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**‘Sticks and stones may break my bones but words will never hurt me’:
A discourse analysis of NATO**

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‘Sticks and stones may break my bones but words will never hurt me’

A discourse analysis of NATO

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Executive Summary

In 2000, the UN Security Council signed Resolution 1325 calling on all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in peacekeeping and peace building missions. Other international security organisations (ISO) followed suit and NATO adopted the Resolution in 2007. Since the adoption of Resolution 1325 considerable research has been conducted examining the impact of the Resolution on the inclusion of women in ISO's and especially at the UN. Nadine Puechguirbal (2010) examined how gender mainstreaming was incorporated into the discourse and ideas of the UN since the implementation of Resolution 1325. Inspired, this paper examines the question *'how does NATO frame its discourse and ideas on gender and how do these formulations help or hinder them in fulfilling UN Resolution 1325?'* It does so by using the theories of constructivism, critical theory, feminism and gender essentialism. 30 publicly available NATO documents were analysed. In conclusion, despite substantial effort to include gender mainstreaming within their organisation the discourse and ideas used by NATO does not reflect this effort. The documents analysed contain inconsistencies, suggesting that the discourse and ideas used by NATO hinder them in fulfilling Resolution 1325.

1. Introduction

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council signed Resolution 1325 calling on actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all UN peace and security efforts. Resolution 1325 calls for *‘the inclusion of gender perspectives into peacekeeping operations, and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component’* (Resolution 1325, 2000, 2). In 1997 the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) stated that gender mainstreaming was: *‘[t]he process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. [...] so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.’* (United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs, 1997, 2). At the time this resolution was met with great enthusiasm, which led to the creation of a new UN body in 2010: UN Women. UN Women would monitor, promote and empower women around the globe. Alongside the UN, other organisations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) also adopted this resolution.

Scholars have been critical about the success (or lack thereof) of Resolution 1325. One reason advocated for its lack of success has been the lack of a comprehensive framework (Binder, Lukas, Schweiger, 2008). Another argument presented is that those institutions adopting the resolution failed to use the adequate discourse and ideas suitable for implementing Resolution 1325. In 2010, research on how discourse and ideas has impacted the implementation of Resolution 1325 at the UN was undertaken (Puechguirbal, 2010); however, until now a similar study has not been conducted at NATO. The research questions addressed in this dissertation are: “With

respect to UN Resolution 1325, *how does NATO frame its discourse and ideas on gender and how do these formulations help or hinder them in fulfilling the resolution*”?

The second section of this paper provides a brief history of NATO, exploring the areas of interest in which scholars have conducted research before discussing gender mainstreaming at length. The third section draws upon the theories of constructivism, critical theory, analytical feminism, and gender essentialism; the latter two formulated by Jacqui True (2013) and Elizabeth Grosz (1995) respectively. Analytical feminism as described by Jacqui True (2013) focuses on social constructs and their use in language. The social constructs that True (2013) presents are gender constructs. Gender essentialism refers to the fixed characteristics and attributes of men and women, suggesting that the biological, universal, psychological and innate attributes of man or woman are fixed and immutable. Elizabeth Grosz argues that attributes may change and are socially constructed and de-constructed (Grosz, 1995). Resolution 1325 is about and for women, and the language that institutions use should reflect that focus. Puechguirbal (2010) found in her study at the UN that stereotypical gender roles and the themes with respect to the position of men and women are deeply set, and that despite the efforts made by Resolution 1325 no significant advancement to setting a “new balance” had been made (True, 2013). The hypothesis presented by this paper is that the findings presented by Puechguirbal (2010) at the UN will be reproducible at NATO. The fourth section provides the methodological framework of this paper.

This paper concludes that NATO has made considerable progress on including women within its organisation. This is illustrated through the significant presence of women on its website pages, the effort that the Special Representatives for Women, Peace and Security make to increase and retain the number of women arriving within NATO ranks, and the inclusion of gender advisors within all their missions. However, within the 30 publicly available documents analysed in the present research, many inconsistencies were uncovered. The use of phrases like 'added value' and the inability to distinguish between gender and sex show that the wish to gender mainstream has yet to fully realise within NATO's discourse and ideas. This lack of gender mainstreaming shows that NATO is hindered by its discourse and ideas in fulfilling Resolution 1325.

2. Literature Review

This section presents the literature discussing NATO, gender mainstreaming and Resolution 1325. These topics will be discussed individually and then interlinked. It is recognised that the literature on gender is broad and extensive. This chapter presents only the research considered relevant to the topic of this paper.

Since the creation of the NATO in 1949, its impact on world affairs has received substantial attention and analysis. Research has been conducted studying the organisation and its partners (Lindstrom & Tardy, 2019; Schemmelfing, 2003b), NATO enlargement (Jacoby, 2004) its effect on civil society (Crangle, 2006), military spending (George & Sandler 2018), economic or technical deterrence methods (McCracken & Downman, 2019), the Cold War (Adler, 2008) and its influence and impact during regional conflicts (Cottey, 2018; Haesebrouck, 2017). As an organisation with a purpose to provide a collective defence for its members, irrespective of societal divisions, it has only recently turned its attention to gender equality with the implementation of the UN Resolution 1325 in 2007. NATO has traditionally been studied for its effect on regional security (especially during and after the Cold War) and its contribution to peace and security (in conflict areas) including its military operations, rather than its intra-organisational configuration. The conversation of the importance of including women, studying women and promoting women within security organisations is therefore new, and studies connecting NATO to this conversation are limited. The sources mentioned above, while important and vital to study the change in behaviour of NATO over time, does not explain whether NATO has had an impact in the conversation surrounding women. Although the

results of the aforementioned studies are interesting and useful in other contexts, they are not relevant to the scope of this paper.

Since 2000, feminist scholars have used Resolution 1325 to study its effect on (i) female participation in peacekeeping and peace-building missions at the UN (Aroussi, 2015, Karim and Beardsley 2013, 2017, Kreft, 2016); (ii) the implementation of gender perspectives in UN peacekeeping mandates (Barrow, 2009, Olsson & Gizelis, 2015), the National Action Plans of Member States (Jenichen, Joachim & Schneiker, 2019); and (iii) the adoption of the resolution in other institutions (Jenichen, Joachim & Schneiker, 2018). Feminist scholars have also critiqued the UN for its lack of effort in implementing gender policies as well as the degree it has supported Member States implementing the resolution (Jenne & Ulloa Bisshopp, 2021, LaHoud, 2020). Over time, several other international organisations adopted similar or identical resolutions. In 2007, NATO adopted their first Women, Peace and Security (WPS) policy with the commensurate subsequent studies (Masdea, 2012, Wright, 2016). I argue that these studies have had a limited focus such as (i) considering exclusively the implementation of Resolution 1325 at NATO at a military level (Wright, 2016); (ii) the limitations of WPS due to patriarchal societal pressures (Cockburn, 2011) and, (iii) cross-national studies on women's military participation in NATO's member states (Obradovic, 2014). Wright's (2016) article examined the implementation of the UN Resolution at NATO and considered the Resolution was understood as 'added value' to the organisation. This shows that gender is to some extent important to NATO. Cockburn (2011) argued that the wording of Resolution 1325 (and its application in WPS) is flawed as it falls victim to patriarchal pressures and that therefore the changes made at NATO are muted. In her 2014 publication, Obradovic

examines how some NATO member states have successfully promoted gender within military ranks and other member states have not. She argues that international pressures alongside military modernisation and standardisation are huge contributing factors for including gender perspectives into the military forces of NATO member states.e

There is a significant body of literature addressing the subject of gender mainstreaming. The issue underlying gender mainstreaming is by no means new, although the term is recent. In 1989, it was arguably sparked by Cynthia Enloe in her book *'Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics'*. Research on gender mainstreaming has considered its connection to feminist theory (Zalewski, 2010), and the incorporation of gender mainstreaming into leadership roles (Page, 2011), healthcare (Gupta, Betron, Brown & Morgan, 2019), developmental aid (Jauhola, 2013), climate change policies (Acosta et al 2020; Allwood, 2020), governments and administrations, and around the globe such as Canada, India, the EU, Kenya, including changes in institutions and societal roles (Cavaghan, 2017; Lombard & Meier, 2006). These works have explained the challenges being faced to put new policies into practice, as well as how crucial these policies are. As such their theoretical frameworks will be further discussed later on. Empirically, Allwood (2020) discusses the need to incorporate gender into climate change policies, as climate change is neither demographically nor gender agnostic. Allwood argues that any policies formulated to reduce climate change without taking gender into account affects people disproportionately. These studies, while relevant to the deepening understanding of gender mainstreaming, are mostly quantitative. These works mainly describe from a numerical perspective how women participate or are

represented. The present study, while not discounting the issue that women require greater quantitative representation in organisations, examines the language used to promote or facilitate gender perspectives, thus taking a qualitative approach.

Several studies report the efforts NATO has made to incorporate gender mainstreaming into its policies (Hardt & von Hlatky, 2017, von Hlatky, 2018, Hardt & von Hlatky, 2020, Prescott, 2013). Hardt and von Hlatky's (2020) latest work presents NATO efforts to incorporate gender mainstreaming into its policies and its efforts to work in parallel with the UN. Hardt and von Hlatky evaluated public records and conducted interviews. This method mirrors my own, however their focus was on *how* NATO incorporated gender policies. Their theoretical argument was that Resolution 1325 was adopted and has been adapted to NATO due to NATO's institutional design and their standard operating measures. They argue that because militaries are hierarchical institutions that are required to follow orders from 'the top', it is the military body of NATO, not the civilian branches that spearheaded the change. As such it will be interesting to see whether this interest in adapting Resolution 1325 to NATO is reflected in the discourse and ideas in NATO documents.

In 2010, Nadine Puechguirbal published her research about gender mainstreaming and the use of discourse and ideas at the UN with respect to the implementation of Resolution 1325 at the UN. From the research undertaken and works published, hardly any examination has been undertaken to review the discourse used, the communication and dissemination of ideas at NATO, and how discourse may impact the implementation of Resolution 1325. This is exactly what this paper aims to study.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this paper is based on the collective understanding of constructivism, critical theory, feminism and gender essentialism. My main hypothesis is that NATO, much like the UN, is unable to distinguish between ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. As a result of this inability to differentiate, NATO unfortunately continues to portray women as ‘victims’ of limited agency despite their best efforts to adopt gender-mainstreaming policies.

Constructivism is the overarching theoretical construct of this research and the framework within which other theories are applied. Constructivism argues that the world and international politics are socially constructed. According to Wendt (1999), constructivism has two basic tenets; the first being ‘that the structures of human associations are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces’ and second, that the ‘*identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas*’ (Wendt, 1998, 1). Simply put, constructivists argue that the world is shaped by the meaning and definition we place on ideas, norms, knowledge, and culture (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001). As such, constructivism is a social theory that makes claims about social connections and social change. Ted Hopf (1998) splits constructivism into two variants; conventional and critical. Both variants share the same basic principles: i) states and systems are the most critical actors in world politics, ii) conflict and cooperation are socially constructed, iii) actors, identities, interests and actions are socially constructed and mutually constitutive with the system. According to Hopf (1998), conventional constructivism emphasises the role that identities and social norms play in international politics. Additionally,

conventional constructivists such as Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein classify themselves as structuralists, meaning that they are interested in the way structures of constructed meaning affect things. Wendt, Ruggie and Finnemore are just some of the scholars that subscribe to this variant of constructivism. Critical constructivism is more interested in how actors and institutions are affected – they are less interested in the identity of an actor as a whole but rather its subparts which critical constructivism believes is strongly influenced by spoken and written word. For critical constructivists such as Hopf (1998), language plays a central role in constructing an actor identity.

Hopf (1998) underlines similarities between critical constructivism and critical social theory. critical theory provides a critique to repressive social practices and institutions in order to understand social phenomena and society (Hopf, 1998). The main difference between constructivism and critical theory is that constructivism places constructed meaning on structures and critical theory not only questions the constructed meaning but also the structures. The forefathers of this approach; Immanuel Kant and Karl Marx examined how state and economy enslaved people. In order to be free of those power structures, Marx used the term ‘emancipation’ to ‘free the people’ by labour reforms and unionization (Kant, 1781; Marx, 1867). Following Kant and Marx critical theorists have considered many avenues in which to apply this approach, the central vein has remained emancipation from state capitalism and economic liberation. In modern literature, critical theory has been central to the works of Antonio Gramsci and the Frankfurter School. Antonio Gramsci used critical theory as the basis for his term ‘*transformismo*’ which argues that that institutions co-opt the language of their critics to legitimatise their actions, thereby confusing not only their critics but also the general public (Gramsci, 1971). Critical theorists such as Max

Horkheimer and Teodor Adorno (Frankfurter School) critiqued mass culture and standardisation in everyday products, stating that citizens would become passive receptacles with no independent thought (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1982). They were undoubtedly influenced by the introduction of mass production and changing economies, a similar experience to that of Gramsci in the Industrial Revolution. Contemporary thinkers such as Andrew Linklater (Linklater, 1982) reintroduced emancipation back to critical theory using critical and normative thought. Critical theorists have offered critiques on various aspects of culture. However, as emancipation took a more central role again in the approach, this term was extrapolated to other areas of interest, most notably the experience of women in mass culture and the lack of research of these experiences. While critical theory is a theory that questions everything, many critical theorists, such as Adorno or Gramsci did not question the position of the women in mass culture.

Feminism is a social critical theory. There are many variations and branches to feminism but the basic understanding is that feminism is grounded in the elimination of subordination of women economically, politically, physically and socially (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2017). As a critical social theory, feminism provides a critical gaze on how the world treats men and women in world politics. Feminists argue that norms and values are socially constructed and that we place these socially constructed constructs on structures, relationships, world politics, and so on. Feminists provide a critique to the status quo. Cynthia Enloe, J. Ann Tickner, Judith Butler, Jacqui True, Laura Shepard, Elizabeth Grosz, and Lene Hansen are but a few of the feminists that continue to expand the theory of feminism. A pivotal moment in international relations was the publication of *'Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist*

Sense of International Politics' (1989). Enloe (1989) asked where all the women were in international relations, and she continues to ask this question in her work. The question central to Enloe (2004) is: where are the women and men, why are they there and who benefits? Enloe emphasises that **the patriarchy** is essential to understanding the systems that are currently in play. The question that Enloe asked is something repeated across all feminist articles. For example, Tickner in her article 'You Just Don't Understand' (1997) argues that feminist international relations theory could not be understood through the same methods used in realism and other 'traditional' theories. She argues that in feminist theory we '*draw on the notion of conversation when pursuing their goal of shareable understandings of the world*' (Tickner, 1997, 629). Tickner argues that by using methods that do not serve women in international relations, women do not benefit. Other examples can be seen in more recent works such as the article of Allwood (2020), who argues that incorporating gender into policies (gender mainstreaming) has become a '*tick-boxing exercise, devoid of any substantive content*' (178). However, if institutions were to use a transformative form of including gender, rooted in feminist theory, crosscutting issues such as gender and climate could be successfully combined. Additionally, Jenicken & Joachim and Scheikner (2018) state that historical institutionalism best explains the slow incorporation of gender policies into institutions. They argue that the structure of an institution is change resistant and any change will be incremental. Both Allwood (2020) and Jenicken & Joachim and Scheikner (2018) reiterate that in both their articles the gender that is disadvantaged by the status quo are women. As previously stated there are multiple types of feminism. One of these variants is analytical feminism. True (2013) states that analytical feminism '*refers to the asymmetrical social constructs of masculinity and femininity*' (250) in gender. True (2013) argues

that the prevailing brand of masculinity in the West is associated with '*authority, sovereignty, [...] and objectivity whereas femininity is associated with a lack of these characteristics*' (251). She argues that key concepts within International Relations (IR) cannot be understood without them being viewed from a 'male dominated sphere' (True, 2013). The same criticism can be found in Lombardo & Meier (2006)'s article on the European Union (EU). They argue that the policies are gender blind, meaning that they categorise women as one social category without further research or development into crosscutting issues that might differentially affect men and women. Feminism offers a critical view on the status quo and by gender mainstreaming the status quo would change. This also extends to the way that we use language. Discourse and ideas are socially constructed and as such the subordination of women is also socially constructed. The extension of this theory argues that to end the subordination of women, we must change the way we use language and how we share ideas.

The theory of gender essentialism can be understood alongside that of feminism. Elizabeth Grosz (1995) defines gender essentialism as '*the existence of fixed characteristics, given attributes, and ahistorical functions that limit the possibility of change and thus social reorganisation*' (Grosz, 1995, 48), meaning that whatever label we have socially placed on women applies in every case and is immutable. In Chapter 3 of *Space, Time and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies*, Grosz (1995) offers a critique to multitudes of 'essentialisms' – these essentialisms being: biologism, naturalism and universalism. These 'isms' are all interconnected and are all guilty of '*rendering [...] roles and positions [of women] unalterable*' (Grosz, 1995, 49), an example being that the characteristics given to women in society are

often related to their so-called 'biological capabilities'. In essence '*social and cultural factors are effects of biological causes*', e.g. a woman is a woman because she can bear children (Grosz, 1995, 48). Grosz (1995) critiques this notion, arguing that it is socially constructed and artificially limits an individual in terms of their biological or physiological capabilities. This was also the issue that Puechguirbal (2010) encountered at the UN. Her argument being that women were placed with children, together, in a homogeneous group irrespective of age or wish to procreate. The assumption that the woman is 'with the child' is still prevalent and pervasive. Despite Resolution 1325, the terms 'gender' and 'woman' were used interchangeably. This can be particularly harmful because the failure to distinguish between someone's sex (biological attributes, which in turn **has includes** many variations) and gender (a socially constructed set of attributions, behaviours and expressions of people) can make people feel excluded from mainstream society and pushes people who are already vulnerable to be even more so. Puechguirbal (2010) last argument is that the patriarchy is a language. This language functions on the exclusion and hierarchy and the failure to distinguish between 'sex' and 'gender' is but one way the patriarchy continually reaffirms the asymmetric power relations present in the world. To quote Simone de Beauvoir (1973): '*one is not born, but rather, becomes a woman*' (301).

These theories present a bleak view of the current position of women in global politics, and by extension into security and peace organisations or operations. In the case of the UN, Puechguirbal (2010) makes the argument that the UN is unable to distinguish between gender and sex, and perpetuates discourse and ideas to its Members and in their peace building and peace keeping missions that are damaging to the very people that it is supposed to protect and fight for. Building on the works of

True (2013), Grosz (1995) and Puechguirbal (2010), this research will test whether NATO, like the UN in 2010, is yet unable to distinguish adequately between the terms such as ‘women’ and ‘gender’ and therefore is also guilty of gender essentialism. Concretely, what this paper expects to find is that like the UN, NATO uses discourse and ideas that perpetuates gender essentialism, heteronormative stereotypes and treats women as a special interest group. This dissertation predicts that the discourse and ideas used by NATO today still hinders them in fulfilling Resolution 1325.

4. Methodology

This section discusses the methods described by Puechguirbal (2010) and Milliken (1999). This paper, while being influenced by Puechguirbal's (2010) paper, finds the methodology used not detailed enough to reproduce exactly and therefore will use Milliken's (1999) three commitments (or pillars) to categorise phrases and words that I will find in the documents.

I propose to use a single case study methodology to examine whether the discourse and ideas used by NATO have helped or hindered them in implementing Resolution 1325. Gerring (2004) stated that *'an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units' (341)* will not only deepen the understanding of the single unit but will deepen the understanding of the larger class of units – the 'larger class' in this paper being other security organisations. A single case study has the advantage of having a high internal validity due to the depth of the study and generally there is an intensive/extensive trade-off because of this. However as this type of single case study has already been conducted and applied to the UN, the claim that a single case study could have a lower external impact is decreased, especially if the findings of the study are reproducible at NATO. The results of this paper could be that I find a similar use of language at NATO or that NATO differs from the UN. With a single case study I intend to analyse the discourse and ideas used by NATO. NATO similarly to UN, also created a body specifically to represent the Resolution (Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security) as such it is interesting to discover what NATO has accomplished with this body. It is recognised that there have been studies conducted on the number of women participating in NATO missions or how many women are part of the NATO 'structure', however a

semantic focused study as I propose has not been conducted. To perform this analysis I will use the framework formulated by Nadine Puechguirbal (2010) framework in her article '*Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents*'. Puechguirbal (2010) conducted a contextual analysis of ten UN documents. She did not mention how she coded the documents and which codes, categories and groupings she used to formulate her analysis and conclusion. Due to the limitations that Puechguirbal's (2010) article provides, the article functions as a 'launchpad' to the research conducted in this paper. The dualisms of 'woman victim and man warrior' of the paper provide the context and discourse for this research. I will be conducting similar research to determine whether comparable findings are found in NATO a decade later.

I will use discourse analysis (DA) to see if Puechguirbal's (2010) UN findings are similar to those at NATO. I will use the methodology provided by Jennifer Milliken (1999) to conduct my research. Ruth Wodak (2008) defines discourse analysis as a method that provides a framework in which social research can take place. Discourse analysis is interdisciplinary and all facets of discourse and the subject studied need to be taken into consideration when using this method. This means that with any research I conduct I need to consider the whole picture (all documents reviewed, time and place and the nature of the organisation). A discourse analysis does not only analyse the language used but also context behind the sentence. It is an appropriate method for this thesis because I am analysing the meaning behind a word or set of phrases in context. Jennifer Milliken (1999) provides a method for how such an analysis could be conducted. Milliken (1999) states that there are three main theoretical commitments (or pillars). These commitments are; 'systems of

significance’, ‘discourse productivity’ and ‘the play of practice’ (Milliken, 1999). These commitments form the basis of Milliken’s (1999) argument on how to benefit the study of discourse in political science and to do it well. For this paper I will use the same commitments to analyse the documents that I have retrieved from NATO.

Pillar	Codes	Examples
Systems of significance	women female female personnel female soldier male personnel female and male personnel male and female personnel	‘having a diverse workforce that includes a critical mass of female staff [...] this will result in more women working in national services’ (PfPC SSRWG & EDW, 2016, 31) ‘the distribution of male and female personnel by rank. The proportion of male and female personnel in OR 1-4 and OR 5-9 is similar. However the percentage of women in OF 1-2 is proportionally higher than the percentage of men, whereas for OF 3-5 the percentage of men is higher. In regards to OF 6 and above, the percentage of men is over four times greater than the percentage of women ’ (NATO, 2014, 15)
Discourse productivity	women and children participation/representation added value gender equality	‘Female soldiers perform in many functions and capacities, from command to frontline roles, while bringing an added value to military operations’ (Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence, 2020, 59) ‘The participants learned about the importance of gender aspects in international operations, the main terms and definitions, the situation of women and children in areas of military conflicts and in the district of a specific operation, the activities of peacekeepers which could change the situation.

		Lectures were given to military personnel as part of their pre-deployment training for international operations (missions) in Afghanistan, Mali, Somalia, Kosovo, Turkey, and the Mediterranean Region. The total number of attendees was 141 soldiers (123 men and 18 women).’ (NATO, 2016, 145)
Play of practice	women, men, girls and boys men, women, boys and girls boys and girls girls and boys he/she	‘In 2020, NATO engaged in a series of dialogues on how to adapt its work to prevent and respond to conflict-related sexual violence. The Secretary General spoke at one of these events in June, saying that “we must all do everything we can to stop this intolerable violence used against so many men and women, boys and girls. ’ (NATO, 2020, 84) ‘The lectures focused on regional differences in cultural, social and economic requirements for men and women, boys and girls, and the possible outcomes of different situations were discussed’ (NATO, 2016, 145)

Table 1: Showing Milliken’s (1999) pillars of discourse analysis with codes (Appendix 2) and examples taken from public NATO documents (Appendix 1)

The first pillar is the system of significance and refers to a system of social reality constructs; ‘things do not mean [...] rather people construct the meaning of things’ (Milliken, 1999, 229). Milliken (1999) focuses on the relationships between things and how they are placed in the system, stating that these things are usually binary opposites and that this establishes a ‘relation of power’ between and among them. An example of this is ‘men and women’ and how they are placed in a system. In practice this means that I will be looking for examples of where NATO has placed things in opposition to each other that have power relations (See Table 1). This refers back to

Enloe's (2004) question of: 'where are the women, why are they there and who benefits'? For example, a document could distinguish between two things because they were discussing their relation to one another, however the same document could also make an unnecessary distinction between two things such as placing an emphasis on one over the other. This situation could be good or bad, but this is the dichotomy that I will be looking for.

The second pillar is discourse productivity. This is defined by '*discourses being productive (or reproductive) of things defined by discourse*' (Milliken, 1999, 229), meaning that discourse is used to operationalise a 'regime of truth' in which things are present or acting towards a truth that excludes other possibilities. Productivity also defines who is authorised to speak, act, inform, enable, marginalise or silence. Discourse defines the 'subjects' who have 'power' and influence. Therefore when analysing the documents I will be looking for texts where something has been given power or influence (or continues not to have either, see *Table 1*). Whom has power or influence determines what the 'regime of truth' is. For example, does the regime of truth at NATO allow for women to speak, be heard and be listened to? If not, how are they being hindered by the discourse use and if yes, to what extent? By using this pillar I can analyse the documents by searching who has power and who does not.

Finally, the last pillar described by Milliken (1999) is 'the play of practice'. This pillar refers to 'studying dominating or hegemonic discourse' (Milliken, 1999, 230) and how these become dominant by making certain practices legitimate or by fixing their 'regime of truth'. Milliken has described four ways (242-243) in which the play of practice can be used. I will be using the juxtapositional method as I will be

analysing what NATO considers to be the 'truth'. I will analyse if the 'truth' acknowledges or fails to acknowledge/address dominant representations and by extension whether it recognises and incorporates 'minority representations'. Is NATO's 'truth' fulfilling Resolution 1325 or not? These commitments by Milliken (1999) provide the methodology for the analysis of this paper.

To study the impact of Resolution 1325 a series of published public NATO documents will be reviewed in this paper. These include handbooks, annual reports, guidebooks, and mission documents when available and declassified. Due to the sensitive nature of NATO, many documents that are valuable to analyse are not available to the public, however I assume that the documents that are available to me are representational of and consistent with the internal documents that are currently classified in terms of the discourse and ideas used. The documents selected span 2010 to 2021, and were selected based on (i), the NATO web page search algorithm, (the documents selected were the easiest accessible to me as well as to others who would want to replicate this thesis) and (ii) a sufficient number to be statistically representative. The selected documents are either published by NATO or by their partners/members and all documents were found on the main NATO publication page. In total I analysed 30 documents (see Appendix 1) using 24 different codes (Appendix 2). All examples presented were found in the main body of these corresponding documents, rather than references, appendices and the like. I will be using Atlas.ti to analyse the texts that have been selected. This is a tool for qualitative research, which will help me code the 30 documents faster and more efficiently. The codes that used were based on theories explained in my framework. Hopefully by using the theoretical frameworks and Milliken (1999), and publicly available

documents from NATO, I will analyse whether the discourse used by the NATO helps or hinders them in implementing Resolution 1325.

5. Analysis

This section analyses the findings from documents publicly available from NATO on their main page using Milliken's (1999) three commitments. I found that NATO consistently uses the phrases women and female interchangeably, and that the gender conscious language that they do have does not extend beyond the paragraphs dedicated to discussing and analysing gender related issues.

Pillar One: Systems of Significance

The definition of 'Systems of significance' refers to a meaning or connotation placed on a particular relationship and how these relationships are situated and work within and with systems.

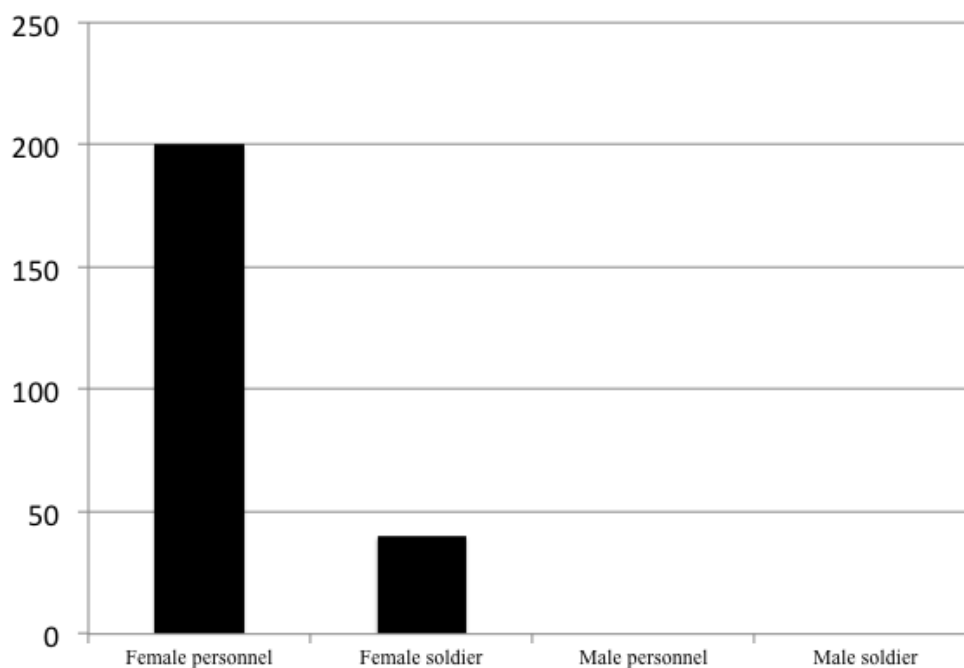


Figure 1: Bar chart showing the frequency of phrases relating to 'female' and 'male' used in evaluated NATO documents.

Figure 1 presents an evaluation of the number of occasions that NATO mentions specifically female personnel and female soldiers, whilst this distinction was absent for their male counterparts. Additionally NATO also used the terms ‘female’ and ‘women’ interchangeably in their documents. For example: *‘**Women** are often assumed to be passive agents in violent extremist organizations, [...] **Female** forces have performed a range of activities, including logistics, recruitment, promoting ideology, suicide bombing and combat. (PiPC SSRWG & EDW, 2016, 69)’* and *‘[t]he proportion of **male** and **female** personnel in OR 1-4 and OR 5-9 is similar. However the percentage of **women** in OF 1-2 is proportionally higher than the percentage of **men**, whereas for OF 3-5 the percentage of **men** is higher’* (NATO, 2016, 15). This is an example of where the inability to differentiate between sex and gender was observed and continues to the present day, as demonstrated in the 2020 Secretary General Annual Report (page 106). This use of ‘women’ and ‘female’ interchangeably can be seen through all documents. Furthermore the phrases ‘male and female personnel’ and ‘female and male personnel’ only appeared in the text a few times. The former was mentioned 9 times and the latter 25 respectively. The latter phrase was also only used when discussing gender perspectives in different possible military operations and situations while the former phrase does not seem to hold a pattern. In total in all the documents analysed the word ‘women’ was mentioned 4837 times and the word ‘female’ 1132’ times, and in all cases the words were used interchangeably. This interchanging between sex and gender and its emphasis on biological differentiation, especially on one’s sex, are examples of “systems of significance”. These examples emphasise the power relation between men and women.

Pillar Two: Discourse Productivity

‘Discourse productivity’ defines who holds power and agency. By extension it also defines who has a voice and who does not. An example of ‘discourse productivity’ could be the use of the phrase ‘women and children’. In total there were 41 occurrences of the phrase ‘women and children’. Most of these phrases were found in either the Teaching Gender in the Military Handbook (2016) (19 occurrences) or in the Gender Perspectives Reports (18 occurrences) – the rest were scattered throughout the Secretary General Annual Reports. As the majority of these occurrences were found in gender related documents, the subject of where these phrases were located covered a range of topics such as the importance of the Resolutions, interaction with local populations and refugees, to name a few. One example of this is; *‘Special operations forces within the ANA are trained to interact with local populations and include female soldiers, who are well-placed to interact with **women and children**’*. (NATO, 2014, 6) or *‘Discipline of soldiers is monitored and zero tolerance shown to soldiers who transgress the rules regarding prostitution and the exploitation of **women and children**.’* (PfPC SSRWG & EDW, 2016, 24) In documents such as the Handbook Teaching Gender in the Military and in the Gender Perspectives Reports, while the women were grouped with children, they seemed to retain their agency as the grouping seems deliberate (seen in the second example above). The grouping was generally used to discuss violence that could be perpetrated towards them as a group that already had little to no agency in a conflict area. In other documents, the context in which the phrase was found not only includes examples of the issues brought up in Pillar One, but also grouped women and children together more as an afterthought or a ‘they go together’ situation. In this case, the men hold power as the women have been placed together with the children, stripping them of their agency and ‘voice’.

Another example of discourse productivity is the use of the phrase ‘added value’. One example stated female soldiers ‘*bring an **added value** to military operations*’ (Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence, 2016, 59). In the next sentence the text states; ‘*Female soldiers provide an **invaluable perspective** in planning operations and in making key decisions, especially those affecting civilians, particularly women and girls*’ (Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence, 2016, 59). From this example it is unclear whether the authors mean to say that women are essential to the organisation or merely an added bonus. The power and agency in the paragraph does not lay with the female soldier; they seem to have no agency. This paragraph was also the only paragraph in this document dedicated to female soldiers and women. As such, it is odd that within such an important paragraph, the message regarding their involvement is unclear. This indecisiveness, and seesawing between whether women are an essential core part or an addition to the organisation suggests that efforts to include gender inclusive language and any policies to gender mainstream are not being fulfilled.

Pillar Three: Play of Practice

‘Play of practice’ can be understood as trying to legitimise the hegemonic discourse present. This means that discourse present is trying to legitimise the status quo. An example in the NATO handbook ‘Teaching Gender in the Military’ (2016) encourages its members and personnel to use gender-inclusive language. The text suggests that personnel use the term he/she as an adequate way to attract and retain both the men and women to NATO; *‘Using gender-inclusive language and imagery, such as **he/she** in English or showing both men and women in uniform, signals inclusiveness and welcomes both male and female learners’* (PfPC SSRWG & EDW, 2016, 89). The phrase was only explicitly promoted in the Teaching Gender in the Military Handbook (2016) as an alternative for the pronoun he. Out of the 29 times the phrase was mentioned 5 were found in the Handbook itself. The other phrases were all found in conjunction with gender in some shape or form. An example of this being; *‘Gender Focal Points (GFP) are deployed at the level of detachment [...] [t]he specific duty is to act as an adviser to the commander and **he/she** is responsible for all reporting tasks related to gender dimensions’* (NATO, 2014, 27). The ‘he/she’ pronoun is used when discussing incorporating gender for a specific mission or statement, however this pronoun does not travel beyond the borders of the ‘gender issue paragraph’, if so I have not found any evidence proving the contrary. Play of practice analyses hegemonic discourses and whether these accept alternative truths. Using “he/she” acknowledges that there is more than one gender, however due to the binary nature of these two terms it excludes the inclusion of other possible genders.

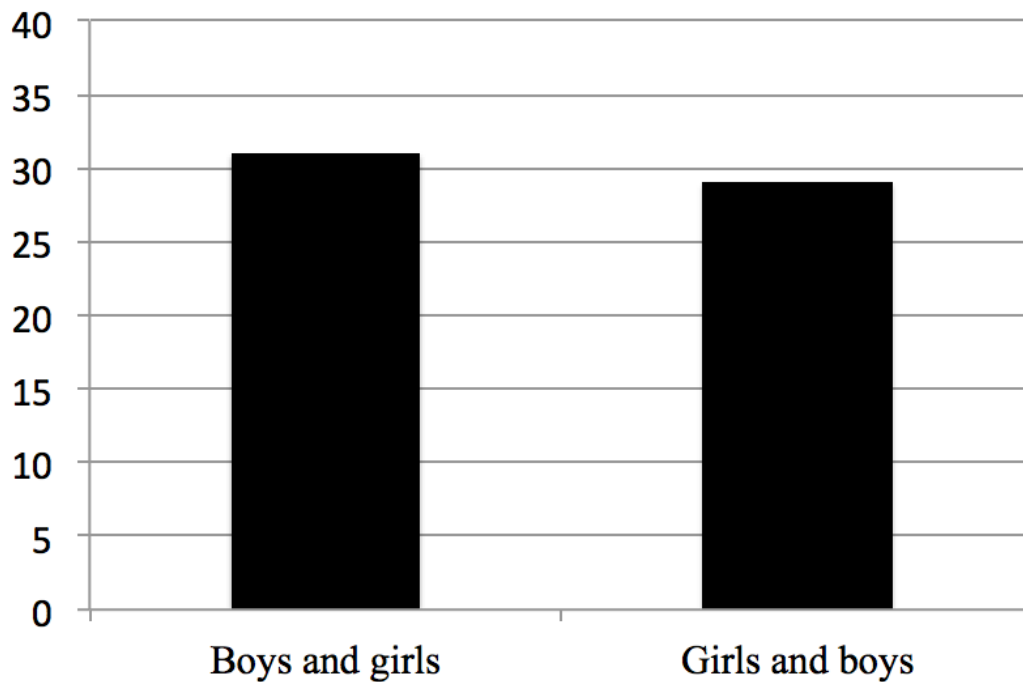


Figure 2: The frequency the phrase ‘boys and girls’ and ‘girls and boys’ was used in the evaluated NATO documents

Another example of this type of pillar would be the phrase ‘boys and girls’. The phrase was found in about one third of the documents. The documents mentioned the phrase ‘boys and girls’ 31 times and the phrase as “girls and boys” 29 times (*Figure 2*). This phrase inversion suggests that the authors were trying to overcome any priority to gender. However, it is impossible to determine if this was a conscious choice and the inversion intentional to showcase that gender inclusive language is important to NATO. Overall the phrases were used when describing situations where children could be affected by military presence, and when discussing sexual-based violence in conflict areas. The authors used the phrase ‘boys and girls’ and ‘girls and boys’ interchangeably in these paragraphs. Whether or not this was a conscious decision, it does evoke the feeling that sexual-based violence does not only happen to girls. However, the phrase ‘girls and boys’ was used more in documents that pertained

to the inclusion of gender perspectives (such as Teaching Gender in the Military' (2016) and NATO (2014), whilst the phrase 'boys and girls' was found in a document that had barely any codes compared to the documents listed (2103, 2164 and 100 respectively). The phrase inversion was also applied to the phrases 'women, men, girls and boys' (16 occurrences) and the phrase 'men, women, boys and girls' (13 occurrences). It seems that the authors have chosen to change the traditional way of listing genders by switching the genders that come first in the list. This could be seen as NATO wanting to change the subjects who 'traditionally' hold power and agency and therefore 'go first'. However, it seems like the choice to be gender inclusive does not travel outside the borders of the 'gender issue paragraph' to the rest of the document.

6. Discussion

This section will discuss the results found in the analysis through the lenses of constructivism, critical theory, feminism and gender essentialism. I argue that while NATO has made considerable effort to include gender mainstreaming to its organisation, the discourse and ideas used to convey this are not consistent.

The use of the word ‘female’ in front of ‘personnel’ or ‘soldier’ in the documents is an unnecessary distinction. This inclusion most likely stems from international pressures that NATO faced to include gender perspectives as well as the militaries’ need to ‘modernise and standardise’ (Obradovic, 2014). However, this distinction is not supportive. It emphasizes the female genitalia and therefore focuses our attention to the biological aspects of a person. Such a distinction could only take away from the potential good that NATO could be doing by choosing to incorporate gender perspectives into their organisation, and as such it is counterproductive. Furthermore, as NATO has taken inspiration from the UN, other ISO’s could do similarly, and as such other ISO’s could take on the same habits that NATO has been perpetuating. As predicted, the use of the word ‘female’ (describing sex) and ‘women’ (socially constructed gender) mirrors the findings that Puechiguibal (2010) found at the UN. This interchangeability between the two terms is harmful because it fails to recognise the difference. By placing an additional distinction to describe the female sex and not the male sex creates an unequal power balance between the two and furthermore reinforces socially constructed stereotypes. The additional fact that this was not a one-time occurrence but happened more than 1000 times in the documents reviewed speaks to the prevalence of this issue. An argument could be made that in order to

legitimize their efforts to gender mainstream NATO has co-opted feminist language (Gramsci, 1971). It shows that while ‘feminism’ and ‘gender mainstreaming’ has been introduced to ISO’s the spirit of feminism rhetoric has not gained ground rather that feminist rhetoric has been moulded to the existing status quo.

While I cannot ignore the positive steps that have been made by the institution, currently the use of gender inclusive language at NATO can be improved despite the results made to date. The use of the pronoun ‘they’ would foster a more inclusive environment for all NATO employees. The use of the pronouns ‘he/she’ currently recommended by NATO reinforces the dichotomy between genders and plays into old stereotypes. Furthermore, the use of he/she dismisses the fact that other genders exist. It forces these people to choose between two binary opposites in which they may not feel represented. This only ensures further marginalisation of already vulnerable people. The Handbook Teaching Gender in the Military, published in 2016, is a solid document containing many recommendations. The recommendation to use he/she pronouns to be more gender inclusive is a well-meaning suggestion and shows a willingness to change. However this could be part of the ‘ticking boxes exercise’ that Allwood (2020) eluded too, a consequence being that gender mainstreaming will continue to be a half-hearted effort at NATO. Conversely, this could be the incremental change that Jenicken & Joachim and Scheikner (2018) argued significantly effects institutions, whichever one it may be, the change is an improvement from ISO’s that solely use the pronoun ‘he’. Furthermore, as previously mentioned ISO’s are influenced by one another, if more ISO’s were to adopt the same practice perhaps this could lead the way to more gender inclusive militaries in the future.

It seems that NATO is aware of the power and agency associated with the terms ‘men and women’ and ‘boys and girls’. In the documents analysed, NATO would change the traditional order of ‘man, women, boys and girls’. This indicates awareness on NATO’s part of the power relations associated with the order of these words, and a conscious effort to change the order could lend itself to the conclusion that NATO is fulfilling Resolution 1325 and as such this, again, could be construed as institutional incremental change (Jenicken & Joachim and Scheikner, 2018). However I would argue that awareness is not change. It does not change the power and agency associated with these words. The labelling reinforces binary opposites and stereotypes associated with gender. This shows that binary opposition commences at a young age and shows that NATO fails to recognise the possibility of other genders and consequently reinforces asymmetrical gender constructs (True, 2013). Due to the diversity of the NATO member states, the possibility that there are people who work for NATO who do not identify as a man or woman is real. This statement is not only valid for NATO but also for other organisations. Acknowledgment is certainly the first step, a huge one for any organisation, but the fact remains that it is but one step of many. By naming only two types of genders NATO fails to recognise the diversity of its members and fosters a gender exclusive organisation. I would argue that this could potentially harm the future of NATO. Due to the lack of gender inclusive language, people who might want to work for NATO may either not apply – leading to missions being understaffed with specialists who can help in different cultural settings – or current employees leave the organisation due to exclusive discourse and ideas. Furthermore NATO has stated that women are necessary personnel in order to gain information in communities where information would otherwise be lost.

Reflecting these wishes in their discourse and ideas are therefore crucial not only to facilitate these wishes but also to be a leading example for other ISO's.

The inconsistencies found in the documents do not indicate that NATO has fulfilled Resolution 1325. While the recommendation of gender advisors in missions and the teaching of gender inclusive language in the military are a good start, this needs to be translated into the discourse and ideas used. Stating that female soldiers 'have an added value' to the organisation harms both men and women. It does nothing to further gender perspectives at NATO but rather reinforces the notion of one gender being better than the other. Enloe (2004) asked, where are the women, why are they there and who benefits? In this case the answer would be: marginalised and exploited for their talents by an organisation that does not see them as vital. If this is the trend at UN (Puechiguibal, 2010) and NATO one could imagine that this is the trend across all ISO's. While it seems from the examples shown that NATO has moved on from the traditional trope; 'man warrior, woman victim', they exploit women by not giving due recognition for the role they play in security operations. I do not believe that this is what NATO intends to reflect to the world and to other international security organisations. NATO has a Special Representative of Women, Peace and Security, which became a permanent position in 2014. Furthermore, the emphasis on including women on their website is prevalent. Therefore it is a shame that this wish to create a gender inclusive environment via their discourse and ideas leaves considerable room for improvement. A point must be made that the documents reviewed in this paper were only 30. Readers must be aware that the analysis and discussion is therefore a reflection of these documents. However, the inconsistencies found in these

documents do not reflect the amount of effort 'shown' by NATO to gender mainstream according to Resolution 1325.

7. Conclusion

This research paper asks ‘how does NATO frame its discourse and ideas on gender and how do these formulations help or hinder them in fulfilling Resolution 1325? This question was considered in two parts. Firstly, how does NATO frame its discourse and ideas on gender? Secondly, how does the discourse and ideas used by NATO help or hinder them in the fulfilment of Resolution 1325? This concluding section addresses these two questions.

Since NATO’s adoption of Resolution 1325 in 2007, NATO has made efforts to include gender perspectives into its organisation and policies. This was demonstrated through several actions: a) the creation in 2014 of a permanent Special Representative of Women, Peace and Security; (b) the insistence of including gender advisors in all further missions; and (c) the promotion of women by means of the many publications on their website. This research shows through the examination of 30 NATO documents the situation in flux.

The documents –covering a period from 2010 to 2021 – include many inconsistencies, from failing to distinguish between sex and gender to using phrases and terms that could lead to the reader to think that NATO is either marginalising or exploiting women. The inability to distinguish between sex and gender is the most common occurrence in all analysed documents. It is impossible to establish whether these 30 publically available NATO documents mirror internal NATO documents, as further research under privileged confidentiality would be required. Nonetheless, the following suggestions are recommendations based on this research. The use of gender and sex terms interchangeably shows that NATO has further work to address the

subject of gender inclusivity. NATO should differentiate between biological sex and socially constructed constructs such as gender. The inability to do is considered harmful. This research has taken 30 documents, and considered them non-chronologically. A single broad “snapshot” has been taken; an assumption that the period during which these documents were generated is unchanging. To assess NATO’s efforts to address discourse and ideas perpetuated by NATO over time would require a much larger dataset than reviewed here. This research does highlight that an unequal power relation exists with the documents and that this situation may perpetuate gender stereotypes. Therefore, from a “snapshot” perspective NATO has yet to fulfil the objective of Resolution 1325. This is only one of many examples that NATO could learn from, implement and disseminate across the organisation. By doing so I believe they will be one step closer to fulfilling the essence of Resolution 1325.

My research shows that attempts have been made to address gender mainstreaming but NATO unfortunately falls short due to lack of conformity and consistency. This research originated from the work undertaken by Puechguirbal (2010) considering the UN. The results of this paper show similar results, that while gender mainstreaming is on NATO’s agenda it has not fulfilled the essence of Resolution 1325. While NATO does not fall into the trap of the ‘women and children syndrome’ they do not accredit women the power and agency demanded by the Resolution. This failure has further far-reaching repercussions. Foremost, it shows that despite the introduction of gender mainstreaming in the late 80’s by Enloe (1989) it has yet to become truly mainstream. NATO has co-opted the essence of gender mainstreaming in order to fulfil its weakest critics without actualising it. The worry on my part would be that this could become

the new status quo. In which we see organisations ‘incorporate’ gender mainstreaming to defuse the masses but it in actuality change very little in practice. In a way this is already happening. Lombardo & Meier (2006) called the EU gender blind by homogenising women and gender. The task for future researchers could be to see how we could incorporate gender mainstreaming into organisations without being co-opted.

The last question is whether the discourse and ideas used by NATO help or hinder them in implementing Resolution 1325. For NATO’s health (in terms of productivity, efficiency, culture, etc.), maintaining or applying Resolution 1325 is an advantageous move for its future (recruitment attraction, engagement and support of its Missions etc.), yet the identified inconsistencies found suggest that NATO has yet to fulfil Resolution 1325. The extension of this argument is that without conformance to Resolution 1325, there is a deleterious effect on NATO. How this non-conformance is observed and measured – for example through the recruitment and retention of women, engagement with local populations, engagement with different security organisations, and engagement with civil society in general – is not apparent from the documents reviewed and outside the scope of this paper. For example, whilst NATO’s Annual Reports report finances and missions undertaken, it is atypical for such reports to address organisational and institutional issues (although one might argue they should). This paper focused on the discourse and ideas used by NATO, and whether the ‘physical’ actions by NATO fulfil the Resolution is its scope. This means that whilst NATO does not fulfil Resolution 1325, there will be an impact to its performance. Further research is however required to span the “world of discourse

and ideas” and the “world of action” to identify and measure the impact of conformance and non-conformance.

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9. Appendix

Appendix 1: List of NATO documents analyzed

1. Secretary General's Annual Report 2011
2. Secretary General's Annual Report 2012
3. Secretary General's Annual Report 2013
4. Secretary General's Annual Report 2014
5. Secretary General's Annual Report 2015
6. Secretary General's Annual Report 2016
7. Secretary General's Annual Report 2017
8. Secretary General's Annual Report 2018
9. Secretary General's Annual Report 2019
10. Secretary General's Annual Report 2020
11. Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations
2014
12. Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations to
the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives 2015
13. Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations to
the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives 2016
14. Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations to
the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives 2017
15. Strategic Foresight Analysis, 2017
16. Strategic Concept for the Defense and Security of the Members of the North
Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2010
17. Stability Policing, 2017
18. Public Affairs Handbook, 2020

19. The NATO Advanced Distributed Learning Handbook, 2019
20. NATO Operations Assessment Handbook, 2015
21. NATO Governance and Delivery^[1]_[SEP] of Commonly Funded Capabilities:
Improving Support to NATO Commanders, 2017
22. NATO Military Public Affairs Policy, 2011
23. NATO Brand Guide, 2017
24. NATO Logistics Handbook, 2012
25. Glossary of Human Resource Management in the Public Sector, 2021
26. Teaching Gender in the Military: A Handbook, 2016
27. Cybersecurity: A Generic Reference Curriculum, 2016
28. CIMIC Handbook, 2020
29. NATO CD&E Handbook: A Concept Developer's Toolbox, 2021
30. Building Integrity Self-Assessment Questionnaire and Peer Review Process

Appendix 2: List of codes used in Atlas.ti

1. added value
2. boys
3. boys and girls
4. children
5. communication
6. equal
7. female
8. female personnel
9. female soldier
10. gender
11. gender advisor
12. gender equality
13. girls
14. girls and boys
15. he/she
16. language
17. men, women, boys and girls
18. participation/representation
19. positive
20. soldier
21. unequal
22. women
23. women and children
24. women, men, girls and boys