The following shot depicts Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen, who is sitting behind a brown wooden table (Appendix 3.8). The room is virtually the same as in the New Year speech from 2009, which underlines the traditional nature of the speech. On the table there are pieces of paper with the some notes for the speech along with a flower decoration. The Prime Minister is wearing a suit, his jacket is unbuttoned. His hands are facing palms down on the table. Drawing on the discussion of ‘aestheticization’ of public identities by Fairclough (2003: 183-184), it can be said that this political speech functions as an aesthetic event, where all the surrounding details, including location, it’s design and colours, and the appearance and movements of the speaker, is thoroughly planned to create a specific political image. Lars Løkke Rasmussen had recently been appointed Prime Minister, but in this setting can be found to look rather similar to the previous head of the Danish government.

Based on the dimensions pointed out by Van Leeuwen in relation to the image and the viewer, I noticed that the camera is set at the eyelevel of the Prime Minister during the speech, which visually puts him “face to face” with the viewers (this is also the case in the previously analysed speeches). This can be taken as a visual signifier of equality (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 139). Løkke Rasmussen’s physical gesticulation is quite limited, so as not to distract the audience from the verbal contents of the speech.

Referring to the focus of the present study, I analyse the excerpt of the speech (Appendix 3.9.) which runs from 2:13 – 3:37 of the approximately 14 minutes speech is of particular interest.

In the country review conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd., it is noted that the overall main theme of the speech was the economic crisis, and that regarding Denmark’s foreign policy two topics were mentioned: Denmark in Afghanistan as a part of

the international military engagement and the Copenhagen Climate Conference, which was held in December 2009.⁴⁵

Like the previous ones, this text also falls within the genre of political speech, which is a part of a larger political context and is held on regular occasions. This excerpt can also be regarded as a part of a larger general security discourse, and as a part of the discourse of Afghanistan in particular, both of which are largely used in the Western media.⁴⁶ As with the previous texts, the Prime Minister does not only speak on behalf of the government, but also takes the opportunity to sharpen his own image by showing a more personal side. This is noticeable in the extract in Appendix 3.9., when the speaker refers to himself in statements like “*I visited*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 2) and “*I was very proud*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 3).

Apart from the voice of the speaker, there are some other voices present in the text: the indirect willingness of the Afghans to get responsibility. This is an example of intertextuality, as in order to incorporate this in the speech, it would be necessary to find and incorporate information about the wishes of the Afghans from other texts or sources. There is no direct reporting but is present a certain focus on commonality in the phrase “*This is what the Afghans want, and it is what we want*”. What “the Afghans want” is attributed to them by the speaker, and there is no definition of who “the Afghans” are: the population? The authorities? Afghans who collaborate with the international forces? Speaking on behalf of the social group is a signifier of the power relations and unequal social distribution (Fairclough, 2003: 171).

The use of “we” in the text helps to construction the notion of a group and simultaneously marks the power of Løkke Rasmussen to speak on behalf of others in an active form (Fairclough, 2003: 171): “*we want*” (Appendix 3.9.,Sentence 7), “*we experienced*” (Appendix 3.9.,Sentence 11), “*we saw*” (Appendix 3.9.,Sentence 12), “*we share*” (Appendix 3.9.,Sentence 13), “*we do*” (Appendix 3.9.,Sentence 14).

The main theme of this extract is the Danish engagement in Afghanistan, but a closer look reveals other discourses, such as: 1) The professionalism of Danish soldiers; 2) Denmark as a contributing state to the international community; 3) Threats to Danish security; 4) Threats from Afghanistan.

Assuming that there are “*encouraging achievements*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 1) Løkke Rasmussen inscribes himself into the Western discourse of success in the international

⁴⁵ Monthly review: January 2010: The political scene. Country Report. Denmark; Jan2010, p 10-11.

⁴⁶ Siddique, Abubakar, 2010. *Western Media Getting Afghanistan Wrong*. in Radio Free Europe. 22 October 2010. http://www.rferl.org/content/Getting_Afghanistan_Wrong/2198697.html. 31 December 2010.

operations in Afghanistan. This ideological manoeuvre is supplemented by incorporating Denmark into this context, when it is said to contribute to the “*increased international force*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 6).

The Prime Minister’s style in this speech is connected with his ‘body language’, he is and behaves in accordance with the way a politician is expected to: he presents himself as calm, stable and official.

The main social event represented in this excerpt is Prime Minister’s visit to the Danish soldiers in Afghanistan. On his own authority, he explicitly emphasises that the soldiers are “*professional*” and “*dedicated*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 3). However, their experience of being in Afghanistan is omitted. These adjectives have an element of evaluation, which is embedded in a number of phrases, presented below in relation to their desirability:

Desirable

“*encouraging achievements*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 1)

“*Professional and deeply dedicated persons*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 3)

“*they are a credit to Denmark*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 5)

“*a significant contribution*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 6)

“*Denmark makes a great effort in Afghanistan*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 8)

“*an effective, preventive effort*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 12)

Undesirable

“*a safe haven for terrorist training and the planning of terrorism*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 9)

“*The terror threat against Denmark remains significant*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 10)

The overwhelming amount of positive evaluations of the Danish involvement in Afghanistan is a part of forming a positive image of the state. At the same time, the undesirable evaluations of Afghanistan and the related terror threat serves to strengthen the securitization of Afghanistan and creating a threatening “Other”. As Kristina Boréus points out, an “[e]valuative negative statement about groups of people should always be seen as negative other-presentation” (Boréus 2006: 412).

The rhetorical commitments presented by the speaker serve as a part of “the process of texturing self-identity” (Fairclough, 2003: 166). The speaker’s commitment to truth is realised

through the statements which belong to the ‘epistemic’ type of **modality** mentioned earlier: “*In Afghanistan, there are also encouraging achievements*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 1). The speaker’s commitment to act is shown in the two cases of ‘deontic’ modality: “*An increased international force – to which Denmark continues to make a significant contribution – gives us reason to believe that we, within a foreseeable future, **can** begin to transfer overall responsibility to the Afghans; But we also saw what an effective, preventive effort **can** do—both nationally and internationally*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 12).

The above excerpt begins with a sentence which is an addition to a sentence that went before. The speaker uses different types of semantic relations, including elaborations and additions. The markers of purpose (e.g. “*In order to*”) are connected with the process of legitimation. There are two explicit statements of purpose, both of which concern a threat from terrorism (Appendix 3.9., Sentences 9 and 13).

In the table below, I present the social practices present in the excerpt.

Actors	Actions	Reactions	Purposes	Legitimations
I	Visited Was proud to meet			
Danish soldiers/they	Put their lives Make difference/are credit		In the service of hope	
International force				
Denmark	Continues to give Makes a great effort		Transfer responsibility? For the sake of own security	Instrumental rationalization: goal-orientation

The Afghans	Want			
We	Want Experienced Saw Share		To counter the threat	
Free peoples				
We	Do			

Table 2. Social practices

There is no elaboration on what is meant by “*encouraging achievements*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 1) and “*service of hope*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 3), nor on exactly what kind of difference is made by Danish soldiers (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 4). Their voices are not included in the speech. As for the other social actor, the Afghans, the speaker makes a claim as to “*what they want*” (Appendix 3.9., Sentence 7) without their direct voices ever being heard.

As can be seen from the above, the excerpt from the 2010 New Year speech once again asserts the power relations between the Denmark (and the international community to which it belongs) and Afghanistan and the Afghan people. While it is difficult to determine exactly what kind of concrete progress the Danish presence in Afghanistan is resulting in, the analysis of the speech demonstrates how the discursive image of Denmark as an active and engaged part of the international community is once again reasserted. In the meantime, the predominantly undesirable evaluations of Afghanistan and the related terror threat strengthens the securitization of Afghanistan, creating a potentially threatening “Other” which stand in opposition to the positive image of Denmark.

6. Denmark's image construction through security discourse

“Security is what states make it” (Smith in Booth, 2005: 38).

The notion of “globalisation”⁴⁷ has become an inherent part of academic and political discourses in the present-day world. The increased interdependencies in the spheres of economy and energy influence nation-states and their foreign policy strategies. The complexity of the issues a state has to deal with both externally and internally brings with it a need to constantly analyse the current situation and the consequences of political decisions.

In the meantime, new communication technologies allow the media to increase its presence in the everyday life of people, and increase the accessibility of information as well as the speed of its dissemination. This development has a profound influence on the interplay of discourses. The globalised world with its many actors emphasises the need for a strong “brand”. As point out by Chouliaraki and Fairclough, in the present day world “finding an identity might be crucial for ontological security but it is also needed for business purposes (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007: 96).

From this point of view it is important to secure and manifest the state's position and reputation, as well as to implement crisis management tools and methods. As an analogy to a company, the state's image becomes its brand, developed by marketing and branding specialists. This happens on all political levels, which the increasing use of political spin doctors is an excellent indicator of. The implementation of image-improving strategies involves a lot of effort and resources and includes the construction and management of certain discourses that are advantageous to the state. Through the theoretical framework of social constructionism and constructivism, tracing from poststructuralist security studies and drawing on the Copenhagen School's securitization approach, I have explored the use of security discourse in the construction of the Danish state's image, as it is found in a range of empirical data from Denmark.

In the analysed texts, Denmark is presented as taking an active part in international peacekeeping operations and is discursively associated with different international organisations. In my analyses I have found that the rhetoric surrounding the purpose of the mission in Afghanistan directly contributes to creating the image of a threatening “Other” by

⁴⁷ Globalisation is a widely used term. More profound information and discussion on it can be found, for instance, in Lechner Frank J. & Boli, John (eds.), 2008. *The globalization reader*. 3rd ed. Blackwell Publishing.

associating Afghanistan with terrorism, while it is indirectly being used to contribute to the creation, enhancement, and maintenance of the desired image of Denmark, which corresponds with some of the goals of the *Action Plan for the Global Marketing of Denmark*.⁴⁸ Critically analysed data from the official website of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence, as well as speeches by Danish Prime Ministers, demonstrates the instances of securitization by creating the dualism “Us – Them” and the notion of a threatening “Other”.

Kristina Boréus describes four types of discursive discrimination, which is “carried out through the use of language” (Boréus, 2006: 406):

- 1) Negative other-presentation;
- 2) Exclusion from discourse;
- 3) Proposals pointing towards unfavourable non-linguistic treatment;
- 4) Discriminatory objectification.

Drawing on the findings of this analysis I argue that Afghanistan is negatively portrayed through its association with terrorist activities, is partly excluded from discourse and is portrayed as an object, which needs assistance. By discursively contrasting itself with this negative image of Afghanistan, the Danish state attempts to build up its image, identity and reputation.

This brings us back to the main argument of the present paper: that Denmark uses its involvement in the international civil-military operation in Afghanistan as a part of its strategy to build an image of itself as an attractive and developed European state which is interested in actively engaging in the international community on a number of levels. Simon Anholt argues that a “[n]ational reputation cannot be constructed; it can only be earned” (Anholt, 2010: 6), and the losses that Denmark has had in Afghanistan can perhaps be construed as the price of admittance to more beneficial spheres of the international community.

⁴⁸ Action Plan for the Global Marketing of Denmark <http://www.brandingdenmark.dk/international/en-gb/menu/marketing-of-denmark/action-plan/action-plan-marketing-denmark/action-plan+marketing-denmark.htm> . 19 December 2010.

7. Conclusion

In the beginning of the 21st century, human civilisation is facing a lot of new challenges, which have emerged as a result of the rapid progress of communication and transportation technologies. The sphere of international relations has been replenished by new actors: transnational companies, international non- and governmental organisations. These new actors question the sovereignty and functions of the nation-state, which has otherwise been the traditional unit of analysis in IR. Thus, today the nation-state is just one of many powerful actors in a multilateral international arena (Castells, 1999: 303-304). Because of this increased competitiveness states become more interested in maintaining and improving their images.

Drawing on the assumption that discourses constitute social reality and are constituted by it (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008: 61), I have attempted to explore the signs and processes of discursive formation of the image of the Danish state through the analysis of the texts produced by the state officials on the topic of Danish engagement in the military operation in Afghanistan. More specifically my interest has been focused on the security discourse through which I looked for indications of the state's image building. In order to answer the research questions, and being guided knowledge that discourse is about "language in use in speech and writing" (Wodak quoted in Titscher et al., 2002: 26), I used CDA of the texts together with discourse analysis of the visual material. The analyses include the following findings:

- 1) Discursive demonstration of the positive features and attributes of the Danish state and an active use of security discourse as a means to build up a desirable image of Denmark;
- 2) The positioning of the Afghan state as less privileged;
- 3) "We – they" dichotomy and the positioning of Afghanistan as a threatening "Other";
- 4) The silencing of the voices of parties not in power;
- 5) Operating the rhetoric of the common "universal" values;

Discourse on universal values is an example of interdiscursivity in the analysed data, as all the texts contained references to human rights, peace, development and democracy which is in a line with the willingness to improve Denmark's image as a committed state. Another shared discourse of terrorism in Afghanistan, through which Denmark was positioned as an active actor in the international relations. Links between texts under scrutiny

allow to look at them as an intertextual chain, in which texts incorporate elements of each other (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2008: 74).

It is possibly not a surprise that in its official documents MFA of Denmark would portray Danish state in the best possible way, at the same time my aim while conducting CDA of this Factsheet was to determine the ways in which such image was framed, what kind of discourses surrounded Denmark's image and what is the role of security discourse in it (if any) text by MOD of Denmark is supposed to contribute to the findings.

The outcome of the study is a contribution to theoretical debate on security and to the analysis of underlying assumptions of the Danish foreign policy strategies, which are partly built on certain understandings/discourses of social reality, as well as to the study of media.

8. Executive summary

Based on the CDA and DA of the empirical data retrieved from the official sources of the Danish state regarding participation of Denmark in military operation in Afghanistan, I have examined how the securitization of the Afghan state and the use of security discourse contribute to the construction of the *reputation/identity/image* of Denmark as a nation-state and an active agent in international relations. The findings have showed that Denmark is consistently positively positioned and uses security discourse on Afghanistan to emphasise its own strength and commitment to "universal" values (freedom, democracy, etc.), while at the same time discursively constructing Afghanistan as a part of a threatening "Other" through a "we/them" dichotomy. DA has shown that visual representation also contributes to this process, portraying Danes positively and neglecting the images (and voices) of others.

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10. Appendices

The texts in Appendix 1.5., Appendix 2.4., Appendix 3.3., Appendix 3.6. and Appendix 3.9. are divided into sentences in which semantic relations are marked and the words which signify them are underlined when possible. *Elaboration* means that the statement is followed by some further information and *Additive* relations show a similar connection, but differ from elaborations in that the order of clauses can be reversed. *Evaluation* refers to value which is included in the phrase and can be explicit or assumed. *Contrastive* relations indicate the difference or contrast between two statements, phrases or sentences. *Temporal* relations include information about time. *Reason* and *Purpose* show, respectively, the relations which point towards reasoning and presentation of a purpose (Fairclough: 2003).

Appendix 1.1.: Factsheet Front Page

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF DENMARK

Factsheet Denmark

Documentation



Danish soldiers visiting a village in the Badkshan province in North-East Afghanistan. Photo: Danish Defence.

DECEMBER 2009

FOREIGN POLICY

Denmark's foreign policy profile and policy objectives

Denmark pursues an active foreign policy combining Danish core values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law with a willingness to act. Based on these values, Danish foreign policy aims at increasing international security and stability, ensuring the greatest possible economic progress and prosperity and promoting democracy, human rights and good governance. Denmark's development assistance per capita is among the highest in the world.

As a small country with a very internationalised and open economy, multilateral cooperation is of great importance to Denmark. Not only as a way of promoting Danish interests, but also because international organisations are the town halls of the world, facilitating dialogue among nations and collective solutions. Denmark works actively and constructively through international organisations such as the EU, the UN, NATO and the WTO, which are cornerstones of Denmark's international engagement. In addition, Denmark participates

actively in the Nordic, Baltic and Arctic cooperation. The purpose of this engagement is not only to make Denmark's voice heard, but also to enhance the effectiveness of these organisations. Therefore, Denmark also attaches great importance to the discussions on reforming the global governance structures in order to ensure both the effectiveness and the legitimacy of the key global organisations. One of the key means to this end is making sure that the multilateral organisations reflect the distribution of power in today's world.

The most important challenges in foreign policy often require solutions that individual countries cannot bring about on their own. Denmark has a long tradition of taking part in various peacekeeping operations and plays a very active role in the international stabilisation efforts in Afghanistan. From a Danish point of view, security and development must go hand in hand. Therefore, our policies of promoting security and stability are interlinked with efforts to promote democracy, development, reconstruction and sustainable development.

Appendix 1.2.: Photograph from Factsheet Front page



Appendix 1.3.: Factsheet page 2

The Vikings conquer England: The Viking raids, which began in the late 8th century, were made possible mainly by the superior Nordic ship-building techniques. The first known raids were the arrival of three Viking ships in a Southern English port in 790 and the pillaging of Lindisfarne monastery in 793. In the late 9th century, the Anglo-Saxon King Alfred the Great had to pay taxes to the Danes and in 980 Sweyn Forkbeard started regular raids on the English

coasts. For a time, the Danes were bought off, but Sweyn Forkbeard's conquest of all of England in 1013 and establishment of the Danish royal house there made Denmark a leading power in the North Sea and the Baltic. This position was maintained until the union with England was dissolved in 1042. During this time, many Danes immigrated. *Source: (Wikipedia): Fees are paid to Sweyn Forkbeard. Painted 1813. Frederiksborg Museum.*



Documentation



The offshore wind farm at Horns Rev by Jutland's west coast supplies two per cent of Denmark's energy consumption. Photo: Vestas.

Foreign Affairs in 2009 carried out the most comprehensive organisational reform since 1991 – when a reform was made that reflected the new world order after the end of the Cold War. At heart of the 2009 organisational reform is the creation of an organization that is best suited for dealing with the new challenges and opportunities of a globalized world. An illustrative example of the new organisational structure is the creation of a stabilisation department that combines security and development, particularly vis-à-vis Afghanistan where these issues go hand in hand. Another example is a Centre for Global Challenges that focuses on global economic questions, environment, climate, health and gender equality issues. All these issues require multilateral global solutions and are to a large extent interrelated.

Danish participation in international operations

Threats to Danish security often have their origins far away. Nevertheless, they can pose a risk to Denmark, our allies and our core values. Therefore, contributing to international peace support efforts is a key priority for Denmark. The active Danish security and defence policy is aimed at countering threats where they emerge through a broad set of means ranging from diplomatic efforts to active participation in international operations.

The Danish Armed Forces perform a wide variety of tasks. They must remain able to participate in difficult and intensive operations such as Afghanistan. However, the Danish Armed Forces must also preserve and develop the ability to execute other types of stabilisation tasks and international policing operations, including missions like the KFOR mission in Kosovo, the UNIFIL mission in Lebanon and the operations against piracy off the Horn of Africa. For Denmark, the fight against piracy also means a dedicated focus on development and humanitarian assistance to Somalia and on the multilateral efforts that focus on solving the many legal issues that arise in the fight against piracy.

One of the tasks of the Danish Armed Forces is to contribute to military capacity building with the aim of preventing conflicts, also in terms of performing stabilisation tasks during a conflict. The objectives of stabilisation operations – and to a certain extent armed conflicts – can only be achieved by integrating military and civilian activities. On the one hand, this means that the already initiated civil and military

Another area where countries need to work together in order to reach common goals is overcoming the current economic crisis and the efforts to prevent future crisis through better regulation of the financial sector in the global economy. Participating in solving the challenges of the financial crisis and turning the economy towards renewed growth and raising employment and prosperity will be a top priority for Danish foreign policy in the coming years. Denmark believes strongly in free trade as the basis for global growth and prosperity, and Denmark will engage actively with our European, transatlantic and international partners in the promotion of free trade with an ambition of a successful conclusion of the Doha Development Round. Other examples of international challenges are combating poverty, terrorism, climate and environmental problems, and ensuring respect for human rights. Often these challenges are interrelated in a complex manner that creates a new framework for foreign policy.

As a consequence of the changed nature of foreign policy challenges and the policy responses to them, the Ministry of

Appendix 1.4.: Factsheet page 3



Crusade against Wends and Slavs: At the end of the Viking age, Denmark was ravaged by the heathen Wends living along the south coast of the Baltic. At regular intervals, they raided the Danish coasts and abducted the residents as slaves. The tide turned in 1133. With the Pope's blessing, the Danish king started a crusade against the Wends. In 1169, Rügen was conquered and the Wends' holy castle of Arkona was destroyed. Mecklenburg and Pomerania also

had to recognize the sovereignty of the Danish king. After the famous battle of Lyndanise in 1223, when the Danish flag according to legend fell from the sky, Valdemar also became part of Valdemar the Victorious' realm. However, the loosely bound Baltic empire collapsed after Valdemar's capture by a German prince during a hunt on 1st in 1223. *Lauritz Tønder: The Conquest of Arkona in 1169. Painted 1896. Frederiksborg Museum.*

Documentation

integration efforts must be maintained and broadened. On the other hand, this aspect entails that the achievement of the political goal of an operation is often dependent on civilian initiatives, such as reconstruction. Afghanistan is a case in point.

Afghanistan

Denmark is committed to an active effort in Afghanistan with the aim of contributing to national, regional and global security by preventing the country from becoming a haven for terrorists once again. At the same time, the Danish efforts aim at contributing to the establishment of a stable and more developed Afghanistan which can manage its own security, continue on a path towards a democratic development and promote respect for human rights. Denmark believes that the key to success in Afghanistan is a comprehensive approach involving defence, diplomacy and development. Furthermore, Denmark fully acknowledges the importance of regional aspects to the situation in Afghanistan – not least with respect to the situation in Pakistan, where Taliban forces are trying to establish pockets outside the control of the Pakistani Government. Therefore, in 2009 it was decided to increase the development aid to Pakistan significantly.

At present, there are roughly 110,000 troops in Afghanistan. Denmark is contributing militarily to the stabilization of

Afghanistan as part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The approximately 746 Danish troops are mostly deployed in Southern Afghanistan in the Helmand province under UK lead command.

In 2009-2012, Denmark will provide approximately DKK 450 million annually to Afghanistan in development assistance. This makes Afghanistan one of the largest recipient countries of Danish development assistance. The Danish assistance will focus on state-building, education and improvement of living conditions. At least DKK 50 million of the annual assistance will be spent in the Helmand province. Included is also Denmark's support to Danish NGOs' work in Afghanistan and humanitarian aid when the need arises. In addition to development assistance, Denmark actively supports the capacity building of the Afghan National Army and the Afghan National Police Force.

The relationship with NATO

NATO remains the cornerstone of Danish defence and security policy. It is the framework for transatlantic partnership and the guarantee of European security. However, in recent years NATO has developed from primarily focusing on protecting the Member States' territorial security to promoting security and stability in a broader sense.

Denmark continues to provide substantial personnel resources to NATO operations and missions. In addition to those troop contributions, Denmark is playing an active role in shaping the future orientation and work of the Alliance. Building on positive experiences from cooperation between Danish governmental and non-governmental players in conflict areas where Danish forces are deployed, Denmark is playing a leading role in making a more proactive approach to civil-military cooperation a priority on NATO's agenda. In particular, the experience from Afghanistan demonstrates that today's challenges require a comprehensive approach involving a broad spectrum of civil and military instruments. An important priority for Denmark is



Danish soldiers talking to Somali fishermen in the Gulf of Aden. Photo: Danish Defence.

Appendix 1.5.: Factsheet Denmark

Denmark's foreign policy profile and policy objectives

1. *ELABORATION* Denmark pursues an active foreign policy combining Danish core values of democracy, human rights *ADDITIVE* and the rule of law with a willingness to act.
2. *Based on these values, Danish foreign policy aims at increasing international security* *ADDITIVE* and stability, ensuring the greatest possible economic progress and prosperity and promoting democracy, human rights and good governance.
3. *EVALUATION* Denmark's development assistance per capita is among the highest in the world.
4. *EVALUATION* As a small country with a very internationalised *ADDITIVE* and open economy, multilateral cooperation is of great importance to Denmark.
5. *CONTRASTIVE/ADDITIVE* Not only as a way of promoting Danish interests, but also because international organisations are the town halls of the world, facilitating dialogue among nations *ADDITIVE* and collective solutions.
6. *EVALUATION/ADDITION* Denmark works actively and constructively through international organisations *ELABORATION* such as the EU, the UN, NATO and WTO, *ELABORATION* which are cornerstones of Denmark's international engagement.
7. *In addition, Denmark participates actively in the Nordic, Baltic* *ADDITIVE* and Arctic cooperation.
8. *PURPOSE* The purpose of this engagement is not only to make Denmark's voice heard, *CONTRASTIVE/ELABORATION* but also to enhance the effectiveness of these organisations.
9. *ELABORATION* Therefore, Denmark also attaches *EVALUATION* great importance to the discussions on reforming the global governance structures *PURPOSE* in order to ensure both the effectiveness *ADDITIVE* and the legitimacy of the key global organisations.
10. *One of the key means to this end is making sure that the multilateral organisations reflect the distribution of power in today's world.*
11. *EVALUATION* The most important challenges in foreign policy *TEMPORAL* often require solutions that individual countries cannot bring about on their own.
12. *Denmark has a long tradition of taking part in various peacekeeping operations* and plays a very active role in the international stabilisation efforts in Afghanistan.
13. *From a Danish point of view, security* *ADDITIVE* and development must go hand in hand.
14. *REASON* Therefore, our policies of promoting security *ADDITIVE* and stability are interlinked with efforts to promote democracy, development, reconstruction *ADDITIVE* and sustainable development.
15. *Another area where countries need to work together* *PURPOSE* in order to reach common goals is overcoming the current economic crisis *ADDITIVE* and the efforts to prevent future crises *ELABORATION* through better regulation of the financial sector in the global economy.
16. *Participating in solving the challenges of the financial crisis* *ADDITIVE* and turning the economy towards renewed growth *ADDITIVE* and raising employment *ADDITIVE*

and prosperity will be a top priority for Danish foreign policy in TEMPORAL the coming years.

17. *Denmark believes EVALUATION strongly in free trade as the basis for global growth ADDITION and prosperity, ADDITIVE and Denmark will engage actively with our European, transatlantic ADDITIVE and international partners in the promotion of free trade ELABORATION with an ambition of a successful conclusion of Doha Development Round.*
18. *Other examples of international challenges are combating poverty, terrorism, climate ADDITIVE and environmental problems, ADDITIVE and ensuring respect for human rights.*
19. *TEMPORAL Often these challenges are interrelated in a complex manner ELABORATION that creates a new framework for foreign policy.*
20. *TEMPORAL As a consequence of the changed nature of foreign policy challenges and the policy responses to them, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2009 carried out the EVALUATION most comprehensive organisational reform TEMPORAL 1991 – when a reform was made that reflected the new world order after the end of the Cold War.*
21. *TEMPORAL At heart of 2009 organisational reform is the creation of an organisation that is best suited for dealing with the new challenges ADDITIVE and opportunities of a globalised world.*
22. *EVALUATION An illustrative example of the new organisational structure is the creation of a stabilisation department that combines security ADDITIVE and development, ELABORATION particularly vis-à-vis Afghanistan where these issues go hand in hand.*
23. *Another example is a Centre for Global Challenges ELABORATION that focuses on global economic questions, environment, climate, health and gender equality issues.*
24. *All these issues require multilateral global solutions ADDITIVE and are to large extent interrelated.*

Danish participation in international operations

25. *Threats to Danish security TEMPORAL often have their origins far away.*
26. *CONTRASTIVE Nevertheless, they can pose a risk to Denmark, our allies ADDITIVE and our core values.*
27. *ELABORATION Therefore, contributing to international peace support efforts is a key priority for Denmark.*
28. *EVALUATION The active Danish ADDITIVE and defence policy PURPOSE is aimed at countering threats where they emerge ELABORATION through a broad set of means ranging from diplomatic efforts to active participation in international operations.*
29. *The Danish Armed Forces perform EVALUATION a wide variety of tasks.*
30. *They must remain able to participate in EVALUATION/ADDITIVE difficult and intensive operations ELABORATION such as Afghanistan.*
31. *CONTRASTIVE However, the Danish Armed Forces must also preserve ADDITION and develop the ability to execute other types of stabilisation tasks ADDITION and international policing operations, ELABORATION including missions like the KFOR mission in Kosovo, the UNIFIL mission in Lebanon ADDITIVE and the operations against piracy off the Horn of Africa.*

32. For Denmark, the fight against piracy ADDITIVE also means a dedicated focus on development assistance to Somalia and on the multilateral efforts that focus on solving the many legal issues ELABORATION that arise in the fight against piracy.
33. One of the tasks of the Danish Armed Forces PURPOSE is the contribute to military capacity building PURPOSE with the aim of preventing conflicts, ELABORATION also in terms of performing stabilisation tasks during a conflict.
34. PURPOSE The objectives of stabilisation operations – ADDITIVE and to a certain extent armed conflicts – can only be achieved by integrating military ADDITIVE and civilian activities.
35. ELABORATION On the one hand, this means that the already initiated civil ADDITIVE and military integration efforts must be maintained and broadened.
36. CONTRASTIVE On the other hand, this aspect entails that the achievement of the political goal of an operation is TEMPORAL often dependent on civilian initiatives, ELABORATION such as reconstruction.
37. Afghanistan is a case in point.

Afghanistan

38. Denmark is committed to an active effort in Afghanistan PURPOSE with the aim of contributing to national, regional ADDITIVE and global security ELABORATION by preventing the country from becoming a haven for terrorists once again.
39. TEMPORAL At the same time, the Danish efforts PURPOSE aim at contributing to the establishment of a stable and more developed Afghanistan ELABORATION which can manage its own security, continue on a path towards a democratic development ADDITIVE and promote respect for human rights.
40. Denmark believes that the key to success in Afghanistan is a comprehensive approach involving defence, diplomacy and development.
41. ELABORATION Furthermore, Denmark EVALUATION fully acknowledges the importance of regional aspects to the situation in Afghanistan – not least with respect to the situation in Pakistan, ELABORATION where Taleban forces are trying to establish pockets outside the control of the Pakistani Government.
42. REASON Therefore, in 2009 it was decided to increase the development aid to Pakistan significantly.
43. TEMPORAL At present, there are roughly 110.000 troops in Afghanistan.
44. ELABORATION Denmark is contributing militarily to the stabilisation of Afghanistan as part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).
45. The approximately 746 Danish troops are mostly deployed in Southern Afghanistan in the Helmand province under UK lead command.
46. In 2009-2012, Denmark will provide approximately DKK 450 million TEMPORAL annually to Afghanistan in development assistance.
47. EVALUATION This makes Afghanistan one of the largest recipient countries of Danish development assistance.
48. The Danish assistance will focus on state-building, education ADDITIVE and improvement of living conditions.
49. At least DKK 50 million of the annual assistance will be spent in the Helmand province.
50. ADDITIVE Included is also Denmark's support to Danish NGO's work in Afghanistan ADDITIVE and humanitarian aid ELABORATION when the need arises.

51. *ELABORATION* In addition to development assistance, Denmark *EVALUATION* actively supports the capacity building of the Afghan National Army *ADDITIVE* and the Afghan National Police Force.

1.6. Photograph from Factsheet page 4



Appendix 2.1. MOD's article

FORSVARSMINISTERIET

The Minister | **All about** | About us | News | Contact

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Danish footage > English > All about

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- Alphabetic list

All about



Danish forces are contributing to a more safe and secure environment in Afghanistan.

The Danish engagement in Afghanistan

The international society has been present in Afghanistan since 2001 on a mandate of United Nations Security Council. The international force, ISAF (International Security Assistance force) is a NATO led coalition composed of 46 contributing nations – among these all 26 NATO members. Denmark has been a part of ISAF since 2002.

As a part of the international effort in Afghanistan, the Danish forces are contributing to a more safe and secure environment for the Afghan population. Denmark has developed a long-term strategy for the Danish engagement in Afghanistan under the motto: "As military as necessary – as civilian as possible".

Upon invitation of the Afghan transitional government, United Nations Security Council established an international security force (ISAF) in December 2001. The mission of the security force is to assist Afghanistan in maintaining a safe and secure environment throughout the country. ISAF is composed of 46 contributing nations – among these all 26 NATO members.

Danish forces in Afghanistan

Since 2002, Denmark has gradually increased its military engagement in Afghanistan. Currently, the Danish contribution counts approximately 750 persons. The Danish battalion in the British led Task force Helmand in the Helmand province in southern Afghanistan constitutes the majority of the Danish force.

Other Danish force contributions are located as follows:

- Kabul: ISAF Headquarters.
- Chaghchayan: Contribution to the Lithuanian led Provincial Reconstruction Team.

The Parliamentary decision behind the Danish participation in ISAF was renewed 8 December 2008. The decision is based on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1890.

Purpose

The overall purpose of the Danish engagement in Afghanistan is to contribute to the national, regional and global security by preventing that Afghanistan once again will be a safe haven for terrorist activity. At the same time, the Danish engagement contributes to the growth of a stable and more developed Afghanistan with the ability to handle own security issues, continue a democratic development and promote the respect for human rights.

The Danish Afghanistan strategy


Internal links

- International operations
- NATO - The Corporation of Danish Security
- NATO's TV channel

External links

- United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
- NATO ISAF
- Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Afghanistan

Movie



Danmark i Afghanistan
Denmark in Afghanistan

Appendix 2.2. MOD's article: column to the right from the text

Internal links

International operations

NATO - The Cornerstone of Danish Security

NATO's TV channel

External links

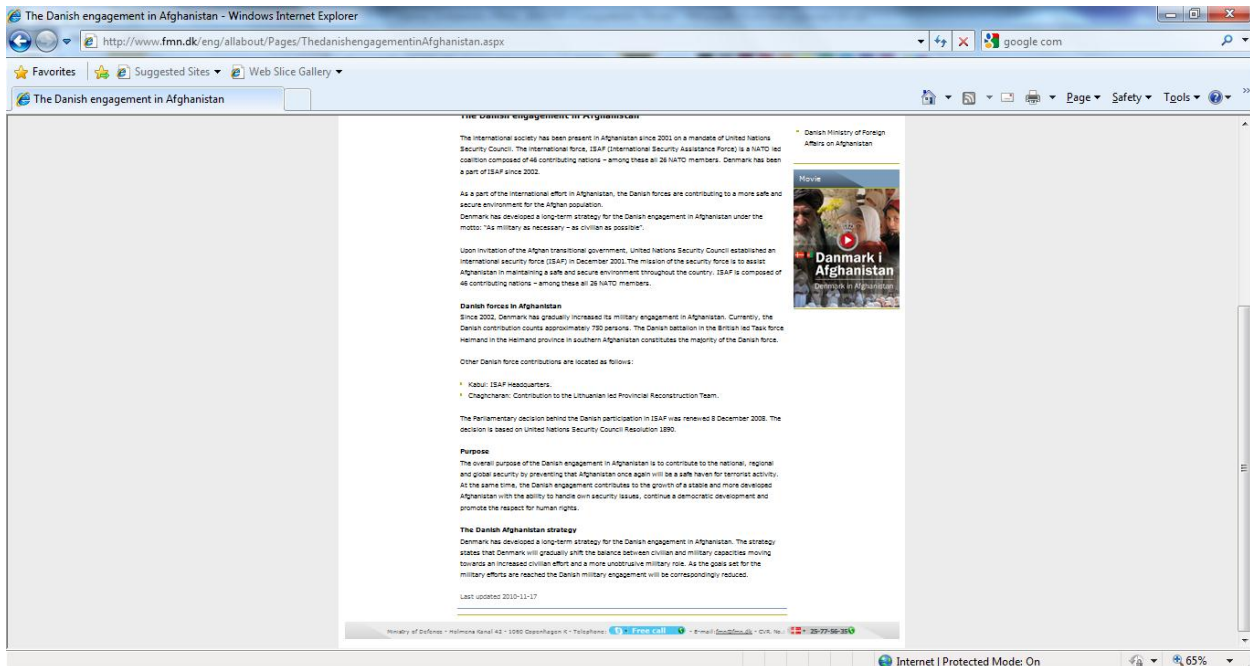
United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan

NATO ISAF

Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Afghanistan



Appendix 2.3. MOD's article (Last updated 2010-11-17)



Appendix 2.4. MOD's article: text with the markers of semantic relations

The Danish engagement in Afghanistan

1. **TEMPORAL** *The international society has been present in Afghanistan since 2001 on a mandate of United Nations Security Council.*
2. *The international force, ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) is a NATO led coalition composed of 46 contributing nations **ELABORATION** – among these all 26 NATO members.*
3. **TEMPORAL** *Denmark has been a part of ISAF since 2002.*
4. *As a part of the international effort in Afghanistan, the Danish forces are contributing to a more safe **ADDITIVE and** secure environment for the Afghan population.*
5. **ELABORATION** *Denmark has developed a long-term strategy for the Danish engagement in Afghanistan under the motto: “As military as necessary – as civilian as possible”.*
6. **TEMPORAL** *Upon invitation of the Afghan transitional government, United Nations Security Council established an international security force (ISAF) in December 2001.*
7. **PURPOSE** *The mission of the security force is to assist Afghanistan in maintaining a safe and secure environment throughout the country.*
8. *ISAF is composed of 46 contributing nations – **ELABORATION** among these all 26 NATO members.*

Danish forces in Afghanistan

9. *TEMPORAL* Since 2002, Denmark has gradually increased its military engagement in Afghanistan.
10. *Currently*, the Danish contribution counts approximately 750 persons.
11. *The Danish battalion in the British led Task force Helmand in the Helmand province in southern Afghanistan constitutes the majority of the Danish force.*
12. *Other Danish force contributions are located as follows:*
13. - *Kabul: ISAF Headquarters.*
14. - *Chaghcharan: Contribution to the Lithuanian led Provincial Reconstruction Team.*
15. *TEMPORAL* *The Parliamentary decision behind the Danish participation in ISAF was renewed 8 December 2008.*
16. *REASON* *The decision is based on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1890.*

Purpose

17. *PURPOSE* *The overall purpose of the Danish engagement in Afghanistan is to contribute to the national, regional ADDITIVE and global security by preventing that Afghanistan once again will be a EVALUATION safe haven for terrorist activity.*
18. *At the same time, the Danish engagement contributes to the growth of a EVALUATION stable and more developed Afghanistan with the ability to handle own security issues, continue a democratic development ADDITIVE and promote the respect for human rights.*

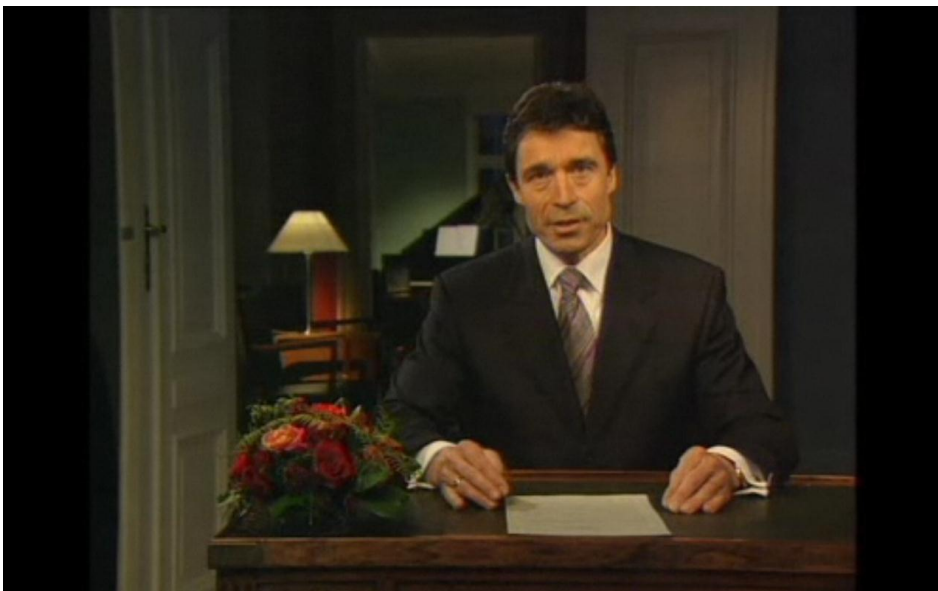
The Danish Afghanistan strategy

19. *Denmark has developed a long-term strategy for the Danish engagement in Afghanistan.*
20. *The strategy states that Denmark will gradually shift the balance between civilian ADDITIVE and military capacities moving towards an increased civilian effort ADDITIVE and a more unobtrusive military role.*
21. *As the goals set for the military efforts are reached the Danish military engagement will be correspondingly reduced.*

Appendix 3.1. Image of Marienborg from the New Year speech in 2002



Appendix 3.2. Image of the Prime Minister from the New Year speech in 2002



Appendix 3.3. Excerpt from the New Year speech in 2002

1. *Yesterday we have said goodbye to the old year.*
2. *TEMPORAL 2001 will always be remembered for the EVALUATION terrible terror acts against New York and Washington.*
3. *TEMPORAL/EVALUATION The 11th of September was a day, when the brutal reality surpassed even the worst imagined scenarios.*
4. *ELABORATION It hurt to see this attack on the heart of the nation, to which the entire free world owes so much.*
5. *ADDITIVE The USA has been appointed as the enemy of terror organisations across the globe.*
6. *This is no coincidence.*
7. *REASON Because the USA represents everything that religious fanatics ADDITIVE and power hungry tyrants fear and despise.*
8. *ADDITIVE The American society is built on the ideas of personal freedom, democracy, human rights, and religious tolerance.*
9. *ELABORATION All over the Western world we have built our societies on similar values.*
10. *These are the principles that have made it possible to raise our part of civilization from poverty to prosperity.*
11. *ADDITIVE These are the principles we must guard and defend.*
12. *We must fight terrorism without compromise.*
13. *ADDITIVE And that fight must not be left to the USA alone.*
14. *Denmark has agreed to an American request for military aid in Afghanistan.*
15. *ADDITIVE The government is also prepared to contribute to an FN-sanctioned peace-force in Afghanistan.*
16. *ADDITIVE This means that Denmark will be sending soldiers and planes to Afghanistan TEMPORAL in the beginning of the New Year.*
17. *I am proud that Denmark can play its part.*
18. *And to those of you who are going [to Afghanistan] I say: We think about you.*
19. *ADDITIVE We are grateful that you in this way are making an effort for your country and for freedom and peace in the world.*

Appendix 3.4. Image of Marienborg from the New Year speech in 2009



Appendix 3.5. Image of the Prime Minister from the New Year speech in 2009



Appendix 3.6. Excerpt from the New Year speech in 2009

1. TEMPORAL/ADDITIVE 2008 was also the year in which international terrorism came close to Denmark.
2. Our embassy in Islamabad in Pakistan became the target of a terrorist bomb.
3. Several people were killed.
4. TEMPORAL Later, a Danish police officer posted to Islamabad was killed in a terrorist bomb attack on a hotel in the same city.
5. EVALUATION Our thoughts go out to the bereaved families who became the victims of ruthless terrorism.
6. And many ask themselves EVALUATION fearfully what will happen TEMPORAL next.
7. The Government is monitoring the situation closely.
8. We are doing our utmost to ensure security ADDITIVE and safety.
9. ADDITIVE And together with our partners, we will fight terrorism at its root.
10. EVALUATION Unfortunately, this fight comes at a price.
11. In the weeks leading up to Christmas, five Danish soldiers were killed in Afghanistan.
12. EVALUATION/ADDITIVE It is a terrible tragedy and a great shock to the families ADDITIVE and relatives who so brutally have lost one of their loved ones.
13. TEMPORAL In the past year, a number of Danish soldiers have lost their lives on active service.
14. ADDITIVE And others have been wounded.
15. EVALUATION I wish to express my deepest sympathy with their families and relatives.
16. EVALUATION My thoughts go out to you who have suffered such painful losses.
17. ADDITIVE My thoughts also go out to the fellow soldiers of those who have been killed.
18. EVALUATION/ADDITIVE We owe you the most profound gratitude and respect for the work you carry out under difficult conditions.
19. EVALUATION Many ask whether it serves any useful purpose.
20. PURPOSE/EVALUATION Yes, it does serve a useful purpose.
21. TEMPORAL A few months ago, I visited our soldiers in Afghanistan.
22. I was impressed to see what they have achieved.
23. We can be proud of them.
24. EVALUATION They are making a praiseworthy effort to ensure security ADDITIVE/EVALUATION and provide a better life for the local population.
25. EVALUATION They are a credit to Denmark.
26. EVALUATION We live in a new world.
27. A world in which terrorists can strike anywhere – ELABORATION also in Denmark.
28. A world in which the defence of our security begins far away from Danish soil.
29. EVALUATION Afghanistan must not be allowed to become a safe haven for terrorists again.
30. REASON That is why we are in Afghanistan.
31. REASON It is a matter of security.
32. And it is a matter of us Danes taking co-responsibility in the world around us.
33. ADDITIVE We want freedom, peace and security.
34. ADDITIVE Then we must also make a contribution ourselves.
35. REASON That is why Danish soldiers, police officers and others posted abroad contribute to fighting terrorists in Afghanistan ADDITIVE and pirates off Somalia and

- contribute to keeping the peace in Kosovo and Georgia and in other EVALUATION hot spots throughout the world.*
36. *EVALUATION I wish to express my warmest thanks to all of you who are on active service for Denmark throughout the world.*
37. *EVALUATION You have not asked whether it serves any useful purpose.*
38. *You have done what you found was the right thing to do.*
39. *You are a source of inspiration to us all.*
40. *You inspire us to take a responsibility ourselves.*
41. *And not just offload the task onto others.*
42. *PURPOSE To make an effort ourselves.*
43. *And not just make demands on others.*
44. *PURPOSE To see opportunities.*
45. *And not just give up.*
46. *It is this attitude that commands respect for us Danes in the world at large.*
47. *It is this attitude that is necessary to respond to challenges ADDITIVE and opposition.*
48. *ELABORATION And it is also this attitude that is now going to strengthen our resolve to ride out the economic storm.*

Appendix 3.7. Image of Marienborg from the New Year speech in 2010



Appendix 3.8. Image of the Prime Minister from the New Year speech in 2010



Appendix 3.9. Excerpt from the New Year speech in 2010

1. *ADDITIVE In Afghanistan, there are also EVALUATION encouraging achievements.*
2. *TEMPORAL I visited the Danish soldiers in the past year.*
3. *ELABORATION I was very proud to meet so professional and deeply dedicated persons who put their lives on the line in the service of hope.*
4. *TEMPORAL They make a difference every day, every hour, every minute.*
5. *EVALUATION They are a credit to Denmark.*
6. *ELABORATION An increased international force - to which Denmark continues to make a significant contribution - gives us reason to believe that we, within a foreseeable future, can begin to transfer overall responsibility to the Afghans.*
7. *ADDITIVE This is what the Afghans want, and it is what we want.*
8. *EVALUATION Denmark makes a great effort in Afghanistan, ADDITIVE also for the sake of our own security.*
9. *PURPOSE In order to prevent the country from once again becoming EVALUATION a safe haven for terrorist training ADDITIVE and the planning of terrorism.*
10. *EVALUATION The terror threat against Denmark remains significant.*
11. *TEMPORAL In 2009, we experienced that Denmark was the object of a planned terrorist attack.*
12. *CONTRASTIVE But we ADDITIVE also saw what an EVALUATION effective, preventive effort can do— both nationally and internationally.*
13. *CONTRASTIVE It is little comfort to know that we share the fate of other free peoples, but it confirms us in our determination to stand firm PURPOSE in order to counter the threat through joint efforts.*
14. *ELABORATION As we do, for example, in Afghanistan.*