



Safe Country for Whom?

A critical frame analysis of gender considerations in cessation practices in Denmark

Master Thesis

Maya Kjærhauge Okkels

Aalborg University, Copenhagen

International Relations and Development, Global Refugee Studies

Student number: 20211495

Supervisor: Marlene Spanger

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine how gender is considered in practices relating to cessation of refugee protection in Denmark, departing from 2019 where new legislation was introduced, that shifted migration and asylum policies from integration towards a focus on return and temporary protection. Furthermore, the thesis aims to examine whether this has an impact on women who have received temporary protection under the temporary protection status §7 (3). This was examined by conducting a critical frame analysis to study whether cessation practices that are gender neutral in theory, fail to include gender considerations in the assessment of whether a country is safe for return. From the analysis, it was found that gender is considered in some cessation cases, by considering the differences in risks and persecution between men and women. However, by framing policy and legislation as “gender-neutral” it can reflect dominant perspectives and ignore women’s different experiences. By assuming that legal changes do not need a gendered analysis, gender differences are disregarded, resulting in unequal outcomes. Similarly, it was found that a “gender-neutral” way of looking at the security situation in relation to return might not take women’s experiences into account, because it is built on a traditional perspective of security. The focus of the Danish Government on reducing the number of refugees staying in Denmark, may affect the security of women who have sought protection in Denmark, because framings focused on return make it easier to revoke residence permits. Though gender is considered in some instances by the Danish immigration authorities in cessation practice, the framings found in the analysis appear to limit gender consideration that fully take the different vulnerabilities and insecurities women can face based on their gender into account. Because more women are prone to receive the temporary protection status under §7 (3), it consequently leaves them with a weaker protection form and the risk of being returned to a country that is deemed “generally safe” but is not safe for women.

Key words: *gender, cessation, refugee protection, Denmark, women’s rights, security*

Wordcount: 24797

Acknowledgements

A special thank you,

To my family and (especially) my parents for always believing in me and being an immense support.

To Fati, one of my best friends, for being there for me throughout the whole process and always believing in my potential.

To all my friends and colleagues who have supported and helped me throughout this process.

And lastly, to my supervisor, Marlene Spanger.

Table of Content

1. Introduction	7
1.1. <i>Research motivation and aim</i>	8
1.2. <i>Research questions</i>	9
1.3. <i>Research outline</i>	9
1.4. <i>Delimitations</i>	10
2. Background	11
2.1. <i>Danish immigration and refugee policies</i>	11
2.2. <i>Cessation</i>	12
2.3. <i>The Danish Asylum Procedure</i>	13
2.4. <i>National and international legal framework</i>	13
2.4.1. <i>The Aliens Act</i>	13
2.4.2. <i>The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol</i>	14
2.4.3. <i>The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence</i>	15
2.4.4. <i>Other relevant international legal documents</i>	15
3. Literature review	16
4. Theoretical Framework	19
4.1. <i>Feminist Standpoint Theory</i>	19
4.1.1. <i>Debate on difference and essentialism</i>	20
4.1.2. <i>Knowledge as socially situated</i>	21
4.2. <i>Gender and Policy</i>	22
4.2.1. <i>Gender as a social construct</i>	23
4.2.2. <i>Approaches to political analysis of gender</i>	24
4.3. <i>Feminist security theory</i>	25
4.4. <i>Operationalization of theory through Critical Frame Analysis</i>	26
5. Methodology	27
5.1. <i>Critical Frame Analysis</i>	27
5.1.1. <i>Using critical frame analysis as a method</i>	28
5.1.2. <i>Limitations to frame analysis</i>	30
5.2. <i>Document analysis</i>	30
5.2.1. <i>Limitations to document analysis</i>	31
5.3. <i>Validity, Reliability and Bias</i>	32
5.4. <i>Data Selection</i>	33

5.5. Material	34
5.5.1. <i>Legal documents</i>	34
5.5.2. <i>Cessation cases published by the Danish Refugee Appeals Board</i>	36
5.5.3. <i>Other material</i>	39
6. Analysis	40
6.1. <i>Gender-neutrality</i>	40
6.2. <i>General fear</i>	45
6.3. <i>Temporality and return</i>	50
6.4. <i>Agents of persecution</i>	54
7. Discussion	59
7.1. <i>Gender considerations</i>	59
7.2. <i>Security for whom?</i>	61
8. Conclusion	64
Bibliography	65

List of Abbreviations

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UN – United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA- United Nations Population Fund

COI - Country of Origin

EASO - European Asylum Support Office

EEAU - European Union Agency for Asylum

EU – European Union

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

ECHR – European Convention on Human Rights

1. Introduction

Due to the large increase in refugee arrivals to the European Union (EU) in 2015, a range of new policy proposals and legal changes were introduced in Denmark (Hagelund, 2020, p. 1). Though Denmark was one of the first States to ratify the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Refugee Convention hereinafter), Danish asylum legislations and policies have been changed and fortified many times since the 1990s (Kreichauf 2020, p. 45). In 2015 and 2019 the Danish government introduced a series of legislative changes that intrinsically changed Danish immigration practices (Filskov et al., 2022, p. 6). Following what is referred to as the “paradigm shift¹” temporary residence came to apply to all refugees (Rytter et al., 2023, p. 17). Correspondingly, new rules regarding cessation were introduced, introducing new standards for cessation of refugee status (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, pp. 18–19). Cessation of refugee status can now occur “*unless it would be against Denmark’s international responsibilities*” (L40, 2019, p. 12). Thereby making it possible to return refugees who have received residence permits under the temporary protection status §7 (3), even if the situation in the country of origin (COI) is not yet stable (L72, 2014, p. 16). Generally, more women, men over 43 and children receive this temporary protection status (Bendixen, 2021). Women’s activities and what is done to women has been referred to as “private” issues and therefore they do not always qualify for protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention (Crawley, 2000, p. 17). However, complementary protection might not offer refugee women the same protection as other refugees (Querton, 2022, p. 462). Though gender is not directly mentioned in the 1951 Refugee Convention, there is widespread acceptance that gender can “*influence, or dictate, the type of persecution or harm suffered and the reasons for this treatment*” (UNHCR, 2002, p. 3). Therefore, the way asylum and migration policies refer to gender can be influential of who receives protection in Denmark (Welfens, 2020, p. 510). A lack of a gender perspective in migration and asylum policies can have harmful effects on refugee women (EIGE, 2020). Since Denmark endorse international and EU gender equality norms, they are under obligations to integrate a gender equality perspective into all stages and levels of policies. Because women can have different needs and circumstances, gender must be taken into consideration both at a policy level and in practice (Council of Europe, n.d.-b). Similarly, because of the grave consequences of return, it is essential that gender considerations are transported into cessation practice (Edwards, 2010a, p. 76).

¹ ”Paradigmeskifte” in Danish. A term used by the Danish Government to describe the large number of legislative changes that occurred in Denmark between 2015-2019.

As a result of the new changes in the law, Denmark has since 2016 ended the protection of many Somali refugees and has also begun cessation proceedings of Syrian refugees who have received temporary protection statuses under § 7 (3) of the Aliens Act (Tan, 2021, p. 63). Denmark was one of the first countries in Europe to decide that areas of Syria are safe for return, despite getting criticism from organizations such as Amnesty International, UNHCR and Danish Refugee Council (Human Rights Watch, 2021b; UNHCR, 2021). Amnesty International has reported that no part of Syria is safe for returnees to go back to, as they found that Syrian intelligence officers have subjected women, children and men returning to Syria to unlawful detention, torture and other forms of ill-treatment including rape and sexual violence (Amnesty International, 2021, p. 5). Furthermore, Human Rights Watch has reported that though Damascus and other areas have not seen active conflict hostilities since 2018 it does not mean that it is safe for refugees to return (Human Rights Watch, 2021a). Migration scholars have criticized the lack of a complete complementary protection framework in Denmark because it leaves the law open for governments to diminish their protection obligations (Tan, 2021, p. 60). However, limited attention has been paid to gender consideration in cessation policy and practice, and its impacts. While the issues of gender-related persecution have been placed on the international agenda, it can be argued that protection for women is still not effectively available, because it does not take women's different experiences into account. Feminist theorists have argued that policies can be a part of reproducing gender inequalities, by replicating gendered norms and thereby strengthening power and privilege of certain groups (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 100). As cessation practice has become standardized in Denmark, and therefore has affected women with temporary protection, this thesis is interested in examining how and to what extent gender is considered in the policies and practice relating to cessation. Following, insights from feminist theory, the thesis will through a critical frame analysis look at gender considerations found in the framings of immigration and asylum policies in Denmark relating to cessation.

1.1. Research motivation and aim

Since 2019, Denmark has ended the protection of many Somali refugees and has also begun revoking the residence permits of Syrian refugees who have received temporary protection statuses under § 7 (3) of the Aliens Act (Tan, 2021, p. 63). The so called "paradigm shift" and the changed focus on cessation has been criticized by the international community, for undermining the rights and protection of refugees (UNHCR, 2021, p. 2). However, limited scholarship has focused on the gendered impacts of such policies and practice. While it is generally acknowledged that gender can

influence all stages of migration (UN Women, 2021), many states have failed to adequately implement procedures and guidelines that safeguards the rights of women and consider the different vulnerabilities experienced by women (Querton, 2019, p. 379). Though Denmark has made efforts to implement gender-sensitivity into the asylum process, limited information supports that these efforts have translated into cessation practice as well. As many women have received temporary protection under § 7 (3) of the Aliens Act in Denmark, it can be argued that they face a higher risk of having their residence permits revoked under the new legislation. This is because the protection status is based on the general security situation in the country of origin and does not consider individual fear of persecution. Although displacement poses risks for everyone, gender norms and roles expose women to different types of risk, vulnerabilities, and discrimination (European Parliament, 2016, p. 3). It is therefore the responsibility of Denmark, to take into consideration gender in all policy and practice, at all stages.

Taking this into account, the aim of this thesis is to examine how gender is considered in practices of cessation in Denmark, departing from 2019 where a new legislation was introduced, changing the standards of cessation, and to analyze cessation policy and practice from a critical perspective, to understand where it may fail to take women's experience into account. This is to assess how and whether (non) considerations of gender in cessation policies and practice have an impact on women with temporary protection in Denmark.

Therefore, the following questions are asked:

1.2. Research questions

How is gender considered in cessation practices in Denmark following the “paradigm shift” in 2019? What impacts does this have on women with temporary protection in Denmark?

1.3. Research outline

Chapter one introduces the research area of this thesis and presents the aim and research questions. It also presents limitations to the research. Chapter two provides background information on Danish asylum and migration policy, cessation rules and the legal frameworks under which the Danish immigration authorities and the Danish government operate. Chapter three provides a literature review of previous literature on the topic of gender, refugee law and cessation practices, to situate the topic of this thesis within previous research. Chapter four provides a presentation of the chosen theoretical framework and presents briefly how the chosen theories will be operationalized. This

will be followed by chapter five which provides an overview of the methodology, including data collection, methods, and limitations to the research. Chapter five also includes a presentation of the empirical data that will be used as part of the analysis as well as limitations, validity, and bias. This will be followed by chapter six where an analysis is provided. Chapter seven will provide a discussion of the findings presented in chapter five. Lastly, this will be followed by concluding remarks in chapter eight.

1.4. Delimitations

First and foremost, it should be stated that this thesis does not try to convey the individual experiences of refugee women in Denmark. I am aware that women's experiences are different, and therefore it should be stated that this thesis does not try to illustrate women's individual experiences. The aim of this thesis is instead to analyze cessation policy and practice from a critical perspective, to understand where it may fail to take women's experience into account on a structural level. This naturally brings forward limitations, as it is not possible to gain an understanding of the individual experiences of women. Equally, it is important to mention that this thesis does not argue that women can only be defined as victims of persecution based on their gender. It instead aims to argue the importance of taking a gender into consideration at all stages for all individuals, to have a more equal outcome. Though the thesis was limited to examining cessation cases of woman complainants, it does not mean to argue that men are not impacted by cessation policy and practice too. Including a focus on men, could have contributed to a broader understanding of comparative elements in relation to gendered consequences of migration and asylum policy. Furthermore, a comparative element could also have been included regarding the policies chosen. Originally, the critical frame analysis inspired by Verloo (2016) can be used to analyze and compare gender equality policies between different States (Verloo, 2016, p. 18). However, for the purpose of this thesis, Denmark was chosen as the only State to focus on. This was done because of the recent legal changes in Danish refugee policy and Denmark being the first country to deem areas of Syria safe. However, since other States such as Norway have also recently introduced stricter cessation practices, a comparative element could have further strengthened the analysis.

For the empirical data, only fifteen cases were selected for the analysis. Though they have provided material for examining the research question, it is important to mention that the selected cases are not far-reaching. It could have strengthened the analysis to include a bigger variety of cases within the chosen time frame. However, within the time scope of the thesis, a choice was made to be able

to examine the documents more in-depth. Though some material and information regarding the topic is available publicly, it was difficult to find administrative and internal guidelines for the Danish immigration authorities to use regarding considerations of gender in asylum and cessation cases. This also sets limitations, as it could provide a more detailed perspective of the structural implementation of gender considerations. Generally, appealed cases are published publicly online and are anonymous. However, first-instance cases are not available publicly and it was therefore not possible to add the arguments made by the Danish Immigration Service in the first instances of the cases, unless it was mentioned in the cessation cases. All cessation cases examined were published online and were publicly available. Moreover, they were all anonymized. All documents, cases and statements published in Danish were translated by the author of the thesis. This might cause limitations in case certain words are lost in translation. However, words that could not be translated directly from Danish to English, have been mentioned in footnotes. In addition, when certain quotes or statements have been translated, it is pointed out in footnotes.

2. Background

2.1. Danish immigration and refugee policies

Denmark has historically been referred to as a liberal frontrunner in relation to refugee protection (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2017, p. 99). However, in the two previous decades, a dramatic change has occurred, where several restrictive policies on both asylum and immigration have been imposed (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2017, p. 99). In 2015 the new temporary protection status under Bill L72 was introduced, referred to as §7 (3) under the Aliens Act, to answer to the “*significant increase in the number of asylum seekers entering both Denmark and neighboring countries*”² (L72, 2014, p. 3). In 2015, the Danish government launched its response to the “refugee crisis” in Europe by tightening the requirements for permanent residence permits, and the rules on cessation and revocation of residence permits (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 15). Bill L40 was introduced in 2019, following the introduction of the temporary protection status in 2015, shifting the focus on immigration policies towards temporary protection and return. This is referred to as the “paradigm shift” by the Danish Government (Tan, 2021, p. 61). The Danish government announced that these legislative changes would contain a new approach to the immigration and integration area focusing on “temporality and repatriation” to send a clear signal that refugees’ stay in Denmark is “temporary” (L40, 2019, p. 12). A more direct change in the law was the removal of the word “integration” changing it to “return”.

² Authors own translation

Thereby, shifting Danish immigration policies from focusing on integration to return (Rytter et al., 2023, p. 9). Bill L40 also introduced a new standard for the assessment of cessation for refugees and family reunified refugees, where cessation of residence permits can occur unless it would be against Denmark's international responsibilities (L40, 2019, 26). Previously, temporary residence permits were extended automatically but because of the legislative changes, a regular review of protection needs was introduced (Tan, 2021, p. 61).

2.2.Cessation

Cessation refers to when a “*refugee, having secured or being able to secure national protection, either of the country of origin or of another country, no longer needs international protection*” (UNHCR, 1997). The law of cessation can also be described as the legal and procedural standards proposing the circumstances under which a State can end the protection of Convention refugees and refugees with other forms of protection (Tan, 2021, p. 61). The cessation clauses that provide the legal framework for cessation, are detailed in Article 1C of the Refugee Convention. They can be divided into reasons that are related to the actions of the individual, and into reasons related to there being a change of circumstances in the country of origin (EASO, 2021a, p. 9). However, in relation to changed circumstances in the country of origin the cessation of complementary protection statuses diverges from the cessation of refugee status in the sense that the circumstances that led to granting complementary protection may only have changed to such a degree that protection is no longer required (EASO, 2021a, p. 12). UNHCR published in 2003 “*Guidelines on International Protection: Cessation of Refugee Status under Article 1C(5) and (6) of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees*” (UNHCR, 2003), to help States make use of the cessation clause fairly. Though the guidelines are not legally binding, Denmark has ratified the legal instrument that contains the cessation clause. When applying cessation clauses, States must keep in mind that ending international protection can have considerable consequences on the life and security of the concerned persons. The cessation clauses must therefore always be used with caution and with consideration to the context where cessation takes place (EASO, 2021a, p. 9). According to the Danish Immigration Service, a residence permit can be revoked or denied extended for several reasons. It can be revoked, if the basis for a temporary residence permit is incorrect or is no longer present, or if the Danish Immigration Service assesses that a person no longer risks persecution if they return to their home (Nyidanmark, 2019). A residence permit can also be annulled or denied extended based on fraud or serious criminal acts (Nyidanmark, 2019). If a decision is made to revoke a temporary a residence permit, the Danish immigration authorities must then assess whether

the cessation of residence permit conflicts with Denmark's international obligations (Nyidanmark, 2019). The Danish Immigration Services' decisions in cessation cases are then automatically appealed to the Refugee Appeals Board. For the purpose of this thesis, the term "cessation" encompasses both revocation, cessation and denial of extension of a refugee status and other forms of refugee protection.

2.3.The Danish Asylum Procedure

If the Danish Immigration Service decides that an asylum case can be processed in Denmark, the first part of the asylum procedure is that asylum seekers are called for an asylum interview with the Danish Immigration Service. During the asylum interview, the asylum seeker is asked to explain their reason and motive behind seeking asylum (Danish Refugee Council, n.d.). After the asylum interview, the Danish Immigration Service will look at this explanation in combination with relevant background information that can be found about the applicant's country of origin. After the asylum interview, the applicant will receive a letter from the Danish Immigration Service with their decision in the asylum case, which will either be a residence permit according to sections; §7 (1), §7 (2), §7 (3) of the Aliens Act, or a refusal (Danish Refugee Council, n.d.). Similarly, to the asylum process, when an applicant's residence permit is assessed regarding cessation, an interview is carried out by the Danish Immigration Service. The first interview with the applicant is of great importance in a cessation context, as it plays a large role in deciding whether the applicant's residence permit can be revoked. The first interview is carried out by Danish Immigration Service, and the second form of interview is as a part of a hearing with the Refugee Appeals Board (Filskov et al., 2022, p. 76). In cessation cases, the complainant is asked about new conditions in the home country that the complainant might not be familiar with. Furthermore, the complainant can comment on this information and provide new information that may be important to the assessment of the security situation (Filskov et al., 2022, p. 76).

2.4.National and international legal framework

2.4.1. The Aliens Act

The national laws regulating protection status, revocation and cessation practices can all be found in the Aliens Act of Denmark. Section 7 of the Aliens Act provides the legal basis for refugee and complementary status in Denmark. Under section 7 of the Aliens Act there are three different forms of protection:

- §7 (1) “A residence permit will be granted to an alien upon application for the purpose of a temporary stay if the alien is covered by the provisions of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951” (Nyidanmark [New to Denmark], 2022)
- §7 (2) “A residence permit will be granted to an alien upon application for the purpose of a temporary stay if the alien risks the death penalty or being subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment if returning to his country of origin. An application as mentioned in the first sentence above will also be considered an application for a residence permit for the purpose of a temporary stay according to subsection § 7 (1)” (Nyidanmark [New to Denmark], 2022).
- §7(3) “In cases comprised by subsection (2) where the risk of a death penalty or being subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment originates from a particularly grave situation in the alien’s country of origin characterized by random violence and assaults on civilians, a residence permit will be granted upon application for the purpose of a temporary stay” (Nyidanmark, 2022).

2.4.2. *The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol*

Internationally, Denmark is a signatory State to the 1951 Refugee Convention and was one of the first countries to sign it. The 1951 Refugee Convention is the main international treaty concerning refugee protection, including the principle of non-refoulement, that asserts that a refugee should not be returned to a country where they face serious threats to their life or freedom. The Convention defines the minimum standards for the treatment of refugees and defines a refugee’s obligations to host countries in addition to the legal obligations of the States that have ratified the Convention (UNHCR, n.d.). The 1967 Protocol eliminated the geographic and time-based limitations, expanding the Convention to apply universally (UNHCR), n.d.). Under Article 1C of the 1951 Convention, refugee status can cease to exist either through the actions of the refugee or through fundamental changes in the country of origin which the refugee status was based on, as was mentioned in section 2.2. This is also referred to as the “ceased circumstances” clauses (UNHCR, 2003, p. 2). The 1951 Refugee Convention does not mention gender or sex as grounds for protection. However, it has been widely accepted that gender can play a role in forms of persecution (UNHCR, 2002, p. 3). In 2002, the UNHCR published guidelines for the interpretation of the refugee definition contained in Article 1A(2) of the Refugee Convention from a gender perspective. Moreover, the guidelines proposed some procedural practices to ensure that the right considerations are given to women in refugee status determination procedures (UNHCR, 2002, p. 2).

2.4.3. *The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence*

To ensure that gender is considered in refugee determination procedures and that women's persecution grounds are taken seriously, the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention hereinafter) was adopted in 2011. Denmark ratified the Istanbul Convention on the 23rd of April 2014 and was among the first States participating when it entered into force on the 1st of August 2014 (Council of Europe, 2017, p. 10). The Istanbul Convention focuses on numerous areas, obligating States to take different measures to act against violence against women and domestic violence (Council of Europe, n.d.-a). It states in Article 60 (1) that: "*Parties shall take the necessary legislative or other measures to ensure that gender-based violence against women may be recognized as a form of persecution within the meaning of Article 1, A (2), of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and as a form of serious harm giving rise to complementary/subsidiary protection*" (Istanbul Convention, 2014, Art. 60).

2.4.4. *Other relevant international legal documents*

Denmark is also a signatory state to the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR), which was implemented into Danish national law in 1992. This means that the Danish courts have a duty to enforce it. The ECHR protects citizens of the EU states against human rights violations (Danish Institute For Human Rights, n.d.). Article 3 of the Convention states that "*No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment*" (ECHR, 1950, Art. 3). Another important and relevant convention that Denmark has ratified, is the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW is often described as an international bill of rights for women, because it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and has set up an agenda for national action to end discrimination against women and girls (UN Women, 2016). Denmark ratified the CEDAW convention on the 21st of April 1983. In its preamble, it directly recognizes that discrimination against women continues to occur (OHCHR, n.d.). Denmark's commitment to gender equality can also be found in its commitment to gender mainstreaming under the Treaty of Amsterdam. The Treaty of Amsterdam was signed in Amsterdam on the 2nd of October 1997 and entered into force on the 1st of May 1999 (European Parliament, 2023). Gender mainstreaming was recognized internationally as the strategy globally for gender equality at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, where the concept was promoted by the EU (EPRS, 2019).

3. Literature review

The more recent shifts in Danish immigration policies have been discussed by scholars such as Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017), Vedsted-Hansen (2022) and Tan (2021) debating the so-called “paradigm shift” in Danish refugee policy. They argue from different perspectives that the lack of a more encompassing complementary protection framework in Danish immigration laws leaves the law open for governments to reduce their protection obligations (Tan, 2021, p. 60). Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017) emphasizes that while Denmark historically has been a liberal frontrunner regarding protection of refugees, in recent decades Denmark has introduced deterrence policies, aimed at limiting the number of refugees coming to Denmark (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2017, p. 99). Lindberg (2020) also focuses on policy measures implemented since 2015 in Denmark and Sweden, arguing that migration was portrayed as a threat to the social and political order of the welfare state, and therefore the rights of refugees were minimized (Lindberg, 2020, p. 96). Similarly, Garvik & Valenta (2021) examine the restriction in asylum policies in Scandinavian countries, focusing on the impact it has on minors from Afghanistan (Garvik & Valenta, 2021, p. 1). Jacobsen (2022) scrutinizes the legal changes in Danish asylum policies and the consequences it has had for people displaced by war (Jacobsen, 2022, p. 819). She focuses on the legal changes that were introduced by Denmark in 2014-2015, that targeted primarily Syrian refugees, and argues that the new legal status introduced operates as a legal mechanism that limits refugees’ access to protection (Jacobsen, 2022, p. 820). By drawing on feminist geo-legal analysis, she illustrates how Denmark was able to change the meaning of refugee protection (Jacobsen, 2022, p. 819). Equally, Schultz (2020) discusses the limited legal reasoning behind excluding people who the state no longer believes need protection. One way to do this is for example by conditioning the cessation of refugee status based on improved conditions in the country of origin (Schultz, 2020, p. 170). Though not specifically focused on gender she argues that arguments based on non-state protectors create a separation between the law and the lives of refugees, especially for women who are then made dependent on male relatives for their protection (Schultz, 2020, pp. 180-181).

Though the shift towards return and temporary protection in Danish immigration policies has been debated (Tan, 2021; Vedsted-Hansen, 2023), limited scholarship has paid attention to a gendered perspective of these policies, especially in relation to cessation. Milner (2004) discusses the exemption to cessation under Article 1C of the 1951 Refugee Convention, that arises due to “compelling reasons” relating to women who have been victims of gender- based violence, in relation to persons who have been victims of past persecutions (Milner, 2004, p. 91). Edwards

(2010a) argues that the first step to reaching a non-discriminatory application of refugee law is to ensure that gender-sensitive asylum procedures are in place. She further argues that importing gender considerations into the cessation assessment is important, to understand the nature of the persecution suffered (Edwards, 2010a, p. 76). In this regard, scholarly attention has also been paid to ignoring gender when analyzing conflict and post-conflict environments, and the impact it can have (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 4). Puechguirbal (2012) examines how a feminist perspective can be used to uncover hidden gender power relations and deconstruct the gender-neutral approach that has existed in international relations. According to her, by highlighting the difference in how women and men are impacted by war in relation to security issues, it becomes clear that the end of hostilities does not necessarily equal to safety for women (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 4). More recently, Lashchuk (2023) has also pinpointed the absence of gender in the temporary protection directive, that was activated in response to the Russian attack on Ukraine. According to Lashchuk (2023) military conflicts and crises are never gender neutral and it is therefore important that aspects such as gender, ethnicity and economic situations of individuals are assessed when implementing and developing migration policies (Lashchuk, 2023, p. 306). Because of the potentially serious consequences of return, it is according to Edwards (2010a), necessary to import gender considerations into cessation practice for understanding the nature of the persecution suffered and the seriousness of its effects (Edwards, 2010a, p. 76).

Growing literature has also focused on gender within the security field. According to Welfens (2020), though feminist research has contributed to showing how structures of protection and security are vastly gendered, feminist analyses of refugee and asylum policies remain infrequent (Welfens, 2020, p. 512). Tickner (2004) has criticized the field of security for not including gendered perspectives. She argues that that claims of objectivity and universality that rest on knowledge primarily about men must be questioned and that feminists seek to develop knowledge from the everyday practices of peoples' lives (Tickner, 2004, p. 45). According to Freedman (2017) when studying immigration and asylum policy it is interesting to include from feminist approaches to security, because analysis of security should go beyond a state-centric approach (Freedman, 2017, pp. 148-149; Tickner, 1992, p. 128). Shepherd (2009) criticizes the war/peace dichotomy that is central to traditional international relations (IR), indicating how a focus on war and peace can neglect to consider politics related to everyday violence. She argues that the war/peace dichotomy is gendered and misleading (Shepherd, 2009, p. 208). Hudson (2005) similarly argues for a more fluid interpretation of gender in human security, because the link between gender and security constructs

is often overlooked (Hudson, 2005, p. 155). Correspondingly, Wadley (2009) argues that the field of international security is silent towards gender. He finds that ignoring gender means elevating “the masculine” to a universal status, which in turn produces theories that are partial, though claiming they are neutral (Wadley, 2009, p. 39). He states that failing to consider the role of gender does not make a theory gender-neutral, instead possibly the contrary (Wadley, 2009, p. 39).

Existing literature has contributed significantly to the field of gender and refugee law by demonstrating how the refugee definition has not and is not always interpreted in a way that takes gender into account (Querton, 2019, p. 379). In IR, scholars such as Tickner (1992) have argued that gendered perceptions are present in IR but that they are hidden by gender neutrality. Feminist critique of refugee law has similarly argued that international refugee law was created through male standards, criticizing the lack of mention of gender and sex in the refugee definition (Querton, 2019; Freedman, 2008b). By some scholars this has also been criticized of being “blind” to women, gender and sexual inequality (Edwards, 2010b, p. 22; Valji, 2001; Puecguirbal, 2012). A rise in scholarly work with the focus on gender-related claims has also occurred. A range of scholars argue for the fact that gender-sensitive asylum and refugee policies should also take the different vulnerabilities between refugees into account (Welfens, 2020; Freedman, 2017). Patrick (2004) in a similar fashion address how some forms of gender-related violence have come to be understood as persecution and how lack of state protection can be related to gender (Patrick, 2004). Scholarly work has highlighted the need to address gendered inequalities in refugee and asylum policies for decades (Spijkeboer, 2017; Freedman, 2010a). Some studies have also highlighted that though the relevance of sex and gender corresponds it is necessary to separate the two as well (Chinkin & Charlesworth, 2006). According to Freedman (2008b) even though new developments in asylum policies in Europe can be described as theoretically “gender neutral,” the differences in the circumstances of men and women who arrive to seek asylum may bring forward different implications, that are gendered (Freedman, 2008b, p. 413). Edwards (2010b) likewise argues that attempts to bring women to an equal place with men through “gender mainstreaming” have not been without problems (Edwards, 2010b, p. 23). Welfens (2020) has similarly examined how the EU refers to gender in its definitions and responses to crisis and argues that crisis responses decrease gender considerations to refugee women. Furthermore, she argues that policy intentions focused on reducing refugee arrivals can lead to further limiting refugees’ access to protection (Welfens, 2020, p. 510).

Though the inclusion and promotion of gender and gender equality in refugee law and in migration policies has been debated over the last decade, gender in relation to cessation and return has not received much attention. Some scholars have managed to examine gender aspects of return to conflict situations and in relation to repatriation. However, not in relation to cessation of temporary protection statuses in Denmark. Denmark has been studied many times as a case, due to the changes in immigration and asylum laws in the last decade. As mentioned, the more recent shifts in Danish immigration policies have been discussed by scholars such as Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017), Vedsted-Hansen (2022) and Tan (2021) examining the protection gaps arising from the newer changes in legislation. However, limited research exists on the importance of gender considerations in these policies and practice. Therefore, this thesis will focus on how gender is considered in Danish migration policies, to examine how and to what extent gender and gender equality is considered and remembered in cessation practices. This in turn, will add to the discussion on the importance of including gender in the assessment of refugee protection and discuss what impacts (non) consideration of gender can have on the protection of women refugees.

4. Theoretical Framework

4.1. Feminist Standpoint Theory

Standpoint theory started developing in the 1970s as a feminist critical theory focusing on the relation between the production of knowledge and practices of power (Harding, 2004b, p. 1). Standpoints theorists as a main point, claim that research, especially research focused on power relations, should begin with the lives of the marginalized and an understanding of knowledge as socially situated. Though it is difficult to generalize the concept of feminist standpoint, according to Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002) “*the notion of standpoint is a way of taking women’s experience as a fundamental to knowledge of political relations between women and men*” (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p. 60). Therefore, taking a feminist standpoint means that the research can help produce an understanding of how knowledge of gender is interconnected with women’s experiences and the realities of gender (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002, p. 61). Feminist standpoint theory offers a theoretical perspective for studying gender in political and social institutions. It is therefore a useful theoretical framework to examine gender considerations in the practices of Danish immigration authorities and the impact they may have on women. By grounding the research in the experiences of women refugees through standpoint theory it allows for identifying the norms that exclude them. Therefore, this thesis engages with feminist standpoint theory to examine and

analyze where policy and practice may fail to take the different features of women's experiences into account (Zeigler and Stewart, 2009, p. 116). Because this thesis examines cessation cases of women primarily from the Global south, it should be acknowledged that women's experiences cannot be generalized and that other factors such as sexuality, race and disability can also influence the experiences of women and how institutions interact with them (Yacoub, 2022).

4.1.1. Debate on difference and essentialism

Standpoint theory has been accused of “essentialism”, not taking the different experiences that women have into consideration (Harding, 2004b, p. 8). However, Harding (2004b) argues that standpoint theorists from the beginning have tried to create a “decentered” form of knowledge, by creating notions of intersectional social locations where different oppressive structures interconnect, such as gender, class and race among other structures (Harding, 2004b, p. 8). Some feminist debates have criticized taking women as the starting point, arguing that it runs the risk by assuming “*that there is such a thing as a true essence of women with features that can be extended to all women despite their differences*” (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017b, p. 25). They argue that this form of essentialism can risk hiding women's different experiences of inequality, as it may not take intersecting inequalities into account (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017b, p. 25). Hekman (1997) argues that we cannot cancel feminist standpoint theory for this reason, as it raises a central question of “*how do we justify the truth of the feminist claim that women have and are oppressed?*” (Hekman, 1997, p. 342). She contends that women have multiple standpoints but that this does not prevent women from coming together and working on specific political goals concerning all women (Hekman, 1997, p. 362). However, focusing solely on women does according to Lombardo and Meier (2022), risk disguising different experiences of inequality and leaves less visible patriarchal structures unquestioned. (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 104). A gender approach on the other hand, that focuses on socially constructed relations between women and men (which will be explained further in the next section) can highlight unequal gender structures and norms that facilitate systemic causes of patriarchal power (Lombardo and Meier, 2022, p. 104). While gender and policy studies have gradually evolved from focusing on women to focusing on gender, a gender approach still tends to put women at the center. However, it can be argued that though gender is about the social constructions of masculinities and femininities, this understanding is built on the idea that these social constructions tend to be historically to the disadvantage of women (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 105). Therefore, it makes sense that women are often the focus when studying gender considerations.

In the past decade there has been a shift in feminist scholarship concerning the notion of “the” feminist standpoint to an understanding of multiple feminist standpoints. Multiple standpoints of women generate, according to Hawkesworth (1999), an analytical tool that can accept diverseness (Hawkesworth, 1999, p. 136). Hawkesworth suggests that feminist standpoint theory as analytical tool fits with examining problems where “objectivity” is being masked by traditional social science. According to her, standpoint theory used as an analytical tool can therefore contribute to the construction of a more impartial account of political issues (Hawkesworth, 1999, p. 136). Harding argues for feminist standpoints and not a “women’s” standpoint (Harding, 2004b, p. 12), and is of the opinion that there cannot be one standpoint, because the situations of women are diverse (Hekman, 1997, p. 353). Originally, feminist standpoint theorists claimed that the standpoint of women offered an advantaged point for knowledge. However, according to Hekman (1997) if women’s differences should be accounted for, it must argue that women have different standpoints (Hekman, 1997, p. 349). Therefore, there are multiple standpoints from where knowledge is produced (Hekman, 1997, p. 342). This avoids the likelihood of essentialism as it starts from socially constructed claims that are less partial, as it takes a starting point from the perspective of less dominant groups, for example women (Hekman, 1997, p. 354). Harding (2016) argues that there is no “gender” but only gender constructed through historical struggles over who will have access to resources and power (Harding, 2016, p. 150). To understand women’s experiences or the gender relations in any culture, analyses must begin with women’s lives, and by focusing on women of different races, classes, cultures, and sexualities (Harding, 2016, p. 150). Feminist scholars are aware of the risks of homogenization that are present within the feminist movement (Verloo, 2016, p. 24). However, they also see the benefits of acknowledging the plurality of women’s experiences for strengthening the common and, at the same time, different struggles for social justice (Verloo, 2016, p. 25).

4.1.2. *Knowledge as socially situated*

According to Harding, (2009) the goal of standpoint projects is to “study up” starting off from the lives of “*oppressed, exploited, or dominated groups*” (Harding, 2009, p. 195). By studying up, research can start from what appears as issues and problems in the daily lives of oppressed groups and focus research questions on the dominant institutions their cultures and practices (Harding, 2011, p. 167; in Tickner & Sjoberg, 2011). This can be done by examining for example law, economy, education, and welfare systems, as they, according to Harding, distribute benefits primarily to the already socially advantaged (Harding, 2009, p. 195). According to standpoint

theorists, those who have power to produce knowledge, can also define what type of knowledge counts as being valid. Therefore, when examining norms like “neutrality” and “objectivity” less partial knowledge has to be acknowledged (Cabas-Mijares, 2023, p. 1616). Harding describes the term standpoint as synonymous with the term “perspective” because standpoint research focuses on achieving a perspective that look under the ideological surface of social relations that are accepted by society as “natural” or “normal” (Harding, 2009, p. 195). Rolin (2009) adds to Harding’s point by arguing that standpoint theory takes the perspective that social-scientific research should begin from the lives of those who are unprivileged to gain a more impartial understanding of reality and to expose hidden aspects between genders and institutions (Rolin, 2009, p. 219). She emphasizes that it urges researchers to reflect on power relations as obstacle to the production of knowledge. She also argues that feminist standpoint theory can help outline a way of producing scientific knowledge (Rolin, 2009, p. 219). Feminist theory emphasizes studying and understanding how and to what extent political processes, institutions and policies produce power relations. However, it also draws attention to criticizing and exploring how change can occur that would bring forward a more equal society (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 107). Standpoint theory as an epistemology, originating from Marxism, argues that there is no such thing as a neutral standpoint and that all systems reflect social interests and values. Therefore, a society where the production of knowledge is controlled by a certain group, the knowledge produced will then reflect that group (Jaggar, 2004, p. 56). Feminist theory generally finds that in society, women suffer specific forms of oppression. This entails that their individual social positions provide women with distinctive standpoints (Jaggar, 2004, p. 57). It is therefore from these standpoints possible to gain a more thorough view of the reality in a specific situation (Jaggar, 2004, p. 57).

4.2. Gender and Policy

To understand and examine gender considerations in cessation policy and practice, it is necessary to introduce some concepts that will be used in the thesis. According to Lombardo and Meier (2022) gender and policy studies address problems related to gender inequality through different epistemological and methodological approaches (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 99). They emphasize that gender policies are policies that aim to address gender inequalities, whereas gender *in* policies focus on gender within policies that are not explicitly concerned with gender inequalities (Lombardo and Meier, 2022, p. 99). In this thesis, the latter will be the focus, as this thesis is interested in examining gender considerations in migration and asylum policies and not in gender equality policies. Lombardo and Meier (2022) describe a policy as “*the socially constructed output*

of processes of policymaking in which governments, at different levels, plan, formulate, adopt, implement and evaluate interventions aimed at addressing problems that political actors deem relevant in specific social contexts” (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 100). They argue that gender and policy studies contribute to policy research because it puts the analysis of power at the forefront when examining policy. In addition, gender studies generally have contributed to showing how policies are not gender-neutral and how they can hinder gender equality. For example, policies can reproduce gender inequalities by reproducing gendered norms that strengthen the power and privilege of certain groups (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 100). Generally, research focusing on policy problems from gender perspectives can help identify and question the gender inequalities policies can reproduce. It can also help identify the multiple ways in which a policy problem can be framed and help identify impacts of the gendered interpretations and norms that are entrenched in the policies (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 103). Additionally, gender and policy studies can contribute to assessments of how far adopted policies successfully include gender and achieve gender equality (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 104). Feminist approaches to political analysis therefore explore, how power relations are gendered since they replicate gender norms and biases that generate hierarchies between women and men (Hawkesworth, 1994, p. 98; Kantola & Lombardo, 2017a, p. 324).

4.2.1. Gender as a social construct

Focusing on gender, requires an understanding of the wider societal structures that reproduce patterns of power and inequality. Gender itself is a contested concept that has been interpreted in many ways (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017a, p. 327). In this research I draw on Kantola & Lombardo’s (2017a) analytical definition of gender that defines gender as “*a complex socially constructed relation between masculinities and femininities* (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017a, p. 327). They approach gender from a critical perspective, emphasizing that deep gender structures are socially constructed. According to them, gender must always be understood in relation to wider societal structures to understand inequalities that are structural (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017a, p. 327). Though gender from this perspective, concerns the social constructions of masculinity and femininity, this understanding relies on the idea that these constructions historically disadvantage women (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 105). Its limitation is therefore the risk of essentialism.

Therefore, it is important to remember that unequal structures are not only caused by gender norms but can also by other social structures such as class or race (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017a, p. 327).

4.2.2. *Approaches to political analysis of gender*

There are many different approaches to political analysis of gender that range from focusing on women, to analyzing gender constructions, to focusing on intersectionality and to adopting post-structural approaches (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017b, p. 20). In this research I have adopted the gender approach described by Kantola and Lombardo (2017a), as I am interested in examining how gender is considered in specific migration policies and practices. Feminist approaches to political analysis generally investigate how power relations are gendered because they reproduce gender norms and biases that generate hierarchies between women and men (Hawkesworth, 1994, p. 98). Secondly, feminist theorists have argued for expanding the definition of what can be defined as being within the political sphere to include what has been described as “private” issues, that traditionally were excluded from the public sphere (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017a, p. 324.). According to Verloo & Lombardo (2007) the public/private division is one the key concepts within societal structures that contribute to maintaining and reproducing gender inequality (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 28). Examples of gender approaches to politics include a focus on what is referred to as “*gender mainstreaming*” that explores gendered impacts of policies and the extent to which political structures, norms, and practices have included gender in every stage (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017a, p. 328). According to Verloo & Lombardo (2007), there are different ways of conceptualizing gender equality that has been articulated through feminist tradition. One example of a strategy focusses on equal opportunities, achieving equality through “sameness”. Then, there is the approach of transforming norms and standards that has previously defined what is and what should be male and female. This is according to Verloo & Lombardo achieved through the gender mainstreaming approach (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 23). According to Lombardo (2016) gender mainstreaming is “*the strategy that aims to incorporate a gender perspective into all public policies so that they counter gender bias and produce gender equality in politics and society*” (Lombardo, 2016, p. 1). Gender mainstreaming suggests an analysis of how policies and structures are androcentric because they often present the male norm as neutral (Lombardo, 2016, p. 1). Mainstreaming gender in all policy areas therefore requires reflecting upon the relation between different gender issues and policy areas and considering them within all institutions and policies (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, p. 24).

4.3. Feminist security theory

When studying immigration and asylum policy relating to cessation and revocation, it is also interesting to include understandings from feminist approaches to security. Many scholars have examined the ways EU immigration policies have become securitized leading to confining forms of policies and policy making (Freedman, 2017, p. 148). The concept of securitization was developed by the Copenhagen School in the 1990s, providing a way to study the social constructions of security (Donnelly, 2017, p. 248). The way security is referred to plays an extremely powerful role in separating those who are worthy of protection and those who are not (Donnelly, 2017, p. 244). (Donnelly, 2017), p. 244). The Copenhagen School makes the distinction between “international security” and “social security”, stating that the act of securitization is always related to the claim of the presence of an existential threat (Hansen, 2000, p. 289). Feminist scholars have criticized the absence of gender consideration in the Copenhagen School’s conceptualization of security, as it does not allow for inclusion of the complexness of gender insecurity. Although certain gender insecurities target individuals, certain individuals also become targets because of gendered norms (Hansen, 2000, p. 291). Tickner (2011) mentions that a multifaceted definition of security was introduced by Tickner (1992) arguing that “*security is not just about the security of states but also about the security of individuals and groups; it is about violence of all forms, including structural violence and violence we are committing against our natural environment*” (Tickner, 1992 in; Tickner, 2011, p. 577). From this perspective, feminist theorists focus more on individuals, as opposed to focusing on states and the causes and consequences of war (Tickner, 2011, p. 578). For feminist scholars, analysis of security has to go beyond a state-centric approach (Freedman, 2017, pp. 148-149; Tickner, 1992, p. 128). Feminists theorists also argue that failing to understand the role of gender in IR perpetuates gendered hierarchies that value masculinity over femininity, which then in turn becomes a disadvantage to women’s security (Romaniuk, 2009, p. 144). According to Hudson (2005), a feminist perspective on security can make it more reflective of its assumptions and it can help highlight the risk of universalism that ignores individual experiences (Hudson, 2005, p. 155). Feminist theorists point out that security issues need to be extended to include security concerns of women, because a traditional approach to national security often enforces values that are male defined (Hudson, 2005, p. 157). Human security focuses on people directly and give special attention to their right to live in safety with dignity instead of focusing on the state’s security and sovereignty (Edwards, 2009, p. 765). Therefore, according to Edwards (2009), human security can help develop an understanding of gendered experiences of security and insecurity (Edwards,

2009, p. 765). However, the idea of human security has also met criticism. One concern is that it may undermine human rights and other law systems because of its non-legal nature (Edwards, 2009, p. 765). Another concern is according to Hudson (2005), that it is dangerous to place femininity and masculinity into the term “human” as it could conceal gendered fundamentals of security (Hudson, 2005, p. 157). Though the term human is presented as being gender-neutral it can also be an expression of masculine norms (Hudson, 2005, p. 157). Similarly, by presenting women as a part of a group, it can mask the differences within that “group” (Hudson, 2005, p. 157). For the purpose of this thesis, the reconceptualization of security that feminist scholars have provided, allow for individual levels of security to be considered. Therefore, it can help examining the impacts of policy and practice on women and their security, if gendered dimensions of policy and practice are ignored (Freedman, 2017, p. 149).

4.4. Operationalization of theory through Critical Frame Analysis

To operationalize the theories chosen, a critical frame analysis inspired by Verloo (2016) was used to identify themes and frames within the empirical data. The identified themes were then examined correspondingly with the theoretical framework to answer the research questions. Conducting a frame analysis, involved identifying categories for frame identification, conducting text analysis, and investigating frames. To begin the analysis, Denmark’s asylum policy and its legislative documents, as well as cessation cases published between 2020-2023 were analyzed. Main frames were found in policy documents and cessation cases by using a critical frame analysis. By engaging with the theoretical framework of feminist standpoint theory as an analytical tool, as well as feminist perspectives on security theory, it was possible to highlight areas that needed critical assessment. Because this research is concerned with migration policies and practice, gender considerations within policies that are not explicitly concerned with gender equality were examined (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 99). Therefore, not all frames that were identified were explicitly concerned with gender or gender equality but had gendered perspectives, that were examined. As an analytical tool, feminist standpoint theory has several advantages. Hawkesworth (1999) suggests that feminist standpoint theory as analytical tool can help in inspecting problems related to the “neutrality” that is masked by traditional social science. Feminist standpoint theory used as an analytical tool, can therefore contribute to the construction of a more impartial interpretation of policies and practice (Hawkesworth, 1999, p. 136). By using standpoint theory, it is possible to “study up” by examining dominant social institutions and their practices, rather than trying to explain the lives of marginalized groups (Harding, 2004a, p. 31). According to Harding, this can be

carried out by focusing on a politically disadvantaged or oppressed group and attempting to bring understandings of certain social structures' impact (Harding, 2004a, pp. 30-31). This approach tends to be critical and can help explain how certain social structures of society works excluding women structurally (Gurung, 2020, p. 111). To operationalize the analysis of frames, elaboration is needed on what shapes a policy frame. As will be explained in the next section, a frame analysis approach can be used to assess policies and practice based on frames identified in policy documents and cases and by using a theory-based assessment approach (Dombos et al., 2012, p. 8).

5. Methodology

This section intends to provide an overview of the methods used to collect data and to carry out the analysis. Furthermore, this section will present the data collected, present an overview of other material included and discuss limitations and advantages to the methodology.

5.1. Critical Frame Analysis

To examine how gender is considered in cessation practices and what impact this may have on women, a frame analysis was chosen as a method, as it can be used to study public policies and policy positions from a critical perspective. As I am interested in examining how gender is considered in cessation practices in Denmark, frame analysis can be used to examine policy documents related to cessation, cessation cases and legislative changes from a feminist perspective. A frame analysis was therefore used as a method for this thesis with the aim of studying frames in relation gender and security in migration (specifically cessation) policy and practice. As previous literature has shown women have been excluded from refugee policy and law (Bloch et al., 2000, p. 170). Therefore, using critical frame analysis for examining gender considerations from a critical perspective, allows for a more inclusive approach that takes women's diverse experiences into account. Frame analysis is an analytical approach that addresses the construction of meanings in policy processes, as well as the roles of actors (Björnehed & Erikson, 2018, p. 110). It has been used in different fields of study such as framing in media and communications, but also to frame conflicts in international relations and to examine gendered frames and framing in policy processes (Björnehed & Erikson, 2018, p. 111). As it looks at the constructions of meanings and roles of actors from a feminist perspective, it is well suited to operationalize the theoretical frameworks chosen. Verloo's (2016) approach to frame analysis specifically is well suited as an approach when studying gender considerations, because she focuses on gendered dimensions of policy practice

(Verloo, 2016, p. 18). According to Verloo (2016) a policy frame is an interpretation outline that structures the meaning of reality (Verloo, 2016, p. 19). It is an “*organizing principle that transforms fragmentary or incidental information into a structured and meaningful policy problem, in which a solution is implicitly or explicitly enclosed*” (Verloo, 2016, p. 20). Therefore, policy frames are not descriptions of reality but instead constructions that give meaning to reality (Verloo, 2016, p. 20). In this regard, framing can be seen as the process of “*constructing, adapting and negotiating frames*” (Verloo, 2016, p. 5).

Frame analysis involves according to Verloo (2016), steps such as selecting materials, identifying categories for frame identification, conducting document analysis, and contextualizing frames. It starts from the assumption that there are different frames in policymaking and tries to address implicit and explicit interpretations of concepts such as gender and gender equality (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 31). According to Björnehed & Erikson (2018), frame analysis often involves two key analytical tasks seeking to uncover the construction of meaning within a given context. Secondly, to identify effects or impacts frames have on political outcomes (Björnehed & Erikson, 2018, p. 110-11). Frame analysis can therefore be used as a tool to identify themes and frames within the policies in question, as well as practices stemming from the policies. In this thesis, it can be used to identify the frames present in policy documents and cases related to cessation. This will allow for examining gender considerations in the practices carried out by the Danish government and Danish immigration authorities. A method like frame analysis, that is focused on dimensions of frames allows for the description of numerous and contradictory frames and it also helps the researcher pay attention to who has a voice in defining the problem (Verloo, 2016, p. 21).

5.1.1. Using critical frame analysis as a method

To use frame analysis as a method the researcher must start from the assumption that policies always contain implicit and explicit illustrations of a diagnosis to a problem (Verloo, 2016, p. 23). Therefore, in this case, the analysis starts from the assumption that there are many different understandings and framings of gender equality and gender in policymaking. Starting with this assumption, frame analysis can then seek to address implicit or explicit interpretations of gender. To identify and analyze the framing of policy problems and its relevance to conceptions of gender and gender quality, a qualitative approach is needed. Verloo (2016) has developed what she refers to as “sensitizing questions” that helps identify discursive elements and attributed roles and voices

(Verloo, 2016, p. 26). They have been further elaborated by Dombos et al (2012). The synthesizing questions helps to read through policy documents and cases asking for example:

What are the problems to be solved? What action is proposed? What is the objective? What needs to be done? Who should do it? What references are used to support the claims? What gender dimensions are present? What gender structures can we see? (Verloo, 2016, p. 26; Dombos et al., 2012, p. 7).

These and similar questions can be called sensitizing questions that provide an informative tool when reading policy documents looking for frames (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, p. 35). Though the sensitizing questions provided by Verloo serves as a starting point and inspiration to guide reading of the empirical data, the questions serve merely as a guiding tool when reading through the documents and cases, to help categorize parts of the text into themes. Having these questions in mind when reading the material, frames can then be identified by searching for similarities and differences in what the documents and data say about these questions (Dombos et al., 2012, p. 7). Reading through documents with the “sensitizing questions” in mind, can according to Verloo & Lombardi (2007) help the researcher sharpen their way of looking at policies, helping to notice inconsistencies. Furthermore, frame analysis allows the researcher to find processes of exclusions that may be present in policy frames (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 38).

To start with, Denmark’s asylum policy and its legislative documents, as well as cessation cases published between 2020-2023 were analyzed. Following critical frame analysis, documents and cases were examined based on the “sensitizing questions” by assigning themes to each dimension of the text (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, p. 35). First outlines were formed within the data, where appearing categories then became the themes for analysis (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). This process first involved a reading of the data. I then took a closer look at the selected data and created categories based on the data’s characteristics. Guided by the “sensitizing questions”, categories were chosen to describe the text (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 35). Themes were then found to start an analysis of the different dimensions within a specific frame (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, p. 37). Once the themes were established, the selected documents and material, could then go through an analysis examining the different dimensions within the frames. Though this thesis does not include a comparative analysis, the different meanings of gender and gender equality were also investigated in the frames identified, to identify what issues and frames that do not get problematized. Verloo (2016) makes it clear that frame analysis is not only limited to the field of gender equality policies,

but that it can also be used for examining the impact of different framings on the implementation of policies, or to study the legitimacy of policies (Verloo, 2016, p. 29). By employing feminist theory through the frame analysis, it was possible to place focus on the norms that might exclude women to understand political realities of gender (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p. 60). By adding a feminist perspective on security, it was possible to examine not only a state centric perspective of security but also including a perspective of human security.

5.1.2. Limitations to frame analysis

Frame analysis was chosen because it has great potential as a methodology and can grasp different meanings of gender. However, it also has its limitations. Although frame analysis is a helpful tool of mapping policy frames in relation to gender and gender equality, it is not useful for understanding why the frames have emerged. To examine this, other explanatory methods should be used, to understand for example the political context that the frames have emerged in (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 40). However, to limit the scope of my thesis, it was not possible to additionally focus on this, though it could have provided interesting context for the thesis. Similarly, it should be mentioned that although frame analysis can be used to evaluate policies from a theory-based approach, it cannot be used to evaluate in the same way, policy impact (Dombos et al, 2012, p. 8). Therefore, the impacts of how gender is considered in Danish cessation practices, was instead answered through a discussion.

5.2. Document analysis

To identify and analyze frames present in the chosen policy documents and cases, a document analysis was carried out, to find relevant data to answer the research questions chosen for this thesis. As the research question asks how gender is considered in cessation practices in Denmark after 2019, the first step was to find material related to the so called “paradigm shift” in terms of policy documents and legislative changes. In addition, it was necessary to find cessation cases published after 2019, after the “paradigm shift” occurred to study cessation practice following its introduction. According to Bowen (2009) document analysis is an efficient procedure for evaluating documents. The analytic process of document analysis involves finding selecting and understanding the data contained in the documents selected, by drawing out for example extracts, quotations or passages that are then placed into categories or themes (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). As a method, document analysis is particularly relevant to study qualitative case studies, explaining phenomena, institutions and organizations (Bowen, 2009, p. 29). Document analysis is mostly used to

complement other research methods. However, it has also been used on its own (Bowen, 2009, p. 29). Qualitative researchers often suggest using other methods, such as interviews, instead of analyzing documents, avoiding analyzing documents because they may be unaware of the strengths of the method (Morgan, 2022, p. 65). The process of document analysis involves examining, reading, and interpreting documents. Combined with the frame analysis, it was possible to find themes and patterns in the empirical data. As mentioned before, this form of analysis can help form of pattern recognition within the data, with emerging themes becoming the categories for analysis (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). In the process, the researcher should according to Bowen (2009) aim for objectivity and sensitivity (Bowen, 2009, p. 34). In this regard, and because of its reflexive nature, it is important to mention my own contribution to the construction of meanings and acknowledge and that there is a possibility that my interpretation has an influence on the research (Bowen, 2009, p. 33). Furthermore, though documents can be a great source for analysis, it is according to Bowen, important to examine the documents critically. When conducting the document analysis, I therefore attempted to determine the relevance of documents to the research problem and to determine whether the content of the documents fit the framework of the study (Bowen, 2009, p. 33).

5.2.1. Limitations to document analysis

As a research method document analysis has both its advantages and disadvantages. Advantages is that it is an efficient research method, as it requires data selection and not data collection. Many documents that were used and examined were publicly available online, though certain policy and legal documents are not publicly available. This made the process of acquiring empirical material relating to the topic of the thesis smoother and more efficient. Moreover, documents do not change by the presence of research, and they can therefore be reviewed repeatedly and in depth without changing the contents (Bowen, 2009, p. 31). The policy documents and legislative changes were available publicly online. This was the same with cessation cases from the Refugee Appeals Board. Therefore, it was possible to carry out the data selection process by finding documents and cases related to cessation. However, as with most methods certain limitations also arise when using document analysis as a research method. According to Bowen (2009) since documents are not produced for the purpose of research, they do not necessarily provide enough information to answer a research question, because they often have been produced externally of a specific research goal. Likewise, some documents are not accessible to the researcher and the public which can limit the scope. In this case, there was little material publicly available focusing specifically on cessation or denial of extension of residence permits in Denmark. Therefore, it was necessary to additionally

include material focusing on asylum produced by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, the Danish Immigration Service, the Refugee Appeals Board and the Danish Parliament. An additional limitation to using document analysis according to Bowen is also that “*an incomplete collection of documents suggests biased selectivity*” (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). It is therefore important to understand the context that the documents are published within. This means that some documents can be associated with certain policies and must therefore be examined together. According to Bowen, it is better to have access to a large number of documents to provide more evidence, especially when the study relies heavily on documents. The absence or small number of documents can however, also suggest, that the topic has been given little attention or that some voices have not been heard. The researcher should therefore search for additional, related documents, that can help fill in gaps in the data, as was done in this case (Bowen, 2009, p. 33).

5.3. Validity, Reliability and Bias

When conducting a qualitative analysis, it is relevant to discuss reliability, validity, and bias. In terms of reliability, when selecting documents for analysis, several factors were considered when deciding which documents to include, for example authenticity and credibility (Morgan, 2022, p. 70). First, the documents were reviewed for authenticity. One way to do this, is to examine whether the material is a primary source or secondary source. The policy documents and cessation cases examined, are mostly primary sources and published through the Danish government or the Danish immigration authorities’ websites. I also looked at the credibility of the material, by investigating who has produced the documents, and whether they are reliable sources. Because most of the documents and cases were published by the Danish Government and immigration authorities and they are primary sources, they can be determined as credible to a larger degree (Morgan, 2022, p. 71). Regarding reliability, Verloo and Lombardo (2007) mention the influence of subjective interpretation when finding themes within the empirical data, and how this could affect the reliability of the results. To this they ask: “*How does a researcher know s/he is answering to what the text says or to what s/he thinks the text is saying?*”. Meaning how the researcher can avoid subjective interpretation when analyzing a text, that will affect the results (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 40). One way to minimize this is to contrast the interpretation with the context where the documents have originated. Furthermore, to minimize bias, different forms of material were used, both published by the Danish Government and Danish immigration authorities, but also from well-established NGOs and international organizations. Another way is to employ the “multiple eyes” approach, using more people to check the relation between themes and documents. Unfortunately,

this was not possible for the purpose of this research, because I am the only person working on this thesis. Lastly, I also believe it is necessary to mention my own positionality as a researcher. As a white woman from Denmark, I am aware that my own social positioning can also bring forward subjective interpretation. Therefore, it was important to be aware of my own assumptions to understand their impact while conducting the research. The way I view the world and interpret the documents, will naturally have some form of bias. Similarly, as I have no personal experience with regards to forced migration, I am not able to fully understand the impacts thereof on a personal level and will therefore have blind spots. However, even though I as a researcher have my own perspectives and assumptions, the critical frame analysis employed in this thesis, suggest placing myself within the feminist tradition chosen.

5.4. *Data Selection*

To examine how gender is considered in cessation practices the empirical data examined comprises of three policy documents referring to the legal changes that occurred in Danish asylum policy in 2015 and 2019, fifteen cessation cases determined and published by the Danish Refugee Appeals Board between the years 2019-2023. The process of data selection for each type of material will be explained more into depth in the following sections. To analyze how gender is considered in policy and practice, additional material published by the Danish Parliament, the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, the Danish Immigration Service and the Refugee Appeals Board was also included. Because limited material was found focusing on cessation and revocation, material relating to other relevant areas was also used. Other material includes reports, academic literature, administrative guidelines, and other forms of guidelines. A time frame was set from 2019 until end of 2023, because Bill L40 was introduced in 2019, which brought forward changes to the assessment of cessation cases. Therefore, for the chosen material, only cessation cases published by the Refugee Appeals Board, limited to the years between 2019-2023 following the introduction of Bill L40 was chosen. Likewise, cessation cases based on fraud or lapse were not examined. The study is also limited to cases concerning female applicants, referred to as “female” (kvindelig) applicant on the website of the Refugee Appeals Board, as the research is interested in examining how gender considerations impact women. All cases assessed, concern applicants who were provided with either §7(3) or §7(2) of the Aliens Act in their original asylum case, as the thesis is limited to looking at applicants with temporary protection, who did not qualify for receiving refugee status under the 1951 Convention (§7(1) of the Aliens Act).

5.5. *Material*

The data collected can be separated into three categories. The first category of documents pertains to policy documents in which legal changes and political debates between 2015 and 2023 are described. The second set of data pertain to cessation cases published by the Danish Refugee Appeals Board between 2019-2023, including both cases with negative and positive outcome. The last category pertains to other material that were necessary to use, to get a wider understanding of cessation practices in Denmark, such as administrative guidelines, reports, and academic literature.

5.5.1. *Legal documents*

To examine how gender is considered in cessation practices in Denmark following the “paradigm shift” in 2019, three policy documents were reviewed to understand the legal background of cessation/denial of extension of protection, and to understand changes that have occurred in Danish immigration policies. Two of the policy documents were chosen as they represent the two most recent legal changes that relate to cessation practices. The third policy document was additionally examined to understand Denmark’s approach to the “refugee crisis”. Additionally, they were chosen as empirical data, as they were introduced to shift Danish migration policies from focusing on integration, instead to focus more on temporary protection and return. The laws regulating protection status, revocation and cessation practices are all found in the Aliens Act of Denmark. The policy documents examined in this research shows the legal changes to the Aliens Act that occurred in 2015 and 2019. The “paradigm shift” and the legal changes that has been introduced as a part of it, serves as guiding legal document for Denmark’s response to refugees as well as their approach to cessation of refugee protection. They are therefore central to understand the frames present in policy documents and cessation practices. Understanding the “paradigm shift” can only be done in combination with looking at the legal changes that occurred in 2015. Therefore, the following section will provide a summary of policy documents related to the legal changes that occurred in 2015 and in 2019 when legal changes to the Aliens Act was introduced, changing the standards of cessation of refugee status in Denmark (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 18-19).

5.5.1.1. *Bill L72 Forslag til lov om ændring af udlændingeloven. Lovforslag som fremsat* ³

Bill L72 was proposed by the Danish Government in 2014. It was proposed to introduce a temporary protection status as its own asylum category (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 14). In the proposal it states that some groups of refugees who apply for asylum in Denmark apply for asylum

³ Translation: Proposal for law amending the Aliens Act. Bill as presented

because they are from areas where attacks against civilians were being committed as a result of conflict, and therefore *“this group of foreigners can more easily be sent back to their country of origin when the worst of the unrest is over”*⁴(L72, 2014, p. 3). The bill and other documents relating to it does not make mention of gender, except for on page 81 where it is written that the legal changes are gender-neutral and that *“it is therefore assessed that the bill do not have gender equality consequences”*⁵(L72, 2014, p. 8). According to the Danish government the new temporary protection status was introduced for persons with no individual asylum motive who has fled from a “general security situation” in their country of origin. The bill was introduced to ensure protection for this group, as long as it is necessary while also ensuring that foreigners, can be sent back *“as soon as the situation in the home country makes this possible”*⁶ (L72, 2014, p. 3). For refugees who are granted temporary protection status under § 7(3), the right to family reunification with was also suspended for a period of one year (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 15).

5.5.1.2. Bill L 140 Forslag til lov om ændring af udlændingeloven, integrationsloven, repatrieringsloven og forskellige andre love⁷

Bill L40 was introduced in 2019, following the introduction of the temporary protection status in 2015, shifting the focus on immigration policies towards temporary protection and return. It is stated that the purpose of this bill was to expand the possibility that a residence permit can be withdrawn when the conditions in § 19 are met (L40, 2019, p. 26). In relation to cessation, the bill does not mention gender or sex. However, it is mentioned in relation to temporary housing that “personal circumstances” must be considered including age, gender and special psychological vulnerability (e.g. due to trauma) (L40, 2019, p. 35). As in the previous changes to the Aliens Act, it is also mentioned that this new bill is “gender-neutral” and that no gender-equality assessment has been made. In relation to Denmark’s international obligations, it also mentioned that Denmark is under the obligations of The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (L40, 2019, p. 26).

5.5.1.3. Bill L 87 Forslag til lov om ændring af udlændingeloven.⁸

⁴ Authors own translation

⁵ Authors own translation

⁶ Authors own translation

⁷ Translation: Proposal for a law amending the Aliens Act, the Integration Act, the Repatriation Act and various other laws

⁸ Translation: Proposal for legislation amending the Aliens Act

In December 2015, the Danish government introduced its response to the “refugee crisis”⁹ in Europe, additionally restricting the conditions for those who are granted asylum by introducing more requirements for permanent residence permits and tightening the rules on revocation of refugees’ residence permits (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 15). Here the Danish Government changed their rhetoric by emphasizing that: *“We assume a shared responsibility, but in the view of the government, we should not take in so many refugees that it threatens the cohesion of our own country”*¹⁰ (L87, 2015, p. 8). They also state that: *“It is necessary to ensure the right balance, so we can maintain a good and safe society”* (L87, 2015, p. 8). In this policy document there is also no mention of the word “gender” besides it being mentioned in relation to the ECHR on page 13.

5.5.2. Cessation cases published by the Danish Refugee Appeals Board

To select cessation cases published by the Danish Refugee Appeals Board, the first step was to access the cases on the Refugee Appeals Boards website.¹¹ Hereafter, all cases published were found under the category “*Praksis*” (practice). Hereafter, the category “*Inddragelse/Nægtelse af Forlængelse*” (cessation/denial of extension) was chosen to limit the search to only cases relating to cessation/denial of extension of residence permit.

Under “cessation/denial of extension” only cases between the years 2019 and 2023 were chosen. Therefore, only cases assessed after the introduction of the so called “paradigm shift” was assessed. Likewise, cessation cases based on fraud or lapse were not examined. For each year, three cases were chosen, to make sure that they data was not concentrated only to one year and instead was spread out to the whole period chosen. The first three cases of each year were chosen, to not have a biased selection process. For the year 2019, two cases were selected from the section “*land*” choosing “Syria”, as there was only one publicly available case found under the year 2019 under “*inddragelse/nægtelse af forlængelse*” (cessation/denial of extension). However, the two cases fall under the same category, because they are cessation cases from the given timeframe. The study was also limited to cases concerning female applicants only, referred to as “kvindelig” (female) applicant on the website of the Refugee Appeals Board. All cases assessed, was also limited to applicants who were provided with either §7(3) or §7(2) of the Aliens Act in their original asylum case, as the thesis is limited to looking at applicants with temporary protection, who did not qualify

⁹ Terminology used by the Danish government and the EU

¹⁰ Authors own translation

¹¹ <https://fln.dk/>.

for receiving refugee status under the 1951 Convention (§7(1) of the Aliens Act) in their asylum case.

Table 1: Overview of cessation cases

Case No.	Country	Date of assessment	Protection status	Keywords	Result
Case 1: Soma/2019/259/MEG	Somalia	December 2019	§ 7 (3)	General Conditions, Agents of Persecution, Gender, Male Network	Revoked
Case 2: Syri/2019/38/GJEY	Syria	June 2019	§ 7 (3)	General Conditions, Single Woman,	§ 7 (2)
Case 3: Syri/2019/37/CMA	Syria	June 2019	§ 7 (3)	General Conditions, Political Conditions	§ 7 (1)
Case 4: Syri/2020/20/Smla	Syria	June 2020	§7 (3)	General Conditions, Gender, Military	Revoked
Case 5: Soma/2020/78/MSI	Somalia	October 2020	§7 (2)	General Conditions, Gender, Agents of Persecution	Revoked
Case 6: Soma/2020/98/MSI	Somalia	December 2020	§7 (2)	General Conditions, Agents of Persecution	Revoked
Case 7:	Syria	December	§ 7 (3)	General	Revoked

Syri/2021/262/Ajev		2021		Conditions, Military	
Case 8: Soma/2021/71/Ehd	Somalia	December 2021	§7 (2)	General Conditions, Gender, Male Network, Agents of Persecution	§7 (2)
Case 9: Syri/2021/252/Hmu	Syria	December 2021	§7 (3)	General Conditions, Single Woman, Male Network, Abuse	Revoked
Case 10: Syri/2022/183/Anjv	Syria	December 2022	§7 (3)	General Conditions, Political Conditions, Military, Single Woman	§7 (3)
Case 11: Syri/2022/20/Sme	Syria	Februar 2022	§7(3)	Agents of Persecution Poltical Conditions	Revoked
Case 12: Syri/2022/186/ANHK	Syria	December 2022	7 (3)	General Conditions, Political Conditions	§7 (1)
Case 13: Syri/2023/83/Kdo	Syria	December 2023	§7 (3)	General Conditions, Private issues	Remanded
Case 14: Syri/2023/24/Sme	Syria	March 2023	§7 (3)	General Conditions,	§7 (1)

				Changes in COI, Single woman	
Case 15: Syri/2023/60/Saba	Syria	August 2023	§7 (3)	General Conditions, Political Conditions	Revoked

In almost all the cases examined, the term “general conditions” was mentioned as a keyword, and also multiple times throughout the cases, relating to reasons why the protection status could not be extended. In many of the cases, changes in the country of origin is also mentioned both in relation to the general conditions, but also in one case in relation to individual circumstances. It was also found that some of the cases mention agents of persecution as a keyword, either in relation to the applicants being single women returning, in relation to having a male network or in relation to individual fear of persecution regarding gender-based violence, honor-related persecution and fearing private actors, for example family members or rebel groups. In some cases, political acts are also mentioned in the cases, for example by engaging in online activity opposing the Syrian regime.

In most of the cases examined, there is a negative outcome where the residence permit is revoked or denied extended. However, there are also cases where the applicants have received §7 (1), §7 (2) or have had their residence permit extended under §7 (3), or where the cases have been remanded to the Danish Immigration Service for a new assessment. Most cases examined were cases of Syrian women, though a few also concerned Somali women.

5.5.3. *Other material*

As limited material exists specifically focusing on cessation, other data was used to support the analysis and to gain a larger understanding of cessation practice in Denmark. This material includes reports from immigration authorities in Denmark, the Danish government and reports published by the EU, the European Parliament, and Country of Origin reports published by the EEUA and the Danish Immigration Service. The EUAA Country of Origin Information (COI) gathers relevant information and writes reports providing new information on all countries to support EU asylum and migration authorities in reaching correct decisions in asylum procedures and to support policy making (EEAA), n.d.-b). As COI report have vital role in the determination of refugee status, as

well as extension of residence permits, they were included as material for this study. They were all accessed at the official website of the European Agency For Asylum ¹² The COI report published by the Danish Immigration Service was accessed on the website of the Ministry of Integration and Immigration.

Other documents used to support the analysis consists of; legal documents and other publications by the Danish Parliament, ¹³reports, statistics and other publications by the Ministry of Integration and Immigration,¹⁴ guidelines and publications by the Danish Immigration Service ¹⁵ and other reports and guidelines published by the European Agency For Asylum (EUAA) This was accompanied by reports and research papers published by international organizations, NGOs and academic scholars.

6. Analysis

The following sections present an analysis of gender considerations in cessation practices in Denmark. As an entry point Denmark's asylum policy and its legislative documents, as well as cessation cases published between 2020-2023 were analyzed. Therefore, in this section key frames found in policy documents, cessation cases and in other material will be presented and discussed. By engaging with the theoretical framework of feminist standpoint theory as an analytical tool, as well as feminist perspectives on security, it is possible examine dimensions of analysis from a critical view. As this thesis is concerned with migration policies and practice relating to cessation, I will be examining gender issues within policies that are not explicitly concerned with gender inequalities (Lombardo and Meier, 2022, p. 100). Therefore, not all frames that were identified are explicitly concerned with gender or gender equality but might have gendered perspectives, which will be examined. The frames identified were gender-neutrality, general fear, return and temporality and agents of persecution.

6.1. Gender-neutrality

One frame identified from the empirical data is the frame of "gender-neutrality". The policy documents and legislation examined relating to cessation, are framed as gender-neutral, not needing

¹² <https://euaa.europa.eu/>.

¹³ <https://www.ft.dk>

¹⁴ <https://uim.dk>

¹⁵ <https://nyidanmark.dk>

a gender-equality assessment and therefore not having consequences regarding gender inequality according to the Ministry of Integration and Immigration (Folketinget, 2016, p. 2). In the Danish Government's guidelines for equality assessment of legislative proposals it is stated that Danish legislation as a starting point is gender-neutral in its use of language, but that the effects of a law can have significant consequences related to gender, because women and men in a number of areas have different needs, resources, conditions, and opportunities among other things (Ligestillingsudvalget, 2013, p. 2). By using the frame "gender neutrality" there appears to be an assumption that the legal changes do not need a gendered analysis, despite suggestions that equality assessments can contribute to increasing quality and promote equality between women and men (Ligestillingsudvalget, 2013, p. 2). According to Verloo and Lombardo (2007) certain framings of gender equality tend to assume gender-neutrality. However, this framing of gender-neutrality can instead reflect the dominant male perspectives and end up not recognizing women's differences from men (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, p. 33). The idea of this framing is that everyone, regardless of gender, should have access to the same rights and opportunities experienced by men and that everyone should be treated according to the same norms and standards. However, what can be problematic about this way of framing gender and gender equality is that it does not directly challenge dominant patriarchal values. It instead assumes a gender-neutral world where women are automatically treated as equal to men (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 23).

As mentioned previously, the temporary protection status introduced in 2015 under §7 (3) in the Aliens Act has primarily been given to women, unaccompanied minors and men over 43 (Bendixen, 2021; The Danish Immigration Service, 2019a). Therefore, the Danish parliament was in 2016, asked to conduct an equality evaluation, in relation to women being more prone to receive §7(3) that is generally a weaker status (Folketinget, 2016, p. 1). To this they responded that the changes to the law are "gender neutral" and that "*the equality consequences will depend on which asylum seekers come to Denmark and is covered by the provision in Section 7,3, on temporary protection*"¹⁶ (Folketinget, 2016, p. 2). On that basis, the Ministry of Integration and Immigration assessed that it was not relevant to carry out an equality assessment (Folketinget, 2016, p. 2). According to Freedman (2008b), even though developments in policies can be described as theoretically "gender neutral," the differences in the conditions of men and women who seek asylum can cause different impacts that are gendered (Freedman, 2008b, p. 413). Although displacement poses risks for everyone, because of gender norms, men and women are exposed to

¹⁶ Authors own translation

different types of risks and vulnerabilities. Therefore, displacement is not gender-neutral but instead shaped by gender and gender inequality (European Parliament, 2016, p. 3). From a feminist perspective, policies can be a part of reproducing gender inequality by replicating gendered norms that privileges certain groups that advantage from the system (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 100). Furthermore, when the framing of gender equality assumes gender-neutrality, though not explicitly, it can reflect male perspectives and end up not considering women's difference from men (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 23). In 2017 the Danish Government stated in relation to its implementation of the Istanbul Convention:

“The Danish Government does not consider gender neutrality in legislation and policies to constitute a barrier for a gender-based understanding of violence or a barrier for preventing and combatting violence against women” (GREVIO, 2017, p. 21).

Hereby arguing that when needed and deemed relevant, there is applicable Danish legislation and policy initiatives that consider women who are victims of violence. Therefore, gender neutral laws do not have consequences (GREVIO, 2017, p. 22). The Danish government is of the opinion that a gender-neutral law or policy does not discourage social services from providing support with a gendered understanding of violence against women (GREVIO, 2017, p. 22). As argued before, what can be problematic is that a gender-neutral approach, can envisage that men are equal to women on a structural level, but at the same time end up of reproducing male norms (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, p. 23). From a feminist perspective, when masculinity is the norm and institutions present themselves as gender-neutral, it is necessary to look at where gender is absent. It is therefore important to highlight what is not being said to get a more comprehensive picture of reality (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 5).

Though gender is not directly mentioned in the 1951 Refugee Convention, there is widespread acceptance that gender can *“influence, or dictate, the type of persecution or harm suffered and the reasons for this treatment”* (UNHCR, 2002, p. 3). The Aliens Act, which is the main guiding legislation regarding asylum as well as cessation in Denmark, does not contain any special provisions regarding gender, or gender- and honor-related assaults. However, in practice it is generally recognized that women and men can be exposed to different types of abuse that bring about different needs for protection (Refugee Appeals Board, 2021, p. 193). For example, in one of the cessation cases examined regarding a woman from Syria, she was granted residence permit

under §7 (2) because she would be travelling alone to Syria as a woman, and would therefore be at risk of being held and questioned by the authorities because she left Syria illegally:

“Considering that the complainant wants to enter Syria as a young woman alone, that she has stayed in a conflict area in Syria for a short period of time before leaving, where rebel forces had partial control of the area at the time of her previous stay, and that she has close family members in Denmark, who has obtained asylum according to section 7, subsection of the Aliens Act. 1, the board finds, after an overall assessment, that there is a real risk that she will be detained and interrogated on a return to Syria” (Syri/2019/38/GJEY, 2019)¹⁷.

In this case, the fact that she is woman, and the risks she would face because of this, was considered in combination with other factors. Theoretically, gender neutral laws and policies should apply to all equally the same, but often much persecution suffered by women is attributed as “private issues” (Freedman, 2010a, p. 601). Some abuses in Denmark are characterized as private conflicts which first should be solved with the help of authorities of in the country of origin (Lepola, 2016, p. 8). According to the Refugee Board's practice, private conflicts are generally not considered to be grounds for asylum (Refugee Appeals Board, 2021, p. 134). This notion of a public–private division, can challenge what is referred to as “gender-neutrality” by creating situations where women’s experiences may seem as irrelevant to refugee law (Freedman, 2008a, p. 160). The Refugee Appeals Board does however mention that:

“In addition to the traditional reasons for persecution, such as race, religion and the like, which by their nature do not necessarily affect women differently from men, there are a number of forms of abuse as well as reasons where women, on the basis of culture, social structure, religion or simply the fact that they are women is particularly vulnerable” (Refugee Appeals Board, 2022, p. 53).¹⁸

Here they mention that women can be vulnerable to different forms of abuse, also based on only the fact that they are women. Refugee law is founded upon gender neutrality and universalizability and from this perspective, law and policy concerns individuals whose rights are violated in the public sphere by the state (Oswin, 2001, p. 349). Feminist theory therefore argues that it is necessary to make women’s experiences of persecution in the private sphere visible, to balance out the male-

¹⁷ Authors own translation

¹⁸ Authors own translation

norm that exist in law. This is done by challenging the idea that violations of women's rights occur largely in the private sphere while men's rights are mainly violated in the public sphere (Oswin, 2001, p. 349). According to Crawley (2000), the difficulties facing many women refugees comes not only gender not being mentioned in the 1951 Refugee Convention, but also from the failure of decision makers to acknowledge gender and gender equality in policies (Crawley, 2000, p. 17). Although laws are gender-neutral in theory, in practice this public/private distinction is used to ignore women's experiences and what is done to them (Freedman, 2008b, p. 160). Therefore, it can be argued that the policies examined are in theory gender-neutral but in practice their application goes through a system of gendered relations which in turn, can have different effects on men and women (Freedman, 2015, p. 138).

The Danish government does have the possibility to conduct gender equality assessments, when introducing a new bill. According to their guidelines, a gender equality assessment aims to prevent a new bill or other regulation from being gender discriminatory or from resulting in unintended gender biases. Equality assessment can also help to ensure that the bill fulfills its objective because facts about differences between sexes and genders has been included in the arrangement of the bill (Ligestillingsudvalget, 2013. p. 2). However, it was not carried out in relation to the introduction of the legislation and policy documents examined. By framing legislation as gender-neutral, it enables a form of "blindness" to gender. "Gender-blindness" reproduces lack of gendered analysis of migration by policy makers and States. This results in not considering the gendered impacts of policies (Freedman, 2012, p. 46). Similarly, a "gender-blind" approach limits States from seeing and understanding the different ways in which women and men experience violence during and after conflict. This can be problematic because men and women may not experience identical threats to their security (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 12).

To summarize, policies and processes that are in theory gender-neutral, can have different impacts on women and men because of gender inequalities and gendered structures in society (Freedman, 2015, p. 137). These are often made invisible in policy decisions, so that the impacts of policies on women end up becoming overlooked (Freedman, 2015, p. 137). Policies of gender equality are normalized by the Danish Government. However, equal treatment through gender neutral policies do not always lead to equality (Bendixen, 2023). The idea of framing gender equality through "sameness" is that everyone, regardless of gender, should be treated equally according to the same norms and standards. However, what can be problematic about this framing of gender and gender

equality is that does not directly challenge dominant patriarchal values and therefore end up discriminating (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 23).

6.2.General fear

Another frame identified from the empirical data, is the frame “general fear”. The difference between general fear of the security situation in the country of origin and individual fear of persecution, and how it should be distinguished is stressed by the Danish governments in Bill L72 and further elaborated in supporting documents and in Bill L40 (Jacobsen, 2022, p. 822). The term “general conditions” is mentioned in almost all cases examined between 2019 and 2023, referring to the general security situation in the country of origin. The framing used by the Danish government and the Danish immigration authorities is that persons who need to receive temporary protection status under §7 (3), do not require asylum based on an individual fear of persecution but instead based on the general security situation in their country of origin (L72, 2014, p. 3). Thereby not considering the gendered experiences of security and insecurity. Drawing on feminist theory, the inclusion of a human security perspective can help in understanding gendered experience of security and insecurity, by emphasizing that security should go beyond a state-centric approach (Tickner, 1992, p. 128; Freedman, 2017, p. 149). In both the policy documents and the cases examined, the framing of protection in relation to the general security situation and the general conditions emphasizes that it is possible to return refugees though the situation is not yet stable, stating that there is no requirement that fundamental, stable and lasting changes have taken place in the home country as a condition for refusing an extension (L72, 2014, p. 6). That means in the case of an improved general situation in the country of origin, it would allow for the cessation of a residence permit although the conditions are still serious, fragile and unpredictable (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 18). It also means that that fundamental, stable and lasting changes in the home country are not necessary for refusing extension of a residence permit, if the changes are not completely temporary in nature. Even if the general situation in the home country remains serious, fragile and unpredictable, according to the Danish government (L72, 2014, p. 9). In a case from 2023 regarding Syrian women it is stated:

“a decision can be taken to withdraw, regardless of the fact that the conditions - despite improvements - are still serious and must be characterized as fragile and unpredictable.” (Syri/2023/24/sme, 2023).

Here it is clear that the Danish Immigration authorities accept fragile and unpredictable situations, though this does not appear to consider the different forms of insecurity women can experience upon return. In this case, the Refugee Board found that could assumed that the situation in the Latakia province remains serious and fragile, but that it does not have such a character that there is a basis for assuming that anyone will be in real risk of being subjected to abuse in violation of Article 3 of the ECHR exclusively as a result of their presence in the area (Syri/2023/24/sme, 2023). In many of the cases, the general situation in a country is assessed based on the background information used to by the Danish immigration Services, where in several of the cases concerning Syria, they deemed that there had been an improvement in the general conditions, which “*was not of a completely temporary nature*” (syri/2020/20/smla, 2020; Syri/2021/262/ajev, 2021; Syri/2021/252/hmu, 2021). For example, in a case relating to the security situation in Damascus, the immigration authorities determined based on the background information that the Syrian authorities have control in the applicants’ home areas, that the current conditions were no longer of such a nature that anyone would be at real risk of being subjected to abuse in violation of Article 3 of the ECHR solely because of the simple presence in the area (syri/2020/20/smla, 2020). In another case the Refugee Appeals Board state that:

“The Refugee Board accepts, for the reasons stated by the Immigration Service that the current conditions in Damascus are no longer of such a nature that anyone will be at real risk of being subjected to abuse covered by Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, solely as a result of the mere presence in Damascus. This also applies to women” (Syri/2022/20/sme, 2022).

Here they mention in the end of the sentence, that it also applies to women. This means that they included some form of extra assessment regarding the situation of women. However, the report released by the Danish Immigration Service in 2019 called “*Security Situation in Damascus Province and Issues Regarding Return to Syria*” does not mention gender at any stage in relation to the general security situation. The word “women” is also only mentioned twice in the report (Danish Immigration Service, 2019b). By using generic words such as populations, people and groups to report on the ways women and men experience conflict and post-conflict, women’s experiences might not be taken into account because it is reported through the “masculine norm” (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 12). It is interesting, because the Danish authorities officially reclassified Damascus as “safe” using this report, though this was criticized by organizations such as UNHCR and Human Rights Watch (Human Rights Watch, 2021b). To critique the gender-neutral approach

that exist in international relations and politics and to examine power relations related to gender, it is necessary to include a focus on the different impacts war can have on women and men when it comes to security issues (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 4).

In relation to the general security situation the term “gender” is not mentioned directly in most of the cessation cases examined. Likewise, in most cases it is stated that the applicants’ original asylum motive is only related to the general situation in the country of origin, and therefore there is not a large focus on individual motives, especially in the first decisions made by the Danish Immigration Service. This can be seen by the fact that many complainants received §7 (3) in their first asylum case, but in their cessation cases they received §7 (2) or § 7 (1). This means that they also had individual reason for being persecuted. The focus on a general fear and not individual fear of persecution, can therefore be argued to hinder the protection of women receiving protection in Denmark. This can also be seen in the introduction notes of Bill L87 where the Danish Government states:

“We assume a shared responsibility, but in the view of the government, we should not take in so many refugees that it threatens the cohesion of our own country” (L87, 2015, p. 8).¹⁹

This form of “securitization” of immigration as an issue in Denmark can result in situations in where securing Denmark’s borders take priority over security and safety of women seeking protection in Denmark (Freedman, 2012, p. 46). They state in the document, that they must “*ensure the right balance, so we can maintain a good and safe society*” (L87, 2015, p. 8). By placing the focus there, persecution and insecurities faced by women seeking asylum might then be ignored because their experiences go unheard in policy and practice of migration and asylum (Freedman, 2012, p. 46). In the report “You’re Going to Your Death” published by Amnesty International in 2021, it is made clear that returnees because of their perceived opposition to the government are at risk of serious human rights violations (Amnesty International, 2021, p. 16). In the report Amnesty International also documented sexual-violence and harassment of returnees, in some cases carried out by security officers and military intelligence, because they had left Syria (Amnesty International, 2021, p. 23). However, in a decision published by the Refugee Appeals Board, they note:

¹⁹ Authors own translation

“the more recent background information on Syria including Amnesty International's report "You're going to your death" of 7 September 2021, cannot lead to a changed assessment” (Syri/2021/252/hmu, 2021).²⁰

The Refugee Appeals Board assessed that the report confirmed the information that appears in the background information they have on Syria, but that report combined with other relevant background information does not lead to a changed assessment (Syri/2021/252/hmu, 2021). From a feminist perspective, it can be argued here that this “gender-blind” approach does not allow for considering the different ways women and men are affected by violence during conflict and after conflict. Specifically, it does not allow for considering that they do not experience identical threats to their security. Since the masculine norm is used as a reference to determine narratives of war and post-conflict situations, women’s experiences are not considered (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 12).

Throughout the EEUA COI report from 2020 it is mentioned several times, that when a case officer considers the general situation in different parts of Syria, they must also assess the individual circumstances of the applicant (EASO, 2020b, p. 34). The report also states that in some cases, where the applicant faces persecution or serious harm for reasons related to social norms in Syria and where the actor of persecution or serious harm are the society at large, members of the LGBTI community and women, would for example in general not be safe (EASO, 2020b, p. 35). Generally, governments are focused on national security, forgetting that security requires not only the absence of conflict but also the eradication of unequal social relations, as for example unequal gender relations (Tickner, 1992 in; Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 13). In conflict areas sexual violence may be a tool of political oppression or may be part of arbitrary violence in situations of civil war. For example, the EASO report from 2020 regarding women in Syria it is mentioned that: *“the Government of Syria has used sexual violence as strategic weapon of war when targeting Syrian women solely on the basis of their gender”* (EASO, 2020a, p. 14). However, in most cases that does not lead to a changed decision. For example, in a case from 2023, where the complainant’s mother had stated that there were many arbitrary kidnappings and rapes of girls in Syria, and that the complainant's mother feared that upon returning to Syria, the complainant could be exposed to these arbitrary abuses (Syri/2023/83/kdo, 2023) and another case where a woman feared that the Syrian authorities would take revenge because she left Syria during the civil war (Syri/2023/60/Saba,

²⁰ Authors own translation

2023). In some of the cessation cases examined the applicants state that they fear being kidnapped and raped if they return, for example in a case concerning a Syrian woman in 2020:

“The complainant has also stated that she has three brothers in Denmark who are of conscription age and have evaded military service in Syria, which is why she fears being kidnapped and raped by the Syrian authorities” (syri/2020/20/smla, 2020).²¹

Despite the prevalence of rape and sexual violence and the harmful effects it has on women, it is often not recognized as serious harm under the terms of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Therefore, it can occur that women who have suffered from these types of violence do not receive refugee status for example under §7 (1) in Denmark (Freedman, 2008a, p. 160). The Danish authorities do emphasize that the situation for women in Syria is difficult. However, that it is not enough to substitute an individual risk of being subjected to live in conditions amounting to harmful treatment (Syri/2021/252/hmu, 2021). A consequence can therefore become that rape and sexual violence is not considered in the same way as other forms of violence, but that these forms of violence are normalized, and considered part of normal relations between men and women (Freedman, 2008a, p. 160). From a feminist perspective it can be argued that states politicize some types of fears while rejecting others as too general to receive protection (Jacobsen, 2022, p. 821). With Bill L72, the Danish government established that being displaced from a particular place due to conflict alone would no longer be sufficient grounds for demonstrating and “individual” fear and framed it as a “general form of violence” rather than an individual one (Jacobsen, 2022, p. 821). As previously mentioned, the Danish Government argued in the introduction of Bill L72 that a threat that originates from a specific serious situation in the country of origin and that characterized by random violence and assaults on civilians can happen to anyone. It is, therefore not according to them an individual form of violence (Jacobsen, 2022, p. 822). Through this framing, it removes individual forms of violence and frames general violence as not being personal enough to permit state protection under §7 (1) or §7 (2) (Jacobsen, 2022, p. 822). Many women have received the protection status under §7 (3) and they are therefore at risk of losing protection, if their individual concerns are not considered and when a gender perspective is lacking in both policy and practice.

To summarize, representation of security as gender-neutral can mask how gendered inequalities and insecurities are engraved in security practices (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2021). Conflicts and crises are not gender neutral and it is therefore important that gender is assessed when implementing and

²¹ Authors own translation

developing migration policies (Lashchuk, 2023, p. 306). Though there are currently no guidelines on incorporating a gender perspective into the use of the cessation clause and the use of revocation, it is important that the Danish immigration authorities secure the possibility for women to account for their experiences throughout the whole asylum and cessation process. In addition, it is important that they assess COI information relevant to the case because COI information plays an important role in the considerations of determining whether a residence permit is denied or prolonged (EASO, 2020c, p. 9). Framing immigration as an issue in Denmark may result in situations in where securing Denmark's borders take superiority over the safety women seeking protection in Denmark. That can result in insecurities faced by women being ignored (Freedman, 2012, p. 46).

6.3. Temporality and return

Another frame identified from the empirical data are the frames of "return" and "temporality". The legislative changes introduced in 2019 changed migration policy in Denmark from focusing on integration, to instead focusing on return. This is also referred to as the "return turn" where policies in Denmark shifted the focus of asylum from integration towards a more explicit expectation of return to the country of origin (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 5). The policy documents examined emphasize that the temporary protection status §7 (3) would ensure protection for a certain group, "*as long as it is necessary*" while also ensuring that refugees, would be able to be sent back as soon as the situation in the home country makes it possible (L72, 2014, p. 3). From a feminist perspective, it can be argued that return to the country of origin, often contain gendered implications. Therefore, by framing protection only as temporary and with a focus on return, it might hinder gender considerations. Welfens (2020) argue that crisis response can reduce gender considerations relating to refugee women. Therefore, policy that aims at reducing refugee arrivals can further limit refugee women's access to protection (Welfens, 2020, p. 510). Correspondingly, it is mentioned by Lepola (2016), that examination of the degree of risk regarding return can have gender-sensitive elements (Lepola, 2016, p. 9). However, most reports on returns are gender neutral, and it can thus be difficult to find gender disaggregated statistics and information on return (UN Peacekeeping, n.d., p. 27). When there is limited collection of sex or gender disaggregated data, it can be challenging to inspect the different impacts of return on women and men as well as highlight discriminations (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 12). To incorporate gender into this assessment, it is important to look at the different impacts armed conflict can have on women and men. In the risk assessment, in some instances the Refugee Appeals Board looks at the individual risk in case of return to Syria based on facts such as that the applicants have been involved in activities in the

public sphere (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 28). However, not necessarily whether the applicant is involved in activities in the private sphere that can lead to persecution. (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 28). According to Lepola (2016), information about difficult conditions for women in a particular country is an element in combination with other factors that can lead to receiving asylum in Denmark. Similarly, it is stated that if an application is rejected and the complainant must be returned to the country of origin, gender-relevant considerations are considered in the return proceedings (Lepola, 2016, p. 9).

According to Human Rights Watch, though certain areas in Syria have not seen active conflict hostilities since 2018, it does not mean that it has become safe for refugees to return (Human Rights Watch, 2021b). Specifically, regarding women, the COI report published by EEAA in 2020 also pointed out that both direct physical violence and indirect violence, suffered for example because of destroyed infrastructure, had affected women in an “amplified” way (EASO, 2020a, p. 12) The report notes that:

“although gendered harms clearly encompass physical and bodily harm, they often also encompass unacknowledged harm, including distinctive socio-economic and moral harms, which impact negatively the exercise of a broad range of human rights” (EASO, 2020a, p. 12).

From a feminist perspective on security, it can be argued that the “gender-neutral” way of looking at the security situation in relation to return, might not take women’s experiences into account, as it is built on a traditional perspective of security, that does not include gendered experiences. Given the potentially serious consequences of going back, gender considerations are necessary to include into cessation practice, to understand how each individual can be affected (Edwards, 2010a, p. 76). Return can involve more than the physical aspects, and it is therefore important to recognize that for example psychological effects of sexual violence can also act a part in whether someone can return. Similarly, political, economic and social factors can also impact women and men differently (UNHCR, 2000, p. 43). The focus on reducing the amount of people coming and staying in Denmark can therefore keep gender considerations limited, if gender consideration are pushed aside (Welfens, 2020, p. 520).

In the report “You’re Going to Your Death” published by Amnesty International in 2021, it is made clear that returnees because of their perceived opposition to the government are at risk of serious human rights violations (Amnesty International, 2021, p. 16). In the report Amnesty International

also documented sexual violence and harassment of returnees, in some cases carried out by security officers and military intelligence, because the returnees had left Syria (Amnesty International, 2021, p. 23). In one EASO country report released in 2020, it is also stated that:

“It is inherent in the situation of applicants for international protection that they have left their country of origin. In the context of Syria, and in particular of targeting by the government of Syria (GoS), this in itself could have implications for the treatment of an individual upon return” (EASO, 2020b, p. 9).

Though leaving Syria on its own may not lead to a risk establishing a well-founded fear of persecution, it could in some cases lead to acts so severe that it could amount to persecution (EASO, 2020b, p. 9). The EASO report also mentions that applicants who face persecution or serious harm for reasons related to social norms in Syria and where the actor of persecution or serious harm are the society at large, for example members of the LGBTI community and women, would in general not be safe in Syria (EASO, 2020b, p. 35). From a feminist perspective we can from that point argue that conflict and post-conflict violence can translate into threats against both women’s physical and psychological security (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 13). However, in one case examined, regarding a Syrian woman, she received § 7 (1) in her cessation case, because her individual circumstances combined with the background information on the Syrian authorities’ assault on civilians upon return put her at risk of persecution. Yet, because of her husband political activities (Syri/2019/37/CMA, 2019). Similarly, in another case regarding a woman from Syria she also received refugee status under §7 (1) because her individual conditions amounted to persecution under the 1951 Refugee Convention. The Refugee Appeals Board found that due to her opposition to the Syrian regime online, that it was likely that she as a returnee would be targeted by the Syrian authorities (Syri/2022/186/ANHK, 2022).

Besides the framing of return, in the same legislative proposal in 2019 the new agreement promised to contain a new approach to the immigration and integration focusing on “*temporality and repatriation*” (L40, 2019, p. 12). This was to send a signal that a refugee’s stay in Denmark is “*temporary*” (L40, 2019, p. 12). The policy documents examined focus on creating a form of protection for a certain group, referring to refugees primarily coming from Syria. They also emphasize that the protection should only be for as long as it is necessary and that the legislation must be ensured that foreigners, can be sent back as soon as the situation in the home country

makes it possible (L72, 2014, p. 3). In some of the cessation cases examined it is therefore mentioned (referring to the legal changes in 2015):

“It is a basic principle of protection status that protection ends when there is no longer a need for it. The principle of matching protection with need is particularly relevant at a time when Denmark and Europe are receiving a historically high number of asylum seekers” (syri/2020/20/smla, 2020; L72, 2014, p. 7).²²

Here the framing is focused on sending refugees back as soon as possible, so that they do not stay in Denmark long term. It is framed as if the need for protection of persons fleeing generalized violence is only of temporary nature, and not long term (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 18). This frame assumes that the need for protection of persons fleeing the general security situation is generally more of temporary nature (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 18). Asylum and migration policies in Denmark and in other EU countries has become tougher by state officials and institutions using rhetoric similar to securitization. Mentioning in the introduction of Bill L72 that *“Denmark and Europe are receiving a historically high number of asylum seekers”* (L72, 2014, p. 7) brings the focus to a large group of people wanting to stay in Denmark, and therefore presenting a form of threat. Likewise, in the remarks regarding Bill L 87 they mention that: *“the government wants to further tighten the asylum conditions and access to Denmark, so that it will be significantly less attractive to apply to Denmark”* (L87, 2015, p. 8). It can be argued that framing refugee policy like this, can make it difficult to deploy for adopting policies, legislation guidelines that are relevant to gender-specific persecution or women’s rights (Freedman, 2010b, p. 184).

Prior to 2015, cessation based on the general situation in the country of origin was evaluated under the requirement that these changes would be considered fundamental, stable and durable (Vedsted-Hansen, 2022, p. 17). However, as a part of the new migration policy, refugees who have received temporary protection under §7 (3) can be returned even if the general situation in the home country remains serious, fragile, and unpredictable. In the policy documents they mention that:

“§ 7 (3), is not covered by the refugee convention, and thus there is no requirement that fundamental, stable and lasting changes have taken place in the home country as a condition for refusing an extension” (L72, 2014, p. 16).²³

²² Authors own translation

²³ Authors own translation

This means that fundamental, stable and lasting changes in the home country are not necessary for refusing extension of a residence permit, if the changes are not completely temporary in nature, even if the general situation in the home country remains serious, fragile and unpredictable, according to the Danish government (L72, 2014, p. 9). It is therefore in some of the cessation cases since 2019, mentioned that the conditions in the area remain fragile and unpredictable, but that they have improved (Syri/2023/24/sme, 2023). This has according to Schultz (2020) diminished the security within Denmark for refugees, as the policies introduced affords refugees with forms of protection that have fewer rights, for example by limiting the span of residence permits and limiting the right to family reunification (Schultz, 2020, p. 172). Though temporary protection policies are not a new concept, the 1951 Refugee Convention, has historically been used to provide long-term protection. The same goes for complementary forms of protection to refugees who may not meet Convention criteria but can face a risk of serious harm if they are returned to their countries of origin (Schultz, 2020, p. 172). According to Schultz (2020) the threat of cessation and revocation therefore extends insecurity (Schultz, 2020, p. 173).

To summarize, return can involve more than physical aspects and it is therefore important to recognize that other effect such as psychological effects of for example sexual violence can also play a role in whether someone can return to their country-of-origin (Edwards, 2010a, p. 76). Likewise, it was found that political, economic and social factors can impact women and men differently upon return (UNHCR, 2000, p. 43). From a feminist perspective on security, it can be argued that the “gender-neutral” way of looking at the security situation in relation to return, might not be able to take women’s experiences into account. This is because it is built on a traditional perspective of security, where gendered experiences are not included. Afforded the potentially grave consequences of return, gender considerations are necessary to include in cessation practice, to understand the persecution suffered and how it can affect each individual woman (Edwards, 2010a, p. 76). In addition, it can be argued that the threat of cessation and revocation prolongs insecurity for refugee women and limits planning long term (Schultz, 2020, p. 173). The focus on return and reducing the amount of people staying in Denmark can therefore keep gender considerations limited, as gender considerations are pushed aside (Welfens, 2020, p. 520).

6.4. Agents of persecution

Another frame identified from the empirical data is the frame focusing on “agents of persecution”. In the Handbook of UNHCR, where it mentions “agents of persecution” it is stated that it is

recognized that persecution can be carried out by “*local populace, sizable fractions of the populations as well as by the authorities of the country*” (UNHCR, 1995, p. 12). Moreover, in most EU countries, persecution carried out by non-State actors has now been accepted as persecution, when the State is unable or unwilling to offer protection against this type of harm (Edwards, 2010a, p. 59). The lengthy recognition of non-State actors as agents of persecution has been presented as a success in guaranteeing better protection for refugee women who are at risk of harm from for example their community or family. Non-state actors are therefore very relevant to assess for protection claims made by women, because in many cases concerning women, perpetrators are non-state actors (Querton, 2022, p. 446). According to the EEUA, agents of persecution “*encompasses all non-state actors, such as clans and tribes, rebel groups, criminals and family members*” (EEAA, n.d.-a). For example, in a case from 2020 where the complainant had her residence permit revoked, she stated as her asylum motive that she feared being killed by al-Shabaab if she returns to Somalia, because she has resisted to marry a member of the group (Soma/2020/98/MSI, 2020). The Danish Refugee Appeals Board also states that:

“the ECtHR has established in its practice that Article 3 of the ECHR also protects against processing that originates from others than governmental authorities”
(Danish Immigration Service, 2022, p. 37).²⁴

This means that the Refugee Appeals Board also confirms that other people than the government, can be agents of persecution. However, in practice they do not consider what they refer to as “private conflicts” as grounds for asylum. They do state that private conflicts and harassment by private individuals or groups of private individuals can be of such high concentration, that it is considered persecution (Refugee Appeals Board, 2021, p. 134). The traditional view of a refugee is of an individual whose rights are violated by the state in the “public sphere”. However, from a feminist perspective it has been argued that this view reflects a male perspective that places “public” activities over the activities that are often related to women, that are represented as “private” (Firth & Mauthe, 2013, p. 473). International refugee law has been entrenched in the public/private contrast. However, this is not necessarily caused by the law itself, but instead by social norms implicitly deciding the roles and responsibilities of women (Edwards, 2010b, p. 48). While law that is promoted as “gender-neutral” intends to protect all individuals, it may exclude certain persons from protection because of its absence of differentiation of the impacts on different

²⁴ Authors own translation

groups or individuals (Edwards, 2010b, p. 48). In some of the cessation cases between 2019-2023, “agents of persecution” are mentioned as keywords in combination with the general situation and cessation. It is for example mentioned in a case relating to woman from Somalia, where the Refugee Appeals Board did not grant the complainant protection. She was denied extension of her residence permit because they found her asylum motive untrustworthy. In this case, the applicant had stated as her asylum motive that she feared that her mother’s husband would kill her, because he believed she had violated his honor. Likewise, she stated that he had tried to force her to marry someone (Soma/2020/78/MSI, 2020). Agents of persecution are also mentioned another case concerning a woman from Somali, who in her asylum case referred to the fact that she fears being killed by Al-Shabaab or her spouse's family. In this case she is denied extension, as the Refugee Appeals Board notes that the complainant cannot be considered a single woman without a male network in her area and that it does not go against Denmark’s international obligations. In a case regarding a Somali woman in 2019 they decided not to take her fear of Al-Shabaab into consideration and states:

“The complainant is not profiled in relation to al-Shabaab. The refugee board therefore also assumes that the complainant left as a result of the general conditions in Somalia at the time in question” (soma/2019/259/MEG, 2019).²⁵

One of the well-recognized ways where marginalization of women can place is according to Peroni (2018), by using the public/private divide. This also includes the distinction between acts of state and non-state agents. This “neutral” division reinforces gender inequality when linked to the fact that harms against women often are carried out by non-state actors (Peroni, 2018, p. 351). Refugee law and Danish immigration authorities accepts that serious acts by non-state agents can be categorized as persecution if those acts are tolerated by the authorities of the country or if the authorities are unable to provide effective protection (Peroni, 2018, p. 351). However, inattention to institutional and social gendered structures that impact women disproportionately, can challenge this (Peroni, 2018, p. 352).

The concept of non-state actors has according to Querton (2022) enlarged over time, where non-state actors can now be considered capable of being both actors of persecution but also actors of protection (Querton, 2022, p. 445). In the previous case mentioned, as well as in other cases examined the term “male network” is used as a determinator whether a woman can have her case

²⁵ Authors own translation

revoked or gain further protection. In another case regarding a woman from Somalia the Danish Refugee Appeals Board mention:

“...she on a return to Somalia would be a single woman without a male network, and that she, as a single woman, would be at risk of being subjected to torture or inhumanity or degrading treatment or punishment²⁶” (Soma/2021/71/ehd, 2021).

In this case, the complainant had her residence permit revoked, because her brother was back in her country of origin, therefore leaving her with a male network. Here it can be argued that the state protection is substituted with protection of a male network. Therefore, from a feminist perspective, it can be argued depending on male network as a form of protection can impact a women's right to dignity and autonomy (Querton, 2022, p. 447). Even if there is a “male network” obtainable, as in this case, the authorities might fail to acknowledge and assess any other risks or serious harm that can result from being dependent on the protection of male networks (Querton, 2022, p. 447). In the case mentioned it is assumed that the male relatives will protect the complainant without considering country reports indicating that family members can be among the actors committing violence against women in Somalia (Peroni, 2018, p. 364). There are no international guidelines stating that having a male network means that women are automatically protected due to their gender and family members also have no international legal obligations to offer women protection from serious harm (Querton, 2022, p. 456). Similarly, according to Peroni (2018), family may not necessarily bring safety for women. It is therefore problematic to accept that the presence of male relatives inevitably corresponds to women's protection (Peroni, 2018, p. 365). Another argument is that when women are defined only as civilian victims who are in need of (male) protectors, other forms of persecution might not be considered (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 8). However, that is not to say the support male relatives is not relevant to consider. In fact, according to Peroni (2018), applicants may have only male relatives in their countries of origin and there can be cases where relatives are close with the applicant and can offer support (Peroni, 2018, p. 364). For example, in a case from 2022, a woman stated in her asylum case, the complainant referred as asylum motive that she feared the general conditions upon a return to Syria and that she did not have a spouse to look after her (Syri/2022/183/anjv, 2022). However, the way reliance on a male network is framed by governments, gives the impression that risk arise from the lack of a male protector instead of from society's treatment of women. When women need a male network to live their life in safety it

²⁶ Authors own translation

should point to the fact that women might not be safe to return. Moreover, the need for male network for protection also shows a state's failure to protect according to Peroni (Peroni, 2018, p. 366).

In another case concerning a woman from Syria, where she had stated that she feared, upon returning to Syria, the general conditions, including that she risks kidnapping, because she is a single woman. Relating to this case the Refugee Appeals Board said:

“the situation for single women is difficult, but that it cannot be assumed that a single woman without male network that returns to Damascus, solely as a result of her being a single woman without a male network will be at a concrete and individual risk of being subjected to live in conditions equivalent to inhumane or degrading treatment” (Syri/2021/253/hmu, 2021).²⁷

Once again here, the different forms of insecurity women can face upon return is not considered explicitly. From a feminist perspective, it is important to recognize gender as a dimension of security to appropriately illustrate how different identities can form individual security needs (Hoogensen & Rottem, 2004, p. 156). By looking through a feminist lens, and including gender into the consideration, security becomes reconstructed and consider women's experiences of violence (Hoogensen & Rottem, 2004, p. 167).

To summarize, the Refugee Appeals Board confirms that other people than the government, can be agents of persecution. However, in practice they do not consider what they refer to as “private conflicts” as grounds for asylum. They do state that private conflicts and harassment by private individuals or groups of private individuals can be of such high concentration, that it can amount to persecution (Refugee Appeals Board, 2021, p. 134). Similarly it was found that the “neutral” distinction of public/private can underpins gender inequality when using the example that harms against women often are carried out by non-state actors (Peroni, 2018, p. 351). In some of the cases examined a reference to male network as a form of protection was found. However, even if there is a “male network” obtainable, it might fail to acknowledge and assess any other risks of persecution or serious harm that may result from becoming dependent on the protection of male networks (Querton, 2022, p. 447). Refugee law and Danish immigration authorities accepts that serious acts by non-state agents can be considered persecution if those acts are allowed by the authorities of that specific country or if the authorities do not provide effective protection (Peroni, 2018, p. 351).

²⁷ Authors own translation

However, if they do not pay attention to gendered structures that limit a state's ability to protect women this can be challenged (Peroni, 2018, p. 351).

7. Discussion

In the previous section frames were identified and analyzed in relation to gender. Frame analysis can provide a way to study frames in specific context but can also help understand the impact of frames. Therefore, this section turns to illuminate what was not problematized in the identified frames through a discussion. To understand what impacts the framing of gender and security in cessation practices can have, specifically on women with temporary protection in Denmark, this section will discuss the connection between frames and impacts, drawing on the theoretical frameworks and the findings from the analysis.

7.1. Gender considerations

From the findings in the previous section, it was shown through different frames that Danish immigration authorities consider gender in some aspects of cessation policies and practice, by mentioning the differences in risks and persecution between men and women, as well as by defining that women and men can be subject to different types of abuses that generate different forms of persecution (Refugee Appeals Board, 2021, p. 193). In all cessation cases an individual assessment of the complainant's individual's motive for asylum are assessed, combined with background information on their country origin, to look at whether this could amount to being persecuted. However, in many of the cases relating to cessation, gender was not mentioned explicitly. Gender and honor related types of persecution are mentioned in some cessation cases but most of the individual motives that were found by the Refugee Appeals Board were not related to gender aspects. Likewise, in policy documents related to lowering the threshold of cessation, limited mention of gender consideration is present. A mere reference to gender in a policy document does not necessarily mean that this policy has incorporated gender consideration (Welfens, 2020 p. 513). However, gender considerations can also be present without the mention of gender explicitly. One frame identified was the frame of "gender neutrality" that is used by the Danish Government. It was found in the previous section, that using the frame "gender neutrality" there appears to be an assumption that the legal changes do not need a gendered analysis, despite evidence that they can affect men and women differently. If gendered differences are not considered, a gender-neutral law can instead end up reflecting dominant perspectives and therefore not recognize women's

experiences (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, p. 33). If women's different experiences and/or vulnerabilities are not recognized, it can limit their access to protection. The Danish government itself is of the opinion that a gender-neutral law or policy does not prevent social services and specialized support from giving support based on a gendered understanding of violence against women (GREVIO 2017, p. 22). However, as mentioned earlier, from a feminist perspective a gender-neutral approach can be argued to assess women through male standards. Meaning, laws that pretend to be gender neutral can reflect male norms (Kim, 1994, p. 113). In relation to this, it was found that the Aliens Act, which is the main guiding legislation regarding cessation, does not contain any special provisions regarding gender, or gender- and honor-related assaults. According to Freedman (2015) policies and processes that are in theory gender-neutral, can have different impacts on women and men because of existing gender inequality and power structures (Freedman, 2015, p. 137). These differences are ignored or hidden in policy decisions, so that the impacts of policies on women are overlooked. For example, effects of closing borders and making it difficult for people to stay, have different impacts on women and men, because certain rights are restricted (Freedman, 2015, p. 137). Similarly, for women with temporary protection status the uncertainty linked to their residence status that can damage their welfare (Liversage, 2023, p. 110). A return to the country of origin can be difficult for all refugees. However, it can be exceptionally challenging for women who have been divorced in Denmark and therefore no longer have a male protector. This, according to Liversage (2023), make women stay in violent marriages, because they cannot know if they will lose their residence permit (Liversage, 2023, p. 110). Woman can theoretically leave their husband but then risks their residence permit being revoked one day (Liversage, 2023, p. 110). However, a gender-neutral approach can also promote gender-equality from the perspective of the Danish state. By treating everyone "equally", the outcome should be a gender equal outcome. In practice, they do consider gender in some of the cases examined and consider whether it is safe to return as a single woman. Therefore, the fact that gender is not explicitly mentioned in the legal changes and policy documents, as well as in the cases, does not mean that gender and the different vulnerabilities of women are not considered. However, as women are prone to receive the temporary protection status under §7 (3) in the first instance, it is necessary that individual risks are considered in the cessation cases. Otherwise, there is a risk of sending women back to countries that might be safe from a "general perspective" but might not be safe for women, because of the different forms of insecurities women can experience. The Danish Government's' guidelines for equality assessment of legislative proposals state itself that Danish legislation as a starting point is

gender-neutral in its use of language, but that the effects of a law may still have implications because women and men can have different needs, conditions, and opportunities and (Ligestillingsudvalget, 2013, p. 2). In this regard it can be argued that policies can be a part of reproducing inequalities, by replicating gendered norms (Lombardo & Meier, 2022, p. 100). Theoretically, gender neutral laws and policies should apply to all equally the same, but often much persecution suffered by women is attributed as “private issues” (Freedman, 2010a, p. 601). In the analysis it was found that, the Refugee Appeals Board’s in practice, does not consider private conflicts to be grounds for asylum (Refugee Appeals Board, 2021, p. 134). This assumption of a public–private division, can destabilize what is referred to as gender neutrality by creating situations where women’s experiences are seen as irrelevant to refugee protection (Freedman, 2008b, p. 160). The classification of the public and private as neutral therefore further promotes gender inequality when connecting it to the fact that harms against women often is carried out by non-state actors (Peroni, 2018, p. 351). The Danish immigration authorities accepts that serious acts by non-state agents can be considered persecution, if those acts are allowed by the authorities or if the authorities cannot offer effective protection (Peroni, 2018, p. 351). However, it is necessary to bring up the point that differences between women can also have significant implications for their experiences of persecution and their cessation process. Some groups of women might be less accepted than others, which can result in institutions creating different policies towards them (Crawley, 2000, p. 18). Therefore, the policies and practices examined may be in theory gender-neutral but in practice their application is scrutinized through gendered systems that have different effects on men and women (Freedman, 2015, p. 138). They are in theory gender-neutral but, can have different impacts on women because of the existing gendered inequalities that exist (Freedman, 2015, p. 137). “Gender neutral” law therefore, while it intends to protect all individuals, can end up excluding women from protection (Edwards, 2010a, p. 48).

7.2.Security for whom?

As one of the first countries in Europe, Denmark began in 2020 to withdraw the residence permits of Syrian refugees based on that the situation in some areas of the country was “safe enough” (Liversage, 2023, p. 119). As mentioned, many of these complainants were woman (as well as children and men over 43), as they had predominantly received residence permit under §7 (3) (The Danish Immigration Service, 2019a). Because the protection status § 7(3) relates to the general conditions of a country, it is also the form of protection that is most easy to revoke (COAR, 2021). Because of this, women are more likely to be considered to be sent back to generalized violence if

they do not have an individual motive for asylum (Lighthouse Reports, 2023). As previously stated, the conflict in Syria as well as the country's economic decrease has had a large impact on the lives of women and girls. The UNFPA even stated that this impact shows itself in the form of gender-based violence, that has increased because of the conflict (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021, p. 8). In the report published by EEUA it is also mentioned that during the conflict in Syria, the fundamental rights of Syrian women have deteriorated severely in almost every aspect of their lives (EASO, 2020a, p. 32) and that different forms of violence in Syria are often interlinked (EASO, 2020a, p. 18). Similarly, in Somalia the EEUA report from 2021 emphasized that there continued to be a pattern where women and girl are forced into marriage, often including rape, by non-state armed groups, as well as rape by state security forces, militias, and clans (EASO, 2021b, p. 29). However, in the analysis, it was also found that the COI reports that the Danish immigration authorities rely on in relation to decision making, does not mention gender often or make any specific references to risks that women can face. In relation to this, it was found that in the Danish immigration Services' report from 2019 the word "woman" is only mentioned twice. As men and women can experience insecurity in different ways, it can be problematic when generic or gender-neutral words are used, because it can limit the consideration of women's different experiences. By using generic words such as people or groups to report on the COI and how women and men are affected by conflict, women's experiences might not be considered (Puechguirbal, 2012, p. 12). According to Querton (2012), evidence related to gendered experiences of violence and socio-cultural structures is not always available in COI reports. According to her, COI reports often indicate the human rights conditions in a specific country from a male perspective (Querton, 2012, p. 48).

Due to women's status in society and their gender, they are more prone to be discriminated against and face sexual and gender-based violence. For that reason, women can have other protection needs. Failure to take those into account in asylum and cessation processes can therefore have discriminatory consequences (European Parliament, 2016, p. 1). By employing frames focusing on general fear and return, it was found that Danish Immigration authorities try to justify that individuals who need to receive temporary protection status under §7 (3), would not need asylum based on an individual fear of persecution but only based on the general security situation in their country of origin (L72, 2014, p. 3). By doing this, limitations can arise to taking gendered experiences of security and insecurity into account. Though it is different example, we can put it into perspective to "safe country" practice. The "safe countries" list is a common list EU member

states use to determine if an asylum seeker can be sent directly back to the COI, because it is deemed “safe”. What is problematic about this and has been criticized, is that in defining what is a “safe” country, gender-related persecution has often been ignored. The criteria used to define “safety” ignores violence or persecution carried out in the so-called private sphere (Freedman, 2015, pp. 142-143). Moreover, to define a country as safe, it only requires that the country is safe for the most part of the citizens in the country. This means that gender-related issues as well as minority groups may be ignored (Freedman, 2015, pp. 142-143). Le Bellec (2021) furthermore, has shown that though the concept of “safe country” was initially blind to gender-based violence, but have now moved to include a “gender-sensitive” interpretation, sexual minorities are affected by this generalization by being dispossessed of having their protection claims fairly assessed (Le Bellec, 2021, p. 1).

A more concrete impact of the “paradigm shift” to be discussed is that, in essence, all refugees can be sent back to their COI (Rytter et al., 2023, p. 23). With the introduction of the so called “paradigm shift”, all refugees with temporary residence have become theoretically deportable. When refugees are theoretically deportable, it can according to Rytter et al (2023) shake their sense of security. For women specifically, when gender is not included in the assessment of whether a country is safe for return, issues they face based on their gender or societal norms, may not be considered (Rytter et al., 2023, p. 23). Welfens (2020) argue that this form of response to refugees can reduce gender considerations. Therefore, policies and legislation that focus on reducing refugee arrivals can lead to further restricting refugee women’s access to protection (Welfens, 2020, p. 510). It is mentioned by Lepola (2016), that assessment of the degree of risk on return can have gender-sensitive elements (Lepola, 2016, p. 9). However, most reports on returns are gender neutral, and it can therefore be challenging to locate gender disaggregated statistics and information regarding return (UN Peacekeeping, n.d., p. 27). Puerchguirbal (2012) argues in relation to this that when there is no collection of sex and gender disaggregated data, it is difficult to examine the differences between women and men and highlight discriminations gaps in relation to return (Puerchguirbal, 2012, p. 12). Therefore the “gender-neutral” way of looking at the security situation in relation to return, might not take women’s experiences into account, as it is built on a traditional perspective of security. As mentioned, because of the possibly serious consequences of returning to the COI, gender considerations are necessary to include into cessation practice, to understand the persecution suffered and what effects it may have on each individual woman (Edwards, 2010a, p. 76).

8. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to examine how gender is considered in cessation practices in Denmark, departing from 2019 where legislative changes to immigration laws were introduced. Likewise, it was to examine what impacts (non) consideration of gender in cessation policies and practice have on women with temporary protection in Denmark. Through the analysis it was found that the Danish immigration authorities consider gender in some aspects of cessation policies and practice, by mentioning the differences in risks and persecution between men and women (Refugee Appeals Board, 2021, p. 193). However, by framing policy and legislation as “gender-neutral” it can instead end up reflecting dominant male perspectives and therefore not take women’s experiences into account (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007, p. 33). By assuming that legal changes and migration policies do not need a gendered analysis, gender differences are disregarded, resulting in unequal outcomes. Denmark’s strategy is to gain gender equality through equal treatment. However, equal treatment does not always lead to equality, but can instead lead to discrimination (Bendixen, 2023). The idea of framing gender equality through “sameness” is that everyone, regardless of gender, should have access to the rights and opportunities enjoyed by men. However, what can be problematic about this framing of gender and gender equality is that it does not directly challenge dominant patriarchal values and end up ignoring women (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 23). In addition, it was found that representation of security as gender-neutral can hide how gendered inequalities and insecurities are engraved in security practices (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2021). It was found that the Danish immigration authorities consider gender to some extent when assessing the security situation in the country of origin. However, that the use of generic or gender-neutral words in COI reports and other materials used in the assessment, can limit the consideration of women’s different experiences of insecurity. In regard to cessation, it was found that return can involve more than physical aspects and it is therefore important to recognize that other factors can also play a role in whether someone has the capacity to return (UNHCR, 2000, p. 43). The focus that the Danish Government has on reducing the amount of people staying in Denmark can therefore keep gender considerations limited, as gender considerations are pushed aside (Welfens, 2020, p. 520). The policies and practice can therefore result in situations where securing Denmark’s borders is prioritized over the security of women seeking protection in Denmark (Freedman, 2012, p. 46). Though gender is considered in some instances by the Danish immigration authorities, the framings found in the analysis appear to limit gender consideration that fully take the different vulnerabilities and insecurities women can face based on their gender into account. Because more women are prone to

receive the temporary protection status under §7 (3), there is a risk that they will be sent back to countries that are deemed safe from a “general perspective” but might not be generally safe for women. It consequently leaves women who have received this form of protection with weaker protection.

Bibliography

- Achilleos-Sarll, C., Sachseder, J., & Stachowitsch, S. (2021). *#SecurityHasNoGender. Frontex, border security, and the politics of gender-neutrality*. Centre For Women, Peace And Security. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2021/03/31/securityhasnogender-frontex-border-security-and-the-politics-of-gender-neutrality/>
- Amnesty International. (2021). *“YOU’RE GOING TO YOUR DEATH” VIOLATIONS AGAINST SYRIAN REFUGEES RETURNING TO SYRIA*. . https://amnesty.dk/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Report_-Youre-going-to-your-death_-ENG.pdf
- Bendixen, M. C. (2021, September 30). *MERE OM §7,3. Refugees Welcome*. Retrieved 10 February 2024, from <https://refugees.dk/fakta/lovgivning-og-definitioner/mere-om-7-3/>
- Bendixen, M. C. (2023, July 27). *LIGEBEHANDLING DISKRIMINERER EN SÆRLIG GRUPPE KVINDER*. Retrieved 10 February 2024, from <https://refugees.dk/fokus/2023/september/ligebehandling-diskriminerer-en-saerlig-gruppe-kvinder/>
- Björnehed, E., & Erikson, J. (2018). Making the most of the frame: developing the analytical potential of frame analysis. *Policy Studies*, 39(2), 109–126. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2018.1434874>
- Bloch, A., Galvin, T., & Harrell-Bond, B. (2000). Refugee Women in Europe: Some Aspects of the Legal and Policy Dimensions. *International Migration*, 38(2), 169–190. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00106>
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>
- Cabas-Mijares, A. (2023). In feminism we trust! On how feminist standpoint epistemologies shape journalism practices in two argentine digital newsrooms. *Journalism*, 24(8), 1615–1633. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849221090741>
- Soma/2019/259/MEG (2019). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>.
- Syri/2019/38/GJEY (2019). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2019/37/CMA (2019). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2020/20/Smla (2020). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Soma/2020/78/MSI (2020). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>

- Soma/2020/98/MSI (2020). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2021/262/Ajev (2021). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Soma/2021/71/Ehd (2021). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2021/252/Hmu (2021). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2022/183/Anjv (2022). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2022/20/Sme (2022). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2022/186/ANHK (2022). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2023/83/Kdo (2023). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2023/24/Sme (2023). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Syri/2023/60/Saba (2023). <https://fln.dk/da/Praksis>
- Chinkin, C., & Charlesworth, H. (2006). Building Women into Peace: the international legal framework. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(5), 937–957. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590600780391>
- COAR. (2021, April 26). *Point of No Return? Recommendations for Asylum and Refugee Issues Between Denmark and Damascus*. Retrieved 12 February 2024, from <https://coar-global.org/2021/04/26/point-of-no-return-recommendations-for-asylum-and-refugee-issues-between-denmark-and-damascus/>
- Council of Europe. (n.d.-a). *The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention)*. Retrieved 18 February 2024, from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/gender-matters/council-of-europe-convention-on-preventing-and-combating-violence-against-women-and-domestic-violence>
- Council of Europe. (n.d.-b). *What is gender mainstreaming?* Retrieved 10 February 2024, from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/genderequality/what-is-gender-mainstreaming>
- Council of Europe. (2017). *GREVIO's (Baseline) Evaluation Report on legislative and other measures giving effect to the provisions of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) Denmark*. . <https://rm.coe.int/grevio-first-baseline-report-on-denmark/16807688ae>
- Crawley, H. (2000). Gender, persecution and the concept of politics in the asylum determination process. *Forced Migration Review*, 9(1), 17–20.
- Danish Institute For Human Rights. (n.d.). *European Convention on Human Rights*. Retrieved 17 February 2024, from <https://www.humanrights.dk/research/about-human-rights/human-rights-europe/european-convention-human-rights>
- Danish Refugee Council. (n.d.). *The Danish asylum procedure*. . Retrieved 22 January 2024, from <https://asyl.drc.ngo/en/for-asylum-seekers/the-danish-asylum-system/the-danish-asylum-procedure/>
- Dombos, T., Zentai, V., Verloo, M., & Krizsan, A. (2012). *Critical Frame Analysis: A Comparative Methodology for the 'Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies' (QUING) project*. 3-21

- Donnelly, F. (2017). In the name of (de)securitization: Speaking security to protect migrants, refugees and internally displaced persons? *International Review of the Red Cross*, 99(904), 241–261. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383117000650>
- Edwards, A. (2009). Human Security and the Rights of Refugees: Transcending Territorial and Disciplinary Borders. *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 30(3), 763–807.
- Edwards, A. (2010a). Age and Gender Dimensions in International Refugee Law. In Feller, E., Türk, V., Nicholson, F (Eds.) *REFUGEE PROTECTION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW: UNHCR'S GLOBAL CONSULTATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION* (pp. 46–80).. Cambridge University Press 2003.
- Edwards, A. (2010b). Transitioning Gender: Feminist Engagement with International Refugee Law and Policy 1950-2010. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 29(2), 21–45. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdq021>
- European Asylum Support Office. (2020a). *Syria: Situation of women. Country of Origin Information (COI) report*. <https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/easo-coi-report-syria-situation-women.pdf>
- European Asylum Support Office (EASO). (2020b). *Country Guidance: Syria Common analysis and guidance notes*. https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/Country_Guidance_Syria_2020.pdf
- European Asylum Support Office (EASO). (2020c). *Practical guide on the use of country-of-origin information by case officers for the examination of asylum applications*. https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EASO_Practical_guide_COI_EN.pdf
- European Asylum Support Office (EASO). (2021a). EASO Practical Guide on the Application of Cessation Clauses. In *EASO Practical Guide Series*. European Asylum Support Office (EASO). <https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/Practical-guide-cessation-clauses.pdf>
- European Asylum Support Office (EASO). (2021b). *Somalia Targeted profiles Country of Origin Information Report*. https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_09_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Targeted_profiles.pdf
- European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, as Amended by Protocols Nos. 11 and 14 (ECHR) (1950). Retrieved 12 February 2024, from <https://www.refworld.org/legal/agreements/coe/1950/en/18688>
- European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE). (2020, September). *Migration*. Retrieved 12 February 2024, from https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/policy-areas/migration?language_content_entity=en
- European Parliament. (2016). *Gender aspects of migration and asylum in the EU: An overview. Briefing European Parliamentary Research Service*. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/579072/EPRS_BRI\(2016\)579072_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/579072/EPRS_BRI(2016)579072_EN.pdf)
- European Parliament. (2023). *The Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties*. Retrieved 12 February 2024, from <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/3/the-maastricht-and-amsterdam-treaties>

- European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS). (2019). *Gender mainstreaming in the EU: State of play*.
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2019/630359/EPRS_ATA\(2019\)630359_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2019/630359/EPRS_ATA(2019)630359_EN.pdf)
- European Union Agency For Asylum (EEAA). (n.d.-a). *Actors of persecution or serious harm*. Retrieved 12 February 2024, from <https://euaa.europa.eu/easo-practical-guide-qualification-international-protection/actors-persecution-or-serious-harm>
- European Union Agency For Asylum (EEAA). (n.d.-b). *Country of Origin Information. COI Publications*. Retrieved 17 February 2024, from <https://euaa.europa.eu/country-origin-information>
- Filskov, N., Hansen, T. O., Larsen, S., Petersen, M. J., & Tan, N. F. T. (2022). *You Can Never Feel Safe. An Analysis of the Due Process Challenges Facing Refugees Whose Residence Permits Have Been Revoked*. Danish Institute For Human Rights.
- Firth, G., & Mauthe, B. (2013). Refugee Law, Gender and the Concept of Personhood. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 25(3), 470–501. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eet034>
- Folketinget. (2016). UI Alm.del endeligt svar på spørgsmål 408. Offentligt. In *Udlændinge-, Integrations- og Boligudvalget*.
<https://www.ft.dk/samling/20151/almdel/uui/spm/408/svar/1308335/1611642.pdf>
- Freedman, J. (2008a). Women Seeking Asylum. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 10(2), 154–172. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740801957521>
- Freedman, J. (2008b). Women's Right to Asylum: Protecting the Rights of Female Asylum Seekers in Europe? *Human Rights Review*, 9(4), 413–433. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12142-008-0059-1>
- Freedman, J. (2010a). Mainstreaming gender in refugee protection. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 23(4), 589–607. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2010.523820>
- Freedman, J. (2010b). Protecting Women Asylum Seekers and Refugees: From International Norms to National Protection? *International Migration*, 48(1), 175–198. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00549.x>
- Freedman, J. (2012). Taking Gender Seriously in Asylum and Refugee Policies. In K. R. Khory (Ed.), *Global Migration: Challenges in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 45–64). Palgrave Macmillan New York.
- Freedman, J. (2015). *Gendering the International Asylum and Refugee Debate: Second Edition* (Second edition). Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan.
- Freedman, J. (2017). Mainstreaming gender in EU immigration and asylum policy. In H. MacRae & E. Weiner (Eds.), *Towards Gendering Institutionalism. Equality in Europe* (pp. 145–164). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers / Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. (2017). Refugee policy as 'negative nation branding': the case of Denmark and the Nordics. *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook*, 2017, 99–1125.

- Garvik, M., & Valenta, M. (2021). Seeking asylum in Scandinavia: a comparative analysis of recent restrictive policy responses towards unaccompanied afghan minors in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00221-1>
- Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO). (2017). *Comments submitted by Denmark on GREVIO's final report on the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Baseline Report). Received by GREVIO on 17 November 2017 GREVIO/Inf(2017)16*. <https://rm.coe.int/comments-of-the-danish-government-on-grevio-s-first-report/16807688bd>
- Gurung, L. (2020). Feminist Standpoint Theory: Conceptualization and Utility. *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 14, 106–115. <https://doi.org/10.3126/dsaj.v14i0.27357>
- Hagelund, A. (2020). After the refugee crisis: public discourse and policy change in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 8(1), 13. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0169-8>
- Hansen, L. (2000). The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 29(2), 285–306. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298000290020501>
- Harding, S. (2004a). A Socially Relevant Philosophy of Science? Resources from Standpoint Theory's Controversiality. *Hypatia*, 19(1), 25–47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2004.tb01267.x>
- Harding, S. (2004b). Introduction: Standpoint Theory as a Site of Political, Philosophical, and Scientific Debate. . In Harding, S (Ed.). *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader Intellectual and Political Controversies*. (pp. 1–16). Routledge .
- Harding, S. (2009). Standpoint Theories: Productively Controversial. *Hypatia*, 24(4), 192–200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2009.01067.x>
- Harding, S. (2011). Gender, Technoscience, and Militarism. An Engagement with Eric M. Blanchard. In J. A. Tickner & L. Sjoberg (Eds.), *Feminism and International Relations* (1st Edition, pp. 164–168). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203816813>
- Harding, S. (2016). *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501712951>
- Hawkesworth, M. (1994). Policy Studies within a Feminist Frame. *Policy Sciences. Feminism and Public Policy*, 27(2/3), 97–118.
- Hawkesworth, M. (1999). Analyzing backlash. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22(2), 135–155. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395\(99\)00003-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395(99)00003-5)
- Hekman, S. (1997). Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 22(2), 341–365. <https://doi.org/10.1086/495159>
- Hoogensen, G., & Rottem, S. V. (2004). Gender Identity and the Subject of Security. *Security Dialogue*, 35(2), 155–171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010604044974>

- Hudson, H. (2005). 'Doing' Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security. *Security Dialogue*, 36(2), 155–174.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010605054642>
- Human Rights Watch. (2021a). "Our Lives Are Like Death" Syrian Refugee Returns from Lebanon and Jordan. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/10/20/our-lives-are-death/syrian-refugee-returns-lebanon-and-jordan>
- Human Rights Watch. (2021b, April 19). Denmark: Flawed Country of Origin Reports Lead to Flawed Refugee Policies. Joint Statement. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/04/19/denmark-flawed-country-origin-reports-lead-flawed-refugee-policies>
- Jacobsen, M. H. (2022). Precarious (Dis)Placement: Temporality and the Legal Rewriting of Refugee Protection in Denmark. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 112(3), 819–827.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2021.1999199>
- Jaggar, A. M. (2004). Feminist politics and epistemology: The standpoint of women. In S. G. Harding (Ed.), *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*. (pp. 55–66). Routledge.
- Kantola, J., & Lombardo, E. (2017a). Feminist political analysis: Exploring strengths, hegemonies and limitations. *Feminist Theory*, 18(3), 323–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700117721882>
- Kantola, J., & Lombardo, E. (2017b). *Gender and Political Analysis* (1st ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Kim, S. (1994). "Gender-Related Persecution: A Legal Analysis of Gender Bias in Asylum Law. *American University Journal of Gender and the Law* 2, 2(107), 107–138.
- Kreichauf, R. (2020). Legal Paradigm Shifts and Their Impacts on the Socio-Spatial Exclusion of Asylum Seekers in Denmark. In B. Glorius & J. Doomernik (Eds.), *Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities* (pp. 45–67). Springer, Cham.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25666-1_3
- L 72 Forslag Til Lov Om Ændring Af Udlændingeloven. Lovforslag Som Fremsat. (2014).
https://www.ft.dk/samling/20141/lovforslag/L72/som_fremsat.htm
- L 87 Forslag Til Lov Om Ændring Af Udlændingeloven. (Udskydelse Af Retten Til Familiesammenføring for Personer Med Midlertidig Beskyttelsesstatus, Skærpelse Af Reglerne Om Tidsbegrænset Opholdstilladelse, Skærpelse Af Reglerne Om Inddragelse Af Flygtninges Opholdstilladelse m.v.). (2015).
https://www.ft.dk/ripdf/samling/20151/lovforslag/l87/20151_l87_som_fremsat.pdf
- L 140 Forslag Til Lov Om Ændring Af Udlændingeloven, Integrationsloven, Repatrieringsloven Og Forskellige Andre Love. Lovforslag Som Fremsat (2019).
https://www.ft.dk/samling/20181/lovforslag/L140/som_fremsat.htm
- Lashchuk, Dr. I. (2023). Time to Address the Absence of 'Gender' in the Temporary Protection Directive and its Recent Implementation. In S. Carerra & M. Inelli-Ciger (Eds.), *EU Responses to the Large-Scale Refugee Displacement. An Analysis on the Temporary Protection Directive and Its Implications for the Future EU Asylum Policy* (pp. 303–313). European University Institute.

- Le Bellec, A. (2021). Toward a Gender-Sensitive Securitization of the Common European Asylum System. *Frontiers in Human Dynamics*, 3. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fhumd.2021.635809>
- Lepola, O. (2016). *Mapping of gender aspects in asylum processes in the Nordic countries Discussion paper for the Meeting of the Nordic Council of Ministers for Gender Equality on 3 October 2016*. <https://norden.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1047056/FULLTEXT02.pdf>
- Ligestillingsudvalget. (2013). *Vejledning til ligestillingsvurdering af lovforslag. Ligestillingsudvalget 2012-13 LIU Alm.del Bilag 85 Offentligt*. <https://www.ft.dk/samling/20121/alm.del/liu/bilag/85/1271615.pdf>
- Lighthouse Reports. (2023, September 15). *Syrian Women on the Run*. Retrieved 12 February 2024, from <https://www.lighthousereports.com/investigation/syrian-women-on-the-run/>
- Lindberg, A. (2020). Minimum rights policies targeting people seeking protection in Denmark and Sweden. In *Refugees and the violence of welfare bureaucracies in Northern Europe* (pp. 85–102). Manchester University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526146847.00012>
- Liversage, A. (2023). Syriske flygtningkvinder. In M. Rytter, S.-L. J. Mortensen, S. Bregnbæk, & Z. Whyte (Eds.), *Paradigmeskiftets konsekvenser* (pp. 109–126). Aarhus University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.5590545.8>
- Lombardo, E. (2016). Gender mainstreaming. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studie*, 1–3.
- Lombardo, E., & Meier, P. (2022). Challenging boundaries to expand frontiers in gender and policy studies. *Policy & Politics*, 50(1), 99–115. <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557321X16309516650101>
- Milner, D. (2004). Exemption from Cessation of Refugee Status in the Second Sentence of Article 1C(5)/(6) of the 1951 Refugee Convention. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 16(1), 91–107. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/16.1.91>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2021). *Meeting in the Council for Development Policy on 28 October 2021 Agenda Item No. 4. Support to Syria and Syria's Neighbourhood (2021-2023)*.
- Morgan, H. (2022). Conducting a Qualitative Document Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 27(1), 64–77. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2022.5044>
- Nyidanmark [New to Denmark]. (2022). *Legislation*. The Danish Immigration Service. Retrieved 12 February 2024, from <https://nyidanmark.dk/en-GB/Legislation/Legislation>
- Nyidanmark [new to Denmark]. (2019, June 1). *Termination of residence permit on the grounds of asylum*. The Danish Immigration Service. Retrieved 12 February 2024, from <https://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-GB/SituationChange/Asylum/Termination%20of%20residence%20permit>
- Oswin, N. (2001). Rights Spaces: An Exploration of Feminist Approaches to Refugee Law. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 3(3), 347–364. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740110078176>

- Patrick, E. (2004). Gender-Related Persecution and International Protection. In *The Online Journal of the Migration Policy Institute*. Migration Policy Institute.
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/gender-related-persecution-and-international-protection>
- Peroni, L. (2018). The Protection of Women Asylum Seekers under the European Convention on Human Rights: Unearthing the Gendered Roots of Harm. *Human Rights Law Review*, 18(2), 347–370.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngy005>
- Puechguirbal, N. (2012). The Cost of Ignoring Gender in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations: A Feminist Perspective. *Amsterdam Law Forum*, 4(1), 4–19.
- Querton, C. (2012). “*I feel like as a woman I’m not welcome*”: A gender analysis of UK asylum law, policy and practice. <https://asylumaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2022-01/Querton%202012.pdf>
- Querton, C. (2019). Gender and the boundaries of international refugee law: Beyond the category of ‘gender-related asylum claims’. *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, 37(4), 379–397.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0924051919884764>
- Querton, C. (2022). Non-State Actors of Protection and the Sliding Scale of Protection for Refugee Women. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 41(3), 444–471. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdac020>
- Ramazanoğlu, C., & Holland, J. (2002). *Feminist Methodology*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209144>
- Refugee Appeals Board [Flygtningenævnet]. (2022). *Beskyttelsen af asylansøgere i henhold til FN’s flygtningekonvention og Den Europæiske Menneskerettighedskonvention*. <https://fln.dk/-/media/FLN/Publikationer-og-notater/EMRK/28-09-2022/EMRK-notatet---rettet-28-09-2022.pdf?la=da&hash=AD5AF2DF63EA042FEB3B5561CAFF87DA589AF221>
- Refugee Appeals Board [Flygtningenævnet]. (2021). *Formandskabet. 30. beretning 2021*.
- Rolin, K. (2009). Standpoint Theory as a Methodology for the Study of Power Relations. *Hypatia*, 24(4), 218–226. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2009.01070.x>
- Romaniuk, Scott. N. (2009). Engaging gender (in) security. *Gender & Media Diversity Journal*, 143–152.
- Rytter, M., Mortensen, S.-L. J., Bregnbæk, S., & Whyte, Z. (2023). Introduktion. Paradigmeskiftet og dets konsekvenser. In Rytter, M., Mortensen, S.-L. J., Bregnbæk, S., & Whyte, Z. (Eds.). *Paradigmeskiftets konsekvenser Flygtninge, stat og civilsamfund* (pp. 9–38). Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Schultz, J. (2020). An end to asylum? Temporary protection and the erosion of refugee status. In *Waiting and the Temporalities of Irregular Migration* (1st Edition, pp. 170–185). Routledge.
- Shepherd, L. J. (2009). Gender, Violence and Global Politics: Contemporary Debates in Feminist Security Studies. *Political Studies Review*, 7(2), 208–219. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-9299.2009.00180.x>
- Spijkeboer, T. (2017). *Gender and Refugee Status* (1st ed.). Routledge.

- Tan, N. F. (2021). The End of Protection: The Danish ‘Paradigm Shift’ and the Law of Cessation. *Nordic Journal of International Law*, 90(1), 60–85. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718107-bja10009>
- The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) (2014). Retrieved 12 February 2024, from <https://www.refworld.org/reference/regionalreport/coe/2014/en/102469>
- The Danish Immigration Service [Udlændingestyrelsen]. (2019a). *Tal og Fakta*. Retrieved 14 February 2024 from https://us.dk/media/9236/talogfakta2019_web-final-a.pdf
- The Danish Immigration Service [Udlændingestyrelsen]. (2019b). *Udlændingestyrelsens landerapport vedrørende Syrien. Security Situation in Damascus Province and Issues Regarding Return to Syria*. <https://uim.dk/nyhedsarkiv/2019/februar/udlaendingestyrelsens-landerapport-vedroerende-syrien>
- Tickner, J. A. (2004). Feminist responses to international security studies. *Peace Review*, 16(1), 43–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1040265042000210148>
- Tickner, J. A. (2011). Feminist Security Studies: Celebrating an Emerging Field. *Politics & Gender*, 7(04), 576–581. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X11000377>
- Tickner, J. A. (1992). *Gender in International Relations. Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. Columbia University Press.
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (n.d.). *The 1951 Refugee Convention*. Retrieved 14 February 2024, from <https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr/who-we-are/1951-refugee-convention>
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (1995). *Agents of Persecution - UNHCR Position*. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b31da3.html>
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (1997). *Note on the Cessation Clauses. EC/47/SC/CRP.30*. <https://www.unhcr.org/publications/note-cessation-clauses>
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2000). *Daunting Prospects. Minority Women: Obstacles to their Return and Integration*. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3394.html>
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2002). *Guidelines on International Protection No. 1: Gender-Related Persecution Within the Context of Article 1A(2) of the 1951 Convention and/or its 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (HCR/GIP/02/01)*. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3d36f1c64.html>
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2003). Guidelines on International Protection No. 3: Cessation of Refugee Status under Article 1C(5) and (6) of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (the ‘Ceased Circumstances’ Clauses) (HCR/GIP/03/03). In *HCR/GIP/03/03*. <https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/legacy-pdf/3e637a202.pdf>
- UN High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR). (2021). *UNHCR recommendations to Denmark on strengthening refugee protection in Denmark, Europe and globally*. <https://www.unhcr.org/neu/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2021/01/UNHCR-Recommendations-to-Denmark-on-strengthening-refugee-protection-in-DK-Europe-and-globally-January-2021.pdf>

- UN Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner (OHCHR). (n.d.). *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women New York, 18 December 1979*. Human Rights Instruments . Retrieved 17 February 2024, from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-elimination-all-forms-discrimination-against-women>
- UN Peacekeeping. (n.d.). *DEPARTMENT OF PEACE OPERATIONS Gender Equality and Women, Peace and Security RESOURCE PACKAGE*. . Retrieved 6 February 2024, from https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/gewps19_respack_v7_eng_digital.pdf
- UN Women. (2016). *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) for Youth*. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2016/12/cedaw-for-youth>
- UN Women. (2021). *POLICIES AND PRACTICE: A GUIDE TO GENDER RESPONSIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GLOBAL COMPACT FOR MIGRATION*. <https://rm.coe.int/pp-guide-a4-web-designed-final/1680a4401a>
- Valji, N. (2001). Women and the 1951 Refugee Convention: Fifty Years of Seeking Visibility. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 25–35. <https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.21227>
- Vedsted-Hansen, J. (2022). *Refugees as future returnees? Anatomy of the 'paradigm shift' towards temporary protection in Denmark*. Chr. Michelsen Institute. CMI Report.
- Verloo, M. (2016). MAINSTREAMING GENDER EQUALITY IN EUROPE. A CRITICAL FRAME ANALYSIS APPROACH. *The Greek Review of Social Research*, 117(117), 11–34. <https://doi.org/10.12681/grsr.9555>
- Verloo, M., & Lombardo, E. (2007). Contested Gender Equality and Policy Variety in Europe: Introducing a Critical Frame Analysis Approach. In M. Verloo (Ed.), *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe* (pp. 21–50). Central European University .
- Wadley, J. D. (2009). Gendering the state Performativity and protection in international security. In L. Sjoberg (Ed.), *Gender and International Security* (1st Edition, pp. 38–59). Routledge.
- Welfens, N. (2020). Protecting Refugees Inside, Protecting Borders Abroad? Gender in the EU's Responses to the 'Refugee Crisis'. *Political Studies Review*, 18(3), 510–524. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1478929919887349>
- Yacoub, N. (2022). *Women's Rights and the Criteria for Cessation of Refugee Status for 'Ceased Circumstances'*. Refugee Law Initiative. School of Advanced Study University of London. <https://rli.blogs.sas.ac.uk/about-us/>
- Zeigler, S. L., & Stewart, K. B. (2009). Positioning Women's Rights within Asylum Policy: A Feminist Analysis of Political Persecution. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 30(2), 115–142. <https://doi.org/10.1353/fro.0.0051>