

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Denmark's women to-the-rescue



Ann Sofie Milling Høegh

Study No: 20114792

Development & International Relations

Specialization in Global Gender Studies



AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

Abstract

The adoption of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) was groundbreaking, as it was the first time the Security Council addressed the disproportionate and specific impact of armed conflict on women. It recognizes women as crucial agents for peace processes such as conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacekeeping, and peace building, and stresses the importance of women's full and equal participation in peace and security. However, challenges still remain in the sense that women's security, as well as women's participation in peace and security, is far from fully implemented in policies nor in praxis. This paper takes a closer look at Denmark's National Action Plan 2014-2019 for the implementation of resolution 1325, and seeks to disclose which role intersectionality plays in regard to how women are represented in the national response to the women, peace and security agenda. Based on Carol L. Bacchi's "*What's the problem represented to be*" approach, this paper seeks to discover what particular representations of women and gender reveal about the Danish government's understanding of key issues in policies regarding women, peace and security. Despite continued debates surrounding its precise definition, intersectionality has become the predominant way of conceptualizing relations between systems of oppression which construct identities and social positions within hierarchies of power and privilege. Post-colonial theory and intersectionality are currently among the most prominent approaches in critical social sciences, but little research have been done with the two as interrelating approaches. The post-colonial-feminist approach focus on representations of Two-Thirds world women as viewed from the One-Third world's point of view, while the intersectional approach analyzes interrelations of gender, class, race, and related categories, and criticizes blindness of the interconnection between these. The paper discloses a hierarchical subordination by disparate racial positions among women as represented in the Danish National Action Plan 2014-2019 by sustaining that a closer dialogue between the two theoretical perspectives can contribute to improve upon the multiple discriminations and injustice that continues to dominate current political discourses.

Key words: gender equality, women, intersectionality, post-colonialism, feminism, peace and security, policy analysis, power relations

Table of content

1 Introduction	5
2 Methodology and Methods	7
2.1 Aim of study.....	7
2.2 Choice of Subject and Case	8
2.2.1 <i>Women, Peace & Security agenda</i>	9
2.2.2 <i>Denmark and Danish policy</i>	10
2.3 Theory of science.....	11
2.4 Method of Analysis	12
2.4.1 <i>The what is the problem represented to be (WPR) approach</i>	13
2.4.1 <i>Turning WPR approach intersectional</i>	15
2.4.2 <i>Wording</i>	15
2.5 Choice of theoretical framework.....	16
2.5.1 <i>The importance of an intersectional approach</i>	16
2.5.2 <i>Post-colonial feminism</i>	17
2.5.3 <i>Linking intersectionality and post-colonial feminist theory</i>	18
2.6 Empirical Data & Research overview	18
2.7 Critiques and Limitations	20
2.7.1 <i>Abstract terms and concepts</i>	20
2.7.2 <i>Constructivist paradigm</i>	20
2.7.3 <i>Post-colonialism feminism vs. western feminism</i>	21
3 Theoretical Framework	22
3.1 Gender & politics	22
3.2 Gender & Security	23
3.3 Post-colonial feminism	25
3.4 Intersectionality.....	28
3.4.1 <i>Intersectionality as a field of study</i>	30
3.4.2 <i>Intersectionality as critical praxis</i>	31
3.4.3 <i>Intersectionality as an analytical strategy</i>	32
3.4.4 <i>Applying intersectionality</i>	33
4 Introduction to analysis	34
4.1 Denmark: a struggle to maintain the equality status.....	35
4.2 Overview of UNSCR 1325	36
4.3 Overview of Danish National Action Plan.....	37
5 Analysis	38
5.1 What is the problem with women in peace and security issues represented to be in Denmark's NAP?	38
5.1.1 <i>Gender</i>	39
5.1.2 <i>A women's issue</i>	40
5.1.3 <i>Our women versus their women</i>	41
5.1.4 <i>Summary</i>	42
5.2 What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	43

5.2.1 <i>Add women and stir:</i>	43
5.2.2 <i>Women: active agents or passive victims.</i>	44
5.2.3 <i>Summary</i>	45
5.3 How has this representation of the problem come about?	46
5.3.1 <i>From the global to the local</i>	46
5.3.2 <i>Western imperialism: a legacy</i>	47
5.3.3 <i>Intersectional approach or the lack thereof</i>	49
5.3.5 <i>Summary</i>	50
5.4 What is left unproblematic in this representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?	50
5.4.1 <i>Intersectionality as an inclusive factor</i>	51
5.4.2 <i>Domestic insight</i>	52
5.4.3 <i>Victimizing the women of the Two-Thirds world</i>	53
5.4.4 <i>Gender equality: a women's issue</i>	55
5.4.5 <i>Summary</i>	56
5.5 What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?	57
5.5.1 <i>Discursive effects</i>	57
5.5.2 <i>Subjectification effects</i>	58
5.5.3 <i>Lived effects</i>	59
5.5.4 <i>Summary</i>	60
5.6 How/where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned disrupted and displaced?.....	61
5.6.1 <i>Uncritically understandings of the UNSCR 1325</i>	61
5.6.2 <i>Critical approaches</i>	63
6 Conclusion	64

Appendix 1: Denmark's National Action Plan 2014-2019

Appendix 2: United Nations Security Council resolution 1325

Abbreviations

CDI	Commitment to Development Index
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CGD	Center For Global Development
EU	European Union
GENCAP	Gender Standby Capacity Project
IASC	The Inter-Agency Standing Committee
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SC	Security Council
UN	United Nations
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council resolution
WEF	World Economic Forum
WHO	World Health Organization
WPR	What is the Problem Represented to be
WPS	Women, peace and security

1 Introduction

“Time and again, women have played a constructive and essential part in peace processes. They are gradually finding a place at the negotiating table, in the implementation of peace agreements, in post-conflict rehabilitation, reconstruction and disarmament. It is high time they were included in those processes in a more formalized way, at all levels and at all stages”

(Annan 2004)

In 2000 the United Nations Security Council adopted Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1325, which once and for all established the disproportionate and specific impact of armed conflict on women. The resolution aims to protect the rights of women and girls and increase women’s participation in the various phases during and after armed conflict. The 2004 report of the UN Secretary-General on women, peace and security (WPS), Kofi Annan, concluded that despite significant efforts, many challenges still remained in regard to implementing UNSCR 1325. Consequently, the Secretary-General called on the United Nations entities, civil society organizations, and UN Member States to reaffirm their commitment and strengthen efforts to fully implement resolution 1325 (United Nations Security Council 2004). Since the adoption of resolution 1325, seven additional resolutions (UNSCR 1820¹, UNSCR 1888², UNSCR 1889³, UNSCR 1960⁴, UNSCR 2106⁵, UNSCR 2122⁶, UNSCR 2242⁷) have been passed to further support and protect women in peace and conflict.

In 2005, Denmark was the very first country to adopt a National Action Plan (NAP) on UNSCR 1325. The purpose was to strengthen and systematize the implementation of this particular resolution. Since then, Denmark has adopted two additional NAPs, respectively in 2008 (applicable in 2008-2013) and 2014 (applicable in 2014-2019). The first Danish NAP was criticized for being too general, by not having specified goals and actions, for not being time limited, and for having no allocated budgets to this specific agenda. Denmark responded to these critiques by elaborating the second NAP, which was more exhaustive and differed in particular by setting specific policy aims proposed to be attained within a five-year-time frame. Even though the second NAP to some extent offered an improved approach to the WPS

agenda, criticism still called for a review. Consequently, a third and even more extensive NAP was adopted in 2014.

By means of intersectionality and post-colonial theory, this thesis seeks to expose how gender and related categories are used to construct disparate representations of the One-Third world and Two-Thirds world's women in Danish policy on the WPS. It further seeks to expose discourses embedded in the Danish NAP 2014-2019, exposing also what is seen as problematic and what is left unproblematic. Consequently, disclosing what this reveals about the Danish government's understanding of key issues in policies on WPS. An intersectional approach allows for a more nuanced analysis of power relations and social inequalities and how these can be related to the pursuit of social justice, while post-colonial feminism is intended as a contextual tool for clarifying what underlies the specific representations of women. The hypothesis assumes that women must be seen as a problem, since there is a need to adopt policies specifically focusing on women.

In conformity with the abovementioned, I have reached the following problem formulation: ***“What role does intersectionality play in regard to how women are represented in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 on UNSCR 1325, and what does this reveal about the Danish government's understanding of key issues in policies on WPS?”***

To help answer the problem formulation, I will apply Carol L. Bacchi's *“what's the problem represented to be”* approach (WPR) as an analytical guideline. It concentrates around six focal questions, which have been adapted to this particular case study: 1) *What is the problem with women in peace and security issues represented to be in the Danish NAP 2014-2019?* 2) *What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?* 3) *How has this representation of the problem come about?* 4) *What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?* 5) *What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?* 6) *How/where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and displaced?* The purpose of these questions is to elucidate particular understandings of key issues and representations underlying a specific policy, namely, the Danish NAP 2014-2019.

2 Methodology and Methods

In this section I seek to provide the reader with an understanding of how this paper has come about. I will elaborate on the aim of study, choice of subject and case, theory of science, method of analysis, theoretical framework, and empirical data & research overview where I will discuss what makes this particular paper important, and how it distinguishes itself from already existing research on the WPS agenda. Finally, I will account for critics and limitations of my methodological choices in this paper. Hence, this section is intended to clarify how I have come about locating and analyzing the requisited empirical data and theories.

2.1 Aim of study

Celis et al. (2015) argues that change is needed in order to attain gender equality both within *“politics as practice”* and *“political science as a discipline”*. In order to enable this change, it is crucial to understand the way the two interact, leading to specific representations of women. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of how women are represented in Danish policy concerning the WPS agenda, and what this reveal about the Danish government’s understanding of key issues in policies on WPS. Elucidating the way the women are represented and prove it problematic are the first steps to commence change (Bachhi 2009). By focusing on intersectionality, post-colonial feminism and gendered practices, I seek to provide a deeper understanding of not just how women are represented, but also what underlies this representation by identifying silences that could contribute to exposing the true issues underlying Danish policy on WPS. This should also account for why there is a need to create such policies as UNSCR 1325 and attendant NAPs. By means of intersectionality, I seek to clarify once and for all that gender as a social category cannot stand alone, but is connected with related categories, such as race and class (Pompper 2014). This paper seeks not to elaborate on what intersectionality is, but rather how it is made use of, and what this particular way of applying intersectionality means to the outcome of a specific policy. Applying the *“what’s the problem represented to be?”* approach to social science theories opens them up to critical scrutiny in useful ways, by probing their grounding assumptions (Bacchi 2010). In accordance with Bacchi, I intend to put into perspective how specific discourses reflect the Danish government’s understanding of the WPS agenda, and how contextual approaches underlie these discourses. The term discourse refers to a certain way

of talking about and understanding the world, and that this is shaped and evolves through social interaction. Bacchi's WPR approach offers an unconventional and yet critical approach to analyzing the Danish NAP 2014-2019 concerning WPS. I will elaborate on what makes this type of policy analysis unconventional further down in section *2.4 Method of Analysis*.

I argue that there is a strong need for more research focusing on national discourses on women in peace and security, and which role intersectionality plays in constituting political actors and structures in e.g. gender equality policies (section *2.6 Empirical Data & Research overview*). Recent research examines how gender-differences are constructed; how and why gender inequality occurs or persists; and states that gender equality is reproduced through institutions and policies (Prügl 2007). This paper seeks to contribute to this research. As I will argue in the analysis, particular notions of politics reproduce specific types of gendered subject positions. Identifying discourses in Danish policy on WPS contributes to understanding how and why women are represented the way they are, and what this means to those subjected to the policy. At the same time it contributes to advancing countercultural approaches and representations within power relations by emphasizing specific social categories over others (Bacchi 1999; 2009).

2.2 Choice of Subject and Case

Choice of subject and case derives from a personal interest in gendered understandings, especially in relation to peace and security. I am fascinated by gender dynamics, and the fact that social categories are so strongly - often dicotomically - divided within society, e.g. men/women or blacks/whites. UNSCR 1325 has come into existence as a consequence of increasing awareness on gender issues and women's rights; simultaneously, scepticism still exists in regard to women and armed conflict. This makes political initiatives such as UNSCR 1325 and attentive NAPs essential for achieving gender equality and social justice on a national as well as international level. In the following subsections I will elaborate on my choice of subject and case. I will get around the importance of the WPS agenda, and why I specifically chose Denmark and Danish policy as case study.

2.2.1 Women, Peace & Security agenda

Security and development are closely interlinked (Loyle 2017). Armed conflict and political violence does not concentrate exclusively on government targets; rather there is an upward tendency to harm civilians, which exacerbates other inter-social conflicts. For instance, rape is used as a weapon in conflict situations to humiliate not only the women who are raped but also their men's masculinity, as they are unable to protect their women. The female body thus becomes a warfare remedy (Hansen 2013). Some claim that conflict has no gender, however conflict does not affect women and men in the same way (Nduwimana 2004). Like men, women have voice and encompass power to be agents of change. As Annan's statement in section 1 *Introduction* establishes, warfare has historically been perceived as "male territory", both in the battlefield as well as in policies, negotiation processes, etc. With regard to this claim, it can be argued that war always has been gendered, understood in the way that men, historically, have been perceived as the stronger and superior gender and given the protector role, while women have been ranked on the same level as children, as weak and inferior and with no agency, thus perceived as in need of protection (Gürtner 2014). Women have thus not been considered part of the peace and security equation in the past.

The failure to include women in peace processes has emerged as a possible explanation to the inability to obtain sustainable peace (United Nations Security Council 2016^a). In 2000, this acknowledgement led to the drafting of UNSCR 1325 on WPS calling for greater female involvement in peace and security issues. The resolution assumes that women's involvement will ensure peace processes dedicated to constructing the political, legal, economic and social basis for more gender equitable post-conflict transformations. Hence, the WPS agenda is highly relevant, and the UNSCR 1325 and the attendant NAP's are key instruments to study women in policies concerning peace and security, including going into depth with how these are represented, and what motives underlies these specific representations of women. Finally, since armed conflicts does not respect borders it is in the interest of all countries to support international peace and security (United Nations Security Council 2016^b).

The WPS agenda indeed has transformative potential, as it is becoming still more recognized. The UN is thus advocating for women's agency, voice, and capacities, and sustains that a gender perspective is critical to local dialogues, more efficient policies as well as more

equitable peace deals (United Nations 2002). Even though the WPS agenda is becoming still more recognized, especially through UNSCR 1325 (as well as related resolutions), challenges still remain. However, in order to realize its transformative potential, commitments must evolve specific actions and achievements. Ensuring a gender perspective, and women's participation, protection, and rights during and after armed conflict is critical (United Nations Security Council 2016^b). Hence, in order to build a sustainable and peaceful world, action is critical, and the WPS agenda is thus highly relevant.

2.2.2 Denmark and Danish policy

Denmark boasts of being one of the most equal countries in the world and claims "*inclusive and equal societies are essential to prevent continued violence and foster sustainable peace*". The Danish government has set an ambitious range of aims concerning equality and social justice in various aspects (i.e. gender, race, class, etc.). According to the Danish NAP 2014-2019, promotion of the WPS agenda is a cornerstone in Denmark's foreign, security and development policy. This makes Denmark an interesting case to critically examine, both in regard to analyzing how policies concerning the WPS agenda are constructed and afterwards implemented, e.g. by looking at what criterias are set to measure the ambition of equality on status; and how political, economic, social, and historical context are regarded. This could help explain how international policy on WPS, such as UNSCR 1325, has been interpreted, and accordingly conveyed into national policies, in this particular case Denmark's NAP 2014-2019. The fact that Denmark, on a global scale, is in the lead of equality issues, and that it, despite its modest proportions, has gained great leverage within the international society on several topics, makes Denmark an interesting case. Its current high ranking on topics such as developmental aid and security combined with the downward-sloping curve on gender equality results, furthermore makes Denmark as a case study on the WPS agenda interesting. Very little research has been done on the Danish role on the WPS agenda with a specific focus on the NAPs. The aim of this paper is to fill some of those gaps by focusing on how the representations of women in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 have come into existence, i.e. the importance of the genealogy. What makes this paper stand out is its specific focus on Denmark, and the approach to the WPS agenda that does not just embrace women as a gender

construction but through a comprehensive framework that considers interaction and power relations between different social categories.

2.3 Theory of science

In 2001, Flyvbjerg published *“Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again”*. This particular book posed a unique challenge to social science, namely to rethink the type of research we are best equipped to produce. Flyvbjerg, like others before him, calls for the social sciences to reject pretensions that they (social sciences) can exceed natural sciences. Given their unique subject matter, the social sciences will inevitably fail to follow the natural sciences in providing general causal explanations for why people do what they do. Instead, social sciences are better equipped to help inform practical knowledge, i.e. the ability to make intelligent decisions in particular circumstances (Flyvbjerg 2001). Social sciences perceive societies as social constructions, and this helps us to see how societal issues such as gender equality can be improved. In regard to this paper, it is highly relevant as it contributes to an understanding of the impact of a specific policy, in this case Denmark’s NAP 2014-2019, by analyzing how women are represented, and how these representations have been constructed. Hence, social science is valuable because it serves as a framework for understanding how the findings of the so-called *pure sciences*⁸ affect society. In other words, social sciences apply the knowledge to the human condition.

When carrying out social science research, one can make use of different approaches to how knowledge and reality is constructed, and how it should be perceived. Ontology and epistemology both concern knowledge. Whereas ontology refers to the nature of knowledge, epistemology refers to how that knowledge is produced. Ontologically, reality can be understood either as *external and independent of social actors* (objectivist approach) or as *internal and dependent on social actors* (subjectivist approach) as they are regarded to contribute to a given social phenomenon (Wahyuni 2012). Ontologically, this thesis has been approached under the constructivist paradigm, meaning the researcher believes that all research is interpretative and relativistic. Within the constructivist paradigm *“knowledge is the outcome or consequence of human activity; knowledge is a human construction never certifiable as ultimately true but problematic and ever changing”* (Guba 1990). As a constructivist, I understand reality as socially constructed through human actions and

experiences. This also indicates that I have a subjectivist approach to epistemology since I, as researcher, already have existing knowledge and personal experiences, which I acknowledge will influence the choice of methods and theory, and the final outcome of the analysis. Hence, in order to understand the reality of e.g. gender constructions in policies concerning the WPS agenda, it is necessary primarily to look at qualitative data instead of quantitative data. In relation to this thesis, it means that instead of looking at hard data, the theoretical background is based on gender as a social construction. Thus, affecting how it is represented and interlinked with other related social categories through intersectionality.

The process of this paper is hermeneutic and inductive: Hermeneutic in the sense that I interpret a social phenomenon through a process where I, with my previous knowledge together with the knowledge I gain during the working process of this paper, intend to understand the reality as socially constructed, in accordance with my research paradigm. It is inductive in the sense that, I base my analysis on a number of texts to induce something general about how women and gender equality are represented and thus viewed within the Danish society. As Guba (1990) defines it, the aim is *“to identify the variety of constructions that exist, and bring them into as much consensus as possible”*, while at the same time taking into consideration the social, economic, political and historical context in which these texts are constructed and reproduced.

2.4 Method of Analysis

In order to examine how problematizations of women and gender equality are utilized and framed in Danish policy on WPS, the methodological framework constitutes a policy analysis. It is inspired by Carol L. Bacchi's (1999; 2009) 'What's the problem represented to be' (WPR) approach, which offers a critical yet unconventional method to analyzing politics. Bacchi herself describes it as a post-structural approach to policy analysis, understood in the sense that it intends to dig deeper into the meaning of policies as well as the meaning making that is part of the policy formulation.

2.4.1 The what is the problem represented to be (WPR) approach

The WPR was first introduced in '*Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of policy problems*' (Bacchi 1999) with the purpose to examine how such an approach could provide insights into the ways in which women's inequality has been understood in western policy conventions. This is in line with the outline of this paper, thus making it a perfect fit to guide the analysis. It explicitly intends to understand national policies within international context, and the specific focus on methodology and application means that the WPR approach is highly adaptable in various settings, not least to this specific paper. The WPR approach draws attention to three overlapping types of implications or repercussions as a way of assessing the usefulness or limitations of a particular policy: first, *discursive effects* in regards to limiting what can be said, second, *subjectification effects* meaning the kinds of political subjects produced in and through discourse, and third, *lived effects* in regards to the material impact on people's lives (Bacchi & Eveline 2010). Through an intersectional approach focusing particularly on gender in politics and post-colonial feminist theory these effects will be determined in the analytical section further down, which should lead us closer to clearing up which role intersectionality play in regard to how women are represented in the current Danish NAP 2014-2019; moreover, what it reveals about the Danish government's understanding of key issues in policies on WPS.

When applying WPR approach, the idea of policy becomes subject for interrogation, understood in the sense that nothing is taken for granted. According to Bacchi (2009), policy is a cultural product and should be considered in anthropological terms as it is formed within specific historical and national or international contexts. This means studying human societies and cultures, and their development. Bacchi argues that public policy in general is thought about as something that fixes things up, and the term thus produces positive associations (Bacchi 2009). This perception however, implies that there is a problem, which needs to be fixed. The presumed problem can be explicitly elaborated, but does not necessarily need to be; oftentimes, public policies do not officially declare that there is a specific problem that will be dealt with, rather it is implicit in the conception of a policy in the sense that policies are meant to make changes, thus insinuating that something needs to change (Bacchi 2009). The word *problem* is made use of in various ways in everyday speech, and is most commonly used to describe something that is difficult to deal with or to refer to a

puzzle or challenge that needs to be solved. However, in relation to WPR the term serves another purpose, as it refers to the kind of change implied in particular policy proposals. The WPR approach challenges the assumption that there is in fact a preexisting problem, and seeks rather to place focus on how particular representations of the so-called problems play a central role in how we are governed (Bacchi 2009). Hence, the way issues are problematized is central to governing processes, which indicates that we are governed through problematizations rather than through policies and therefore need to shift focus away from the assumed problems. Instead we need to study the shape and the character of problematizations concealed in the policy concerned (Bacchi 2009). Hence, in order to understand how the issue is understood by the Danish government, it is necessary to identify and characterize the implied problem as will be demonstrated in the analysis further down.

The WPR approach seeks to reveal implicit meanings in policies by applying six analytical questions: (1) *What is the problem represented to be either in a specific policy debate or in a specific policy proposal?* (2) *What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation?* (3) *How has this representation of the problem come about?* (4) *What is left unproblematic in this representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?* (5) *What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?* (6) *How/where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and displaced?* (Bacchi 2009) As mentioned above, an adapted version of these questions will serve as guidelines to help structure the analysis with the purpose of disclosing how women are represented in the Danish NAP 2014-2019. This should help elucidate what the problem representations reveal about the Danish government's understanding of key issues in policies on WPS.

The WPR approach is unconventional compared to other types of policy analysis, as the aim is not to measure specific outcomes through qualitative methods. According to Bacchi, analyzing policy by means of WPR compared to typical policy analysis is that it is intended to dig deeper than usual into the meaning of policies and into the meaning-making that is part of the policy formulation, i.e. the object becomes that of seeking in order to understand the policy better than its authors themselves (Bacchi 2009). In other words, the WPR approach draws

attention to the ways in which problem representations sustain or challenge hierarchical power relations, countering a relativist presumption that any one truth is as good as any other (Bacchi & Eveline 2010).

2.4.1 Turning WPR approach intersectional

The ideas of intersectionality demonstrate the complexity of policy processes, and conventional policy analysis does not fulfill the purpose of an intersectional informed analysis. Departing from Bacchi's first question "*What is the problem represented to be*", permits us to see representations of what the Danish government considers problematic and what is considered unproblematic through silences. The intersecting positions are not given, and the WPR approach contributes to emphasizing how different social categories are made use of in a specific policy. Examining not just what is regarded as problematic, but also identifying what is left unproblematic in the problem representation, stresses the importance of intersectionality in regards to the context of the case study. This paves the way for discussions concerning power relations and indicates what is considered important and what is not according to the policy-makers. Furthermore, the link between WPR approach and intersectionality becomes obvious when reflecting on the effects produced by the representation of the problem, accounting for how subjects are constituted in discourse, and how e.g. women are thought of, in regards to social categorization, i.e. which social categories are attached with greater importance than others, and what this structure of power relations implies. It is useful to think of policies as racializing, and as classing, always recognizing the incomplete nature of these processes. This way of thinking about policies as discursive practices that produce and reinforce specific categories of social being and specific patterns of social organization assists in working through some of the blockages in theorizing and in policy design caused by focusing on fixed identity categories (Bacchi & Eveline 2010).

2.4.2 Wording

Coming to terms with the correct wording of how to outline the different groups of women concerned in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 was a challenge. Terms such as third world/first world, developing countries/developed countries, global south/global north, and low income/high income countries, have all been considered carefully. However, none of them seemed to be fitting well. In accordance with Bacchi (2003), I have chosen to make use of the

terms One-Third world/Two thirds world, as it is a reminder that the West is actually a minority on the globe. According to The World Bank (2017), approximately 80 percent of the world's population lives on less than 10 US dollars a day. The term is relatively new, it is thought provoking and it is accurate. However, some theory builds on the western/non-wester term, and I will therefore make use of it in accordance to these.

2.5 Choice of theoretical framework

In this section, I will clarify what underlies my choice of theoretical framework (section 3 *Theoretical framework*), and how I intend to apply these in the analysis. Here I argue for my choice of making use of an intersectional approach as a tool to embrace complexities in inequality and social justice issues, and post-colonial feminist theory to contextualize the Danish government's response to UNSCR 1325.

2.5.1 The importance of an intersectional approach

The way we imagine discrimination or disempowerment is often more complicated for those who are subjected to multiple forms of exclusions, and intersectionality provides a way to see this. We have to broaden our scope of how we think about women and vulnerability as different contexts influences women's so-called vulnerability. The scholar who coined the term *intersectionality* Kimberlé Crenshaw explains, "*through an awareness of intersectionality, we can better acknowledge and ground the differences among us*" (Crenshaw 1991). Although this may appear to be a simplistic observation, it has important implications for feminist theory and practice since most feminist scholars focus not just on gender but also considers other social factors such as race or class. As a consequence of the diverse applicability, intersectionality has been embraced by various strands of feminist theory, providing a means of cooperation between scholars who have differing theoretical points of view. Intersectionality's heuristic introduces greater complexity into a variety of topics (Collins & Bilge 2016). This paper looks beyond what intersectionality is and how it should be defined, and works instead according to the theory that intersectionality is a fluent idea and thus constantly changing. Therefore, I emphasize the importance of examining how intersectionality has been used on a specific case instead of pursuing an exact definition of something as abstract as intersectionality. Generalizing about intersectionality based on a particular case or

group's experiences in a particular social context, risks missing the process of discovery that underlies how intersectional frameworks are actually used. Collins & Bilge (2016) explain, "*Attending to how intersecting power relations shape identities, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural representations and ideologies in ways that are contextualized and historicized introduces a level of complexity into everything*". By regarding gender not as a single category of social division but as one among many categories that work together and influence each other, helps to obtain a better understanding of the issues. Moreover, examining through the lens of intersectionality allows us to get around the phenomenon of so-called white feminism, i.e. advocacy for gender equality that ignores the unique experiences of women of color and other marginalized groups. When excluding women of color and other marginalized groups, feminism as an ideology becomes an oxymoron by privileging certain perspectives over others, which is exactly what it is opposing.

2.5.2 Post-colonial feminism

Post-colonial feminism allows us to contextualize the Danish government's understanding of women and gender equality in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 as the intersectional approach calls for. As will be demonstrated in the analysis further down, there are great resemblances with discourses found in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 and in UNSCR 1325. Both policies address women and gender in similar ways; however when it comes to embracing related social categories the outline of the NAP 2014-2019 is more limited. Post-colonial feminist theory is concerned with the One-Third world's representations of women in the Two-Thirds world. Post-colonial feminist critics raise a number of conceptual methodological and political problems in relation to studying representations of women (Tyagi 2014). Post-colonial feminism can be used to emphasize and analyze the impact of third world histories and western imperialism on racialized gender constructions within and across geo-political contexts. A central idea is the exposure and critique of western cultural and racial assumptions shedding light on universal use of the term *woman* to identify, assess, and diagnose representative subjectivity, patriarchal victimization, and feminist struggles in non-western contexts (Rosharavan 2014). Post-colonial feminism is key to the intersectional approach in this case study as it can help clarify differences and commonalities in regards to how women are represented in the Danish NAP 2014-2019. I argue that, including post-

colonial feminist theory as part of the comprehensive theoretical framework contributes to sharpening the view on diversified discriminations in Danish policies concerning the WPS agenda, more specifically the Danish NAP 2014-2019. Post-colonial feminism can thus help provide an answer to Bacchi's questions on how specific representations have come about, and what effects are produced by contextualizing the Danish government's response to UNSCR 1325 in regards to women and gender equality.

2.5.3 Linking intersectionality and post-colonial feminist theory

Post-colonial theory and intersectionality are currently among the most prominent approaches in critical social sciences, but little research have been done with the two as interrelating approaches. While the post-colonial-feminist approach focus on representations of Two-Third world women as viewed from the One-Third world's perspective, the intersectional approach analyzes the intersection of gender, race, and related categories, and criticizes blindness of the interconnection between these. This paper seeks to disclose a hierarchical subordination by disparate racial positions among women as represented in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 by sustaining that a closer dialogue between the two theoretical perspectives can contribute to improve upon the multiple discriminations and injustice that continues to dominate current political discourses.

2.6 Empirical Data & Research overview

At first glance, literature focusing on gender, peace and security are plenty (Skjelbæk & Smith 2001; Väyrynen 2007; Cohn 2008; Gizelis & Olsson 2015). However, looking deeper into this literature reveals that it focuses primarily on the WPS agenda. I.e. women's role is highly emphasized and implicitly equated with gender. Several scholars have focused on UNSCR 1325 from a critical point of view. To the knowledge of the author, the existing literature on the topic (Nduwimana 2004; Pratt & Richter-Devroe 2011; Jukarainen & Puumala 2014; O'Connor 2014; Coomaraswamy 2015) deals with the implementation on a global or transnational scale, and the lack of concrete actions, lack of allocation of funds and resources, and also lack of domestic view. Other criticism has been leveled against definitional matters, e.g. that gender is not actually defined in UNSCR 1325, rather it is taken for granted. It merely addresses women, thus equating women and gender, and excluding other genders who are vulnerable in conflict-affected areas such as persons who identify as transgender, non-binary,

or gender non-conforming. Moreover, the UNSCR 1325 does not deal with the fact that men can also be vulnerable and are likewise facing torture, killing, and sexual violence, both in the sense that they can be raped themselves, or that they are being forced to execute gender-based crime including sexual assault on others during armed conflict. For instance, men who are homosexual, bisexuals and transgender likewise constitute vulnerable groups in the context of armed conflict (Sivakumaran 2007).

Jukarainen & Puumala (2014) have examined the Nordic countries'⁹ implementation of UNSCR 1325 as a comparative evaluation, which is based on contrasting the Nordic countries' NAPs against one another, and pointing out differences in focal points, funding, and evaluation and monitoring, as well as identifying the best practices in their implementation. The evaluation focuses on concrete facts by making use of quantitative methods i.e. comparing specific numbers and statistics on the ground of an internet-based survey. However, the data on Denmark is limited compared to the other countries, since there are no official evaluation reports or shadow reports¹⁰. The statistical numbers on Denmark are also limited compared to those released by the other Nordic countries. Jukarainen & Puumala's evaluation confirms that the literature concerning Denmark's role on the UNSCR 1325 is very limited. However, Danish Institute for International Studies has examined Denmark's previous NAPs (2005; 2008) and draws on an intertextual understanding of how UN discourse assigns meanings to gender, protection, gendered violence, men and women, and how these meanings turn into social and physical realities (Rosamond 2014). Rosamond's report from 2014, aims to critically assess the United Nations WPS agenda in a Danish context. The analysis takes place against the backdrop of the shift towards military interventionism for strategic and human purposes, which according to Rosamond, defines much of modern global politics.

Despite the already existing work on the topic concerning UNSCR 1325 and the Danish NAPs, there are still gaps that need to be filled. As mentioned above, very little research has been done on the Danish role on the WPS agenda with a specific focus on the NAPs. The aim of this paper is to fill some of those gaps by focusing on how the representations of women in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 have come into existence, i.e. the importance of the genealogy. What makes this paper stand out is its specific focus on Denmark, and the approach to the WPS

agenda that does not just embrace women as a gender construction but through a comprehensive framework that considers interaction and power relations between different social categories.

2.7 Critiques and Limitations

In the following subsections I intend to account for critiques and limitations encountered during the working process of this paper. I will touch upon the difficulties of working with abstract definitions, reflections on the constructivist paradigm, and critique on post-colonialism.

2.7.1 Abstract terms and concepts

“Scholars across the globe regularly invoke and draw upon intersectionality, as do human rights activists, community organizers, political figures and lawyers. Any theory that traverses such trans-demographic terrain is bound to generate controversy and contestation” (Carbado 2013). When engaging in theoretical concepts such as gender and intersectionality, I found it difficult to define the terms, since realizing that none of them are fixed or definite concepts but rather fluent ideas that change over time and in different contexts. Due to the ambiguity surrounding the concept and the exact definition of intersectionality in addition to how it should be used, is a source of disagreement amongst feminist scholars. Nevertheless, as this paper argues, intersectionality is extremely significant for feminist theory and has made an important contribution to feminist scholarship. In the analysis further down, I address how the representation of women changes in relation to the context it is found within. I also examine what processes and negotiations that take place to create this idea of women in Danish policy on WPS, and simultaneously I seek not to define intersectionality, but rather accept its various forms by using intersectionality in accordance with Collins (2015) and Collins & Bilge (2016).

2.7.2 Constructivist paradigm

The approach chosen for this project comes within the constructivist paradigm, which means that I believe that all research is relativistic and interpretative. As a constructivist, I acknowledge that the interactions of states and other human institutions are shaped by constantly changing norms and identities, and that these per se are not fixed. On the contrary,

they are products of human interaction, understood in the sense that what we do on a daily basis, and how we talk about our ideas and beliefs evolve over time (Hurd 2009). Social, cultural, political, and economic issues cannot be understood properly without realizing that the social reality is constructed and reconstructed by how we act, think and talk about an issue (Hurd 2009). I seek to find a multifaceted understanding of the six research questions, and as a constructivist with a subjectivist approach to epistemology, I understand and accept that the already existing knowledge on the topic and my personal experiences as a white privileged woman analyzing third world issues, could influence the study. As a white woman, I am very much aware of the risk of pitfalls regarding white feminism, but as an anti-racist feminist, I believe that being conscious of these issues helps me get around the so-called white feminism. This acknowledgement includes not just the choice of method and theoretical framework, but also comprises the analytical section. This is part of the research paradigm and thus accepted; however I consider it evident to acknowledge that I myself am aware of it.

2.7.3 Post-colonialism feminism vs. western feminism

Since post-colonial feminism is a critique on western feminism, criticism on post-colonial feminism is often understood as a push back from western feminism. The western feminist movement criticizes post-colonial feminism for dividing women into smaller groups to address the unique qualities and diversity of each individual causing the entire movement of feminism to lose purpose and power. However, I believe that this can be proven wrong in accordance with intersectionality as explained further down. This criticism leveled against post-colonial feminism argues that it is divisive, and that the overall feminist movement will be stronger if women can present a united front (Loomba 1998). Another critique on post-colonial feminism is very much similar to the critiques that post-colonial feminism has on western feminism. Just as western feminism, post-colonial feminism is in danger of being ethnocentric, i.e. limited by only addressing what is going on in their own culture at the expense of other parts of the world. Moreover, colonialism also encompasses many different meanings and has occurred across the world within different timelines. Chatterjee (2016) argues that post-colonial perspective rejects "*holistic perspectives of the grand narrative of enlightenment, industrial revolution, and rationality render 'other' histories and people invisible under hegemonic constructions of truth and normalcy*". While post-colonial discourse has

brought significant expansion of knowledge regarding feminist work, an increasing number of scholars have begun to redress and criticize the field of post-colonial feminism developing a more comprehensive discourse termed trans-national feminism. Where post-colonialism emphasizes representations of othering, transnational feminism aids in understanding new, global realities resulting from migrations and the creation of transnational communities (Nadkarni 2017).

3 Theoretical Framework

In this section, I will elaborate on the theories applied in the analysis. First, a clarification of the relations between gender and politics, as well as gender and security is presented, followed by the theoretical framework encompassing post-colonial feminist theory and intersectionality. These particular theories are chosen with the purpose to shed light on how women are represented in the Danish NAP 2014-2019, and I believe that this theoretical framework can contribute to understanding not just how disparate representations of women have come into existence but also what it reveals about the Danish government's understanding of key issues in policies on WPS.

3.1 Gender & politics

Gender is conditional to social conditions of race, class, nation, etc., and as a concept it is pivotal to politics as gender inequalities are embedded in both the study and practices of politics. According to Celis et al. (2015), "*gender shapes the ways people organize, think, and know about the world*". It can be argued that gender is the point of departure for thinking about political science. First of all, it challenges existing political science in terms of its concepts, subject matter, and even its methods. Secondly, it demonstrates the diversity of the gender and politics scholarship, by embracing inter-disciplinarity and a variety of methods in ways that are unusual in political science. Finally, it shows that a great proportion of gender and politics scholarship has close links to the practice of politics, and feminism in particular, which traditionally is unusual within political science (Celis et al. 2015). Through times, there have been significant efforts and achievements, both in terms of increasing women's political representation and improving the opportunities for women scholars in the academy in general. However, just like elsewhere, these particular disciplines, are still male dominated (Celis et al. 2015).

Assumptions about women and men, and their respective roles in the public and private sphere still influence important issues in policy. These assumptions continue to affect what counts as politics and the political. Hence, they influence who is seen as suitable to be involved in politics; and what are appropriate issues, thereby excluding certain activities and actors, and embody particular notions of masculinity and femininity (Celis et al. 2015). Those advocating a politics of presence claim that women's experiences generate knowledge about women's problems and their solutions, and that women prioritize such issues. Several studies have confirmed that the presence of women does actually change decision-making and policies (Wängnerud 2000; Swers 2002; Celis 2006; Kittilson 2008; Schwindt-Bayer 2011). However, studies also point out obstacles on the route from descriptive to substantive representation; for instance, the fact that not all women want to represent women, or that a woman representative could never represent all women, because the narrow focus on women and sex differences often reflects an unexamined assumption that women constitute a homogenous group (Swers 2002; Celis 2008; Htun & Piscopo 2010). Other scholars are critical to the "add women and stir" approach arguing that the women added are typically expected to encompass certain forms of masculinities, and that nothing therefore is changing in regards to gender issues (Dharmapuri 2011; Tint 2004; Yuval-Davis 2006). Hence, to fully understand women's substantive representation, scholars have to inductively investigate critical actors for women and how different actors in various political sites define and construct women's issues and interests. Institutions and structures are not just gendered but also gendering, i.e. they produce the very gendered subjects of politics, and some feminist scholars have revealed how social power structures knowledge so that the way knowledge is defined and valued reinforces patterns of race, class, and gender inequality (Celis et al. 2015). I will elaborate on this further down in section 3.4 *intersectionality*.

3.2 Gender & Security

In this section, I will clarify the concept of security and account for the core political dynamics that emerge when gender and security are linked together. Security can be understood and explained in various ways; for instance it can be explained as "*freedom from danger, freedom from fear or anxiety or as something that secures or protects*", as

“national security” or in a more tangible way as *“the security check point at airports”* (Hansen 2013). Security moves across a field that includes a wide range of specific approaches including feminist security studies and gender analysis. Buzan et al. (1997) explains, *“Security is a special kind of politics or (as) above politics. Because security is a site of struggle, it is impossible to come to an agreement on how the concept should be defined”*. Hence, in order to view something as a matter of security it has to be regarded as an issue that is truly important to society. Throughout history, feminists have fought to get a more gender-sensitive approach into the political agenda, including the issue of women’s security and women’s role in security issues. A milestone in terms of women’s security issues was the adoption of UNSCR 1325, but even though security increasingly has been linked together with gender in recent years, there still seems to be some concerns as to how far security in practice has expanded beyond traditional studies of security. Hansen (2013) notes that security historically has dealt with military conflicts and their causes, while other studies examine the local impact armed conflicts have on soldiers and the civilian population. Gender relations really prove practicable when examining social relations within society in conflict and post-conflict situations. According to Hansen (2013), these social relations are assumed to return to normal in post-conflict situations. Through time, feminists have argued that what or who becomes a part of either public or foreign policy is bound to be gendered implying that some areas of security are not worthy of attention (Hansen 2013).

There is a of attention to the gendered experiences of women and girls in conflict-affected areas, such as famine, rape and forced prostitution. For instance, until recently, rape during or after conflicts has been regarded as expectable and somewhat acceptable (Hansen 2013). Additionally, Hansen argues that women and men are not equal referent objects in the eyes of the state, as *“the insecurity women experience is a product of unequal gendered structural relations”* (Hansen 2013). Hansen argues that there are two disparate discourses on how to deal with women victims of war crimes. For instance when it comes to transnational sex trafficking there is one discourse that regards them as victims of crime and another that treats them as illegal immigrants and thus partly responsible for the situation they find themselves in (Hansen 2013). This understanding of the issue fails to capture the complex negotiations of agency and subjectivity that trafficked women

articulate. As referent objects, women are likely to never appear by themselves, since women are often closely connected to the nation, an ethnic group, a religious community, class or ideology. Lene Hansen argues, “*women – and men – negotiate how these identities intersect, but as Cynthia Cockburn stresses, intersectionality is also at work at the macro level as structures and institutions of power impact which kind of referent objects can be argued politically*” (Hansen 2013). According to Hansen, women are subjected as being the soft, vulnerable and gentle heart of the nation. Moreover, religious and gendered identities often intertwine, such as the Taliban regime in Afghanistan that uses religious grounds to justify the restrictions of women (Hansen 2013). The referent objects are thus socially constructed and (re)produced through material and discursive practices, and the (re)production can come in form of everyday activities such as referring to soldiers as “*men*” or “*he*”. These practices might be hard to recognize because they are institutionalized into society and everyday life (Hansen 2013). Rape is used as a weapon in conflict situations to humiliate not only the women who are raped but also their men’s masculinity, as they are unable to protect their women (Hansen 2013). This clearly demonstrates how rape is instrumental in the way it constructs gendered and national identities among victims, survivors, raping soldiers and males on the other side. When using women as a referent object within politics it can raise a question on whether it is used to gain political power and support, which will be demonstrated in the analysis further below.

3.3 Post-colonial feminism

Post-colonial theory deals with a wide range of metaphysical, ethical, methodological and political concerns, including issues such as the nature of cultural identity, gender and related categories, and constitution of subjectivity. Post-colonialism seeks to articulate the oppressed consciousness of third world subjects according to the idea that imperialism initiated a process of internalization in which those subjected to it experiences economic, political and social inferiority, not merely in external terms, but also in a manner that affects the way they perceive their own identity (Edgar & Sedgwick 2008). Scholars have raised questions about the applicability of definitions of culture and humanity offered within the context of western cultural domination, or have elucidated the cultural bias inherent in particular forms of

European discourses (Said 1978; Bhabha 1990). Likewise, notions such as those of hybridity and diaspora have been developed in order to emphasize the notion of an implicit cultural diversity underlying the identities of post-colonial cultures. Within this context, theories of discourse and narrative have often been deployed as a means of articulating the distinctions between western and non-western culture, and in turn questioning its hierarchical superiority (Edgar & Sedgwick 2008). Post-colonialism as a term suggests resistance to colonial/western power and its discourses, which continues to shape various cultures. Thus, post-colonial theory focuses on subverting the colonizing, western discourses, which attempt to distort the experience and realities and ascribe inferiority to the third world in order to exercise total control. Hence, the task of post-colonial theorists is to place the often absent colonized subject into the dominant discourse in a way that it resists/subverts the authority of the colonizer (Tyagi 2014).

In *“Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses”* (1988) and *“Under Western Eyes Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles”* (2003), Chandra Mohanty argues that western feminists, organizations and institutions have taken a post-colonial form. Mohanty draws attention towards the idea that western scholars are colonizing non-western women through discourses, by generalizing and representing the women in a homogeneous way as the collective or peripheral other, because in order for the western world to define themselves as the center, they need the peripheral other. She points out that all texts, must be considered part of the political system, and that such writings have a political effect, which must be taken into consideration, as it is too easy to pass into a form of imperialism in the eyes of the third world (Mohanty 1988). Moreover, Mohanty points out, that what makes western feminist’s discourse pass into a form of imperialism, is the analytical fault of implicitly putting forward their own culture as the desirable outcome for any non-western society. Hence, the western world is presented as the normative, which the non-western world should thus strive to assimilate. This idea, she argues, is what exercises the power in the discourses and participates in creating the other (Mohanty 1988).

Classifications and stereotypes in the dominant discourse of the western countries produce a categorization of women in non-western countries, labeling them as poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, and victimized. This aspect however, fails to notice that their culture and

identity is complex and dissimilar. Western countries tend to ignore the intersectional perspective, and rather over-categorize non-western women without taking into account their different classes, ethnicity, needs, desires, and historical contexts (Mohanty 1988). According to Mohanty, western feminists have constructed a one-dimensional picture of powerless and oppressed Two-Third world women, who are in need of protection and a voice. Hence, her theory uncovers the idea that there exists a great ignorance towards the diversity of women (Mohanty 1988). According to her, third world women are seen as having the same problems and needs as first world women, hence they need the same solutions of development. This notion points out the lack of pluralism towards third world women. There is a need for investigating third world women as social agents within their own historical-, social-, cultural- and political context (United Nations 2002). If not doing so, women are reduced to a subject of gender identity, without regard to class or race (Mohanty 1988, 2003). Mohanty notes that there is no such thing as an easy generalization of women, since they are not one unified or homogenous group, but social agents within their own context with distinct problems, needs and desires based not on their categorization as third world women, but instead on the specific, yet constantly changing, situation they find themselves in, within that specific moment of time and place. This is backed by Inter-Agency Standby Committee (IASC) who states, "*Crises have different impacts on different groups*" and "*Women, girls, boys and men all have different experiences, needs, abilities and priorities in a crisis*" (Inter-Agency Standby Committee 2017). Mohanty (1988) argues that western discourses represent western women as women who have rights and equality, are liberated, and are in control of their own body and destiny. Moreover they are often educated and enjoy good jobs in contrast to the third world women, who are represented as poor, uneducated, victimized, and without control of their life, underpinning the western discourse, "*... they cannot represent themselves; they must be represented*" (Mohanty 1988). All together, this creates an overall discourse of third world women as in need of salvation, which I later on argue is the case of the women in conflict-affected areas as represented in the Danish NAP 2014-2019. Mohanty furthermore argues, that third world women are represented as victims of culture, which leaves them without historical context or agency, since they are being represented as victims not due to the social, historical, economic and political context they live in but simply because of the notion of the peripheral other (Mohanty 1988).

In her retrospective text from 2003, Mohanty notes that she wrote the first essay *Under Western Eyes* (1988) to elucidate a critique of western feminist scholarship on third world women through discursive colonization (Mohanty 2003). This retrospective piece deals with the criticism on her previous work, which according to her is based on misinterpreted understandings of the text (Mohanty 2003). At the heart of the original practice was the goal to make western feminists understand that the micro-politics of context, subjectivity, and struggle also shape feminist work in world systems and processes, i.e. not all women are the same, not all third world women are the same, and nor are the contexts they live within. She argues that difference is defined in terms of commonality and that recognizing and theorizing differences allows us to move toward universal concerns more fully (Mohanty 2003). Furthermore, she argues in favor of a *feminist solidarity model* alias *comparative feminist studies model* that understands women and girls in the context not geographically but in the reciprocal definition of the global and the local. In other words, there is potential for a unified feminism but it needs to be non-colonizing and based on solidarity across borders (Mohanty 2003). By focusing on differences, this should contribute to also intercept commonalities. The model understands women not just in relation to intersections of race, class, gender, nation, sexuality and related categories; rather it emphasizes the mutuality and complexity of these communities' histories across global and local scales, leading us to intersectionality.

3.4 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a tool to criticize simplistic uses of the social categories such as gender, class and race, and as a means for theorizing difference. Intersectionality is a fluent concept, and thus there is no final definition of the term; however, Collins & Bilge (2016) describe it as follows, "*Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race, gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves*".

The term *Intersectionality* has been around for years, and various scholars have sought to clarify what exactly the term encompasses (Crenshaw 1991; Yuval-Davies 2006; Davis 2008, 2014; Bilge 2012, 2013, 2014; Collins 2012, 2015), but still there is much confusion. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus that an intersectional approach bases its assumptions on the claim that social categories are interlinked. Hence, they operate not as unitary, mutually, exclusive entities, but rather as a reciprocally constructing phenomenon whose *raison d'être* lies in its assertiveness to power relations and social inequalities (Collins 2015). Intersectionality participates in the very power relations that it examines and therefore one must pay special attention to the conditions that makes its knowledge claims comprehensible. Intersectionality needs to be conceptualized both as reflecting and simultaneously shaping power relations.

Intersectionality is referred to as a concept, a paradigm, a heuristic device, a methodology, as well as a theory, and this discrepancy is generated as a consequence of how intersectionality is understood and utilized (Davis 2008). Since it constitutes a term that can be applied to a diverse set of practices, methodologies, interpretations, and political orientations, intersectionality cannot be assumed as a fixed body of knowledge, but rather as a fluent idea, which is constantly changing (Collins 2015). Hence, in order to understand what intersectionality is one must understand the question of the interpretive frames of intersectionality itself within the specific context. Variations of intersectional scholarship and practice can be found across interdisciplinary fields as well as within more traditional disciplinary efforts both within and outside the academy. Practitioners both search for and propose ideas that will explain their experiences with the social issues that are surrounding them. Scholars and practitioners might think they know intersectionality when they see it but still they conceptualize the term in quite different ways when they use it (Collins, 2015). Due to its complex composition and different ways of being understood and utilized, it is not viable to present a finished definition of intersectionality that can be used to determine whether a given law or practice fits within a preconceived intersectional framework. Ideas, fields of study, and practices, etc. are never finished, rather definitions emerge from more iterative, grassroots processes, which enable intellectual and political consensus to emerge through everyday life practices (Collins 2015).

Intersectionality can be treated and examined through three interdependent approaches that characterize the term: first, intersectionality as a field of study, second, intersectionality as critical praxis, and third, intersectionality as an analytical strategy (Collins, 2015). The praxis perspective does not separate scholarship from practice; rather scholarship provides theoretical frameworks that people are encouraged to apply to practice. Hence, scholarship and practice are recursively linked, with practice being fundamental to intersectional analysis (Collins 2015).

3.4.1 Intersectionality as a field of study

Intersectionality as a field of study invokes a broad sense of using intersectional framework to study a range of social phenomena (Collins & Bilge 2016). Since the early 2000's intersectionality has become a buzzword in regard to social inequality studies touching on various combinations of social categories, such as gender, race, class, etc. (Davis 2008), emphasizing its increasing acceptance as a field of study. The seemingly quick acceptance of intersectionality has brought along benefits as well as challenges. On the one hand, it has fostered a dynamism that has encouraged creativity within and across academic disciplines (Cho et al. 2013; Carbado et al. 2013). This means that intersectionality has been of importance not only to those fields typically associated with the term, such as women's studies, gender studies, race studies, cultural studies, and other interdisciplinary fields. Scholars within traditional social science disciplines, as well as those working within more applied fields, e.g. public policy have found intersectionality to be of value (Collins, 2015). On the other hand, the seemingly positive reception of intersectionality as a field of study raises the question of which aspects of intersectionality are finding acceptance and which are not. Edward Said (1978) has claimed that theories can lose their originality and critical stance as they travel from one domain to another. This means that one should neither define the field so narrowly that it reflects the interests of any one segment nor so broadly that its very popularity causes it to lose meaning. Knapp (2005) examines how fast traveling theories such as intersectionality often gain acceptance by "distilling" the complexity of its argument in ways that often misrepresent its original purpose. As mentioned above, Mohanty's retrospective piece from 2013 describes how her work on feminism has been misrecognized

and misappropriated within contemporary academic politics as a consequence of intersectionality's changing nature. In relation to intersectionality and its de-politicization, Erel et al. (2010) note that intersectionality's critical potential has been diminished precisely because of it traveling to new contexts. E.g. where the concept of intersectionality is used and race is included as an intersection, the understanding of race can often be Eurocentric and thus exclusionary. Erel et al. (2010) argue, "*Intersectionality here risks being reduced to a fashionable term that allows some people the power to define while avoiding the re-distribution of discursive and material power*". When intersectionality travels to other parts of the world, the question of Eurocentrism becomes even more relevant. Vrushali Patil points out that the race, class, and gender axis has different meanings depending on the context, and this affects the ability of the concept to travel without mutation and argues, "*Applications of intersectionality continue to be shaped by the geographies of colonial modernity*" (Patil 2013). The international colonialism, nationalism and global and local forms of patriarchy are questions that should be central, but often are not. The concept has slowly moved away from its radical beginnings and is becoming a "catch-all" approach used by feminists in very different ontological and epistemological positions (Salem 2016). This pluralism serves to erase the critical potential of intersectionality rather than enhance it. Through an articulation of intersectionality's genealogy it becomes possible to reclaim its radical beginnings in order to bring questions of race, class, sexuality, and so on, back to the center of analysis (Salem 2016).

3.4.2 Intersectionality as critical praxis

Intersectionality as critical praxis does the same as intersectionality as a field of study, but in ways that explicitly challenge the status quo and aim at transforming power relations (Bilge & Collins 2016). The connection between social justice and remedying complex social inequalities seems more prominent outside the academic settings than within them. Practitioners, such as social workers, policy advocates, community organizers, and NGO's are often frontline actors for solving social problems that are clearly linked to complex social inequalities. These professionals are encompassed by a social environment, which predisposes them to respond to intersectionality as critical praxis (Collins 2015). The practitioners often have an up close and personal relationship to the specific issue, such as

violence, hunger, homelessness, poverty, sexual assault, etc. (Collins 2015). Intersectionality is thus not simply a field of study to be mastered or an analytical strategy for understanding complex social inequalities. Rather, intersectionality as a form of critical praxis sheds light on the *doing* of social justice work. The types of actions that characterize intersectionality as critical praxis are vast. Collins (2015) states: “*Local, grassroots, small-scale, and/or temporary groups that draw upon intersectionality to guide their critical praxis can often escape public notice. Typically, these groups are composed of society’s overlooked populations, specifically the young, women, people of color, and poor people*”. As I will demonstrate in the analysis, this is also the case with the Danish NAP 2014-2019.

With its focus on analysis and action, intersectionality potentially provides an important and critical lens for Human Rights (Crenshaw 2000; Collins & Bilge 2016). The ideas expressed in UN’s 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights bear strong resemblance to strands of intersectionality that are aligned with social justice initiatives. Article 2 affirms that everyone are “*entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status*”. However, since social categories gain meaning only in relation to one another, actualizing Human Rights means transcending the limitations of a strictly legal statement of Human Rights (Collins 2015).

3.4.3 Intersectionality as an analytical strategy

“What makes an analysis intersectional is not its use of the term intersectionality, nor its being situated in a familiar genealogy, nor it’s drawing on lists of standard citations. Rather, what makes an analysis intersectional ... is its adoption of an intersectional way of thinking about a problem of sameness and difference and its relation to power” (Cho et al. 2013).

Bringing together the organizational principles of critical inquiry and critical praxis contributes in the use of intersectionality as an analytic tool by sustaining a focus on the synergy linking ideas and actions, on the interrelatedness of inquiry and praxis. Making use of a more expansive understanding of intersectionality potentially constitutes an important tool for political engagement (Collins & Bilge 2016). Hence, work at the intersections is an

approach to understanding human life and behavior based on the experiences and struggles of disenfranchised people. Moreover, it is an important tool linking theory with practice, which can contribute to the empowerment of communities and individuals (Dill 2002). The patterns of emphasis and the patterns of absence within intersectional scholarship provide a template for seeing the benefits and costs of legitimation for intersectionality as a field of study. Combining critical inquiry and praxis enables us to see through the hidden meanings by using intersectionality as an analytical strategy within the specific paradigm proposing that knowledge is not politically neutral. The benefits might be visible, but the costs are more difficult to identify without assessing how particular focal points advance not only the interests and careers of particular scholars, but also intersectionality as a broader knowledge project (Collins 2015). Intersectional projects moreover tend to embrace one, some combination or all of the following guiding assumptions: first, social categories such as race, class, gender, etc. are better understood in relation to one another rather than as isolated entities; second, the mutually constructing categories underlie and shape intersecting systems of power, e.g. power relations of racism and sexism are interrelated; third, intersecting systems of power catalyze social formations of complex social inequalities that are organized through unequal material realities and social experiences for people who live within it; fourth, because social formations of complex social inequalities are historically contingent and cross culturally specific, unequal material realities and social experiences vary across time and space; fifth, individuals and groups differentially positioned within intersecting systems of power have different points of view on their own and other's experiences with complex social inequalities, typically advancing knowledge projects that reflect their social locations within power relations; sixth, the complex social inequalities fostered by intersecting systems of power are fundamentally unjust, shaping knowledge projects and/or political engagements that uphold or contest the status quo (Collins 2015).

3.4.4 Applying intersectionality

Despite its omnipresence, intersectionality as critical praxis remains de-emphasized both within intersectionality as a field of study and within scholarship that draws on intersectionality as an analytical strategy. However, this may be partly accounted for, since these particular areas valorize studying or writing about intersectionality over practicing it.

Collins (2015) argues that scholars might know less about intersectionality as critical praxis simply because they fail to look for it. Furthermore, the lacking emphasis on intersectionality as critical praxis within academia most likely reflects efforts to avoid the implicit political implications of intersectionality itself. Here, the term *critical* is vital. Practitioners who are typically drawn to intersectionality as critical praxis seek knowledge projects that take a stand. Hence, such projects would criticize social injustices that characterize complex social inequalities, imagine alternatives, and propose viable action strategies for change (Collins 2015). The value of critical praxis reflects the norm of any given interpretive community. As mentioned above, intersectionality can travel across diverse interpretive communities - a shift that has extensive implications for intersectionality as critical praxis (Collins 2015). In conclusion, practitioners are equally if not more likely to put forth the innovative, cutting-edge intersectional analysis that will advance the field. In this context, intersectionality as a knowledge project faces the fundamental challenge of sustaining its critical edge. Holding on to creativity of this dynamic area of inquiry and practice yet finding common language that will be useful to its practitioners is the greatest definitional dilemma for intersectionality (Collins 2015). The three approaches to intersectionality are interdependent, which means that it is impossible to make a comprehensible analysis without taking them all into consideration. Developing the intersectional tool kit by including post-colonial feminist theory should contribute to reveal the Danish government's understanding of key issues in policies on women, gender and related categories in armed conflict. Making use of intersectionality as strategic analysis and examining both how intersectionality as a field of study and intersectionality as critical praxis have been applied, will contribute to clarifying how the Danish government understands key issues in policies on WPS, and further how these representations could be thought about differently in relation to the Danish NAP 2014-2019.

4 Introduction to analysis

4.1 Denmark: a struggle to maintain the equality status

According to Siim and Stoltz (2015), the nordic countries are known for being gender sensitive countries, and are some of the most gender equal societies in the world. However, in 2016, Denmark once again moved down the World Economic Forum's (WEF) Global Gender Gap Index's overall rankings, from number 14 to 19, compared to the previous year. Denmark remains top in the world when it comes to educational attainment, but since 2006, when it was ranked 8th overall, it has fallen considerably in other key indicators, such as economic participation and opportunity (from 19 to 34), health and survival (from 76 to 106) and political empowerment (from 13 to 29) (World Economic Forum 2016). Even though Denmark is still ranked relatively high on the index, which includes a total of 144 nations, these rankings spoil the roseate view of Denmark as a front nation in regards to equality and uncovers some cracks in the otherwise neat façade. After all, in 2017 Denmark was recently ranked as leading country in the *Commitment to Development Index* (CDI) elaborated by Center For Global Development (CGD). The CDI ranks 27 of the world's richest countries¹¹ on their dedication to policies that benefit people living in the Two-Thirds world. The countries are ranked according to seven different policy areas, including aid, finance, technology, environment, trade, security, and migration; all components which Denmark was considered to perform above average with the exemption of migration. The analysis elaborated by CGD moreover demonstrates that Denmark is among the few countries that meet the UN recommendation on contributing a minimum of 0.7 percent of their Gross National Income on foreign aid (United Nations 2016), and the quality of the Danish developmental cooperation is, according to CGD, considered to be first class (Center For Global Development 2017). Hence, regardless of its modest proportions, Denmark is highly regarded in relation to international developmental cooperation, and has positive experience in regard to gaining influence in international institutions such as the United Nations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark). Denmark has furthermore gained distinction in regard to its security policy area, as it was given the highest score (6.53) for being an important contributor to international peacekeeping missions and humanitarian efforts¹² (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017^b).

4.2 Overview of UNSCR 1325

UNSCR 1325 was adopted 31 October 2000, recalling UNSCR 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of UN President, and recalling also the statement of UN President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816). Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "*Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century*" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict. It was the first time the United Nations Security Council truly addressed the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women. UNSCR 1325 expresses concerns regarding, "*civilians particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons and increasingly are target by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation*" (United Nations, 2000). The UN agenda assumes gender equality to be a basic human right, and UNSCR 1325 identifies a range of policy objectives in the area of women (and children), peace and security. Among the key provisions are: Increased participation and representation of women at all levels of decision-making; attention to specific perspectives in post-conflict processes; gender perspective in UN programming, reporting, and in UNSC missions; and gender perspective and training in UN peace support operations. UNSCR 1325 recognizes the contributions women make in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and peace building. Additionally, it stresses the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents on peace and security. It calls on states to reinforce international humanitarian and Human Rights law, which protect the rights of women and girls during, during and after conflicts, and to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations. A great proportion of the resolution is focused on the significance of training peacekeepers in gender justice and recognizing the special needs and rights of women and children. Another key objective is to ensure that women are allowed to participate in local and national peace processes. This is coupled by the appointment of women as special representatives, and enhancing the contribution of women in UN field-based operations, and especially among

military observers, civilian police, Human Rights and humanitarian personnel, thus ensuring that operations include a gender perspective. The resolution has been under strong criticism, both in terms of furthering women's agency, but also regarding its ability to take punitive actions against perpetrators of gendered violence. Finally, it recognizes the need for special treatment and protection of women and girls.

4.3 Overview of Danish National Action Plan

The Danish NAP 2014-2019 provides a detailed exposition of initiatives, objectives, and actions performed in relation to the WPS agenda, and is the result of a co-operation between the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Danish Ministry of Defense, and the Danish Ministry of Justice. It emphasizes Denmark's commitment to gender equality, peace, and security, in accordance with the country's foreign policy commitment to gender justice within and beyond national borders. The objectives set in the Danish NAP are both short term as well as long term, and several of them are inter-textually linked with the key objectives of the UNSCR 1325. *International engagement* and *gender equality* are stressed as key policy priority areas for the Danish government; areas that aim to secure peaceful and just societies, particularly by protecting the rights of those who are most vulnerable (Denmark's National Action Plan, 2014). It is further emphasized that there can be no sustainable peace without the full and equal participation of women, and that women are a great resource for their communities, and in efforts to achieve sustainable development and peace. Moreover, it is stated that the Danish development co-operation combines a promotion of Human Rights and justice with the fight against poverty (Denmark's National Action Plan, 2014). The current Danish NAP comply with the broad goals of the UN's WPS agenda as well as those of the previous Danish NAPs (2005; 2008) by sustaining that the *"full and equal participation of women at all levels of conflict resolution, peace building and reconstruction is the only way to ensure that societies emerging from conflict are built on fundamental respect for the rights, needs and contributions of women and girls. The principles of protection and participation therefore go hand in hand"* (Denmark's National Action Plan, 2014). The Danish NAP 2014-2019 focuses on eleven countries in Africa¹³ and Asia¹⁴. These countries have been selected on grounds of concrete conflicts on the time of the policy-making, combined with countries that traditionally is or have been priority countries of Denmark. Denmark has adopted a

whole-of-government approach to engagements in the WPS agenda and the NAP 2014-2019 and the three ministries¹⁵ are each responsible for actions within their field. These actions are likewise compartmentalized in the respective sections of the Danish NAP 2014-2019. The majority of the overview of actions include bilateral and multilateral cooperation, a section on regional programs, and finally the Danish NAP 2014-2019 mentions humanitarian operations and the role of Danish NGOs, and encourages them to work in line with Inter-Agency Standby Committee's Gender Standby Capacity Programme's (GENCAP) guidelines and gender markers.

5 Analysis

When policies are described as gender equality initiatives, it is necessary to see just what meanings are attached to this term gender equality. A WPR approach to policy analysis assists in this task. The analysis will be structured by Bacchi's approach to policy analysis. Bacchi's questions have been adapted to this specific case study, and serves to examine which role intersectionality plays in regard to how women are represented in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 for the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and what this reveals about the Danish government's understanding of key issues in policies on WPS, in accordance with the problem formulation.

5.1 What is the problem with women in peace and security issues represented to be in Denmark's NAP?

This following section is based on Bacchi's commonsense understanding that what we propose to do about something reveals what we think needs to change and hence what we think the problem is (Bacchi 2009). Examining the Danish NAP 2014-2019 by digging deeper into the meaning of the policy reveals various implicit problems that the Danish government aims to fix in relation to the WPS agenda. In this section, I identify three interrelated problem representation, namely gender, a women's issue, and our women versus their women. Finally, I will shortly summarize the focal points from section 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and 5.1.3, and identify commonalities found within these problem representations.

5.1.1 Gender

First and foremost, since there seems to be a specific need for policies on peace and security that exclusively concern women and their role during and after armed conflict, gender must be understood as a problem. This includes gender relations and gender equality in relation to peace and security, both on a global level as well as a national level. Among others, this relates to the UNSCR1325 on a global level as well as attendant Action Plans on a more national level. In Denmark's current NAP it is stated that gender equality is one of the Danish government's key priorities; the government stresses this further by arguing, *"Inclusive and equal societies are essential to prevent continued violence and foster sustainable peace"*. Gender as a focal point is highlighted throughout the current Danish NAP, and terms such as *gender equality, gender perspective, gender aspects, gender sensitive*, and similar phrases are outlined no less than 84 times. Yet, a specification on e.g. gender equality criteria or a mere definition of gender as a term is nowhere to be found in the current (nor the previous) Danish NAP nor does the Danish government have an official definition of these terms, as is the case in likeminded neighbor countries such as Sweden and Norway (Government Offices of Sweden, 2017; Ministry of Children and Equality, 2013). Throughout the Danish NAP, gender seems to be a substitute for women since the "add women and stir" approach is emphasized as the solution. The fact that women's and men's roles are so distinctly categorized within the Danish NAP 2014-2019 as well as in the UNSCR 1325, discloses an understanding of gender based on biological grounds, rather than social and cultural roles of each sex within a given society as is traditionally related to gender. According to the World Health Organization, the term gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men. Sex on the other hand, refers to the anatomically and physiological differences between men and women (World Health Organization, 2017). Gender is thus a more fluent idea and varies from society to society, i.e. the concept changes in relation to time and space in the same way as intersectionality when understood as a traveling theory. However, gender roles in particularly patriarchal societies, which is often the case in conflict-affected areas, for instance in the countries outlined in the Danish NAP 2014-2019, seems to be much more rigid than those in more liberal countries, such as Denmark. Still, even in patriarchal societies where traditional gender roles persist, changes can occur very quickly. Through the NAP 2014-2019, the Danish government seems to understand gender inequalities within the peace and security agenda as

a problem that needs to be fixed, and this inequality could according to the Danish response on UNSCR 1325 be fixed by including more women in peace processes.

5.1.2 A women's issue

Women's empowerment is discursively constructed and articulated over wording throughout the Danish NAP 2014-2019. The Danish government emphasizes the importance of women's participation in peace processes by sustaining that *"the full and equal participation of women at all levels of conflict resolution, peace building and reconstruction is the only way to ensure that societies emerging from conflict are built on fundamental respect for the rights, needs and contributions of women and girls"*. Concurrently with the Danish NAP 2014-2019, focusing on women's participation and a strong focus on protecting women and girls is a recurring motif throughout the Danish NAP. Thus, there seems to be a dichotomous understanding throughout the NAP that women are *"vulnerable"* and in need of *"protection"*, i.e. victims; but simultaneously women are also mentioned as *"a great resource for their communities and countries"*, and thus represented as agents of change. Victimization and empowerment of women are thus both discursively constructed through specific articulations within the text. This problem representation is very much in line with UNSCR 1325 and the heavy critique this resolution has received as mentioned above in section 2.6 *Empirical Data & Research Overview*. Elaborating a policy that deals exclusively with women's rights, implies not only that there is an imbalance in the power relations between men and women; it likewise represents the problem as a women's issue, hence placing the responsibility for *"fixing"* this problem on the women themselves. I argue that due to the composition of the Danish NAP 2014-2019, since it focuses solely on women's role during and after armed conflict, and represents women both as vulnerable i.e. victims and at the same time as a great resource for their communities and countries i.e. agents. Men and boys are mentioned very few places in the Danish NAP 2014-2019. For instance, in the *"Guidance for interventions during the coming 5-year period (2014-2019)"*, it is mentioned that the Danish Government supports GENCAP's vision to *"ensure that the distinct needs of women, girls, boys and men of all ages are taken into account in humanitarian action at global, regional and country levels"*. However, the Danish NAP 2014-2019 consistently focuses on how women (and girls) can improve their own conditions rather than including also how to change the patriarchal mentality that is a contributing factor in the imbalanced power relations between the men and women. In order

for women to gain power, men must be willing to share it more equally. The Guidance also states that focus on the roles of men and boys in fragile and post-conflict situations add value to a gender analysis. Still, a focus on the roles of men and boys is only to be found very few places in the Danish Government's response to UNSCR 1325. Words such as *men*, *boys*, and *male* appear few (16) times throughout the Danish NAP 2014-2019, as opposed to *women*, *girls*, and *female(s)* that are mentioned 180 times. The very limited number of references to men and boys' roles in regard to the WPS agenda underpins the argument that the Danish government understands the issue not as a gendered issue, but rather as a women's issue, which must be solved by women themselves. Meaning the responsibility is put on women to participate, act as role models for other women, and gain power within societal and institutional patriarchal systems.

5.1.3 Our women versus their women

In the Danish NAP 2014-2019 the Government distinguishes between conflict-affected women and Danish women employed as police officers and military personnel in these conflict-affected areas. As I will elaborate on more profoundly further down in the analysis, these two categories of women are represented very differently, and elucidates clearly a colonizing discourse, which proposes the One-Third world (Danish) women as the center or norm, while the Two-Third world women (conflict-affected women) are represented as the peripheral other, i.e. the ones in need. Hence, this problem in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 is represented not just as an issue concerning power relations between men and women but proposes also that there is a disparity and an imbalance in the power relations between Danish women and third world women situated in armed conflict zones. Intersecting categories of gender, race and class is thus applied in a way that does not empower and takes into consideration the distinct needs of different women in different contexts, but is used as othering in a way that creates the Danish women as the norm, and the conflict-affected women as the peripheral other with no agency of their own, hence our "women" and "their women". Hence, women in the Two-Thirds world and their lack of ability and knowledge are regarded as a problem that needs to be fixed in order for conditions in these countries to improve. A key aspect in regard to the vocabulary is that the third world women always are represented as vulnerable i.e. victims who are incapable of making a change, and therefore in need of being saved, whereas the Danish women are represented as such saviors. For instance, in page 24 it is stated that Danish female police officers should train local female

police officers, or in page 25 as it states that “*female police officers are deployed to areas and missions, where cultural conditions would normally make it impossible for local female police officers to work, in order to positively influence the perception of female police officers*”.

5.1.4 Summary

Keys for the abovementioned problem representations are different concepts of inequality with women consistently represented as the inferior gender. The lack of women in peace and security issues is recognized in the UNSCR 1325 and the attendant Danish NAP 2014-2019, but how this issue should be solved is understood in different ways. Women are regarded as feasible agents with untapped potential in relation to security and peace processes. However, in order for the women to act out on this potential, external sources must assist them. The issues are thus not regarded as gendered issues but rather as a women’s issue, understood in the sense that it is up to women to solve this, thereby placing the responsibility of the situation they are situated in. However, nowhere is men’s role mentioned, which is evident since it seems to be patriarchal values that are keeping the women down in these victimized roles. However, these power relations are also found within the dichotomy of gender, understood in the sense that the Danish NAP 2014-2019 distinguishes between the Danish women (female police officers and military personnel) and conflict-affected women. These two groups are represented in very distinct ways. Whereas the Danish women are regarded as subjects to gender inequality on a national level, i.e. disparity in regards to gender division in the Danish police and armed forces; the Danish government has created another discourse on the conflict-affected women as uneducated, powerless victims of patriarchal societies who need role models (the Danish women) in order to become empowered. Propounding a hierarchical structure where men are regarded as the highest followed by Danish women in the middle layer, and conflict-affected women are placed in the very bottom of the power relations. Intersections of gender and related categories such as race, class, and ethnicity are thus utilized to create specific social constructions or representations of One-Third world and Two-Thirds world’s women, in accordance with post-colonial feminist discourses.

5.2 What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?

According to Bacchi, governments are expected to react to problems and trying to solve them. The notions proposed here emphasize that specific ways of thinking about a problem impose a particular interpretation of the issue. This means, governments create problems rather than reacting to them in the sense that they produce particular stereotypical narratives of what the problem is. In this section, I seek to identify and address the presuppositions or assumptions underlying the representation of the problem outlined in the previous sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2, and 5.2.3.

5.2.1 Add women and stir:

The Danish NAP 2014-2019 refers to numbers from UN women stating that women in conflict-affected countries make up 16.4 percent of parliamentarians on average, compared to 21 percent globally. The Danish government thus attempts to legitimize 21 percent as standard of gender equality within the context of conflict-affected areas, which is far from the ideal if the benchmark for full equality means a 50/50 divide. Simultaneously, it is sustained that the minimum standards of Danish female police officers deployed to international missions is 10 percent of the total number of deployed officers, i.e. a highly uneven allocation amounting to a 10/90 division of women and men. However, in the Danish NAP these numbers are the Danish government's aim in regard to the inclusion of women in processes of peace and security. Hence, these numbers clearly demonstrate that gender equality still has a long way to go as understood by the Danish government. The Danish solution to the issue of women's lacking participation in peace and security issues reflects the so-called "add women and stir" approach. Hence, by including more women, the active participation level should equally increase. However, this approach is not very gender sensitive since it does not take into consideration different forms of masculinities and femininities, but rather focuses on sex differences. This is in accordance with critics of the add women and stir approach, such as Dharmapuri 2011; Tint 2004; Yuval-Davis 2006, arguing that the women added are typically expected to encompass certain forms of masculinities, and that nothing therefore is changing in regards to gender issue. Hence, it does not take into consideration whether the women added into these processes does actually represent certain forms of masculinities, and thus

changing nothing in the problematic understandings of gender. Another issue with the add women and stir approach is that power relations do not necessarily change just by including more women. For instance, according to UN women's country profile on Kenya, 80 percent of Kenyan women are engaged in small holder farming but only 1 percent of them own land in their own right, less than 10 percent access available credit, and less than 1 percent of agriculture credit (UN women Africa: Kenya). This means that even though a great portion of the Kenyan women take part in smallholder farming, they do not necessarily have voice. One could even go as far as to claim that quota systems are an appeasement tool used to stall measures aimed at transforming society and traditional attitudes towards women. However, gender analysis has shown that when women are included in peace negotiations and decision-making, there are more moderate voices advancing the interests of the most marginalized groups. The inclusion of women in consultations makes it likely that more members of a society will benefit from stabilization efforts (Dharmapuri 2011). Finally, recognizing gender differences can be considered an important step forward in understandings of equality, since it marks an advance on the dominant model of equal treatment enshrined in anti-discrimination law (Bacchi 2009). The Danish NAP 2014-2019 represents gender equality to be a matter of extending equal opportunities to women. It thus produces women as individuals who have fewer opportunities than men to access existing occupations and positions of influence, and who need additional opportunities. It therefore rests upon an assumption that gender equality means integrating women into the social and political status quo.

5.2.2 Women: active agents or passive victims

In section 5.1 different aspects of power relations within a hierarchical structure was revealed as problem representations: a gendered imbalance between men and women in conflict resolution, peace building, reconstruction, etc. was represented as a consequence of a lack of full and equal participation of women at all levels of peace processes, and should thus be solved through empowerment of women. It was further established that a disparity and imbalance could be found between women, namely a distinction was made between One-Third world women (Danish female police officers and military personnel) and Two-Thirds world's women (those living within the conflict-affected areas). The latter are represented as powerless victims in need of saving, whereas the Danish women are represented as

empowered, enlightened role models who have rights and equality, are liberated, and are in control of their own body and destiny. I.e. Danish women are represented as strong independent women and agents of change, while the third world women are represented as victimized, sexually abused, uneducated, voiceless and without control of their own life as proposed by Mohanty (section 3.2.1 *Post-colonial feminism*). Even though the Danish government states, “*Principles of protection and participation go hand in hand*” as if this concerns all women, a closer look into the Danish NAP 2014-2019 reveals that in fact this speaks out to different groups of women: protection of the conflict-affected women, while participation relates more to the Danish female police officers and military personnel set out for these areas. Women and children in conflict-affected areas are moreover represented as one collective group, producing a narrative of women as childlike beings and their power as active agents are thus diminished and ranked alongside children who need someone to protect and help them. By articulating women as vulnerable and in need of protection, the women’s agency is likewise diminished. Instead of empowerment, discursive constructions such as “*protection of the most vulnerable – i.e. women and children*” are enforcing the narrative of conflict-affected women as powerless victims, simultaneously maintaining their inferior position as victims. By representing the Two-Thirds world women in this way, the Danish government implicitly represents itself as being the opposite, because if what identifies ‘them’ from ‘us’, must necessarily be different to make sense of the categorization. Hence, in order for the One Third world to define itself, they need the peripheral other. In accordance with Mohanty, the Two-Thirds world women are double marginalized and represented as victims of culture by leaving them without historical context and agency. Hence, they are represented as victims not because of the context they live in with historical- and political background but simply because of their geographical positions in Two-Thirds world, conflict-affected areas.

5.2.3 Summary

As mentioned above, the Danish NAP focuses not only on women or gender as the issue but produces also discursive colonization of Two-Thirds world’s women’s lives, needs and struggles in accordance with Mohanty’s theory on post-colonial feminism. Other social categories, such as race and class, thus also come into play creating an intersectional framework for the problem representations. The Danish NAP generalizes and represents

Two-Thirds world women with different social, historical, political, economic contexts, in a homogeneous way as the collective or peripheral other, where the Danish women employed as military personal are considered to be the norm, which third world women i.e. the conflict-affected women should strive to be like. Through the Danish NAP, the Danish government recognizes the need for special treatment and protection of women and girls, hence victimizing women on biological grounds. As in the UNSCR 1325 several phrases in the Danish NAP mentions “women and children” as one whole, e.g. *“Protection of the most vulnerable – i.e. women and children – is at the centre of our humanitarian engagements”*. Third world women’s agency is thus diminished to be on par with childlike characteristics. By presenting a discourse on women and in particularly third world women in conflict-affected areas as vulnerable and in need of protection, the NAP is victimizing third world women by producing and reproducing patriarchal and colonizing discourses. Presuppositions or assumptions underlying the representations of the problem bases thus on patriarchal and post-colonial discourses putting forward women as inferior, and that there is a disparity among women, placing Danish women above the third world women. Through the NAP, an assumption of hierarchical dimensions appears; i.e. a hierarchical structure where men are the superior, Danish women are positioned below the men but still above the Two-Thirds world women.

5.3 How has this representation of the problem come about?

This research question invites us to conduct genealogies of the problem representation by embracing two interconnected objectives. The first is to reflect on the specific developments and decisions, i.e. the non-discursive practices, which has contributed to the development of the problem representations. The second is to recognize that competing problem representations exist both over time and across space, and hence that things could have developed differently (Bacchi 2009). By identifying specific points where key decisions were made, and thus taking an issue in a particular direction, reveals that the problem representations are conditional and hence responsive to change.

5.3.1 From the global to the local

As mentioned above in section 3.2 *Linking Security & Gender*, feminists have fought throughout history, to get a more gender-sensitive approach into the political agenda. However, it was not until the adoption of UNSCR 1325 that the women’s role, in security and peace issues in earnest, was recognized as a focal point to the political agenda. The UNSCR

1325 was thus a decisive factor in placing the WPS agenda on a global level. By encouraging Member States such as Denmark to adopt and implement the resolution was the first step toward incorporating this “new” perspective into peace and security issues. When the Danish government five years later committed themselves to UNSCR 1325 through the adoption of the first NAP, the gendered inquiry was slowly getting a grip on the local level. For a country like Denmark, which boasts of being one of the most gender equal and gender sensitive countries (section 2.2.2 *Denmark and Danish policy*), this commitment came as no surprise. However, the way the government non-critically has interpreted and understood the UNSCR 1325 can be questioned. For instance, the Danish NAP 2014-2019 takes no note of the heavy criticism that the UNSCR 1325 received in regards to definitions of terms such as gender and sex as mentioned earlier. The NAP seeks to empower women particularly through participation in peace and security issues, for instance by adding more women to the police and military forces. The UN Guidelines on Women’s Empowerment proposes, “*reaffirming the important role of women in prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building*”, and further “*stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution*”. The overall problem representation of women as the problem, be it the lack of women participating in the various phases of conflict resolution, or the lack of training in peace and security issues, some women may internalize the message that it is they who lack some ability or skill. In this way the subject position of ‘untrained worker’ in the policy can affect some women’s self-perception, leading them to see themselves as responsible in some way for their failure to succeed as noted by Bacchi (2010). It is important to note that political subjects may either take up or refuse ‘subject positions’. Some women might be skeptical of the proposal that it is their lack of skill, which explains their failure. The idea of subjectification, therefore, is not deterministic, but rather the emphasis is on various meanings and contestation suggesting once again that the interrelation between social categories is of vital importance when elaborating such policies.

5.3.2 Western imperialism: a legacy

Due to its status as being one of the most gender equal and gender sensitive countries in the world focusing on promoting human rights and justice, Denmark is no exemption to imperial

powers. This should be understood in the sense that even though Denmark places developmental aid efforts relatively high on the agenda, the humanitarian discourse outlined in the Danish NAP as “*efforts*”, “*assistance*”, “*engagements*”, “*actions*”, and “*responses*” respectively, implies a western form of imperialism, in accordance with Mohanty as explained in section 3.3 *Post-colonial feminism*. According to Mohanty, what makes western feminist discourse pass into a form of imperialism is the analytical fault of implicitly putting forward their own culture as the desirable outcome for the Two-Thirds world societies. Hence, the western world is presented as the norm, which the Two-Thirds world should thus strive to assimilate. This form of imperialism is reflected various places in the Danish NAP. For instance, in the Danish NAP it is stated that the Danish National Police will “*Ensure that female police officers are also deployed to areas and missions, where cultural conditions would normally make it impossible for local female police officers to work, in order to positively influence the perception of female police officers*”. Here, the Danish women are represented as role models for the conflict-affected women.

Even though the conflict-affected women’s gender is represented as the problem, the Danish female officers gender is regarded as unproblematic because of their western superiority. They are thus regarded as agents who have rights and equality, are liberated, and are in control of their own body and destiny, i.e. the desirable outcome, while the conflict-affected women are represented as voiceless, victimized, and without control of their life backing the narrative that they cannot represent themselves and therefore they must be represented. Another example in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 is that “*incorporating the gender perspective*” was translated into concrete efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq, where “*local female police officers were trained by deployed Danish female police officers*”. The idea is that what exercises the power in the discourses and participates in creating the peripheral other while Denmark as a western country is placed as the center of desirable norms and values. Post-colonial feminism is thus used to emphasize and analyze the impact of Two-Thirds world’s histories and western imperialism on racialized gender constructions within and across geo-political contexts. As mentioned in section 2.5.2 *Post-colonial feminism*, the central idea is to expose and criticize western cultural and racial assumptions shedding light on universal use of the term *woman* to identify, assess, and diagnose representative subjectivity, patriarchal victimization, and feminist struggles in Two-Thirds world contexts. Identifying discourses of

western imperialism and post-colonialism substantiates the arguments of the oppressed consciousness of the third world women. According to the idea that imperialism initiated a process of internalization, in which those subjected to it, experiences economic, political, and social inferiority not merely in external terms, but also in a manner that affects the way they perceive their own identity. It thus becomes embedded in the conflict-affected women's self-perception that they do not have agency and thus depend of western/Danish women to lead the way to a life with rights and equality.

5.3.3 Intersectional approach or the lack thereof

As mentioned in the previous section, there are various examples in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 that shed light on power relations between men and women, and more importantly among different groups of women. The latter supports the understanding that gender, as a social category, cannot stand alone but must be regarded as part of a more comprehensive framework as explained above. Instead power relations are in earnest developing and giving meaning to complex issues or situations – like women's role in a historically male dominated field such as security issues – when linking gender to e.g. class, race, or ethnicity. In this case, these social categories affect women's roles by discursively constructing Two-Thirds world women as victims and Danish women active agents. Even though the Danish NAP 2014-2019 at first glance contemplates a gendered issue, namely the lack of including women into security and peace issues, there are also a clear disparity on the role that the Danish women and the conflict-affected women referred to in the Danish NAP are given. I.e. the Danish government has taken on an intersectional approach in the policy-making process by recognizing that not all women are the same. However, despite this keen observation, the Danish government still fails in their way of applying the intersectional approach as an analysis strategy. For instance, dividing women into groups of Danish women versus conflict-affected women, or western versus Two-Thirds world, the government is producing colonizing discourses, and this is evident throughout the Danish NAP 2014-2019. As an example, we can take a look at how Danish women are referred to as Police officers and Military personnel whose role regarding the WPS agenda is to educate or train conflict-affected women, indicating that the conflict-affected women can become as enlightened as the Danish women who have rights and equality and are empowered. The problem for the Danish women is thus represented merely conditional to the number of women in the police and military force, which could be solved through the “add women and stir” approach. The Danish

NAP 2014-2019 furthermore refers to the Diversity Policy of 2011 launched by the Danish Ministry of Defense proposing that, “*tasks given are best solved with diverse employee group, comprising multitude of abilities, competences and perspectives*”. One of the main focus areas of the Diversity Policy is to increase the number of women employed as military personnel, both by recruitment, retention and career building. This, once again, stresses that the Danish government’s understanding of mainstreaming a gender perspective that includes women on all levels of the peace and security agenda is equalized with the “add women and stir” with no regard to context or gender related social categories, This clearly conflicts with Bilge and Collins (2016) who argue that conditions of social and political life cannot be understood as shaped by one single factor, since different social categories work together and influence each other in praxis.

5.3.5 Summary

In this section, I sought to disclose how the problem representation identified in the outset of the analysis has come about. Since policy according to Bacchi must be understood as a cultural product, the problem representation of women’s inequality is formed within historical, national and international contexts. The analysis demonstrates how women’s equality is understood quite differently in different contexts. For instance, Danish women are represented as active agent and the gender equality they experience is represented as disparity within the division of sexes. On the other hand, conflict-affected women are represented as victims whose gender inequality is linked to their lack of agency, again stressing Mohanty’s interpretation of the western policy-makers understanding that “*they cannot represent themselves; they must be represented*” (1988). The intersectional approach proposing that different situations are understood differently in different contexts, contemplates that there are no preexisting problems, only implied problems, and that these play an important role to how we are governed, accordingly to Bacchi (1999, 2009, 2010).

5.4 What is left unproblematic in this representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?

These research questions urge for careful scrutiny of possible gaps or limitations in this representation of the problem, accompanied by inventive imagining of potential alternatives.

The questions open up a space to imagine different futures but always with a commitment to examine proposals for their ways of problematizing matters.

5.4.1 Intersectionality as an inclusive factor

The Danish NAP 2014-2019 depends mainly on top-level inquiry and practices, while the role of the civil society, also known as the third sector, is strictly limited. It is evident to partner up with civil society organizations as they advance desirable outcomes and ideals of developmental work within the society. Inviting stakeholders of civil society, such as local NGO's and women's organizations holds first hand knowledge of gendered practices as well as contextual understandings of the respective countries, contributes on intersectionality as praxis. Out of the current Danish NAP's 32 pages, the role of Danish NGO's is accounted for in only three lines, encouraging relevant organizations to work in line with IASC GENCAP guidelines and use their gender markers. Solely in the paragraph concerning the Regional Development and Protection Program, Syria/Lebanon/Jordan is the support of local NGO advocacy explicitly outlined. However, civil society organizations do not seem to have been part of the policy-making process which according to Bilge and Collins (2016) otherwise could have contributed to an intersectional approach as critical praxis. Civil society into the policy-making process hence opens up for an inclusive intersectional research and policy practice. Moreover, external evaluations from civil society organizations are more or less non-existent. This might be due to the fact that the Danish government has allocated no funds to such evaluations (Rosamond 2014). The government is evaluating the Danish NAP 2014-2019 themselves, which provides them with no new input or criticism that needs to be taken into account in order to elaborate an policy that works not just as inquiry but also in practice. In addition, gender equality policies and policies of importance to women are defined not only by feminism, women's movement organizations, and women's policy agencies but also by issues; the extent that women's organizations are included in policy-making processes has shown to be highly issue-specific. Hence, those subjected to the policy should also be included in the policy-making process rather than silenced in order to evoke its full potential. With its feminist intake, the Danish government must consistently be conscious of how they draw lines of inclusion and exclusion through policies, and how specific concepts are used to include and/or exclude different entities. Here the interrelation between intersectionality as a field of study, as critical praxis, and as strategic analysis are extremely useful concepts as they

address relationships of power within social categories and thus contributes to a better understanding of the complexities that is involved in critical issues such as armed conflict and how this affects different people in different contexts differently. Hence, enabling more focused initiatives, increasing the efficiency in the actual areas. For instance, women in conflict-affected areas such as Nepal, Occupied Palestinian territories and South Sudan, do not necessarily have the same struggles and needs, just like women within each country may have different struggles and needs depending on their specific context they exist. This is where intersectionality plays an evident role, by taking into account the various social categories that are conclusive for their situation and thus how it can be improved.

5.4.2 Domestic insight

As pointed out earlier, Denmark is regarded as one of the most gender sensitive countries in the world. In the current Danish NAP, the government emphasizes their commitment to gender equality as a focal point in the agenda. However, there seems to be a discrepancy between the Danish government's self-awareness as one of the most gender equal countries and the unequal gender division in the Danish National Police as well as in the armed military forces; or maybe rather, the understanding of what is regarded as full equality and participation within these institutions. As mentioned previously, the aim to increase the share of Danish female officers deployed in international missions is set to a minimum of 10 percent of the total number of deployed officers. One of the main purposes of UNSCR 1325 and the attendant Danish NAP 2014-2019, is to bring into focus the specific challenges that women face on grounds of their gender. This includes, among others, violations such as gender-based violence and sexual assault. The Danish NAP 2014-2019 mentions solely these violations in relation to conflict-affected women, but fails to mention that such violations take place all around the world and in different layers of the society, Denmark included. Several cases in recent times have shown that these violations also take place within UN peacekeeping missions. For instance, in several cases UN peacekeepers have been charged for sexually abusing women and girls during peacekeeping missions, including missions in Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, and Liberia (Anderlini 2009). Within the Danish society similar tendencies are no exception. For instance, in the second quarter of 2017, 6462 attempted rapes were reported to the police (Statistics Denmark 2017). Hence, gender-based violence, discrimination, and sexual assault are evidently not restricted to be carried out

solely on women in the Two-Thirds world. However, the Danish government fails to mention this domestic insight in the Danish NAP 2014-2019. These issues therefore are passed off as unproblematic in national correlations when not articulating – and thus silencing – these societal important issues in the policy concerning the WPS agenda. Silencing the fact that Danish women experience some of the same challenges as conflict-affected women living within conflict-affected areas, further produces post-colonial narratives of unequal power relations, where the Danish women are represented as having overcome these challenges and are thus empowered compared to conflict-affected women who still suffer gender-based violations and needs the strong, empowered Danish women to come to their rescue. At the same time, silencing national societal issues such as sexual assault and gender-based violence rejects the claim that such things occur within the domestic area. Danish women as active agents and conflict-affected women as victims are thus discursively constructed through these silences. This could simply be thought about differently by articulating these challenges that women meet on grounds of their gender irrespective of social categories such as nationality, class, and race. Hence, focusing on promoting gender equality not just abroad but also to look inward to how these gendered issues also impact women domestically.

5.4.3 Victimizing the women of the Two-Thirds world

As already established above, women are represented in a dichotomous way in the Danish NAP 2014-2019, constructing colonial discourses of women from the One-Third world as agents and women in the Two-Third world, i.e. the conflict-affected areas as victims. Micro-politics of context, subjectivity, and struggle shape feminist work in world systems and processes, which means that not all women are the same, that not all women in conflict-affected areas are the same, nor are the contexts they live within. The Danish NAP 2014-2019, discloses a lack of intersectional understanding as all Danish women are represented as one collective group, i.e. agents of change, while the Two-Third world's women are represented as passive victims. However, as have been established in the theoretical framework concerning intersectionality, conditions of social and political life cannot be understood as shaped by one single factor, and that social categories operate not as unitary, mutually, exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena. By applying intersectionality as analytical strategy in the policy-making process, the Danish government should look closer into how intersecting categories reciprocally influence each other. Moreover, how power relations, in accordance

with Collins & Bilge (2016), shape identities, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural representations and ideologies in ways that are contextualized and historicized introduces a level of complexity into everything. By characterizing women (both the Danish and the conflict-affected women) as lacking skills or authority, it positions them as deficient in ways that may affect how they think about themselves, and/or how others think about them, and their place in society. In other words, this way of representing women is reproducing gender inequality and disempowering women, hence counteracting the UNSCR 1325 and the attendant Danish NAP's original purpose, namely to empower women and discourage gender inequality within all levels of peace and security.

In order to facilitate the implementation of the WPS agenda across a wide range of countries, it is important to consider an intersectional approach, by reflecting on the variations and similarities that exist between different conflict-affected areas and the distinct needs of the peoples living in those areas. This involves placing more emphasis on intersectional variation such as ethnicity, race, class, age and gender, while considering the ways in which such differences impact on peace building projects and conflict resolution more broadly. However, human rights abuses that are justified on the basis of cultural and gendered differences need to be recognized. To this end, Denmark could to a greater extent base their gender activism within and beyond borders on sensitivity to cultural difference and universal human rights. Moreover, the Danish government should continue its attempts to add more diversity to the armed forces by recruiting women and people from different ethnic backgrounds while keeping in mind the intersecting relations between social categories. Hence, the government should further their approach to intersectionality as praxis. This means that the add women and stir approach is not sufficient, but that the government also needs to look into what types of women are included, and how different social categories come into play. This should be coupled with a greater willingness to concede that the WPS agenda is not something that only concerns The Two-Thirds world and in particular conflict-affected areas but rather it is relevant to all societies, the One-Third world countries includes. A key question that all states that seek to promote the values of the WPS agenda should ask themselves is therefore, what aspects of UNSCR 1325 are applicable to their domestic society. Such awareness would add credibility to the Danish government's attempts to promote protection, participation and combat of gender-based violence. By acknowledging the constitutive relationship between

protection and participation and refraining from solely depicting women as victims, the Danish NAP 2014-2019 seeks to overcome some of the gendered binaries that are omnipresent in international discourses and practices on conflict resolution. This underpins Denmark's key goals throughout the period 2014-2019, promoting women's full and equal participation in peace work, including conflict resolution and prevention, peace negotiations, peace building and reconstruction post-conflict, in accordance with the UNSCR 1325.

5.4.4 Gender equality: a women's issue

The Danish NAP 2014-2019 is discursively constructed in a way that represents women as primarily responsible for solving gendered issues found in relation to peace and security. The preliminary proposition of this analysis demonstrates that the hypothesis of the current Danish NAP builds on the presumption that in order for women of the Two-Thirds world to gain rights, full equality, and empowerment, they need female role models who have already gained these rights and equality, i.e. the Danish, One-Third worlds, female officers. More specifically, the conflict-affected women will obtain advancement through Danish female police and military officers leading the way for having rights and being equal to men. According to this representation these achievements cannot be attained through means of male soldiers. Focus is predominantly set on how to empower women, change women's self-perception as victims, or as the weaker or inferior gender compared to men. The text produces a discourse that proposes the women as key to solving issues of gender inequality, i.e. it takes women to empower women. Men's role is thus marginalized in regard to solving the problem, and their role as abetted of producing and maintaining power relations of gender equality is represented as unproblematic. Hence, changing men's gendered practices and understandings of women's role in conflict are more or less silenced throughout the Danish NAP 2014-2019. It does not challenge men's understandings of gender equality or women's rights that are maintaining the hierarchical structure where women are placed as the inferior gender while men holds the place as the superior gender. Few places in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 is men's role mentioned, for instance the following is stated as an indicator, "*training activities for women and men in integrating concerns of vulnerable groups (such as women and children) in peace-keeping*". Here, men are included in training activities, however simultaneously, it refers to women as a "vulnerable group" on the line with children, thus taking away women's agency, victimizing them and representing them as victims.

Moreover, the activities for Myanmar cover a program that targets both male and female beneficiaries with a specific view to empower women and ensure their inclusion.

Even though gender is regarded as dichotomous (men/women) in the Danish NAP 2014-2019, men are not thought about as part of the problem neither as part of the solution, which in itself is very problematic. The Danish NAP 2014-2019 thus produces narratives claiming that men should not teach gender equality and women's rights to the conflict-affected women, since men do not understand gender equality or women's rights anyway. At the same time, it also produces a narrative that claims that the local men do not need to be taught about gender equality or women's rights. Catherine MacKinnon (2004) argues, "*the state is male in the feminist sense: It sees and treats women the way men see and treat women*". This represents the problem of gender equality as a women's problem rather than a gendered problem, and leaves men's share of the responsibility for the issue unproblematic. However, men cannot dismiss gender equality as a women's issue, as men are not merely the problem, but also part of the solution.

5.4.5 Summary

In this section, I have examined what is left unproblematic in representations of women in the Danish NAP 2014-2019, by identifying silences, as well as considering if the problem can be thought about differently. Four overall silences were identified: intersectionality as an inclusive factor, the domestic insight, women of the Two-Thirds world as passive victims, and finally, gender equality as a women's issue. The analysis elucidates a blindness of differences among different women, and that intersectionality can be utilized not just as an inclusive factor but also as an external one. Furthermore, the Danish government represents gender equality as unproblematic within the Danish society. By silencing inequalities within its own domestic territory, and instead placing full attention to gender inequality in the conflict-affected areas, Denmark appears to have already gained full gender equality, and Danish women as having gained equal rights and empowerment. Finally, men's role in relation to furthering women's role in peace and security is silenced. Hence, by not calling men to account for their part in gendered inequalities, the responsibility is placed on women. Thereby, men are acquitted any responsibility not just in the problem solving process but also in regards to being part of the problem to begin with.

5.5 What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?

The purpose of this question is to lead the attention to the practices that allow for certain problem representations to dominate, by identifying effects of specific problem representations so that they can be critically assessed. In accordance with Bacchi, I will identify three interconnected and overlapping forms of effects, namely the discursive effects, the subjectification effects, and the lived effects, respectively.

5.5.1 Discursive effects

Here, I discuss the effects that follow from the limits imposed on what can be thought and said about the Danish NAP 2014-2019. It has clear links with research question 2, 3 and 4, which identify assumptions and presuppositions within problem representations, the discourses, which give expression to these, and the silences these discourses contain. If some options for social intervention are closed off by the way in which a 'problem' is represented, this can have devastating effects for certain people.

Two dominating discourses are predominating in the Danish NAP 2014-2019: a post-colonial discourse and a gender equality discourse. Women are represented in disparate ways on the basis of their status as belonging to the One-Third world or the Two-Third world. The effects of representing the Two-Third women, as a homogenous group of passive victims of culture are, in line with Mohanty (2009), a reproduction of a post-colonial discourse that silences the discourse of self-representation of these women. This is contributing to maintain the power relations of the One-Third world as dominant, and thus able to represent the conflict-affected women as they see them, while simultaneously maintaining the discourse of the conflict-affected women as the micro discourse without opportunity to self-represent; simultaneously creating a narrative of conflict-affected women as agents and not merely as victims. In this sense, the discourse maintains these women as incapable, making it impossible for them to gain some sort of power in the society they live in and develop in the way they want and need, within their specific socio-cultural context and historical background. The post-colonial discourse is reproducing stereotypes on the Two-Third world's women who are incapable of changing their own situation while representing the One-Third world's women as strong, independent women, who have gained rights and full equality and who can serve as role

models for the poor women in the Two-Thirds world. In a manner of speaking, it could be regarded as a form of re-colonization where the One-Third world is regarded as superior to the Two-Thirds world and thus capable of leading the way for improving Two-Thirds world, i.e. the “western knows better”. By doing so and by generalizing and presenting women of the Two-Thirds world as a homogenous group, the peripheral other is created and thereby positioning Denmark and the western as the center and as the dominating force within power relations.

Furthermore, a gender equality discourse has been identified during the analysis. The discourses represent Denmark as a country that has already attained full equality, and therefore sees it as a duty to help others to gain gender equality as well. However, the Danish government’s understanding of gender equality can be discussed. A humanitarian needs overview that applies the same yardstick to all without addressing the different situations of males and females is considered gender-blind. Intersectionality thus plays an evident role for fully achieving gender equality. Making use of the “add women and stir” approach to obtain gender equality both in the Danish National Police and Defense as well as in peace processes, policy-making regarding peace and security, etc., encourages for questions regarding masculinities and femininities.

Representing Denmark as protagonist contributes to shifting focus away from the fact that gender equality in deed exists in the Danish society. The fact that Danish women are experiencing gender equality just as the women living in conflict-affected areas are thus concealed through post-colonial discourses on Denmark as the great savior. Gender inequality on the domestic level is silenced and considered unproblematic. Instead focus is directed at the great gender inequality that to a high degree is found within conflict-affected and post-conflict areas. A critique on this could be that focusing on the peripheral other becomes an excuse for not doing anything about gender equality within own borders. By labeling the peripheral other, i.e. the conflict-affected areas as gender unequal, Denmark appears as a country that is already gender equal.

5.5.2 Subjectification effects

This section focuses on the ways in which subjects and subjectivities are constituted in a discourse. The idea is that we become subjects of a particular kind, partly through the way in

which policies set up social relationships and our positions in them. It is evident to examine the way in which the problem representation within a policy often places groups of people in opposition to each other. The stigmatization of targeted minorities serves a useful governmental purpose, indicating and encouraging desired behaviors among the majority. Furthermore, representations of problems often have encapsulated implications about who is responsible for the so-called problem. By revealing the asserted responsibility, we can consider whether or not we believe that responsibility is given appropriately, and what effects follow from particular attributions of responsibility (Bacchi 2009).

The Danish NAP 2014-2019 divides people in two levels: men opposed to women, Danish female officers/One-Third world opposed to conflict-affected women /Two-Third world. The stigmatization of women, and particularly women of the Two-Thirds world living in conflict-affected areas serves as a useful governmental purpose, indicating and encouraging desired behaviors among the majority. I have identified the problem representation in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 as gender equality and established that it is regarded as a women's issue, thus making women responsible for the situation they find themselves in, while men are not considered important to the issue. This releases, as mentioned above, men from taking part in the solution but also as being part of the problem to begin with.

Furthermore, as already clarified above, there is a clear distinction in the way women of the One-Third world and the Two-Thirds world, respectively, are represented in the Danish NAP 2014-2019. These two groupings of women are thus represented as in opposition to each other, in the sense that it produces a narrative of "us and them". In a way, the conflict-affected women are stigmatized. This stigmatizing of women from Two-Thirds world, serves a useful governmental purpose, indicating and encouraging desired behaviours among the majority. Furthermore, as representations of problems often have build into them implications about who is responsible for the problem, this dichotomous division of women, places the responsibility on the Two-Thirds world's women since they, as passive victims, are incapable of furthering the situation they live within.

5.5.3 Lived effects

This section directs attention to the material impact of problem representations. How problems are represented directly affects people's lives, and the overall goal is to be able to

say what aspects of a problem representation have harmful effects for which groups, and therefor may be rethought.

In the same way as a gendered lens makes a difference to what one sees of conflict and peace, applying a gender analysis within an intersectional frame in decision-making could make a difference to what is done about the problem. Intersectionality calls for sensitivity to differences as well as commonalities. It further invites the recipient to see how social categories may position men and women, or various women heterogeneously, as they have different experiences, different needs, different strengths and skills, and how in different cultures these dissimilarities have diverse expressions. Moreover, intersectionality invites the recipient to notice power relations between the social categories, and clarifies how they shape institutions such as the military and the state, and how power, oppression and exploitation operate within and through these. Most importantly, intersectionality provides an opportunity to act for transformative change (Moser 2001). What is likely to change with the specific representation of the problem, is women's role in peace and security in the Two-Thirds world, it will continue to be on the One-Third world's terms. The Danish women's role in the WPS agenda is likely to stay the same, since the Danish NAP 2014-2019 discursively constructs a narrative of Danish women as having already gained gender equality, and therefore there is no need for engaging further in that. While the Danish government benefits from this representation of the problem by furthering their own position as country that has its own gender issues under control and thus can focus on advancing gender equality on a global level. This positions them as an important player within international peace and security, and yields in the end recognition within the international society, here amongst international institutions such as the UN. Meanwhile, the Two-Thirds world's women are continuously oppressed not just within own borders but also from external actors from the One-Third world, such as Denmark.

5.5.4 Summary

In this section, I have elucidated what effects are produced by the representation of the problem, by looking closer into the discursive effects, the subjectification effects, as well as the lived effects. I have established that the effects of representing the Two-Third world's women, as a homogenous group of victims of culture are a reproduction of a post-colonial discourses that silences the discourse of self-representation of these women, as argued by

Mohanty (2009). Two main discourses were thus identified, namely, the post-colonial discourse and the gender equality discourse. It was further clarified that women mentioned in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 was divided into two homogenous categories: women of the One-Third world, and women of the Two-Third world. Hence, intersecting social categories was not considered to play an important role. Finally, these representations of women and gender equality are likely to maintain Danish women's role untouched, while women living within conflict-affected areas are likely to gain some agency from this, but still on the One-Third worlds terms.

5.6 How/where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned disrupted and displaced?

This question builds on research question 3 that directs attention to practices and processes, which allow certain problem representations to dominate. Here I consider the means through which particular problem representations reach their target audience and achieve legitimacy. The goal is to pay attention to the means through which some problem representations become dominant, and to the possibility of challenging problem representations that are considered to be harmful.

5.6.1 Uncritically understandings of the UNSCR 1325

There is a common understanding that the One-Third world is obliged to help enhance conditions in the Two-Third world, which is manifesting and reproducing post-colonial discourses. Hence, the fortunate (those with human and financial resources) must help those who are less fortunate. This manifests itself in international policies, and is consequently transferred into national policies. Likewise the UNSCR 1325 forms basis of the Danish NAP 2014-2019. It is therefore a matter of course that problem representations from the UNSCR 1325 are reflected in the Danish NAP 2014-2019. As mentioned earlier, the Danish government has disregarded criticism leveled against UNSCR 1325, by taking no notice of the gendered understandings of peace and security issues. Hence, there is a focus on women only, and it does not address gender relations of men and masculinities that are influencing women's vulnerabilities in conflict situations. This could help explain the argument that the Danish government elaborated the three Danish NAPs (2005, 2008, 2014) primarily to gain

international recognition, and reestablish the countries status as one of the most gender equal countries in the world. At the same time, these representations are overshadowing the actual aim with UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda of empowering women and gaining gender equality. The vague wording found in the Danish NAP 2014-2019, such as *urge, encourage, support, advocate for*, etc. reflects a lacking commitment to engagement and actions. This can be backed by looking at how the Danish government continuously refers to *“Denmark’s focus on international engagement”*, and *“aspiration to play an active role in managing global security challenges”* in the NAP 2014-2019. Through its commitments to UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda the Danish government is elevating their position as a strong international player. This is also proved in the following sentence from the Danish NAP 2014-2019 where the government establishes their reputation as a key supporter of WPS agenda, *“advocacy in multilateral for a such as UN etc. cemented DKs reputation as a key supporter of WPS agenda”* and *“focus on protection of women and girls has given DK profile within SCR1325”*. At the same time, women are throughout the Danish NAP 2014-2019 related primarily to peace processes, which is accordance with the discourses of the UNSCR 1325. Both policies thus provide a framework for speaking about women’s role, which can limit their room for agency, i.e. as peacemakers only. This also produces narratives of the Two-Thirds world/conflict-affected women as in need of support from the One-third world, hence representing the One-Third world, i.e. Denmark and the UN in a positive sense.

The Danish government’s representation of the problem as gender inequality and women’s role, can be found in the way the government has interpreted the UNSCR 1325. There are limits to what the UNSCR 1325 can do. For instance, it cannot address the problem of unclear mandates, or the lack of a protection doctrine. But, if it is implemented correctly, gender equality, in accordance to UNSCR 1325, can improve operational effectiveness to the benefit of both the military and civilians. What is required above all is a commitment to gender equality in order to move from aspiration to action. This means, not applying the add women and stir approach uncritically as that the women added are typically expected to encompass certain forms of masculinities, and that nothing therefore is changing in regards to gender issue. Hence, it does not take into consideration whether the women added into these processes does actually represent certain forms of masculinities, and thus changing nothing in the problematic understandings of gender. Instead gendered understandings and

intersectional approaches are vital for the policy to secure the desired effects in regard to the WPS agenda.

5.6.2 Critical approaches

For these types of policies the Danish government needs to focus on more sustainable approaches prospectively. This means that when elaborating national responses such as the Danish NAP 2014-2019, the government must first consider the international policy in critical terms, and take into consideration the criticism that have been leveled towards the international policy in the policy-making process. As demonstrated during this analysis, intersectionality has been proven evident in order to make efficient and sustainable policies on the WPS agenda, by including intersectionality both as a field of study, as critical praxis, as well as an analytical strategy. Considering different social categories as operating not as unitary, mutually, exclusive entities, but rather as a reciprocally constructing phenomenon whose *raison d'être* lies in its assertiveness to power relations and social inequalities, enables us to understand the complexities that are found in relation to gender equality in conflict-affected areas. Simultaneously it is evident to look inward on the domestic situation, and consider how these approaches could further situations for the Danish women. The intersectional approaches allow us see this by acknowledging differences among us, by presuming that discrimination and empowerment are complex concepts as they are grounded to multiple forms of discrimination.

5.6.3 Summary

In this section, I answered where the representation of the problem has been produced, disseminated and defended, as well as how it could be questioned disrupted and displaced. It was established that the Danish government's understanding of key issues regarding the WPS agenda, is deeply embedded in international policies, and that the understanding of women's role and gender is grounded in the UNSCR 1325 discourses that represents women as peace makers only through a framework for speaking of women's role, which can limit their room for agency. It further produces narratives of the Two-Thirds/conflict-affected women as in need of support from the One-third world, which represents the One-Third world, i.e. Denmark and the UN in a positive sense. As to how this representation of the problem can be disrupted, the Danish government needs to consider international policies more critically, and

to include this criticism into their national responses by including intersectional approaches. Furthermore, it is evident for the government to recognize issues of gender equality in the domestic area, by considering how such frameworks as the WPS agenda can improve conditions for Danish women as well.

6 Conclusion

The UNSCR 1325 has inspired a lot of interest in gendered violence, women's participation in peace building and within armed forces, and has as such enhanced women's agency across sectors. However, the resolution contains discursive constructions that contribute to sustain gendered binaries and power relations between men and women, which is reflected in the Danish NAP 2014-2019. The women mentioned in the Danish NAP 2014-2019 are represented in disparate ways, and is highly influenced by a post-colonial feminist discourse. While Danish women officers are represented as empowered agents, capable, and as someone who has gained equality and rights, the conflict-affected women are represented as incapable, passive victims, without voice and agency. However, as this paper elucidates, it is important not to pin down firmly established truths about women and men's roles in peace and security, as well as the post-colonial narratives on women from the One-Third world and the Two-third world, respectively. Moreover, the resolution as well as the Danish NAP 2014-2019, does not sufficiently consider intersectional variations between men and women, or among women, and as such does not fully consider the interrelation between social categories, such as race, class, and gender. As such, it reproduces the very power relations and primacy of certain forms of masculinities that the WPS agenda itself seeks to come to terms with. It is therefore evident to raise questions about the emancipatory qualities of the Danish NAP 2014-2019 and the extent to which it furthers local peace initiatives by giving women agency. As a result of the analysis this paper recommends for future initiatives, that a strong emphasis are placed on women's agency and involvement in peace building so as to move away from stereotypical representations of women of the Two-Thirds world as victims with no or little impact on their own lives. UNSCR 1325 (and the subsequent resolutions) has given much needed attention to the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, and the attendant NAP offers activists something concrete to which they can hold governments to account.

According to the criticism, intersectionality has become a “catch-all” approach. It is important to remember that within studies of identity and identity politics social categories are seen as intersecting and as reciprocally reinforcing one another. However, this view does not often extend into an analysis of structural inequalities and power relations, which seems to also be the case with the Danish government’s understanding of the issue, and limited consideration of how different social categories creates various contexts, which also means that different approaches must be regarded in order for the policy to produce the desired effect. It is thus important for the Danish government to understand how gender, class, race and other social categories are not just inseparable but also related to the global geo-political power relations in complex ways. What is needed is thus a theoretical solution that has an element of praxis. Bringing together different criticisms of intersectionality in order to emphasize some of the blind spots in the way it is being used has contributed to this analysis. By examining how the Danish government has made use of and intersectionality in certain aspects while leaving undone in others, has helped to explain the way it understands key issues in policies on WPS. It also raises questions about what happens when feminist theories travel, and how this is related to capitalist and imperialist structures that condition today’s knowledge production. This has wider ramifications for feminist studies as a whole. The question of power and exclusion has been central to feminist scholarship since its inception. As feminists we must consistently be conscious of how we draw lines of inclusion and exclusion in our work and activism, and how we use specific concepts to include/exclude. Intersectionality can be a descriptive tool whose analytical value is only realized by embedding it in an anti-racist, post-colonial critical context. Thus an analysis that is critical of power relations appears as the precondition for understanding the effects, relationships and interdependencies of power and domination.

While there is room for debate on how to implement UN Resolution 1325 in daily operations, it is difficult to dispute the evidence from the field showing the effectiveness of the employment of a gender perspective. Additionally, the instrumental role the empowerment of women plays in peace and security initiatives is key to the operational success of a variety of missions. Obviously, the inclusion of women in operations is a key factor, but to truly leverage the benefits that a gender perspective affords policy makers, require additional training if we are going to apply a gender perspective more consistently. While the growing number of

national action plans and policy directives such as the Danish NAPs is a positive step forward, critical praxis is required in an effort to further develop policies on how best to apply a gender perspective in daily operations.

7 References

Alexander, M. Jacqui & Chandra T. Mohanty (2012)

Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures, New York: Routledge

Anderlini, Sanam N. (2017)

UN Peacekeepers' Sexual Assault Problem: How to End It Once and for All. Article published 9 June 2017, the Council of Foreign Affairs

Annan, Kofi (2004)

Africa Cannot Develop Unless African Women Exercise Real Power. Union Session on gender, Addis Ababa, 6 July 2004. Retrieved October 2017:

<https://www.un.org/press/en/2004/sgsm9408.doc.htm>

Bacchi, Carol L. (1999)

Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of policy problems, London: Sage

Bacchi, Carol L. (2009)

Analysing Policy: What's the Problem Represented to be?, Sydney: Pearson

Bacchi, Carol L. (2010)

Foucault, policy and Rule: Challenging the Problem-Solving Paradigm. Aalborg: Institut for Historie, Internationale Studier og Samfundsforhold, Aalborg Universitet, FREIA's text series No. 74.

Bacchi, Carol L. & Joan Eveline (2010)

Mainstreaming Politics: Gendering Practices and Feminist Theory. Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press

Bhabha, Homi K. (1990)

Nation and Narration. London: Routledge

Buzan, Barry & Lene Hansen (2009)

The Evolution of International Security Studies. Cambridge University Press :138-144

Carbado, Devon W. (2013)

Colorblind intersectionality. Signs 38

Celis, Karen (2006)

Substantive representation of women: The representation of women's interests and the impact of descriptive representation in the Belgian parliament (1900–1979). Journal of Women, Politics and Policy 28 (2)

Celis, Karen (2008)

Studying women's substantive representation in legislatures: When representative acts, contexts and women's interests become important. Representation 44 (2)

Celis, Karen; Johanna Kantola; Georgina Waylen & S. Laurel Weldon (2013)

Introduction: Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline. The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics, Oxford University Press

Chatterjee, Sushmita (2016)

What Does It Mean to Be a Postcolonial Feminist? The Artwork of Mithu Sen, Hypatia 31 (1)

Cho, Sumi; Kimberlé W. Crenshaw & Leslie McCall (2013)

Toward a field of intersectionality studies: theory, applications, and praxis. Signs 38

Cohn, Carol (2008)

Mainstreaming Gender in US Security Policy: A path to Political Transformation. Global Governance, Springer Link

Collins, Patricia Hill (2015)

Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas, the Annual Review of Sociology. (41)

Collins, Patricia Hill & Sirma Bilge (2016)

Intersectionality, Oxford: Polity Press

Coomaraswamy, Radhika (2015)

Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325. UN Women

Crenshaw, Kimberlé W. (1991)

Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color. Stanford Law Review 43 (6)

Crenshaw, Kimberlé W. (2000)

Background Paper for the Expert Meeting on the Gender-Related Aspects of Race Discriminations. World Conference Against Racism, 21-24 November 2000, Zagreb

Davis, Kathy (2008)

Intersectionality as buzzword: a sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. London: Sage, Vol. 9 (1)

Davis, Kathy (2014)

Intersectionality as Critical Methodology. Nina Lykke (ed.) New Writing Academic Texts Differently: Intersectional Feminist Methodologies and the Playful Art of Writing, York: Routledge

Denmark's National Action Plan for implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security 2005–2008 (2005)

Denmark's National Action Plan for implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security 2008–2013 (2008)

Denmark's National Action Plan for implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security 2014–2019 (2014)

Dharmapuri, Sahana (2011)

Just Add Women and Stir? Carlisle Barracks: Parametres, Spring 2011

Dill, Bonnie T. (2002)

Work at the Intersections of Race, Gender, Ethnicity, and Other Dimensions of Differences in Higher Educations. Newsletter of the Consortium on Race, Gender and Ethnicity

Dill, Bonnie T. (2009)

Intersections, Identities, and Inequalities in Higher Education. B.T. Dill & R. Zambrana (ed.) *Emerging Intersections: Race, Class and Gender in Theory, Policy and Practice*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press

Government Offices of Sweden (2017)

Gender Equality <http://www.government.se/government-policy/gender-equality/> (Retrieved October 2017)

Gürtner, Sabine (2014)

Promoting Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and Peace Processes. Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Rights, GIZ Publications, May 2014

Hansen, Lene (2013)

Security, Conflict, and Militarization. Celis, Karen; Johanna Kantola; Georgina Waylen & S. Laurel Weldon (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, Oxford University Press

Htun, Mala, & Jennifer Piscopo (2010)

Presence without empowerment? Presented at the SSRC Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, December 2010.

Hurd, Ian (2009)

Constructivism, Reus-Smit, Christian & Duncan Snidal (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of International Relations, Oxford University Press

Jukarainen, Pirjo & Eeva Puumala (2014)

The Nordic Implementation of UNSCR 1325: A Comparative Evaluation, The 1325 Network Finland and Acaide Oy, May 2014.

Kittilson, Miki C. (2008)

Representing women: The adoption of family leave in comparative perspective, Journal of Politics 70 (2)

Loomba (1998)

Colonialism/postcolonialism: Situating colonial and postcolonial studies. London: Routledge

Loyle, Cyanne E. (2017)

Understanding Government Behavior during Armed Conflict. Oxford University Press, Online Publication August 2017

MacKinnon, Catharine (2004)

Towards a feminist theory of the state, Sandra Harding (ed.) The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader, Cambridge: Psychology press

Ministry of Children and Equality (2013)

Gender Equality. Retrieved October 2017:
<https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/equality-and-social-inclusion/likestilling-og-inkludering/gender-equality/id670481/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2017^A)

Strategiske Rammer. Retrieved October 2017:
<http://um.dk/da/danida/strategi%20og%20prioriteter/strategiske-rammer/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2017^B)

Danmark nummer ét i udviklingssamarbejde. 6 September 2017, Retrieved October 2017:
<http://um.dk/da/nyheder-fra-udenrigsministeriet/newsdisplaypage/?newsid=c98e61dd-8d2b-4b0d-93a1-45d3d36d3747>

Mohanty, Chandra (1988)

Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses, Palgrave Macmillan Journals, Feminist Review (30)

Mohanty, Chandra (2003)

Under Western Eyes Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles, Signs, The University of Chicago Press, Vol. 28, (2)

Moser, Caroline O. (2001)

Victims, perpetrators or actors?: gender, armed conflict and political violence. Zubaan Books

Nadkarni, Asha (2017)

Transnational Feminism. Oxford Bibliographies in Literary and Critical Theory, (ed.) Eugene O'Brien, New York: Oxford University Press, July 2017

Nduwimana, Françoise (2004)

United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security: Understanding the Implications, Fulfilling the Obligations. July 2004

Gizelis, Theodora-Ismene & Louise Olsson (2015)

Gender, Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325. London and New York: Routledge

O'Connor, Talitha (2014)

The UNSC & Women: On the Effectiveness of resolution 1325. Australian Institute of International Affairs 24 March 2014

Pompper, Donnalyn (2014),

Social identities are intersectional. Practical and Theoretical Implications of Successfully Doing Difference in Organizations: International Perspectives on Equality, Diversity and Inclusion, Vol. 1 Emerald Group Publishing Limited,

Pratt, Nicola & Sophie Richter-Devroe (2011)

Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. International Feminist Journal of Politics, Vol. 13 (4)

Prügl, Elisabeth (2007)

Gender and EU Politics. The Handbook of European Union politics, London: Sage

Roshanravan, Shireen (2014)

- Motivating Coalition: Women of Color and Epistemic Disobedience*. Hypatia, Kansas State University, 29 (1)
- Said, Edgar W. (1978)
Orientalism, New York: Pantheon
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie (2011)
Political power and women's representation in Latin America, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Skjelbæk, Inger & Dan Smith (2001)
Gender, Peace and Conflict. London: Sage
- Swers, Michele L. (2002)
The difference women make: The policy impact of women in Congress. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Siim, Birte & Pauline Stoltz
Reframing Nationalism, Citizenship and Gender - critical Scandinavian reflections. Paper presented at Being a citizen in Europe, Zagreb, Croatia.
- Sivakumaran, Sandesh (2007)
Sexual Violence Against Men in Armed Conflict. European Journal of International Law. 1 April 2007, Vol. 18 (2)
- Statistics Denmark (2017)
Flest anmeldte voldstilfælde siden 1995. Retrieved October 2017:
<http://www.dst.dk/da/Statistik/nyt/NytHtml?cid=23451>
- The World Bank
Poverty. Retrieved October 2017:
<http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/overview>
- Tint, Barbara (2004)
No Longer Just Add Women and Stir: An Integrated Approach to Gender, Peace, and Conflict. Journal of Peace Psychology, 10 (3): 301-304
- Tyagi, Ritu (2014)
Understanding Postcolonial Feminism in relation with Postcolonial and Feminist Theory. International Journal of Language and Linguistics, vol. 1 (2) December 2014
- United Nations (2002)

Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview. Office on the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, New York

United Nations (2016)

UN Sustainable Development Goal 17. Global Sustainable Development Report 2016 Edition, New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, June 2016

United Nations Security Council (2000)

Resolution 1325 (S/RES/1325) 21 October 2000

United Nations Security Council (2003)

Women suffer disproportionately during and after war, Security Council told during day-long debate on women, peace and security. Press release (SC/7908) 29 October 2003

United Nations Security Council (2004)

Women, Peace and Security – Report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/814) 13 October 2004

United Nations Security Council (2015)

Women, Peace and Security – Report of the Secretary-General (S/2015/716) 15 September 2015

United Nations Security Council (2016^a)

Women Too Often Omitted from Peace Processes Despite Key Role in Preventing Conflict, Forging Peace, Secretary-General Tells Security Council. 7793RD Meeting (SC/12561) 25 October 2016

United Nations Security Council (2016^b)

Women, Peace and Security – Report of the Secretary-General (S/2016/822) 15 September 2016

Väyrynen, Tarja (2007)

Gender and UN peace operations: The confines of modernity, Journal of International Peacekeeping. Vol. 11 (1): Peace Operations and Global Order

World Economic Forum (2016)

The Global Gender Gap Report 2016

World, Health Organization (2017)

Gender, equity and human rights: Gender. Retrieved October 2017:

<http://www.who.int/gender-equity-rights/understanding/gender-definition/en/>

Wängnerud, Lena (2000)

Testing the politics of presence: Women's representation in the Swedish Riksdag.

Scandinavian Political Studies 23(1)

Yuval-Davis, Niva (2006)

Intersectionality and Feminist Politics, European Journal of Women's Studies, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, Vol. 13 (3)

Notes

¹ UNSCR 1820 (2008) recognizes sexual violence as a weapon and tactic of war.

² UNSCR 1888 (2009) states that sexual violence aggravates armed conflict and that it obstructs international peace and security.

³ UNSCR 1889 (2009) focuses on peace building and on women's participation in all stages of peace processes.

⁴ UNSCR 1960 (2010) reiterates the call for an end to sexual violence in armed conflict.

⁵ UNSCR 2106 (2013) focuses on operationalizing current obligations rather than on creating new structures/initiatives.

⁶ UNSCR 2122 (2013) explicitly affirms an "integrated approach" to sustainable peace, and sets out concrete methods for combating women's participation deficit.

⁷ UNSCR 2242 (2015) urges assessment of strategies and resources in regards to the implementation of the WPS agenda.

⁸ A science depending on deductions from demonstrated truths, such as mathematics or logic, or studied without regard to practical applications.

⁹ Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Faroe Islands and Greenland.

¹⁰ Shadow reports (also called 'alternative reports') are submitted to treaty monitoring bodies at the United Nations and other international institutions as an alternative to a government's official report regarding the human rights situation in its respective country.

¹¹ The additional countries ranked in the Index are: 2) Sweden, 3) Finland, 4) France, 5) Germany, 6) Portugal, *7) Netherlands, *7) United Kingdom, 9) Norway, 10) New Zealand, 11) Austria, 12) Spain, 13) Luxembourg, 14) Italy, 15) Belgium, 16) Ireland 17) Canada, 18) Australia, *19) Hungary, *19) Czech Republic, 21) Slovak Republic, 22) Poland, 23) United States, 24) Switzerland, 25) Greece, 26) Japan, 27) South Korea

¹² The security component consists of three subcomponents, which assess countries' policies facilitating peacekeeping and world security. These include financial contributions to peacekeeping, exporting arms to poor and undemocratic countries, and participation in security regimes. Each category includes different indicators, which are assigned distinct weights.

¹³ Kenya, Mali, Somalia, South Sudan, and Zimbabwe.

¹⁴ Afghanistan, Lebanon, Myanmar, Nepal, Occupied Palestinian territories, and Syria.

¹⁵ The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Danish National Police (as representative of the Danish Ministry of Justice), and the Danish Ministry of Defense.