The Governmentality logic of Gender Equality as Security:

A Foucauldian analysis of gender in the European Union's

Common Security and Defence Policy

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Tiivistelmä:

Tutkielma tarkastelee sukupuolen ja sukupuolen tasa-arvon määrittelyä osana EU:n yhteistä turvallisuus ja puolustuspolitiikkaa. Metodeina tutkielma käyttää Foucault'laista diskurssianalyysia ja genealogiaa. Tutkielma tuo yhteen feministisen kehitystutkimuksen ja turvallisuuden tutkimuksen kirjallisuutta ja teoriaa.

Tutkielma väittää, että sukupuoli toimii hallinnallistamisen välineenä, jossa biopoliittinen logiikka mahdollistaa sukupuolten tasa-arvon käsitteen valjastamisen osaksi missioiden ja operaatoiden toimintaa niitä legitimoivana. Tutkielman teoreettinen viitekehys koostuu jälkistrukturaalisesta feministisestä teoriasta, jälkikoloniaalista feministisestä teoriasta, ja Foucault'laisesta hallinnallistamisen ja biopolitiikan käsitteistä. Tutkielman aineistona toimii yhteisen turvallisuus- ja puolustuspolitiikan sukupuolten tasa-arvoa käsittelevät aineistot.

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1. Introduction

Gender has entered the realm of security and defence increasingly since the 1990s, and its inclusion to the 'high politics' has been both celebrated and critiqued by feminist researchers in development as well as security studies (Shepherd 2008; Jauhola 2016). The arena of global security governance has seen the emergence of gender, mainly through

United Nations' (UN) Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda[1], which is currently the dominant structure for the promotion of gender equality policies in security context (Guerrina and Wright 2016). This thesis draws from feminist analyses on development and security, following Duffield's (2001) analysis on contemporary global governance logic that frames security threats to the Global North emerging from the underdeveloped and insecure Global South. This global governance logic is found also in the gender politics that seek to utilize gender equality for peace as well as for economic development. Thus, I argue that it is important to analyse the connections and relevance of security policies for the study of development, to which this thesis seeks to contribute to in the area of gender policies.

This thesis analyses gender discourses in one of the most prominent policy tools in relation to security and gender, the European Union's (EU) Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)[1]. Commitment to gender equality is a prominent cornerstone of the EU's contemporary self-identity as a global actor: The Treaty of Lisbon considers "equality between women and men" among the EU's core values and objectives, and the EU has committed to integrate gender considerations into all aspects of its operations and policies (European Union, 2007). As the CSDP policies and missions operate mainly in the countries of the Global South, the EU's notion of gender equality is part of intervention, peacebuilding and state-building activities of the EU. Thus, the gender policies of the CSDP are part of a security-development nexus, where security and development issues are framed as intertwined, and the policies often address both issues as mutually reinforcing. Thus, there is a need for scholarship that connects the work on gender in development studies with gender and security scholarship.

Gender equality and feminisms are here understood as concepts and ideas that are constantly (re)defined and negotiated, and which simultaneously produce subjectivities and political communities. Gender has been a key category for feminism in both theory and practice for decades as well as a site for political struggle. This thesis emerges from a concern that gender does not do the critical and radical work feminists have invested it with

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[1] I will introduce and discuss the WPS agenda further in chapter four as part of a genealogy of the gender and security framework.

deconstructing hierarchies of power. This notion raises questions about the role of gender and gender equality discourses in contemporary governance: I want to ask, what does gender do when it enters the area of global security governance, and how can the increased inclusion of gender be understood? This is important because the EU's conceptualization of gender and gender equality in external relations causes certain kinds of actions where others became silenced or neglected (Grip, 2016 p. 95). As Johanna Kantola argues: "definitions of what constitutes gender equality matter, however, because they have very real effects" affecting the everyday lives of people in material and social ways (2010: 11).

In order to understand the political function of gender in CSDP, it is important to conduct a genealogical analysis of the 'gender equality as security' discourse. The genealogical analysis helps to understand how gender as security concern has travelled from the 4th UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (later referred as the Beijing Conference) to the emerging WPS agenda and to the CSDP as part of EU's security and defence policy. By so doing, this thesis aims to contribute both to feminist studies on development and security as well as on studies focusing of the CSDP. A feminist approach is based on the notion that gender plays a crucial role in world politics, and thereby in security and defence policies of the EU. Rather than focusing on causes and consequences of war, feminists concentrate on what goes on during the war and on individuals, both civilian and military, and how their lives are affected by the conflict, how gender shapes the rationale of security (Tickner, 2011). Analysis of security policies is relevant for development studies because foreign/security policy and development policy are closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing (Gänzle, 2012). The 'gender equality as security' discourse analysed here is part of this phenomenon known as security and development nexus. The EU has framed security and development to be mutually reinforcing, especially in its peacebuilding policies as well as in its framing of 'failed state' as a security threat (Gänzle, 2012). Thus, the security-development nexus rationale is 'no peace without development, and *vice versa'*.

The discourse of the UNSC resolutions on WPS have been comprehensively critiqued and analysed by feminist scholars (see, for example, Shepherd 2008; 2016). The feminist scholarly literature of the EU and gender equality has to a large extent devoted its attention towards the internal policy commitments of the EU (e.g., Lombardo & Meier, 2008;

Kantola, 2010). The existing literature focusing on gender in EU's external relations concentrates mostly on the efficiency and implementation of the EU's gender equality policies, rather than on what kind of gender equality it promotes (Muehlenhoff, 2017). Analysis on the construction of gender in EU's foreign relations are studied by Debusscher (2011), who focuses on EU's development policies, and Muehlenhoff (2017), whose focus is on gender mainstreaming in EU's foreign policy.

As I will discuss in chapter two, a poststructuralist feminist theorizing on gender is important in their focus on power as productive of identities and the role of discourses in re/producing those. Poststructuralist policy analysis is focuses on policies as problem-constructing processes and the construction of truth-claims. Building on Michel Foucault's studies of governmentality (Foucault 1991, 2007, 2008), this thesis studies the following question: what kind of effects does gender equality have as a technology of governing? For a Foucauldian reading of gender, I draw from Jemima Repo's theorising of gender as biopolitics (2011, 2015, 2016). Repo's work on gender as biopolitical technology draws from Michel Foucault's theoretical frameworks. Repo argues that gender functions as a biopolitical technology concerning the governance of sex (Repo, 2011, 2015, 2016), where gender has emerged as a discourse for the administration of the life of the human population (Repo, 2011: 194). Repo's analysis is useful in its ability to see gender as part of neoliberal governmentality targeting both individual women and the entire female population. In this thesis I trace a similar logic of biopolitical governance in the CSDP gender policies, and I argue that gender is a technology of biopower, and it is central to the European liberal model of liberal peace governance. The CSDP constructs gender in neoliberal ways drawing from essentialist and binary understandings of gender.

Making the connection between feminism and biopower is important because a feminist project that is blind to its own interconnectedness with neoliberal project is, I argue, in danger of losing its potential for radical and transformative project. A Foucauldian theoretical framework, drawing from Oksala's (2013) argument, can draw out neoliberalism's constitutive effects and provide a nuanced diagnosis of contemporary global neoliberalism. To draw out the biopolitical function of the CSDP's governance of gender, the thesis constructs a two-fold analysis: after providing a genealogical analysis of

gender in the realm of security within UN, it moves to conduct a discourse analysis on the CSDP's gender equality documents. The discourse analysis combined with genealogical approach are used to draw out the governmentality logic that shapes the construction of 'gender equality as security' framework emerging from the UN and travelling to the policies and discourses of the CSDP context. By combining these two Foucauldian methods, the thesis is able to show what are the rationales of gender in the realm of security, and how it functions when the EU includes it in its liberal governance of security.

As the CSDP operations and missions are based mainly in the global South, a feminist analysis needs to move beyond centring gender towards a broader understanding of hierarchies that produce difference. This thesis seeks to dislocate gender by providing an analysis on Eurocentric logics re/produced both within feminist analyses as well as in the EU's foreign policy in the realm of security and defence. To understand the logic of gender in interventionist policies, such as the CSDP, I utilize postcolonial and feminist analysis to ask, who and where are the 'us' and 'them' in intervention discourses, and what effects do these constructions have. In the analysis I argue that the CSDP, a peacebuilding and crises management structure, produces two main narratives on gender equality that portray women as an untapped resource: promotion of gender equality as 'smart economics', where women are an economic potential for growth and development; and as 'mythical mothers' located in the realm of community and family contributing towards a more peaceful society by their innate peacefulness as mothers and carers.

Repo's argument of gender as a biopolitical technology focuses on the EU's internal gender policies, such as maternity policies and women's access to workforce, whereas this thesis focuses on security policy. To utilize Repo's argument in the context of EU's foreign policy, I combine it with scholarship on Eurocentrism and coloniality which reads EU's interventions are part of a continuum of its colonial relations (Gabi 2012; Huelss, 2019). Thus, an analysis of gender requires an analysis of race and their intersections. I will begin the discussion on gender by introducing a postcolonial feminist theorising that provides a critique for the gender-focused analysis of most feminism. A postcolonial analysis can "disrupt the power to name, represent and theorize by challenging western arrogance and ethnocentrism" (McEwan, 2001:100). The combination of forementioned postcolonial and

poststructuralist analysis, dislocates the white, Eurocentric and middle-class understanding of gender and feminism, and offers new and critical perspective to an analysis of the logics underlining the promotion of gender equality through CSDP. Here I draw especially from the work of Chandra Talpade Mohanty and her analysis of the colonial discourses on feminist theory (Mohanty 1986; 2003). The WPS agenda, the key framework for gender and security, has been criticised as being Western and Eurocentric, where the agenda is limited in its boundedness by global racial hierarchies and thus it works to reinforce the status quo: the adoption of the goals of the WPS agenda runs a danger of being a part of a country branding exercise, where it is linked to the liberal global governance that does provide shifts in power hierarchies of the international politics of security (Haastrup and Hagen 2020). By combining Feminist studies on development and security with insights from postcolonial and governmentality scholarship, this thesis traces an analysis of liberalism and its depoliticising and strategic use of gender and gender equality discourse.

1.1 European Union's Common Security and Defence Policy

"together we have the power, and the scale to shape the world into a fairer, rules based and human rights' abiding place"

José Manuel Barroso, the President of the European Commission, State of the Union Address to the plenary session of the European Parliament on 12.9.2012

According to the EU External Action Service (EEAS), which was established in 2009 as part of the Treaty of Lisbon: "it is hard to find a region of the world today where the EU is not active in promoting peace and security through dialogue and mediation at different levels, in some form or another" (EEAS, 2013). The EU has aimed at increasing its global presence since the end of the Cold War, especially in the areas of economic and development policies. In accordance to this aim, it has developed a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and relevant to this thesis, has developed its CSDP mechanisms. The CSDP is one arm in the EU's foreign policy and it focuses on peacebuilding and state-building. It is divided into three components: military crises management, civilian crisis management, and conflict prevention. The CSDP missions operate in three continents: Europe, Africa, and Asia using civilian and military instruments, such as providing military

assistance and strategic advice to the political and military authorities, training police forces, and providing capacity-building activities aiming to strengthen the rule of law.

The CSDP is a rather recent phenomenon in the European integration process. The EU gained a security and defence dimension in 1999 with the adoption of the European Security and Defence Policy, which has since been reframed as the CSDP. The move to integrate and institutionalise security and defence policies has been a gradual process: the EU member states decided to institutionalise a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in 1992, and they had already been coordinating their national foreign policies for 20 years within the strictly intergovernmental European Political Cooperation framework. The main aim for this new common security and defence policy was to strengthen the already existing crisis management toolbox with military and civilian means (EEAS 2018).

The origins on the security and defence policy were laid in the post-World Wars era when there was a growing cooperation across Europe. During the folding out of what later became the European Union, such developments as the harmonization of member countries foreign policies began. Following the tumultuous end of the Cold War and the conflicts in Balkans, the consensus on common crises management and conflict prevention on the EU level grew, and concrete provisions were introduced for the creation of military capacity and crises management capabilities (Larivé 2014, Kronsell 2016). This development can be seen as an attempt and goal by the EU to gain more influence and control globally, in an era where the global power structures are shifting. It is also a development within the EU where the militarization of the Union and acceptance of the use of force as particularly effective in dangerous world becomes part of EU's institutions and identity (Kronsell 2016). In the 1998 meeting in St. Malo, there was an agreement between the member states on the need to tackle the military means, but there was no consensus on the political-strategic dimensions of common security and defence policy (Biscop 2013; Lindstrom 2013). The meeting in St. Malo was followed by various European Council summit meetings which defined the tasks set out for European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP): at the Nice European Council in 2000 new political and military bodies (the Political and Security Committee, the EU Military Committee, and the EU Military Staff)

were established. The ESDP (later CSDP) became operational in 2003, when the first ESDP mission was initiated in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Larivé 2014, Kronsell 2016).

When the Lisbon Treaty entered into force in 2009, ESDP was renamed as Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). The Lisbon Treaty also created the External Action Service and led to the appointment of the Hight Representative (Kronsell 2016). The CSDP has now developed into a complex civilian-military instrument for EU intervention (Larivé 2014). In the Lisbon Treaty the tasks for CSDP were defined as follows: joint disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue tasks, military advice and assistance tasks, conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks, tasks of combat forces in crises management, including peace-making and post-conflict stabilisation (European Union, 2007, art.28B and 43). The Treaty also includes a mutual assistance clause and a solidarity clause. Most recently, the EU has developed and currently implements a 'comprehensive approach' to its state-building missions, which aims to focus on both short and long-term measures. The approach lays out the goal to "cover[s] all stages of the cycle of conflict or other external crises; through early warning and preparedness, conflict prevention, crisis response, and management to early recovery, stabilisation and peacebuilding" (European Commission, 2013, p.2). This comprehensive approach also refers to the EU's ability and aim in the CSDP domain to deploy what is conceived as a continuum that reaches from civilian to military capabilities. In the comprehensive approach the foreign/security policy and development policy are closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing. The security concerns intertwine with development issues in long-term policy planning, where the EU's internal peace-project vision has been adapted for the outside world through the assertion that security and development are mutually enhancing policy objectives of its external relations (Furness and Gänzle 2012).

It is suggested, that the establishment of what would later become the CSDP was a beginning for new era for the EU as a global actor (Larivé 2014). Since the formation of CSDP, EU has increasingly aimed at stronger security role in international affairs, where security and defence are increasing their importance in foreign affairs of the EU. In the three-year report on the Global Security Strategy, The High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini states that the EU has

sought to become a global actor in the area of peace and security as the UN and "rules-based global governance" are under pressure. In the Strategy, Mogherini situates the EU as having more than 'soft-power' relevance and celebrates EU's role as an actor that is committed to multilateralism (EEAS, 2019). Since the creation of the first CSDP mission in 2003, the European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina by Council Joint Action, some 30 civilian and military missions and operations have been carried out in Europe, Asia and Africa (Koutrakos 2013). As of early 2021, the EU has six ongoing military missions, 11 ongoing civilian missions, and deploys around 5000 people (EEAS, 2019). EU missions operate globally but there is more focus on geographical areas that are considered relevant for the EU (Olsson and Möller 2013).

The EU's security policy is intergovernmental in nature where the main responsibility for the policy of security stays with the member states. Even though there has been an increasing development of the EU security and defence policies and institutions, the member States remain the leading actors in the policy area. They make the decisions, provide the financial, material and human resources for the CSDP. The role of the EU's security and defence policies are shaped and negotiated with the key role that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) plays in underwriting European security, and these organizations work closely together (Lachmann, 2010). Thus, the CSDP is only one part of the security functions that the EU and its member states have. At the current global environment, the EU is looking to develop stronger role is global politics: there is a call for the EU to have an increasing role as a global security provider in Global Security Strategy of 2016 (EEAS 2016). There is also a shift in the attitudes and policies of member states, where for example Germen Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Emmanuel Macron have expressed an increasing support for increasing the EU's military power and assertiveness in its CSDP policy (Hoijtink and Muehlenhoff 2019).

The EU has increasingly sought a role in global arena, where the CSDP plays a central role in EU's self-identification as being/becoming a global actor (Poopuu, 2019). This development where EU aims to gain a role as a global actor is identified here as important

arena to research[2], to which also this study on gender as part of EU's security policy (CSDP) aims to contribute to. In fact, the recent research on this change suggests that the EU has taken a different role compared with other inter-governmental/regional organizations, such as the African Union: whereas regional organizations usually mediate conflicts between their member states, the EU mostly mediates conflicts outside of its own geographical area. Thus, the CSDP is an interesting point for an analysis from the perspective of development studies, as the CSDP has been a central policy area in EU's aspirations of being a global actor (Poopuu 2020) and the EU also frames security and development issues as closely connected and/or reinforcing in peacebuilding and statebuilding policies (Gänzle, 2012).

Research on gender equality and feminist scholarship has, unfortunately, a marginal role in broader arena of EU studies (Guerrina et al 2018). Until recently, most of the scholarly work on the EU's gender policies and have focused on internal policies, where EU policies operating outside of the EU have not received as much attention. Also, as Birgit Poopuu (2019) notes, there is a lack of scholarly analysis on the CSDP beyond a focus on the means and effectiveness of its work. Only in the last few years have there been feminist research on EU's external policies on areas such as development, peacekeeping and aid (e.g., Haastrup, 2018; True 2009; Debusscher 2010, 2016; Muehlenhoff, 2017; Allwood 2013, 2015) which I will discuss more in part 2.4 on discussion on the interventionist logic in the CSDP. Thus, and as I will discuss in the following sections, there is a need for more research and critical scrutiny of how gender is incorporated into the EU's overall security policy architecture, and this thesis in particular focuses on the CSDP.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

The thesis will begin by introducing the theoretical framework: I will begin by discussing the role of postcolonial feminist theorizing in critiquing Eurocentric feminism, and further the relevance of poststructuralist feminist theory for the feminist analysis on security and development in the context of CSDP. The theoretical framework also includes a discussion on the Foucauldian analytical framework, especially the concepts of governmentality and

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[2] More on scholarly debates on the role of EU: the 'normative power Europe' (Manners 2002), EU as a promoter of political freedom and democracy in the neighbourhood (see Kurki 2011), on EU's CSDP identity (Poopuu 2019).

biopolitics. These theoretical approaches are combined in the last section of the chapter on the theoretical framework, where the biopolitical approach to gender is discussed with an insight from postcolonial theory.Secondly, the thesis introduces the research questions of the study, as well as the methodology of the study, which combines both genealogical approach as well as discourse theory. This section also reflects upon the ethical considerations and limits of the research and the way it is constructed.

Thirdly, moving to the analysis, the chapter four moves to conduct a genealogy of gender in the international security governance. The analysis begins from the Beijing Conference and moves to analyse gender and security framework in the context of the UN and its WPS agenda. The final part of the chapter four discusses the WPS agenda in the context of the EU. Chapter five constructs a discourse analysis of gender in the CSDP documents studied, where I trace three main categories: the protected femininity/protector masculinity binary; the participation as equality; and gender equality as 'smart economics'.

The final analytical chapter of the thesis combines the insights from the genealogical analysis and the discourse analysis to argue that gender functions as a technology of biopolitical governance in the CSDP documents. The biopolitical function of gender is combined with an analysis of the CSDP as a 'civilizing force', that aims to conduct the conduct of women in the Global South with a liberal, interventionist logics.

The thesis concludes to argue that version of gender in the CSDP documents is biopolitical in its function, targeting the individual women as well as the female population on the target countries of the CSDP interventions. This critique of the concept of gender is important, as it allows tracing the colonialist and liberal feminist logics in shaping the gender policies of the CSDP, which, I argue, fall short of radical potential for emancipatory politics.

2. The theoretical framework

In this chapter I situate this thesis in a feminist and postcolonial theoretical frame and Foucauldian analytical concepts of governmentality and biopolitics. I want to begin my discussion on gender by grounding it in postcolonial feminism and its critique towards coloniality and Eurocentric feminism. Coloniality is "the hidden process of erasure,

devaluation, and disavowing of certain human beings, ways of thinking, ways of living, and of doing in the world" (Mignolo in Gaztambide-Fernádez, 2014, p. 198). Coloniality is often theorised as a rooted in modernism, which is a vague and contested term, that can be understood as referring to the knowledges and practices that are tied to European enlightenment and its belief in linear progress, that seek to restructure identities and societies (Taylor 1987). Modernity constructs binary logics which define and divide cultures, races, people, and nations into two opposites, such as the binary of masculinity/femininity, rational/natural, or truth/false where the nature of the first term depends on the definition of its opposite (other) and where the first term is superior to the second (Parpart and Marchand 1995). The binary thinking of modernity has been critiqued by both postcolonial and poststructural theorists and is an important part of the analysis later in this thesis.

Postcolonial feminism offers a critical approach to knowledge and the hierarchy of knowledge production, where the colonial relations and their continuum is analysed and critiqued. Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak describes colonial relations in terms of "white men saving brown women from brown men" and denounces the hierarchies of race, gender and sexuality that govern the Western imperial politics over the rest in her famous essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988, p. 92). The following section provides a critique of the assumed 'universal woman' of Eurocentric feminism that is rooted in essential ideas of what it is to be a woman and what are the issues women face. From a discussion on postcolonial feminism this chapter moves on to introduce the role of gender in global development theorising/theories. The insights from both postcolonial and poststructuralist feminism is used to introduce scholarship that discusses these theories in the context of EU¨s external relations. The last part of this chapter on the theoretical framework of this thesis moves to introduce and discuss the Foucauldian framework used to analyse the functioning of gender in the context of CSDP policies. Foucault's concepts of governmentality and biopolitics are utilized to construct an analysis of the rationale of gender and gender equality.

The following section will introduce the postcolonial feminist critique on the Eurocentric, white, and middle-class feminism that shapes both the mainstream feminist debates in

development studies as well as security studies. Second part discusses the development of gender in development studies as well as the different feminisms shaping the construction of gender, focusing especially on poststructural feminism.

2.1 Towards a critique of the universal woman

Critical feminist scholars have criticised the feminist movement of valuating gender inequality over the inequalities in other social categories and hierarchies. The privileging of gender essentializes and naturalizes it, where being outside or without gender becomes invisible, almost impossible. The focus on women is a problematic categorization as well, as women do not share a universal, timeless identity, based simply on being essentially, biologically, women (Bailey 1993: 116). Postcolonial feminism argues that the basis for emancipatory feminist subjectivity is the recognition of women's multiple roles and positions, which is a shift away from focusing on gender as the main axis of difference (Young 2004).

The postcolonial feminism stems from the understanding that despite the formal end of most colonial rule, the forms of knowledge and power through which the world is structured are still rooted in the colonial division of difference and the production of universal truths (Radcliffe, 2017). Postcolonial feminists' perspectives articulate the need to bring forth understandings of colonialism as well as the resistance to it. It is important also as it provides a critique of Eurocentric feminism that is blind to its interconnections with colonial logics. Feminist in the Global South have critiqued Northern scholars of creating a colonial discourse which represents women in the South as 'other', oppressed by both gender and underdevelopment. Chandra Mohanty shows how feminist in the North have represented women in the South as vulnerable, powerless, poor, and tradition-bound, while women in the North remain the referent point. Mohanty's critique is relevant also for global development studies and her work provides a critique of the ways in which mainstream development discourse and development feminism frames women in the Global South: she provides an analysis of the discourse where women are presented to be victims of development, where development is synonymous with economic development or economic progress which similarly affects women as a group (Mohanty 1988). Such analysis is blind to women multiple realities, and it relies on binary where women of the Global North are

the norm. Mohanty (1988) argues that there is a production of the Third World Women as a singular monolithic subject in Western feminist texts, where such construction is founded upon the presumption that Western women are emancipated and free from patriarchal power structures and gender roles. This creates a false opposition between modern, liberated, feminist woman of the Global North and an inferior, not yet liberated and modern woman of the Global South. By such doing feminism ends up reproducing the power hierarchies of colonial logics and the 'othering' of women of the Global South.

Furthermore, there is a tendency of methodological whiteness in feminism, since it fails to begin from the "racialized histories of colonialism and enslavement that continue to configure our present" (Bhambra, 2017: 227). There is an implicit assumption in this construction that when non-Western women have reached modernization, they will subscribe to Western feminist ideals. This idea of 'universal feminist values' is rooted in modernity, where there is a reproduction of Europe as the centre of the world and of knowledge production, which rationalizes the emancipatory project as inevitable and justifiable (Tlostanova 2010). This modernist binary is also what Edward Said refers to and argues that the periphery is an idea of history that is necessary for the realization of the Western identity (Said, 2003). Thus, the Western Eurocentric feminism that produces the discourses of women in the Global South that need the empowerment and interventions produces as much itself as the norm, emancipated subject whose agency is unquestioned. The universal woman is then a product of Western centred feminism. It assumes a common political identity that exists cross-culturally where the oppression of women has some singular form discernible in the universal or hegemonic structure of patriarchy. The construction of women in the Global South as powerless and passive is ahistorical and it homogenizes women's experiences and constructs them as "others". Mohanty (1988) argues that this analytic strategy is used to racialize and gender both men and women in Global South, where women are seen as victims of male violence. That is also what Spivak refers to in her famous statement "white man saving brown women from brown men" (1988), where the women of the Global South are victims and the men perpetrators.

2.2 Gender in Conflict and Global Development Studies

Gender is well-debated concept in feminist theory, where the understandings of what gender is, and what gender equality is, differ. In this section I summarise these debates through feminist theorising, but also by revisiting the WID/GAD theorising done in development studies.

Broadly conceptualized, there are five different feminist theoretical approaches that approach gender and gender equality with different conceptualizations and emphasis. Firstly, liberal feminists recognise women's exclusion from politics, which is a crucial source of inequality among autonomous individuals. Liberal feminist often pursues strategies for women's inclusion (Squires, 2004: 3). Secondly, Radical feminists locate the source of women's oppression to patriarchy and "attribute all of women's oppression to an undifferentiated concept of patriarchy" where there is a need to include women with their gendered specificity (Tickner, 2004, p. 15). Thirdly, Standpoint feminists argue that women's experiences are fundamentally different from men's and thus women's analysis of the difference is crucial (Tickner, 2004, p. 17). Fourthly, these have been critiqued by postcolonial feminism and poststructural feminism that seek to move away from binary of women and men to highlight the multiplies of differences and inequalities (diversity feminism) (Rossi, 2010). Finally, postcolonial feminism, as discussed earlier, has criticized these approaches for being based on the knowledge and experience of Western, white, middle class women, and therefore does not "recognise differences amongst women based on race, class, sexual preference, and geographical location." (Tickner, 2001, p. 18).

Further, the at the core of much feminist theorising, concept of gender has worked to challenge the notion that 'woman' is the main subject of feminist politics (Menon 2009). It emerges from a need to differentiate biological sex from social identity. Gender is used to distinguish biological and anatomical characteristics from socially learned behaviour, to distinguish sex from gender. Gender is not synonymous to women, but it generally refers to social roles and identities; gender roles of masculinity and femininity. These are constructed with socially learned behaviour that draw from idealized expectations and norms that are contingent and context-dependent (Peterson and Runyan 2010). As a central concept for contemporary feminist work, gender allows analysing and challenging the binary and biologically deterministic ideas that there are such distinctive gendered

identities and roles, and those arise from natural sex difference (Peterson and Runyan 2010).

However, the discussion of sex/gender distinction has been harmful in the ways in which it can promote the idea of two binary genders. It does not leave space for identities that are located outside or beyond the binary. For feminist analysis, to politicize the concept of gender allows for a refusal of binary distinction to men and women and its interconnectedness with heterosexuality as the norm. Further, centring of gender creates a hierarchy of categories. Entering intersectional analysis allows for a move away from assumed commonality of female experience and challenges the identity of 'woman' as the main subject of feminist politics. Such an analysis shifts the focus from gender inequality as the primary category of inequality, where such categories of hierarchy production as race, class, caste and ability can became part of analysis.

Women emerged as a topic of analysis in the 1970s in both academic field of development studies, and development praxis (Jaquette, 2017). It relied strongly on liberal feminism, which called for an increase of women's participation in society (development interventions) and recognition of their basic needs, -which was argued to lead to positive development outcomes for women. This is referred to as the Women in Development (WID) approach (Jaquette, 2017). The rationale in WID approach was to integrate women into the progress of development, where the poverty of women was seen to be due to lack of development and lack of access to resources. The WID approach was challenged by arguments that included an analysis of women's oppression. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, this led to a shift from WID to Gender and Development (GAD) approach, where an analysis of gender relations as power structures, that oppress women, was included. WID projects were seen as narrowly concerned with improving access to resources for individual women rather than addressing the structural causes of women's subordination. The GAD approach focused on gender relations as well as argued for men to be brought into the process (Rowan-Campbell 1999: Jaquette, 2017).

The gender equality framework is structured by liberal feminist rationale and/or Women in Development rationale, that focuses mostly on increasing women's numerical participation (Moran, 2010). Liberal feminism seeks integrating women into male dominant domains and

structures, without contesting the foundation and function of those structures (Arat, 2015). This so-called success of liberal feminism can be linked with the broader emergence of 'liberal peace projects' that have advocated the promotion of liberal democracy, the rule of law, and market economies in post-conflict countries. The underlining assumption is that the successful transfer of these liberal norms, such as increasing the number of women in public arenas will bring peace, prosperity and stability (Campbell et al, 2011). The gender equality policies in international governance, that emerge from the 1990s onwards, focus mostly on promoting gender mainstreaming policies which then has become a part of the liberal peace interventions (Moran, 2010).

2.2.1 Poststructural feminism

Earlier in this thesis the concept of gender was critiqued with postcolonial feminist theorising. It is also useful to include poststructural feminist works to the critique of gender. This thesis focuses on and draws from poststructural feminist approaches to the study of international politics and gender, as the approach allows for an analysis that moves beyond the binary and naturalizing theorising on gender. Gender has for long been understood in Anglophone feminism as a cultural, historical and linguistic production, and sex refers to natural, biological fact. This distinction and the naturalization of the sex/gender divide has been critiqued by poststructural feminism (Jauhola 2016).

From 1990s onwards, there is strong body of poststructural feminist theorizing that critiques the concept of gender. The earlier theorising on sex/gender relied on the notion of sex as a stable, yet natural, category, whereas gender was considered as culturally variable/constructed factor. Judith Butler deconstructs this divide between nature and culture and argues that it is the gender norms and the compulsory heterosexuality that produce the phenomenon of 'natural sex' (Butler 1990; Jauhola 2016). In *Gender Trouble* (1990) Butler defines gender as a social construct and rejects the idea of a clear distinction between cultural gender and natural sex. For Butler, gender roles and norms are arbitrary and produced by discourse. For Butler then, sex is socially constructed as well, as it is through the meanings given to particular biological and anatomical characteristics that enforce and naturalize the sex difference and the binary of women and men. Butler states that there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is

performatively constituted by the very expressions that are said to be its results (1990: 34). By brining focus to the gender norms as performatively (re)producing the naturalization of certain gender expressions and identities helps to draw attention to the violence of exclusions that the gender regime upholds. However, performativity, for Butler, opens up possibilities for resistance, when gender is becoming, not being, the process is not fixed and can be destabilized. Her focus on the political constitution and regulation of identities opens up new possibilities for resisting the regulation of gender.

For a poststructural feminist project, Butler's theories on gender are useful in how they allow for a critique of the very formation of the political subject of feminism. Butler shows how the concept of a 'woman' is discursively constituted by the political system from which it seeks emancipation (1999: 3). But, as Jauhola (2010) notes, this critique has not found its way to policies focusing on gender equality. Butler's theorizing on gender has had a strong influence for poststructural feminism, however, it has been critiqued for being Eurocentric as well as silencing of the queer theorical work (Giraldo 2016). I began my discussion on gender with Mohanty and postcolonial feminism, and by adding poststructural gender theorising I want to push the debate to consider moving beyond gender difference as the normative yardstick for thinking power relations. Instead of the liberal feminist paradigm shaping mainstream gender and development discourse, it is more useful to build on the specific conditions of subjection for enacting struggles around, and through, gender-based practices that escape the model of a self-governed productive subjectivity of liberal feminism.

2.3 From governmentality to biopolitics

In this section, the focus is on Foucauldian theorising on liberalism/liberal modernity, which I argue is essential in contextualising CSDP as part of EU's foreign policy, I locate it to be a part of liberal modernity. Liberalism, for Foucault, is neither an ideology nor a theory but a practice: 'a principle and method of the rationalization of the exercise of government, a rationalization which obeys...the internal rule of maximum economy' (Foucault 2008: 318). I here utilize the concept of liberalism to refer to the underlying sensibility, a logic of contemporary security governance. I will discuss the key concepts of

governmentality and biopolitics, and relate them to the analysis of gender from such perspectives.

2.3.1 Governmentality

To read the material of the thesis from a governmentality perspective is to focus on the productive function of policies. The gender equality regime studied here is structured and produced in the level of high policy of experts, regulates many everyday needs and experiences of people in very material and tangible ways. Governmentality, according to Foucault, refers to:

> "The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power; which has its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security." (Foucault 1991: 102)

When we accept Foucault's argument on the historical and material production of the political subject, it must be followed by an analysis of the construction of the feminine subject of our own cultural and geographical context. Oksala argues that "liberalism's allegedly masculinist conception of the subject as independent, self-interested, economic being has also become to characterize the feminine subject in the last decades" (Oksala 2016, p. 112). For Oksala, this is not primarily due to feminism, but to neoliberalism where neoliberal governmentality acts as a particular mode of producing subjectivities in contemporary order (Oksala 2016). The analysis of this thesis considers whether liberalism has a role in gendered, sexualized and racialized violence that the international gender peace and security work seeks to address. If, however, the solutions and strategies for combating this violence is sought from liberal institutions and policies it leaves the WPS community and work toothless.

Where Foucault's studies have focused mostly on European domestic governmentality, governmentality studies have since then broadened to include studies on international/global governmentality. The rationale of international governmentality differs from domestic: the domestic governmentality evolved gradually in the West over the centuries and operates as a power beyond the state, whereas international governmentality

functions as the political rationality of liberal states and used by them to shape institutions, behaviour or politics of developing states. Importantly, the origins of contemporary international governmentality are in the colonial governmentality, where the aim is to regulate social conduct at a distance (Huelss, 2019). This is understanding and analysis of international governmentality is what I would argue is needed also in an analysis of gender in international security governance.

2.3.2 Biopolitics as administering the life of populations

The Foucauldian concept of biopower, or biopolitics of the population (1978, p. 139), refers to the "administration of bodies and the calculated management of life" (1978, p. 140). The term 'biopolitics' has a longer history beyond Foucault (Lemke 2011: 10), but here I focus on its Foucauldian understandings and uses. Foucault introduces a term biopower, which he also refers as 'biopolitics of the human race'. He distinguishes two forms of biopower: disciplinary power that targets the individual body and regulatory power that focuses on the governance of the population. Foucault builds a concept of biopolitics to refer to the form of politics that seeks to administrate the processes of life of populations. Biopower arises roughly from the eighteenth century, when the old right of juridical sovereign power to decide over the life and death of its subjects started to lose its centrality (Foucault 2008). Juridical sovereign power operates through repression, prohibition, and taking life away. When sovereign power acts on political or juridical subjects holding the power to kill or let live without impunity, biopower wants to invest in life in order to gain greater productivity for the state. For Foucault, the sovereign form of power is no longer the major form, but one element among others (Foucault, 2003).

 The aim for biopower then is to increase the productivity of bodies in order to extract more surplus value from them, which makes it an essential technology to the workings of modern state and capitalism. Biopolitics should be understood as the set of strategies that regulate life, where its objects and targets are population, the species and the race (Repo 2016, Foucault 1981). Foucault identifies sexuality as one of the most important technologies of biopower as it involves the individual body as well as the life of the population (1978). The regulation of sexuality "was motivated by one basic concern: to ensure population, to

reproduce labour capacity, to perpetuate the form of social relations" (Foucault 1981, p. 37-38).

2.3.3 Gender as biopolitics

Jemima Repo's work on gender (2011, 2016, 2018) questions gender as a category of analysis and calls into question the uses of gender theory in feminist poststructuralism. As discussed above, gender is significant for feminist analysis as it has provided a theoretical development moving away and beyond from the essentialized subject of "woman" towards a more discursive and performative understanding of gender (Repo 2016: 4). The concept of gender is often deployed as an emancipatory concept for feminism and a useful category for understanding power dynamics that uphold patriarchal forms of power and gendered forms of oppression. However, as discussed earlier, in the level of policy, gender is often used as a synonym for sex or as a synonym to women. It has also been widely argued by feminist analysis that gender policies often fall short of their claimed potential where the category of gender hardly reaches its potential as a tool of deconstruction (Repo 2015). To understand this shortfall, I turn to Jemima Repo's analysis on gender and discuss her theorizing of gender as technology of biopower with Foucault's concepts of governmentality, biopower and biopolitics, and neoliberalism.

When analysing EU's gender equality discourse, Repo builds on Foucauldian conceptualization of power, where equality discourse is analysed as productive of sex, sexual, and gender subjectivities. Gender equality discourse re-inscribes regulatory discourses, but they are also means of producing subjects and rendering them governable (Repo 2018). Contradicting the understanding of gender as a feminist concept, Repo argues that gender was invented in the 1950s as a new sexual apparatus of biopower (Repo 2013). Repo develops a Foucauldian analysis on gender by mapping out how gender has been naturalized as a discursive and historical fact in politics and science. The concept of gender emerged from a biopolitical governance of population: "gender was born in the clinic to discipline the reproduction of life in new ways" (Repo 2013: 228).

Repo provides a genealogical critique of gender in EU's internal policies that explain the increasing attention towards gender and gender equality from 1990s onwards. In Repo's analysis of EU's gender equality discourse, she argues that gender equality discourse has

become a fundamental apparatus of liberal governance (Repo 2016). It functions to measure, regulate, and optimize populations. In her analysis on the emergence of EU policy on gender the central aim was to reorganize women's work in order to optimize their reproduction and productivity. That is, the focus was on how to increase women's involvement in both job-market as well as act on the decreasing birth-rates in European countries. Since 1990s there has been an increasing worry in Europe about the ageing population and declining fertility, where expansion on gender equality have been a means to increase women's involvement in the workforce whilst at the same time reproducing the next generation of workers. This links gender equality to the governance of sexuality in the nineteenth century, where the construction of a nuclear family as a basis for society was in the focus.

Repo's theorization of gender as biopolitics is useful in the ways in which it further develops Foucault's analysis on sexuality, when Foucault does not distinguish gender from sexuality Repo provides us an analysis that helps to see ways in which gender functions as a technology of biopower. This leads Repo to conceptualize gender as a historically specific apparatus of biopower. For Repo, Foucault's analysis on sexuality is "one of the most complex and pervading discourses of biopolitics" where its relation to the development of life sciences is crucial: "sexuality is a discourse of power that provided biopolitics with a complex means with which to calculate, order, rationalize and functionalise the reproduction of life" (Repo 2011, p. 30). Importantly here, Repo argues that "the ultimate purpose of the modern biopolitics of reproduction is not only life, but the reproduction of liberal biopolitics itself" (Repo 2011, p. 30).

Feminist have critiqued Foucault for his inability to account for feminist activism and for the masculine domination of politics and governance (McLaren 2004). Also, Repo's analysis is not without its critics. Here I want to focus on Karhu's notion that Repo's call for let go of the concept of gender is problematic as it ignores the possibility of the rearticulation of gender, but it also runs a risk of excluding those persons who identify as transgender or genderqueer persons from feminist theory and politics" (Karhu 2017: 46). Here I want to emphasize the need for critical engagement with the concept of gender, bearing in mind its possibilities for trans-inclusive feminism.

The technological function is what I draw from Repo and will utilize later in the analysis, as this thesis discusses later in the analysis the subjectification of the women in the Global South to the liberal order, where the marketization and individualization of women, which Repo also discusses, is brought to a context of the CSDP interventions that take place in the contemporary international politics structured by neoliberal capitalism but also by coloniality. Colonial legacies have been analysed by theorists utilizing Foucauldian analysis, where the ideas of modern development of biopolitics is connected to the relations between sovereign, population, and territory[3] (Merefield 2013).

2.4 A critique of the interventionist logic within the CSDP

There is a significant body of literature that provides critiques of the liberal interventionist policies (see, for example, Sabaratnam 2017), as well as scholarship that combines the critique of liberal feminism with critiques of colonial logics of interventions (see, for example, Hudson, 2012). Here, I will draw from this body of scholarly work and discuss it in relation to the EU's external relations and the CSDP. Important concepts that are used later in the analysis chapters of this thesis are eurocentrism and the concept of 'other' in the context of external relations and interventions.

EU studies has been critiqued of its uncritical and unreflective ways of engaging with concepts that have emerged from the EU officials and other state sources, such as 'Normative Power' and 'European Model' (Chamlian 2016). This uncritical approach runs the danger of reproducing hegemonic truths, and more importantly, these concepts reproduce the Eurocentric ideas of EU as different and superior actor in relation to subordinate 'Other', which is represented as immature and lacking in relation to the EU (Chamlian 2016). Meera Sabaratnam described Eurocentrism as "the sensibility that Europe is historically, economically, culturally and politically distinctive in ways which significantly determine the overall character of world politics." (2017 p. 20, emphasis original).

There is an emerging postcolonial literature on the EU external relations which analyses the racialized coding of EU policymaking. It shows how EU constructs a European self, which

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[3] For the connections between sexuality, coloniality and race, see Ann Louise Stoler (1995).

is based upon, and co-constituted by, relations with Europe's internal and external Others (Kunz and Maisenbacher 2017). As CSDP functions as policy structure for interventions mainly targeting countries in the Global South in the context of state-building and post-conflict intervention, this racialization and Othering is central for the analysis of this thesis. Chakrabarty (2001, p 8) talks about the Other being placed in the 'waiting room of history', as not yet fully European and therefore a target of interventions. Meera Sabaratnam (2017) identifies colonial parameters in contemporary nation-building interventions and argues for a need to decolonise the study of international interventions. She calls us to critically examine who are the targets of interventions (Sabaratnam, 2017). For Sabaratnam, eurocentrism functions to upheld problematic constructions of Western and non-Western subjects and ignores, bypasses or depoliticises the targets of intervention: "the targets of intervention remain located as mute objects or data points rather than serious interlocutors with an alternative standpoint or traditions of knowledge" (Sabarathnam 2017, p. 17). Therefore, intervention policies cannot be understood as a 'do-good' -policies with an ahistorical and depoliticised perspective. That is not only lacking depth, but it reproduces the Eurocentric and racialised ideas and policies which uphold the global hegemony able harmful and violent actions.

Even though the discourses of the "Other" have for long been critiqued by postcolonial feminism, it is still a discourse that is (re)produced in Western discourses, and feminists are complicit in it (Mohanty 1988). A focus on women can also be seen as part of the 'do-good' policies: "Critiques of the liberal peace have grown, but the mutually formative relationship between the liberal peace and a type of peace that might be described as liberal-feminist has been largely overlooked in both mainstream and critical literature. The liberal peace project uses gender discourses as a tool to help enforce its norms" (Hudson, 2012, p. 444). Gender in development and security policies is often framed as aiming towards women's empowerment, where the emphasis is often mainly discursive and without sufficient attention to the structural and material recourses and power (Desai 2005). As part of the postcolonial feminist critique on power relations in development policies and the centreing of Eurocentric, white feminism, feminist from the Global South have criticized the focus of feminist 'gender activism' and argued that such activism reiterates

the ideologies of colonialism and imperialism (Desai 2005). These critiques are what prompts the questions in this thesis.

3. Research questions, material, and methodological orientations

The subject matter of the CSDP and its conceptualization of gender and gender equality are interesting and fruitful areas of study as they are rather recent developments in EU's external policy.

3.1 Research questions and research material

I want to analyse what are the discursive ways in which gender and gender equality operate, and for that I utilize the concepts of governmentality and biopolitics. By looking at arguments, understandings, and representations of gender and gender inequality, I aim to identify discourses of gender at the CSDP level. This is done by analysing how the concept of gender is used and what it is linked with in the CSDP documents. This is important because certain representation of gender (re)produces power relations and makes some policies more likely than others. I analyse the collected policy documents to find different understandings, representations, and assumptions that constitute different discourses of gender equality.

The material was chosen based on its relevance to gender WPS policies. The material was divided into three categories: 1. the documents that define the broad policy structures and goals for the CSDP, 2. the documents that discuss women and gender on CSDP, 3 documents that address the implementation of the WPS agenda in the context of CSDP. The list of the material used can be found at the end of this thesis.

Research questions

- How has the concept of gender emerged as concerns for security politics?
- How is gender discursively constructed, and with what effects?
- What kind of effects does gender have as a technology of governing?

3.2 Doing a Genealogy of Gender

I here introduce how the above research questions are operationalised into analysis of the CSDP. The call for a genealogical approach arises from the central question of this thesis: the thesis asks how 'gender' emerged as a concern for international security. The term has no fixed meaning, and its meanings and emphasis are constantly negotiated. The Beijing Conference is the starting point of the genealogical analysis here, as it was the site where gender policies where first linked with global politics and security policies in global governance arena. The adoption of gender as security concern was also strongly debated in the conference, and the wordings of that conference are used and referenced in later use of gender as a concept for security governance (Shepherd, 2013). The different institutions also shape and renegotiate the concepts they use: The EU in its CSDP policies is addressing and shaping the WPS agenda in ways that differ from the UN framework where the differing functions of the CSDP, such as defence, in part affect how gender is constructed and utilized. These differences and continuities will be traced in the following order: firstly, as forming a genealogy of gender as security concern from the Beijing Conference through the UN framework and secondly, as moving to the CSDP context, allowing for an analysis on how gender is rendered governable within EU's security policy context.

Foucault introduces his conception of genealogy in "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", where he draws from and builds on the work of Nietzsche and combines it with his own work on power (Gougelet and Feder, 2013). Even though he does not introduce his own conception of genealogy as a coherent method in his writings, he does discuss his approach as something that "opposes itself to the search for 'origins'". Genealogy, then, is a critical method where the search does not focus on metaphysical origins such as originality or true identity, but instead focuses on the emergency and chance as discontinuous events. What genealogy reveals, according to Foucault, is that we cannot think of the origin of a concept in terms of the current function it serves, for it is a product of forces that are continuous, dynamic and fluid. Genealogy analyses or maps the conditions of possibility of certain practices and forms of the subject, which are referred as the truths that make certain claims or discourses possible and governable (Oksala 2005). Production of truths that function as the norm is central for subjectivication. Foucault termed subjectivation as a "mode of objectification which transform[s] human beings into subjects" (Foucault, 1983:208).

Jemima Repo's work on gender in the EU's internal policies is successful in providing a critical Foucauldian analysis on gender as a central concept of feminism. For Repo, genealogical method is a way to examine the conditions of possibility for the emergence, expansion, intensification, transformation and destruction of discourses (Repo 2016 p. 9). Repo conducts genealogy by tracing where gender first emerges, and what kind of rationalities are linked with it. Repo argues that gender first emerges as a medical term, which is used to govern sex. The emerging focus on intersex people in the clinic required a reuse for the term gender to biological variables It is a historical approach that focuses on discourses.

A genealogical approach is useful also in drawing out the governmentality rationalities that are involved in the production of particular 'truths' of a certain discourse. Here, for my analysis, the 'truths' I trace are the emergence of gender as a concern for international governance, which then travels to the intrastate context of the CSDP. I will conduct a genealogy by tracing out the knowledge claims and governance logics (re)constructing the shifts, changes and continuities in the emergence of gender as a security concern.

3.3 Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Drawing from poststructural theorising, especially from Foucauldian work on discourses, this thesis centres the role of discourse in the production of subject positions and policy practices. There is a body of work that brings Foucault's toolkit to the study of the EU[4]. Scholarly work on the EU policies on gender tends to focus more on its (in)effectiveness, but rarely focuses on the discursive foundations on how the EU takes up the WPS agenda. That is why in this thesis I want to focus on the discursive constructions of gender and gender equality in the EU.

The discourse analysis that I draw from in this thesis is Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) which understands discourses as constitutive of reality. FDA focuses on the exploration of language and subjectivity. Foucault's contribution to analysis of power is arguably his best-known contribution to social sciences as well as to feminist theory (Oksala 2013). Here Foucault's emphasis on power relations is crucial as it sees discourses

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[4] For more, see, for example, Merlingen 2012.

as inscribed in language, institutions and social practices that set the material conditions for society: discourses produce "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 1969, p. 49). Power is not an external relation, and instead of taking place between pre-constituted subjects, it is constitutive of the subjects involved in the power relations. This constitution becomes possible in the field of power relations, which is contested and shifting: "power in a society is never fixed and closed regime, but rather an endless and open strategic game" (Gordon 1991: 5).

A discourse analysis is interested in the ways "in which power works to constitute particular modes of subjectivity and interpretative dispositions" (Doty 1996: 4). Hence, subjects and objects are rather an effect of the discourse than pre-given facts. Power relations are imminent to social relations and power is therefore understood as productive. Discursive formation produces that which is known in a certain way, which is a relation of power: for example, Edward Said's theory on orientalism utilizes a Foucauldian understanding of discourses, where orientalism produces the non-Western world as an entity that can be ruled, managed, colonized, and exploited by the West (Said 2011). Said's theory on orientalism shows how power is also relational, is functions as dichotomic: the 'other' produces 'us'.

Feminist scholarship on gender and discourse in peace and security policy examines the assumptions about the inherent or biologically determined capacity of women to facilitate and maintain peace in a society, and even more importantly for this thesis, "the ways in which writing gendered bodies into policy documents can pre- and proscribe engagement with the political agenda enshrined within the document itself" (Shepherd 2008). Gender here is theorized "as a discourse and practice" that is contested and constructed continuously in political discourse (Kantola and Lombardo 2017 p. 13). This approach has is strength in its ability to show how policy issues on gender can be represented in many ways providing a variety of solutions. Important here is to note the effect of silencing that this approach brings up: a particular analysis of a politized issue silences other alternative representations and voices involved in the issue (Kantola and Lombardo 2017). To address the silencing and normalizing discourses found in the CSDP documents studied, I apply postcolonial feminism to my poststructural reading of the policy documents analysed.

The discourses that I seek to analyse in this thesis are both produced by and productive of the documents that I use to conduct the analysis. Discourses on gender construct not only the policies CSDP constructs, the possibilities for gender equality work in the missions, but also it defines the limits and possibilities for activists and academics alike. The method for the discourse analysis conducted here on the relevant documents of the CSDP focuses especially on the construction of femininities and masculinities in those documents and what kind of subject positions those gendered categories create. To draw that out, I look for words which describe women or gender in the texts. Further, I focus on how women are related to the main goals of the policies, namely security and policy goals connected to them. These categories are part of how the CSDP constructs truths and norms on 'gender equality as security' discourse. The analysis asks also what are the factors that construct gender equality and what are the inequalities that the policy framework seeks to address. Also, the construction of security and insecurity are important here.

3.4 Reflections and ethical considerations

The analysis constructed here is limited only to the document level, and thus it cannot claim anything on the implementation of the policies and the complexities on the field. Also, due to the nature of the CSDP as sharing only limited documents publicly, the documents analysed here provide only limited insight on the ways in which gender equality functions in the CSDP. However, policies are productive of reality, even if they are separated from the lived realities. For an analysis of the CSDP gender policies in the missions and operations, see for example, the work of Elina Penttinen, who has done extensive interviews of police officers and peacekeepers on the mission (Penttinen, 2016; 2011). In the conclusions, I will reflect upon into which directions future genealogical feminist analysis on CSDP, and EU's security policies could continue.

The thesis draws form postcolonial feminism that warns against the feminism that reproduces Eurocentric and colonial logics. My positionality in as a student in the Global North imposes restrictions on my reflections and critical examine. As much as I try to reflect on my own positionality, my knowledge is encapsulated in the same historical logics that I try to critique here. I have also chosen certain theoretical perspectives to approach

the topic of the study, which affects the conclusion and discussions I produce. Thus, the study should not be read as an attempt to produce universal generalizations or objective truths.

4. Genealogy of Gender as a security concern

This chapter constructs a genealogy of gender and gender equality as they emerge as concerns for security governance institutions in order to understand how these concepts have acquired their meanings and function. The genealogy constructed here begins from the Beijing Conference and moves to the gender framework in UN, especially focusing on the Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security, and later on the EU's adoption of the WPS agenda. This chapter maps the changes and continuums in the meaning of gender and gender equality as it travels from Beijing to UN and then to the EU context. At the end of this chapter I will move on to focus on the CSDP policy-making by outlining out how gender equality discourse has entered into the EU's foreign policy and travelled to be a part of CSDP policies and its normative framework.

The UN conferences on women are an interesting site of analysis, as they reflect the contemporary approaches to women's peace activism and the strategies and struggles of the issues raised and the framing chosen. Within the space of the four UN conferences, there is visible shift in the construction of gender from invisible equality, of 1945–1975, to visible equality 1975–1985, to difference from men in the early 1990s and finally differences among women following the Beijing conference (Tiberghien 2004). However, the feminist peace work is not limited to the UN context and to the Beijing Conference. Women's organisations had voiced demands for inclusion in peace and security decision-making in the realm of women's peace activism for long before the UN conferences on women. Yet, the UN is an interesting site for feminist activism as its functioning centres the nation as the primary site of action. Therefore, there is a friction between the attempt to pursue a transnational feminist activism within an international institution.

The genealogical approach of this chapter, as discussed in earlier chapter on methodologies, allows finding the 'truth claims' embedded in a discourse and situates the gender policies analysed in wider (re)productive political framework. Gender equality has been a highly

contested concept in global governance, as it has been "a story of debate, contestation and dissent in norm development" (Kardam, 2004: 91). The complexity emerges from gender equality being a slippery concept, consisting of two parts, 'gender' and 'equality', that are each highly contested and differ in meaning in various contexts in both international and domestic struggles (Lombardo et al., 2009). As gender equality has a variety of meanings in different contexts, the emergence and travel of the global gender equality regime has been "a story of debate, contestation and dissent in norm development" (Kardam, 2004: 91).

To form a genealogy of the Beijing Conference to the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the formation of the WPS agenda is to track the development of transnational feminism. The UN conferences and the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Committee on the Status of Women became key sites for transnational feminist activism (Desai, 2005), and the conferences build of the work done earlier. Thus, the emerging space for women's issues and inequality cannot be traced to a single event or a policy paper.

This chapter shows the emergence of the discourse of 'gender equality as security', which is then further analysed in the specific context of the CSDP in the following chapter 5. The relevance of the genealogical work conducted in this chapter is the trace out what conceptualizations of gender, gender equality, and security emerge as hegemonic. Gender and gender equality in transnational feminist thinking is not limited to the 'gender equality as security' discourse traced here. Feminist discourses on gender and security have also a much broader and longer history than the WPS agenda analysed here, as it will be discussed in the following.

4.1 The Beijing Conference of Women and the emerging gender and security discourse

I now turn to ask how gender and gender equality have emerged as a concern for the international governance by analysing the gender and gender equality framework developed in the Beijing Conference. In the Beijing Conference representatives from 189 countries, 17 000 participants and 30 000 activists around the globe, gathered for both official, intergovernmental conference and non-governmental forum that preceded but also overlapped with the official conference. The conference produced a Beijing Platform for

Action (BPfA), which focuses on 12 'strategic objectives' with two main strategies for achieving equality between women and men: gender-balanced decision-making and gender mainstreaming (UN, 1995). The BPfA is a flagship agreement in the promotion of gender analysis in international institutions and it consolidated the shift to gender mainstreaming to become a global gender equality strategy.

Gender mainstreaming has developed into a popular policy frame that is produced mainly by gender experts (Krook and True 2010). Gender mainstreaming is not a coherent policy action, however. There are different approaches to gender mainstreaming that reflect different feminist theories (Dietz 2003). For the BPfA, gender mainstreaming if defined as a call to apply "a gender perspective in all policies and programmes so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively" (UN, 1995, paragraph 189). As discussed in chapter two, the demands for the inclusion and representation of women and women's perspectives are emerging from liberal feminist understanding of gender inequality, where adding women becomes central aim and the measure for equality. The institutionalization of gender perspectives and gender equality as main goals for gender mainstreaming have been reinforced since Beijing in several UN documents and resolutions.

One of the twelve strategic objectives of the BPfA is "women and armed conflict", which is divided into specific six strategic objectives. Those are: to increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation; to reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments; to promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations; to promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace; to provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women; and to provide assistance to the women of the colonies and non-self-governing territories (UN 1995).

These objectives emphasise participation and protection. Furthermore, the BPfA includes goals that are antimilitaristic and thus progressive. For example, the WPS agenda that was adopted later by the UN Security Council, has not been successful in including the rights of

refugee women and to address the situation of women living under foreign occupation. Also, the notions of providing assistance to women of the colonies and non-self-governing territories shows the space for anti-colonial activism and feminism that is able to take a stance against oppressive global hierarchies.

However, as the main political tool for gender equality emerging from the Beijing Conference is gender mainstreaming, the above-mentioned goals are left to be somewhat rhetorical. It follows, that the kind of feminist project that gains hegemony in the Beijing Conference is governance feminism that aims to mainstreaming gender as a strategy towards equality. This strategy seeks to achieve change in organizational practices and does not focus on such as issues as redistribution of wealth, for example. It follows, that Gender mainstreaming, where the focus is on the considering the differential impacts on women and men of the governance activities, employs a logic of bureaucracy. Thus, the emerging 'gender equality as security' discourse has its interest firmly rooted in the aim to govern. By such, I argue, it is fitting to analyse it as part of biopolitical governance, which will be discussed later in the chapter six.

4.1.1 Normative limits of the concept of gender

As in the context of such international UN meetings, the language of the Beijing Declaration was debated, as language of such documents sets a direction for global governmental policy. A significant source of tension has been the lack of clarity over the term 'gender'. The definitions on gender matter as they are always normative and produce exclusions that take place within the process of describing something: it is the process in which certain subjects become intelligible (Butler 1992, p. 16; Jauhola 2013, p. 57). The documents of the UN conferences are consensus based, which means that often the lowest common denominator prevails, which explains the 'weak' language of such texts (Bunch and Fried 1996).

One of the hottest debates in the final preparatory meeting in Beijing was over the use of the term 'gender' in the draft for the BPfA. Few states and the Vatican argued against the use of 'gender' unless it was tied to the 'natural' biological roles of the sexes. The Holy See noted in its final statement to the conference that they understand the term gender to be "grounded in biological sexual identity, male or female … The Holy See thus excludes

dubious interpretations based on world views which assert that sexual identity can be adapted indefinitely to suit new and different purposes" (United Nations, 1995, p. 165, cited in Bunch and Fried, 1996, p. 202). Ever since, the debate on 'gender' has been a recurring issue at the UN, for example in March 2010, conservative forces in the (CSW) organized to question the use of the term (Hannan, 2013).

The term 'gender' has not been critiqued and contested only by conservative forces, such as the Vatican. Many women's rights groups have contested the term on the basis on its potential to diminish the attention to women's needs as a group. They argue that women's rights have only recently gained attention and a platform, and the move to the use of 'gender' takes that momentum away (Krook and True, 2010). Another highly contested topic in the conference was sexual rights, where the phrase sexual rights per se was rejected. However, the term was included in the health section of the BPfA within a broader term of sexual and reproductive rights. Similarly, the term sexual orientation was excluded from the text of the BPfA, which shows the level of homophobia and enforcement of heterosexuality as a norm (Krook and True, 2010).

4.1.2 The shift from women to gender and human rights discourse

The Beijing Conference focused strongly on human rights. The earlier UN Conferences on Women had focused on women in development as well as women's rights, but not to at the concept of human rights as it applies to women (Bunch and Fried, 1996). By the Beijing Conference women's group from South and North women had, despite their differences, found a common language in the human rights framework (Desai, 2005).

In the Beijing Conference then First Lady of the USA, Hillary Clinton, famously stated "human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights"[5] (Clinton 1995). The statement capsulized well the centrality of rights discourse for the Conference and its aftermath, the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action "recognizes women's rights and gender equality as human rights fundamental to the peace and development" (UN 1995). The Declaration also seeks to "ensure the full implementation of the human rights of

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[5] The phrase was coined earlier: ''Women's rights are human rights'' emerged
at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 but became paradigmatic in
Beijing after the Clinton speech.

women and of the girl child as inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights" (UN, 1995, Declaration 9). The legitimation of women as rights bearing subjects is here granted through potentiality, (Ahmed 2000). Women need to become a subject with rights by reaching to their potential.

The UN approach to women's rights that brings them into the realm of human rights has been seen as a powerful move in addressing the violations towards women that often are left unrecognised as part of the mundane life of women. As the normalized actor in human rights discourse if often a man, the specific emphasis on women is important. It also politicises the oppression of women, which is an important move towards combatting it (Bunch, 1990).

Sara Ahmed (1998), in discussing rights as embodied and the development of a feminist approach to rights, points out that the need to specify and add women's rights into legal and political frameworks, such as the Beijing Platform for Action, makes visible the selective and exclusionary logic in the 'universal human rights' discourse. Ahmed's feminist approach to rights highlights how "rights are a product of a discursive and institutionally mediated processes" (p. 35). However, the 'women's rights' discourse which, as discussed earlier, was strongly represented in the Beijing Conference, establishes its own boundaries and exclusions.

The rights discourse is limited in its ability to affect meaningful change, and the same rights can be used by conservative states to deny women rights based by cultural claims. Desai (2005) critiques the rights discourse for being "coincided with the domination of the neo-liberal discourse and structural adjustment policies and both can coexist as rights can be articulated without challenging neo-liberalism" (p. 323). The human rights agreements are not something states prioritise, for despite the discourse that claims that all rights are universal and indivisible, political and cultural rights often take precedence over economic and social rights. Rights discourse depoliticises the structural causes for oppression and focuses on individual rights over collective rights (Desai, 2005).

4.1.3 Difference as a site of struggle
The Beijing Conference and the earlier UN decade on Women conferences were sites where the many differences between the feminist from Global South and Global North

became evident: "The four world conferences, and accompanying NGO Forums, were contentious events with women from the South, not all of whom identified as feminists, challenging Northern women's conceptions of women's issues based solely on gender and sexuality and insisting on bringing in issues of development, nationalism, and neo-colonialism" (Desai, 2005, p. 332). The conference focused on women's issues in the Global South and by so doing it reproduced the idea of the UN as a space for helping women of developing countries rather than for seeking gender justice for women in their countries. This produces women in the Global South as mere recipients of norms.

Amina Wadud, reflecting upon the 4th UN Conference on Women in Beijing commented:

> "Actually in 1995, at the Beijing World Conference of Women, it became clear **that Muslim women's issues were being put into a kind of battleground between the secular feminist and the Islamist.** And the Islamists were a hundred percent patriarchal interpretations of Islam and that was fine because Islam is perfect, and the secular had a hundred percent "we don't know religion" and they were in an agreement that you can't have Islam and feminism. It wasn't until those who were in the middle said, "who is defining Islam and how are they defining it? And who is defining feminism or human rights? How are they defining it? And when will the authority be given to us who are also living as Muslims and women to be able to define feminism, Islam and human rights all for ourselves?" And that's when the shift came in terms of even the work that Sisters in Islam, the right to exert the authority to define not just feminism, but also to define Islam and that's been the cornerstone of our work." (emphasise original).

The above quote demonstrates powerfully how limited the space for feminists outside the Global North was to negotiate the agenda, and how positions, rooted in modernist binary, of conservative/emancipated structured the space. Thus, the difference between women does not have space beyond the construction of women's issues as universal. The Beijing Conference served as a space where feminist activism was given a global dimension and where a subject category of women as a global actor where created. The similar experiences of women were used as a justification and connecting factor for global women's activism and its move to international institutions. An opening speech by Hilary

Clinton is a great example of the idea of universal womanhood, where there are shared experiences on the roles of women, and to what global policies on women can be built on: "At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries" (Clinton, 1995). Clinton uses the term 'we' to suggest a shared identity as well as shared concerns of women globally. In her speech she also addresses her encounters with women in different parts of the world, and the 'I' in her speech, the high-office Western woman, and the 'local' women in other spaces are in stark contrast, still the universalism of womanhood is not contested in her speech.

The representation of women in the speech is strongly linked to the realms of community and family. In the speech Clinton argues for the importance of women for global politics:

> "What we are learning about the world is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. "

As Sara Ahmed notes, in the speech Clinton argues for the significance on women to international politics in terms of women's significance, meaning and place within the family. Ahmed argues in her analysis of the Clinton speech: "Women become global actors precisely insofar as they are relegated into the familial space at the very same time as that space becomes the imagined form of the globe itself" (Ahmed 2000, p. 172). The common experience of women is bound here on the roles as mothers, giving birth and attaining for the children and family. Even though Clinton acknowledges women as leaders, it follows an extension of the role of women as cares of the family to cares of the nation and a state.

However, even if actors such as Clinton relied on the language of universality, the term itself was highly contested in the drafting of the Platform. Some states attempted to unsuccessfully to limit the extent of universal application of women's human rights. The argument used to oppose the term universal was based on claim that there is a feminist imperialism that reflects disrespect for religion and culture and imposes Western values that destroy the family and local communities (Bunch and Fried

1996). The difficulty of feminism to achieve emancipatory goals without committing to homogenization is a continuous debate in feminist theory and activism. However, as the postcolonial feminist scholars have argued, feminism needs to be rooted in analyses where the complexity of positions, and voices or agency are recognized.

4.2 Gender in the Security Council and the emerging Women, Peace, and Security Agenda

As a result of the 1995 Beijing conference, a BDfA was produced which has served as a starting point for the inclusion of gender to the war and peace context in international policymaking. The BDfA was followed with review reports and NGO activities that pushed the aim for the inclusion of gender. The Beijing Conference was followed by an effort by both UNSC member states and women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to bring the issue of women and security to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Continuing the work of the Beijing Conference, in 2000 the Special Session of the UN General Assembly reviewed the progress of the outcomes of the conference. It emphasised the need to ensure women's participation throughout "all levels of decision-making and implementation in development activities and peace processes" (Chinkin and Charlesworth 2006, p. 937). Later that year the Security Council Resolution of 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted, which reinforced the call for women's participation in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding. However, as Jansson and Eduards (2016) note, there was still a considerable resistance within the UN to include gender issues to international security. Barnes (2010) further emphasises that the UNSCR 1325 is a compromise document, as it had to find common ground for states involved in the process to be able to agree on the resolution. The following sections highlight how the emerging WPS agenda gets institutionalized and is adopted into the EU's foreign policy tools. Within the work of the CSDP, the WPS agenda is the main structure for gender policies, however moving away from the right's discourse of the Beijing Conference to more security centred framing of gender policies within the CSDP.

4.2.1 The Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Despite the critiques of shortcomings, the UN's WPS agenda is widely recognized as the most significant global framework for advancing gender equality in military affairs, conflict

resolution, and security governance with far-reaching content and global support. The WPS has established a strong normative and operational framework, which has led to the increasing number of National Action Plans (NAPs), and it has become widely referenced in other resolutions, peace accords and other related policy initiatives (UN Women 2015). Although much as the agenda has been critiqued falling short on its goals, it has changed the policy structures and language on women and conflict: Olonisakin and Ikpe (2011) write that, 'at a minimum, it [UNSCR 1325] makes a strong case for elevating the concerns and agenda of women to the fore of the international security agenda' (Olonisakin and Ikpe, 2011: 225), a realm that has been traditionally considered as belonging to the men, state, and military. The agenda seeks to bring social transformation to prevent conflicts, protect human rights, and promote recovery from conflict and insecurity with gender-specific knowledge and policy practice (Davies and True 2019). The WPS agenda has also highlighted the need to bring women's roles and knowledge into designing plans and policies regarding peace-processes and state-building actions.

The current WPS agenda consists of ten UNSC resolutions that are binding to all UN member states and other UN entities[6]. Resolutions on WPS, adopted by the UNSC, began by the adoption of Resolution 1325 in 2000. The resolution articulates three priority issues: preventing violations of women's rights in conflicts, protecting women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence and supporting women's participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction (UN, 2000, Shepherd 2017). UNSCR 1325 is a landmark instrument that is successful in bringing women's security concerns into the discussion of high-level policy arenas on international security. It recognizes the role women play in peace processes, peacebuilding and post-conflict context and calls attention to the ways in which women are affected by conflicts (UN, 2000). The WPS agenda has successfully emphasised not only women as victims but paired it with emphasis on women's participation in all matters relating to peace and security and the inclusion of women in conflict prevention. The pairing of protection with participation emphasises women as subjects capable of agency. This double emphasis is important as it allows for an understanding of the complexities of everyday situations: agency can coexist with

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[6] The WPS agenda resolutions are: 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2008), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019), and 2493 (2019).

vulnerability and oppression, as much as the need for protection does not substitute the right to participation (Holvikivi and Reeves 2020).

Today, twenty years after the adaptation of the UNSCR 1325, the WPS agenda has evolved into extensive but contested infrastructure that consists of the ten WPS resolutions, multitude of National Action Plans (NAPs). As of January 2020, 83 United Nations (UN) member states have developed NAPs for the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and several regional policies, such as the EU's Gender Action Plans (GAPs). Thus, the WPS agenda has developed into an international normative and policy framework.

There is an extensive body of literature examining the challenges as well as the success of the WPS agenda (Basu et al. 2020). There is a considerable argument that the agenda has challenges in including gender concerns into the 'hard' politics of security and it can fail to transform structural inequalities and their cultural foundations. One of the main shortcomings of the agenda is its gender essentialist language which makes it:

> "vulnerable to a specific pattern of implementation that confirms patriarchal expectations about women's roles, encourages a focus on sexual victimhood, and supports apolitical approaches to, ironically, the most political aspect of the agenda, which is the call for women's leadership and participation in conflict prevention and resolution" (Goetz 2020, p. xxi).

The WPS agenda is both praised and criticized by feminist scholars for the ways it considers women and gender in conflicts. In most UN documents on WPS agenda the framing follows binary constructions on sex and gender. Even though UN has included challenges on heteronormative and binary assumptions on sex elsewhere. Significant for the resolution family is the way it has shifted focus more to the recognition of the role of women as active participants and agents of positive change, acknowledging their particular experiences for the realization of peace and security (Haastrup 2018). In the resolutions, there is also an attempt to move away from the conceptual framing of women mainly as victims.

Since 2008 the Security Council has strengthened its stance on protection from sexual violence in conflict with the adoption of UNSCR 1820 (2008), UNSCR 1888 (2009),

UNSCR 1960 and UNSCR 2106 (2013). These resolutions state that sexual violence against civilians can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity or a constitutive act with respect to genocide. They also call for an end to impunity of perpetrators. This is a significant shift in addressing sexual violence in conflict, and the framework has moved it to be a part of the high-level policies on women and conflict. The language and framing is has developed throughout the implementation of following resolutions after the UNSCR 1820: the resolutions have moved from focusing on women as victims of sexual violence to recognizing and addressing sexual violence towards men as well (UNSCR 2106, 2013). However, this changes in resolution texts do not always carry on to the work. For example, as there has been an increasing attention to sexual violence in conflict, actors such as the non-state actors represented by the 1325 NGO Working Group have argued that the focus on protection against sexual violence in conflicts highlights the victimization rather than agency of women (Davies and True 2019).

Many EU member states have argued for a having a leading role in the WPS agenda. For example, Finland states that it is "a pioneer and expert of gender equality issues" (Government of Finland 2012 p. 11). The feminist work within the UN had previously relied on the stance of the EU on sexual and reproductive rights and health in negotiation processes of the work on gender equality inside the UN. The EU enlargement since has increased vulnerability around these issues and the member states are no longer able to negotiate on this issue as a block (Hannan, 2013).

4.3 Enter gender into European security architecture - from founding value to foreign policy tool

Gender policies within EU's internal policies have had a shifting emphasis. Where in the 1960s gender equality discourse in EU linked gender equality to unfair competition, in the 1970s and 1980s to unemployment policies, and in the 1990s it becomes committed to the Lisbon criteria, and most recently to diversity promotion and combating discrimination (Lombardo, Meier and VerlooThe EU has a strong rhetorical commitment to gender equality: it is included in the founding treaties of the European project and its relevance has continued to be emphasized by the EU. For instance, the Commission states that: "equality between women and men is a fundamental right, a common value of the EU, and a

necessary condition for the achievement of the EU objectives of growth, employment and social cohesion' (Commission, 2009). Gender equality, however, 'a founding principle' of the EU project can be seen as a founding myth that has been well grounded in the legislation, but it has not been a central concern for policymaking. Current research highlights how EU policies and practices fall short of a broader commitment to take gender seriously. A common critique from scholars analysing gender policies in EU's external policies is that the strategic integration of a gender perspective as well as a full implementation of the transformative potential of the WPS agenda lack institutional support and comprehensive implementation, causing a failure to reach the policy commitments (Deaiana and McDonagh 2018).

For the EU, the emergence of both its security and defence policy, as well as the beginning of the formulation and later implementation of the gender and security aspect taking place in the time of the Kosovo conflict. The conflict in Balkans was a critical factor in the development of defence and security concerns (Kronsell, 2016). The EU has a long history in promoting gender equality: in the basic documents of the EU, gender equality is mentioned as a core value, and according to the Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union, the prevalence of equality between men and women is one of the manifestations of the founding values of the Union (European Union, 1992). The EU's gender equality policy regime in its external relations is closely tied to wider global developments in gender equality promotion. For example, gender mainstreaming, which, as discussed earlier, has been promoted as a part of the BPfA, became a principle in all external relations by the adoption of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 which includes an obligation on all EU institutions to include a gender dimension (Eurpean Union, 1997). The EU was involved in the initial formulation of the Beijing Declaration and has consistently committed itself to promoting its objectives. The same year the Beijing Platform for Action was adopted, the European Council firmly acknowledged the EU's commitment to the BPfA

In 2008, the EU became the first regional body to formally recognize UNSC resolution 1325 through its Comprehensive Approach on Women, Peace and Security. As an actor in international affairs the EU seeks to construct a role in leading gender equality promotion in transnational settings by identifying gender equality as one of its foundational norms,

addressing gender equality in its treaty commitments, and constructing and relying on an identity of EU itself as a 'normative power' where gender equality is a defining feature (Guerrina and Wright 2016). My analysis traces the genealogy of gender in CSDP and the discursive production of gender and gender equality in the CSDP. The main framework for the CSDP's gender policies is the adaptation and implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008) on Women, Peace and Security, following the implementation of the subsequent resolutions of the WPS agenda later. Most recently, in 2018 the Council states: "The Council recalls the commitments of the European Union and its Member States to the full implementation of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, which consists of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and its follow-up resolutions, ensuring that it is fully integrated into all EU efforts in support of sustainable peace, security, human rights, justice and development, in the context of EU cooperation with other regional and international organizations as envisaged by the EU Global Strategy." (Council of the European Union, 2018, p. 2).

One of the defining features in the EU's WPS policy is the notion that European WPS policy should be focused on foreign policy only. By so doing the EU limits 'conflict affected women' to refer to those in conflict-affected countries, not on the move as refugees or, to that matter, within the EU itself. Thus, it excludes questions of asylum and reveals the colonial logic of the WPS agenda (Holvikivi and Reeves, 2020). There is also increased militarism in the EU border, which runs contrary to the notion of the EU as actor for peace. The fortress Europe has been described as waging a war marked by "the utter disposability of black and brown lives" (De Genova 2018 p. 1779, cited in Holvikivi and Reeves, 2020). The EU's gender and security policies then fail to include the lived experiences of security and conflict as well as reproduces the assumptions that insecurity resides outside of Europe, and that conflict-affected women do not need to be empowered vis-à-vis European states (Holvikivi and Reeves). The EU has committed on the WPS agenda by implementing the UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820, as well as committing to gender mainstreaming. One of the key areas of emphasis of the EU is to improve women and men's equal representation in all bodies that are involved in CSDP missions and operations. In the area of civilian missions, the EU has included gender policies in the levels of planning and implementation

of its missions. The EU's civilian missions tend to have mandates focusing on such areas as strengthening the rule of law, peacebuilding, and monitoring human rights. On some occasions the mandate given to an operation includes gender issues, often linked with addressing human rights. The CSDP is constituted both from the personnel sent by the member states as well as from personnel hired directly by the CSDP. That somewhat complicates a unified approach to gender equality policies, as there are differing policies by the member states. However, the EU has sought to address this and requested its member state to include training on UNSCR 1325 and 1820 in their pre-deployment training.

The EU, despite the unequal focus on WPS by the member states have sought to institutionalise gender expertise. For example, the EEAS set up the EU informal Task Force in 2009. It is chaired by the EEAS and regularly gathers EU officials from the European Commission and EU member states. The EEAS also has Principal Adviser on Gender and on UNSCR 1325. The CSDP gender policies are located in a wider framework of EU's commitments on gender and gender equality in its policy documents that target all external policies. Thus, the EU has strongly institutionalized the WPS agenda and built its own gender equality structures.

The EU decisions of the adoption of the UN resolutions on WPS are closely linked with the UN narrative, language and goals. The EU states that its aim in adopting the UNSCR 1325 is the achievement of gender equality which is done by integrating gender perspective (Council of the European Union, 2008). Gender equality in the external EU policies is often framed as a point that connects a broader set of policy goals, such as connecting development policy goals with security. For example, in Council Conclusions on the Gender Action Plan for 2016-2020, the importance of gender equality justified in the ways in which it acts as a solution for wide set if issues:

> "The EU welcomes the Addis Ababa Action Agenda and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which reaffirm the essential role of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls as drivers for sustainable development, peace and for the full realisation of their human rights. Women's and girls' rights are at the core of the Sustainable Development Goals, both as a standalone goal and a cross-cutting issue." (2015 p. 2).

This example shows how the way in which this thesis has taken gender equality policies of the CSDP as part of external policies as comprehensive policy framework that is aimed to be intas comprehensive policy framework that is aimed to be integrated to policy areas linked to development and human rights.

4.4 Discussion: the 'gender equality as security' discourse

As a concluding analysis on the emerging discourse on gender and security of the chapter, I discuss the themes emerging from the genealogical analysis. The hegemonic discourse that emerges from the genealogy of gender in international security governance is referred here as the 'gender equality as security' discourse, where gender functions as a problem-solving epistemology (Väittinen 2007). One of the main instruments in gender equality governance is gender mainstreaming, which is a tool that is tied to experts and bureaucracy. This is a tendency that seeks to increase when gender equality as security travels to the EU context.

The aim for the gender equality discourse is two-fold, where the broader context is the conditions of war and conflict, where gender, often simplistically referring to women, are made visible but at the same time instrumentalized as a tool for peace, as well as silenced for agency and gender roles that do not fit the heteronormative and racialized construction of women in the Global South. The civilization mission embedded in the gender equality promotion and governance discourse is intertwined with the global governance of liberal peace. As the liberal peace doctrine emerges from the 1990 onwards, the gender equality as security discourse seems to fit neatly into that structure (Duffield 2001). Thus, I argue, the genealogy of gender is part of broader development of international governance on war and conflict. The genealogical work here, however, is narrow and limited, because of the scope of this thesis is limited. However, it has value not only on bringing forth the emergence of the gender equality in security context but can be seen as a part of historical perspective on the institutionalisation of liberal war and peace-making.

5. Gender equality for export: gender discourse in the CSDP policy-documents

In this chapter I analyse the understandings of gender, women, peace and security that underpin the EU policy on CSDP. As in the broader external policy as well as in the CSDP,

the EU promotes a 'gender sensitive' approach. Continuing from the project of genealogy of gender in security governance, this chapter uses Foucauldian discourse analysis to analyse the governance of gender in in the CSDP context by focusing on the discursive construction of gender and gender equality, as well as security in the relevant CSDP document.

The analysis conducted on the selected documents shows that the EU has evolved in its understanding of gender and thus the transformative potential of the WPS agenda and has made some important developments to utilize the concept of gender and feminist theory to use gender as socially constructed category. This, however, is left to function as a rhetorical move, and it does not significantly reflect the constructions on gender in the documents. Men and boys are also mentioned as important for peace and security, but the policies the documents formulate do not target them.

This chapter answers to the research question that focuses on the subjectivities produced by the discourses on gender and gender equality in the CSDP documents. First, the chapter analyses the concept of gender in the CSDP documents finding three important constructions: the protected femininity and the protector masculinity binary; the participation as a solution; and the gender equality as smart economics justification. From the analysis of gender this chapter moves to consider security and insecurity in the documents in relation to gender, where inequality arises as one of the contributing factors to insecurity. Final part of the chapter concludes the findings and argues that there is an instrumentalist logic on the gender policies of the CSDP.

5.1 CSDP's version of gender

> *"Gender refers to the social construction of women/female and men/male, through cultural and social attitudes and behaviors towards men, women, boys and girls. Gender norms change over time and as such they are context-specific and dynamic. Gender interacts with other social factors such as ethnicity, age, professional and economic status, sexual orientation and identity, etc."* EEAS (2018c), pp. 7-8

In this European External Action Service's (EEAS) guideline for Gender Mainstreaming gender is defined as socially constructed including the role of norms and the context. The

CSDP documents emphasise that gender is a concept that addresses both men and women. The quote above demonstrates how the feminist thinking of gender as a socially constructed phenomenon has entered the EEAS documents, which, considering the discussions on gender in the context of BDfA, is a significant move towards an analysis that is able to include an analysis of power structures. However, the CSDP, in its efforts to emphasise the role of women and men enforces gender binary where there is only space for women and men, and people who do not fit into those neat categories are invisible. That reflects the CSDP's work on gender equality, where the strategies and tools for addressing gender inequality are rooted in the binary of gender and thus it reproduces it.

For example, the document addressing the implementation of the WPS in the CSDP states: "Gender mainstreaming concerns both sexes, and requires the commitment and participation of both men and women." (Council of the European Union, 2012, p. 6). The emphasis of gender construction that successfully moves away from the earlier constructions as synonymous to women, constructs gender as a binary, excluding non-binary and gender non-confirming people and thus acts complicit in silencing and erasure. For a feminist perspective, the call for the inclusion of men is a positive shift. The EU Strategic Approach also acknowledges that gender inequality is not just a "female issue," as it also requires men and boys to be positive agents for changing gender stereotypes and social exclusion mechanisms (Council of the European Union, 2018).

The documents aim to integrate 'a gender perspective', which refers to gender as a socially constructed concept and the expectations and conditions and calls for a need for the recognition of women's and men's different concerns. The construction of gender then, is rooted in liberal feminist call for equal participation as well as having an emphasis on difference, including a standpoint feminist perspective, which were discussed earlier in chapter two. The understanding of gender as a social construct could able a policy that targets and makes gendered power relations visible. When looking at the document's use of the concept of gender, I wanted to see if gender was used to refer to hierarchical constructions of masculinity and femininity. Also, if the CSDP documents were aiming to use gender beyond its construction as a synonym to women, logically, one could assume there would be multiple references to women and to men. Accordingly, an imbalance

would indicate that implicitly one sex is taken as the norm, whereas the other sex is constituted as a problem (Debusscher and van der Vleuten 2012). For example, in the overall EU's second Gender Action Plan (GAP) men and boys are addressed with phrases such as "support the active involvement", "engage men and boys" and "promote their active and meaningful role" (European Commission 2015: 26-27, p. 36. The discourse on men and boys then is suggestive, where actual policy measures are not formulated towards these vague goals. The documents analysed here reveal that the use of the concept of gender is still mainly used to refer only to women, and 'gender issues' is used as a synonym to 'women's issues, where men are passive sub-actors.

The following section will discuss the main gender discourses found in the analysis: The Protected Femininity / Protector Masculinity -discourse, which shows how there is still a binary and essentializing logic of gender in the documents; Increased Participation as Improved Equality framework that discusses how women's participation in the missions is framed to increased gender equality both within the mission personnel and work as well as a way to promote women's participation in the target countries. The third gender discourse is Gender Equality as Smart Economics, where the logic that frames women as untapped resource to the CSDP's work as well as peace and well-being of their society is analysed.

5.1.1 The Protected Femininity / Protector Masculinity

The EU, in some respects, has aimed to shift the dominance of men and masculinity in military policies: importantly the appointment of Catherine Ashton as the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in 2009 placed a woman in the highest role in EU's security policies. However, the raise of individual women in military and security roles does not, arguably, do a lot for broader changes for gendered logics in military, security and defence areas. This is significant, as Cynthia Enloe argues, the dominance of men in security and military policies: "legitimizes masculinized men as protectors, as actors, and rational strategists" (2004, 154). The legitimation of masculinized men as protectors and the dominance of male bodies in military and security roles confers power. Jeff Hearn (2012, 35) links power and militarized masculinity: "The military is one of the clearest and most obvious arenas of men's social power. It is an understatement to say that men, militarism and the military are historically, profoundly and

blatantly interconnected". The prioritization of militarized masculinity is also intertwined with the norm of heterosexuality in military. The CSDP constructs femininity in relation to the protector/protected binary, where there emerge multiple masculinities: male as the perpetrator and the protector. The CSDP is aware of its personnel being mostly male, and places a strong emphasis on the documents move away from the trope of solely masculinized actors and to increase the role of women in its personnel.

In an analysis of gendered norms and practices and what kinds of masculinities and femininities are constructed in the CSDP there is a danger of the emphasis on women. The documents analysed do not mention men or boys often, and the references to women are mostly in connection to vulnerability and argue for the need of protection. The CSDP is called "to pay special attention to the needs of vulnerable groups, in particular to the rights of the child and violence against women" (Council of the European Union 2008a, 13). Gender inequality in the documents studied can be divided into three themes: a discrimination of women and girls, which is caused by "social and cultural norms and values"; a gendered vulnerability to violence, which emphasises sexual and gender-based violence; and women's lack of participation in peacebuilding, decision-making, and in the economy (European Commission 2015, p. 3). These issues are connected under a broad there of inequality. The CSDP seeks to address these issues, and by so doing contributing to peace. Thus, the reproduction of the gender order in the CSDP is done by constructing a vulnerable femininity of women in conflict areas. Women's need for protection is linked to their status in the household, with women having a "little voice", "no control" (European Commission, 2015, p. 3). I argue that viewing gendered inequality as 'merely cultural' enables CSDP to obscure the material conditions that incubate gendered hierarchies, and their own culpability in co-producing those conditions. Positioning themselves as external to the problem they seek to alleviate, the CSDP is able to cast themselves, the EU, as progressive force in a greater moral struggle at precisely the historical moment in which austerity, violent border control and capitalist crisis threaten to bring them into ever greater disrepute.

5.1.2 Increased participation as imporoved equality

The CSDP documents analysed place a strong focus on 'gender issues', aim towards increased women's participation. The documents have committed strongly to the participation and protection focus, which has been part of the gender equality as security discourse since the Beijing Conference: "Women are however not only victims of war and violence. They also play active roles as combatants, peace builders, politicians and activists. The equal participation of men and women in these roles is both an essential goal and means to help prevent and resolve conflicts and promote a culture of inclusive and sustainable peace." (Council of the European Union, 2008 p. 2).

There is an argument in that the achieved increased participation of women is gender equality (EEAS, 2017). This is somewhat limited understanding of gender equality, and runs a danger of being "the benchmarking fallacy of women in political decision-making" (Meier, 2005): when the main focus of gender equality is on increasing women's participation, it runs a risk depoliticing the issue. The problem emerges when political decisions aim at achieving target figures rather than transforming power relations.

The aim of increased participation includes also women in the CSDP personnel, especially in its military operations, which have been dominated by men (EEAS, 2017). Increasing the number of women is important for CSDP because as gender equality is one of the 'European' values brought forward, the missions need to have a more balanced staff in order to 'practice what they preach'. Here gender equality as an equality of numbers. In military contexts, women are framed as an exception from the male personnel working for the missions. The documents studied emphasise women's importance for the work for their communicative role and enabling capabilities which differentiate their role from hegemonic masculine norms: "Gender equality is a fundamental right recognised by the EU. CSDP missions and operations with few (or no) women among its international staff undermine the EU's credibility as a community of values, a frontrunner and a promoter of human rights and gender equality (European Parliament, 2017, p. 22). The CSDP seeks to address gender and increase gender equality by mainly training and increasing the ratio of women in its workforce, both military and civilian. Such technocratic treatment constructs gender equality mainly as a policy input rather than a normative ideal.

The capabilities women are seen to bring to the missions are something that is coded as feminine and therefore natural. "Diversity in teams has the advantage of improving creativity. This is attributed both to skills and approaches as well as to different institutional backgrounds that women might bring to the job. Research shows that women tend to adapt their communication styles which are suited to the environment they are in, including a higher degree of sensitivity and placing more emphasis on relationships" (European Parliament, 2017, p. 22). The CSDP places a strong emphasis on increasing the percentage of women in its work, both as military personnel and in civilian capacity. For the CSDP, women are framed as a promising resource for military missions. This emphasis on women contradicts the earlier noted attempt of the CSDP to move away from essential constructions of women. Even if the organization considers gender to be socially constructed, the argument of essentialist discourse in the material is based on the textual expressions, in which female gendered persons are given certain characteristics. Simply adding more women to peace operations is not sufficient in itself. Such an approach is based on essentialist assumptions of women and men and their assumed innate potentials.

5.1.3 Gender Equality as smart economics

The promotion of women's participation in social and political spheres is not only argued in based of peace. There is also discourse that links women's participation to economic growth and prosperity: the EU states in the 2015 Joint Staff Working Document that '[g]ender equality and girls' and women's empowerment are part of the formula for economic progress. Girls' and women's economic empowerment is a driver of development' (European Commission, 2015). Also, women's participation can "contribute to faster growing economies and sustainable development" (European Commission, 2015, p, 7; 10). To promotion of gender mainstreaming is firmly linked to economic growth: "We mainstream gender because it is the right thing to do; it is the smart thing to do financially and operationally; and because it contributes to greater security, peace and development." (Council of the European Union 2018b p. 6). Here the gender equality shrinks to economic relations in the marketplace and to fit an economic rationale. The deployment of the WPS agenda in the CSDP is instrumentalizing, as it assumes that peace is the natural outcome of women's involvement in peacebuilding and post-conflict processes. "Women and girls' empowerment are conceived as "part of the formula", as well as a "driver of development

that addresses poverty, reduces inequalities and improves development outcomes"
(European Commission, 2015, p. 4). This instrumentalizes women's roles and experiences as portrays women as essentially peaceful, apolitical and community oriented.

It is important to note how the narrow idea on gender equality utilized by CSDP reproduced the hierarchical power-structures of the binary gender categories. That is to say, the CSDP does not succeed in providing a conceptualization of gender that would allow for deconstruction of gendered hierarchies. The adaptation of feminist rhetoric is misleading in that sense that it is used more as a justification of the operation than it is used for helping the women in the country in question.

6. The governmentality logic of gender in the CSDP

This thesis began from a curiosity of the logics that drive international actors to commit themselves to the discourse of gender equality, while the militaristic logics and Eurocentric hegemonies do not seem to shift. What then, is the benefit of gender equality discourse? Through the genealogical examination of gender equality as a security concept and the discourse analysis of the EU policy documents, I argue here how EU gender equality policy in its external relations emerges as a means to utilize women's work and participation in order to optimize biological reproduction and capitalist productivity by simultaneously increasing women's care roles and their participation in society. The biopolitical governance of women as security and development actors is constructed with universal 'women's issues' or empowerment, which are linked to the 'universal good' the EU's external policies are discursively linked to in order to justify its interventionist logics.

Drawing from Foucault's theorizing on governmentality as the primary governing rationale of contemporary Western governance and from a wider Foucauldian framework developed by post-structural theorists working with Foucault's concepts, I here utilize governmentality analysis to analyse gender policies of EU's CSDP. Governmentality approach, as discussed earlier in this thesis, allows for an analysis that focuses on how subjectivity, that is how gender policies of the CSDP as an institution direct human behaviour, and allow for an analysis of the techniques of governance used. To use governmentality as a tool of analysis is to focus on what constitutes the appropriate domain

of governance and what delineates who can legitimately exercise authority over these domains and by what means and for what purposes (Merlingen 2012, p. 193). The analysis here seeks to make sense of the genealogy and discourse analysis constructed earlier, and to place those on a broader discursive space that is "the institutions, economic and social processes, behavioral patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification, modes of characterization" (Foucault 1972, p. 49). To see the 'gender equality as security' policy framework as a governmentality logic is to locate it not in the state and state-based actors, such as the UN, but within a specific mentality that intends to govern gender relations. The knowledge of gender expertise and the construction of the women's inequality to men as a security issue, where certain subjectivities are produced for women, functions to "reshape conduct in practices and institutions" (Dean 2010, p. 27). In the following section I will trace out how this governmentality logic of the 'gender equality as security' is fundamentally biopolitical.

6.1 Gender as a site of biopolitics

To draw out the rationale of governance that is utilized in 'gender equality as security' discourse of the CSDP, I analyse how gender equality and its governance is legitimized. The 'gender equality as security' discourse functions here as a liberal strategy of incorporation (Merefield 2013), where the subjectification of the population of the women of the Global South are the target of liberal governance. The question of the proper function of women, which Repo analyses in the EU's internal policies (2015), moves here to the external policy arena. The biopolitical rationale is disciplinary in the sense that it aims to optimize women's capacities and to make them docile in tune with the global political economy. This chapter discusses the subjectification processes that the genealogical and discourse analysis conducted in this thesis make visible.

The 'gender equality as security' discourse is justified as movement towards emancipation of women, where themes of empowerment, protection and agency run through the discourse. The empowerment is rooted in liberal ideas of economic freedom where empowerment serves to legitimate the status of liberal values of individualism and market-oriented participation. "The Strategic Approach supports societies and governments' actions to engage, empower, protect, and support women and girls from diverse backgrounds

through the promotion of concrete commitments and actions, with particular emphasis on achieving sustainable and lasting peace and security " (EEAS, 2019, p. 3). Gender equality is solely an instrument that is a means for achieving greater security and development. In the EU's liberal governmentality, gender equality functions as a resource for more security and development. Women are placed here in the intersection of individual actors as well as part of community who can provide both economic prosperity as well as provide peace. Women are the targets of biopolitical governance where the manner of living, the 'how' to live (Stoler 1995) becomes central task of 'gender equality as security' discourse.

6.1.1 Gender equality as security: biopolitical technology

In the analysis of subjectivities on the discursive construction of gender, following Mohanty's statement on "brown men" and "brown women", it becomes evident that "brown women" are not regarded only as passive victims, but as potential agents for peace. However, they are still in need of saving by "white men" and "white women". That becomes evident in the ways in which the 'gender equality as security' discourse is framed as something that provides their agency, it being something that they cannot yet exercise. The colonial logic of "brown men" as represented as perpetrators of sexual violence and oppressive norms is unchanged, where the threat posed to international security is the lack of modernity of these "brown men".

The empowerment of women through the promotion of economic and social participation connects economic growth with decreasing human rights exploitation. "Ensuring that girls and women are empowered, that their economic and social rights are fulfilled and that an enabling environment for their fair and active participation exist are key priorities for the EU. Such an objective will contribute to faster growing economies, whilst preventing human rights exploitation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).

6.1.2 Increased participation as an instrument

As I have demonstrated earlier, gender equality in the realm of security is strongly linked to the aim to increase women's political and societal participation. The goal of participation is justified as providing peace where the discourse is instrumentalising: "Gender mainstreaming in the area of ESDP is not a goal in itself; the ultimate objective is to increase the EU's crisis management efficiency." (Council of the European Union, 2008, p.

3). Participation approaches seek to empower and 'responsilize', encouraging responsibility for welfare to individuals and communities. Under this rationality, individuals are encouraged to become responsible, autonomous subjects able to make rational choices (Dean 2010: 193). These are forms of power that Foucault calls governmental, as discussed earlier in this thesis. This, from a Foucauldian perspective, is part of the production of regularising biopolitics that produces power over life (Foucault 2003), which works to regularise the population at the level of mass, where the technologies work at the level of individual. In the CSDP documents women's participation in justified as providing peace, both within the CSDP as personnel providing useful qualities to the work, where women are the actors that can, by their presence, change the CSDP missions and operations towards more effective functioning. The CSDP documents then do not seek to change the militarised logics of its work, but instead add women to change the appearances and include new skills. That, however, is a limited strategy as it is a quest for adding women to the existing structures, not reform the structures itself.

The discourse on gender and gender equality of the CSDP documents have a strong focus on the individual. The resilient market subject EU produces understandings of gender that are binary and stereotypical, as well as constitutes women as neoliberal subjects who are responsible for their own well-being. This two-sided production ignores structural forms of inequality and war, as well as functions to instrumentalize gender equality for the service of more security and development. Gender policies operate often not only on the individual living body, but on the species-body, on the biopolitics of the population (Foucault 1978 p. 139). Here both aspects of power mechanisms meet: the disciplinary power and the regulatory mechanisms of the population. This is the modern incarnation of power relations: biopower. Gender, as well as sexuality, is situated at the juncture of these two domains, which makes it highly politicized issue. Gender policies target the individual body, but also norms of ideal sexual behaviour, family and reproductive life as well as the life of the population. Gender has a strong normalizing function, it has a role of controlling, regulating, correcting and disciplining. Queer theories and politics are questioning and deconstructing the normalizing role of gender and its binary as well as its link and production of heterosexuality. Still, non-conforming gender performance often

leads to intervention and especially in the context of global security governance, to silencing.

6.1.3 Empowerment as the road to peace

There is a tendency in the analysed CSDP documents to link gender equality with empowerment:

> "The EU is striving to embed gender equality and women's empowerment in all EU external action, including, but not limited to, conflict prevention, development assistance, humanitarian aid, trafficking in human beings, migration, conflict resolution, disaster risk reduction, preventing and countering of radicalisation, violent extremism and terrorism. The Strategic Approach supports societies and governments' actions to engage, empower, protect, and support women and girls from diverse backgrounds through the promotion of concrete commitments and actions, with particular emphasis on achieving sustainable and lasting peace and security." (EEAS(2019)747, p. 3).

The discourse of empowerment tends to instrumentalise women, emphasising how their empowerment will contribute to the broader project of peace and stability. In state-building missions, and arena in which the CSDP operates, as well as in development policies, there is a shared discourse on freedom and empowerment that becomes evident when these policy arenas address and incorporate gender policies. Scholars have highlighted how empowerment discourse in development policies align with neoliberal framework of individualism and personal responsibility (Batliwala 2001; Shani 2012). The ideal subject of neoliberalism is rational and self-interested, capable of making the 'right' choices which will lift them as well as their communities out of poverty (Li 2007; Shani 2012). In gender equality policies the rationale of empowered women brining both security and economic growth to both themselves and their community reflects the idealised subject of neoliberal governance.

I read the CSDP's conceptualization of gender and equality with critiques of liberal freedom. Here I argue that the policies on gender produce the kind of depoliticized life that is required by neoliberal capitalism. The production and governing of biopoliticised subjects of emancipatory projects. Gender equality as a technology of

governing emerges from the genealogical reading of the forms the emerging 'gender equality as security' discourse. The gender equality as security discourse functions as a tool for increasing the scope of economy by promoting women's activity in the formal market and workforce, as well as constructing an entrepreneurial individual who acts for the betterment of herself, family, as well as a force towards peace. This discourse of gender equality as an instrument utilizes a construction of women as peaceful, apolitical and community oriented.

6.2 The CSDP as a 'civilizing' force

A key theme that emerges from the EU's construction of its security and defense policies is the need for EU to act globally, and the special value it can bring to global politics. Gender Equality discourse in EU and its external relations, are profoundly racialized. The racialized legacy of gender governance emerges from the ways in which gender and sexuality were used to legitimate the colonial power where idealized European sexual/familial relations were the template for modern and superior humanity, where the contrast is to 'less developed' practises as coded as racially inferior (McClintock 1995). Analysing the discourse for gender and gender equality, I argue that the ways in which gender and gender equality are operate are through a colonial logic, where, following the colonial logic, the white man's burden presents itself as help, but simultaneously realizes economic and political goals of the hegemony (Latour 2006).

The EU has been analysed as a 'normative power Europe' (Manners, 2002), where the power of the Union is primarily based on the projection and implementation of universal norms rather than the formulation and implementation of clearly defined interests: "the most important factor shaping the international role of the EU is not what it does or what it says, but what it is" (p. 252). A normative power is an actor who is able 'to shape expectations of the "normal"' (p. 239) and thus is able to shape the realm of international security. This, I argue, does not consider the Eurocentric nature of the EU and the logics of coloniality that are reflected and reproduced in the EU's actions in its foreign policies. The interventionist policies of the EU's external action are justified by a discourse of 'universal good' that the EU argues it is providing in its actions. This thesis begins with a quote from José Manuel Barroso, the President of the European Commission in a State of the Union

Address to the plenary session of the European Parliament on 12.9.2012. In it he reproduces the discourse of the EU as an ethical actor for the betterment of the whole world: "*together we have the power, and the scale to shape the world into a fairer, rules based and human rights' abiding place*". Such normative self-depictions cannot be uncritically used as an explanation for the EU's external actions. Here I will analyse the CSDP discourse focusing on the conduction the foreign and security policies as a discourse of locating others and articulating insecurities. This will be analysed with the insights from a postcolonial theory discussed earlier in this thesis.

In the speech Barroso frames European model as morally superior, as it is a place where the 'fairer, rules based and human rights' abiding' structures and practices can be exported elsewhere, where those are not presently found. By so doing Barroso builds on colonial discourses that conjure "the spectres of the 'Moral man' as opposed to the 'barbarian' in the world outside Europe and its 'partners'" (Stern 2011, 44). This is a contemporary version of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's notion of "white men saving brown women from brown men" (1985). Gabi (2012) constructs a reconstruction of the central articulations and references to the ESDP mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and unveils a paradoxical construction of self/other relations and justification narratives, which leads her to argue that the EU acts as a civilizing power in its security policies, where the EU acts to re-activate its imperial legacies of the 19th century. The mission is framed in humanitarian language where the problems that need EU intervention are rooted in failed state of DRC and the lack of good governance.

For an analysis of the EU and its relations to its 'others' it is useful to read the European Security Strategy (ESS) as it is the central statement and vision for the EU security. The ESS discusses the main role of the EU as a security actor, the main threats it faces and discusses the instruments thought which it seeks to address these threats (European Council 2003). The ESS argues that the EU is a source of peace:

> "Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of
> the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and
> stability unprecedented in European history. The creation of the European
> Union has been central to this development. It has transformed the relations

between our states, and the lives of our citizens. European countries are committed to dealing peacefully with disputes and to co-operating through common institutions. Over this period, the progressive spread of the rule of law and democracy has seen authoritarian regimes change into secure, stable and dynamic democracies. Successive enlargements are making a reality of the vision of a united and peaceful continent." (European Commission 2003, p. 1)

The ESS then, locates the EU as being a global actor for peace, where its rational and cooperative action differ from 'authoritarian regimes', that do not have the capabilities for good governance and the moral action. Studies analysing the ESS have situated it to the normative power discourse, it "establishes a particular identity for the EU through turning third parties into "others" and representing the EU as a positive force in world politics' (Diez 2005, p. 613). The threats facing the EU are located outside the EU, where those threaten the order and stability:

> "Problems such as those in Kashmir, the Great Lakes Region and the Korean Peninsula impact on European interests directly and indirectly, as do conflicts nearer to home, above all in the Middle East. Violent or frozen conflicts, which also persist on our borders, threaten regional stability. They destroy human lives and social and physical infrastructures; they threaten minorities, fundamental freedoms and human rights." (European Commission, 2003, p. 7).

This produces a binary of the peaceful EU and the instability that enters from outside its borders. The universal values of human rights and freedoms are also located within the EU. Such binary constructs the 'other' man as a backward and in need for the active role of the EU as an actor for peace. Thus, the ESS is highly productive of a self-imagination as a 'good reliever', even 'gentle civiliser'(Koskenniemi 2004). Such, I argue, the discursive reading of the ESS shows how the EU constructs a binary of civilized EU and the barbarian outside. It also produces a unique EU with an ability to discern universal values and order.

7. Discussion and reflection

This thesis argues that gender equality functions as a technology of biopolitical governance in the CSDP. It shows how gender is a technology of biopower, and it is central to the European liberal model of liberal peace governance. The CSDP constructs gender in neoliberal ways drawing from essentialist and binary understandings of gender, as well as constructs its interventionist logics with Eurocentric conceptualizations of the Global South women, who are targets of its gender and security policies. To read the CSDP texts with the postcolonial feminist critique provided earlier in this thesis in chapter two, and especially Chandra Talpade Mohanty's critique of Eurocentric feminism, exposes that the logics of Eurocentric feminism run through the 'gender as security' discourse. For Mohanty, the binary structures of the emancipated Western woman and the woman in the Global South in need of saving are produced as binary of possessing power versus being powerless, where women of the Global South of powerless unified groups (Mohanty 1988). The production of difference, according Mignolo's (2000) discussion of coloniality in the development context, is present in the 'gender equality as security' discourse in the ways in which is produces the binary between the emancipated western women and the women of the Global South.

The argument is a result of conducting a genealogical approach on how gender policies emerge within a global security governance, and how it gains hegemony as the main logic of feminist politics. The genealogy of gender began from the Beijing Conference and moves to discuss the WPS agenda of the UNSC, and the implementation of the WPS agenda in the context of the EU. The genealogical approach was combined with a Foucauldian discourse analysis on the CSDP documents on gender and gender equality, where three subjectification of women emerged: the protector masculinity/protected femininity binary; the participation as equality; and the gender equality as smart economic paradigm.

The theoretical framework of this thesis was built on combining postcolonial feminism, poststructural feminism, and Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and biopolitics. The argument drew from Jemima Repo's analysis of gender as a biopolitical technology of gender and argues that the interests of the 'gender as a security' discourse then is to govern the conduct of women in the global South. The biopolitical analysis traces out the coercive

and stratifying features of developmentalist policies that target the 'Global South'. The EU is an interesting case where the security and gender policy is integrated into its liberal governmentality. This follows that security is individualized and the primary means for achieving greater security is by economic development. In feminist perspective, this lacks an analysis of structural changes.

The thesis concludes that gender equality that functions as biopolitical technology reproducing the colonial and Eurocentric logics within interventions are silencing and lack an ability to tackle structural inequalities. It can also help elucidate the limitations of interventions that seek to empower subjects while failing to interrogate and deconstruct dominant norms, or to address structural inequalities. As Repo (2011) argues, feminism would benefit from visioning political possibilities outside the biopolitical and challenge the current mode of liberal biopolitics.

This thesis has focused on the constructions of gender in the CSDP, which is only one part of EU's foreign policy. For further analysis, it would be interesting to analyse gender policies in other aspects of the EU's policy arsenal. Also, focus on policy documents is a limited approach, where an analysis that includes how these policies are operationalized could bring a stronger argument on how gender functions in EU's foreign policy. Such endeavours are, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.

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