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an Analysis of Changing Narratives in the Women's Inter-
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1. Introduction

“Lysistrata”, one of the most famous tragedies of ancient Greek author Aristophanes, tells the story of women in Athens and Sparta uniting to force their men to end the war by denying sexual intercourse. In India in the beginning of the 20th century, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was convinced that women had a special talent for leading his peace movement. In the 1970s, Irish women took a stand against the bloody conflict in Northern Ireland and launched an international peace movement united under the slogan “Women for Peace”. Almost simultaneously, women in Argentina, calling themselves “Madres de Plaza de Mayo”, started to protest against the military government, who they held responsible for the disappearing of their sons. In Turkey, women have rallied for the same reason since the mid-90s. Under the name “Saturday Mothers”, they continue to gather every Saturday in a show of resistance toward their government. In the US, “Code Pink” was founded in 2002, when women united to campaign against former President Bush’s invasions in Iraq and Afghanistan, pressing for a more peaceful and less hostile foreign policy strategy. And in Liberia, the “Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace” was launched in 2003 to end the second Liberian Civil War.

The recital of peace movements and peace organizations run by women could be extended endlessly. The phenomenon of women’s peace activism spreads both across space and time. On every continent and in every century, there have been women who organize to campaign for peace and against war¹ by explicitly using their womanhood. Womanhood is either displayed in their names, like in the above mentioned groups of “Madres de Plaza de Mayo” or the “Women for Peace Movement”, or it is implied with stereotypically female attributes; “Code Pink”, for instance, takes the color pink as their symbol of recognition. Moreover, women peace groups make use of strategies that (ironically) play with femininity and traditional gender roles, such as the “Raging Grannies”, a US American women’s peace group which storms politicians’ offices with tea and cookies to critically interrogate them about their politics. The strategic use of womanhood, which can be found in so many women’s peace groups, makes the relation of women to peace and the struggle against war appear to be a special one. However, what motivates so many women to

¹ The focus on women’s peace activism in this paper should not distract from the fact that women’s roles in war and violent conflict are very diverse. Thus, women work as peace-keepers but also as fighters, or in supportive roles (Coulter, Persson, and Utas 2008; Enloe 1998; Nordstrom 1998). To acknowledge women’s various roles during conflict is important to incorporate their differing capacities in peace-building planning and execution.

become peace activists? What causes them to stand up, go out, unite, and publicly protest against war?

The topic of women's relation to war and peace has been neglected for a long time due to a male dominated academia. However, by now, there is a decent amount of discourse concerned with adding a gender perspective to research on war, peace, and security. Indeed, the topic attracts scholars from various disciplines and from differing theoretical backgrounds. In historical research, for instance, scientists explore women's roles in different wars of the past (Mitchell 1966). Sociology explains how war and peace affect gender relations (Kundrus 2002). It illustrates, for example, how war changes the gender-division of labor by creating a shortage of male workers and allowing women to enter workspaces that, during times of peace, had been closed to them (Marwick 1968). Additionally, sociological research examines how the value of one's citizenship is connected to male and female roles during war times and how this connection was used to argue against granting women suffrage (Bader-Zaar 2014). Moreover, Gender Studies show that patriarchy is closely connected with war, militarism, and nationalism (Peterson 1998; Tickner 1992), that the control of women's bodies is a central strategy in warfare (Grayzel 1999; Überegger 2006), and that hierarchical gender relations can serve as sources for war (Cockburn 2010). Feminist studies finally, debate about the connection between feminism and pacifism (Carter 1998; McAllister 1982). The academic examination of the connection of women and war, obviously, breaks through the borders of traditional scientific disciplines.

Applying a gender perspective to the research about war, peace, and security serves both academic and practical purposes and is crucial for the understanding of peace and conflict processes. In the scientific context, gender can be used as an analytical tool that helps to deepen the understanding of peace and conflict by diversifying the view of the respective environment (Peace Building Initiative 2009). Here, the gender perspective is part of an intersectional approach on peace studies. Intersectionality is important to break out of the traditionally generalizing line of scientific thinking that tries to find universal explanations for political and social phenomena and is especially dominant in the scientific field which is mainly concerned with peace research: International Relations. Taking an intersectional approach on peace research, thus, enables one to see differences in experiences with war and peace. This differentiation, in turn, is vital for building a holistic understanding of the researched objects and to answer research questions more considerately. Therefore, adding

a gender perspective to studies of peace and security is crucial for supplementing theories that have been created exclusively by men who are bounded by their male perspective and ignorant to how male positionality and perspectives shape the understanding of the subjects and the conclusions drawn from it.

By adopting a gender perspective, the differences in the experiences women and men make during conflict and peace processes are brought to light. To do so, is especially necessary because peace research provides the basis for the development of practical strategies for international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and states to plan conflict transformation and peace-keeping projects. Denying the gender perspective on the respective issues leads to the creation of mechanisms which are often not suitable for the female half of the people involved in the conflict. Thus, they can never be truly effective and sustainable (Peace Building Initiative 2009). In fact, the gender perspective on peace and security reshaped practical peace work enormously. UN Resolution 1325, for instance, manifests that all peace-keeping missions of the UN have to be gender-sensitive (United Nations Security Council 2000). In reality, this gender-sensitivity shows through concrete actions that are especially suitable to women's special needs and which acknowledge the diverse roles women play in times of conflict. Additionally, gender-sensitivity led to an increase of women's participation on all levels of peace-keeping missions.² Here, peace and security research and practical peace-keeping worked together to establish a framework that respects men and women equally and, thus, develops more sustainable strategies to transform violent conflicts.

This paper will integrate in and contribute to gender-sensitive peace research by exploring how women legitimize their activism for peace and security. Women have been and still are notably underrepresented in the public, political sphere. Because the gender division of labor traditionally attributes the public sphere to men, women's power becomes simultaneously restricted to the private sphere (Chapman 1993; Ferree and Mueller 2004; Sturgeon 1997). Household and family issues, thus, are traditional female domains, whereas political decision-making is shaped by men. Because war can be seen as the violent expression of political action (Clausewitz [1832-34] 1991), women have been especially excluded from this part of international interaction. Aspects concerning militarization, war, violent conflict, but also peace negotiations and diplomacy have,

² However, male and female representation in peace-keeping is still far from being equal and women remain extremely underrepresented as actors in peace-building processes (Harsch 2005).

therefore, been traditional male spaces. Due to this clear division of labor between men and women which excluded women from politics, women's political activism was very much restricted historically. However, peace activism with its high proportions of female participation is an exception to this picture. Despite women's exclusion from the political sphere, peace work is strongly shaped by female activism. So, how do women legitimize their activity in this context? How do they argue to overcome the gender division of labor, enter the political sphere, and become peace activists? And which narratives do they use to establish their authority?

To answer these questions, I will focus on the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). It is the world's biggest continuously active women's peace organization and was officially founded in 1919. However, it was the International Congress of Women which was held in 1915 in The Hague that marks the organization's point of departure. Due to the start of WWI, women from Europe and Northern America organized the Congress to protest against the war and to campaign for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. As a result of this initial impetus, the organization finally institutionalized in 1919. Over the decades it grew both in scope and influence. Today, WILPF consists of 39 national sections and the International Secretariat that works closely together with the UN with offices both in Geneva and New York. Due to their global representation, WILPF has a major influence on international peace keeping. They, for instance, made significant contributions to the adoption of UN Resolution 1325 and, thus, can be argued to be a key player for applying a gender perspective to international peace-keeping.

This paper will follow an interdisciplinary approach to explore the narrative WILPF uses to connect itself as a women's organization to peace and security issues. An interdisciplinary approach on the topic is necessary to draw a picture of the complex relation of women and peace that is not restricted and limited by disciplinary borders. An interdisciplinary analysis allows for a more holistic understanding that goes beyond traditional scholarship boundaries. Therefore, theories from Sociology, International Relations, Gender Studies, and Feminist Studies will be integrated to build the theoretical framework for the analysis of WILPF's narratives to justify their peace activism.

First, theoretical considerations of Social Movement Theory are used to explain the importance of framing in regard to social movement organizations. According to Social Movement Theory, the considerate choice of framing is necessary for an organization to

establish authority, legitimacy, and credibility (Benford and Snow 2000; Noonan 1995). Framing communicates the validity of the problem the organization or movement is determined to solve to the broad public and helps to promote the respective organization's strategies to solve the problem. Consequently, framing is crucial for establishing an organization's legitimacy to change the status quo in accordance to their aims.

Second, theories of Political Opportunity Structure explain that choosing the suitable narratives for an organization's framing strategy depends on the specific context in which the organization is situated. Accordingly, Political Opportunity Structures shape the institutional and discursive frameworks within which an organization has to act. Thus, organizations have to adapt their framing strategies and make them resonant with the respective public discourse in order to gain support in society (Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson 1997; Snow and Benford 1992; Williams and Kubal 1999). Additionally, as contexts of political power-structures and public discourses are subject to change, the framing strategy of an organization has to keep adapting.

With regard to women's peace activism the research on framing in social movement organizations suggests that there are two broad categories of frames between which women groups can choose. In a political context which is rather restrictive on women's political activism and shaped by a traditional understanding of gender-relations, it is argued as beneficial for women peace groups to choose frames that resonate with the traditional public discourse (Kutz-Flamenbaum 2007; Noonan 1995; Sharoni 1998). In the context of peace activism, maternal frames are often used. By presenting the women's activists motivation to work for peace as rooted in their biological maternal instinct to protect life and prevent death, women's peace activism is framed in accordance with the public opinion on women's traditional role as caring and nurturing mothers (Kutz-Flamenbaum 2007). Thus, women's political activism does not appear as threatening to the traditional gender order and can be more easily accepted and supported by the public (Chuchryck 1991; Miethe 1999; Noonan 1995). In contrast to that, women's peace groups tend to rather choose feminist frames when the context in which the organization operates is open and receptive for women's political participation. Here, feminist frames are said to offer the advantage that the range of women's activism becomes broader. Where maternal frames are argued to restrict women's activism on spheres that are traditionally connected to women, such as health care and the protection of children, feminist frames allow women to also address non-female attributed political issues (Einwohner, Hollander, and Olson

2000; Ferree and Mueller 2004; Noonan 1995). The choice for the respective frame, thus, has to be made strategically by women concerning both the level of suitability to public discourse and the dangers of restricting their activism to specific issue fields.

Based on these theoretical considerations, it is expected that WILPF's strategy of framing their peace activism has changed profoundly since the organization was founded. Here, two strands of public discourse are identified that shape the discursive context in which WILPF operates. First, the developing academic discussion about the concepts of peace and security opened up the opportunities for women to connect themselves to the topics. Feminist theories in International Relations argued for gender equality to be an essential aspect of a sustainable and just peace. Thus, Feminist International Relations enables feminist claims against the oppression of women to become one aspect in the struggle for peace and security, by understanding peace as more than the absence of war and focusing on the elimination of structural violence instead. Second, gender studies and its rethinking of gender roles as socially constructed rather than biologically determined disrupted the biological essentialist attribution of peacefulness to women and violence to men. Thus, it changed the perception of the gender relation of violence profoundly and allowed to think gender and gender roles as more diverse than the previous male/female dichotomy suggested.

Because of these two changes in discourse, WILPF's strategy of framing is expected to change accordingly from a focus on maternalist/biological essentialist frames to a focus on feminist frames. Both discursive changes were initiated by the Second Wave of feminism in the 1970s and 80s. Thus, the analysis will be based on the reports from WILPF's 1919 and 1989 triennial congresses. The 1919 congress is chosen because it represents the original context of WILPF's peace activism. 1989 is, further, selected as the comparative category because it marks a point in time where the discursive change that is argued to have restructured WILPF's POS has already happened. It is, thus, expected to have an impact on the narrative strategy used in 1989 that clearly distinguishes the report from the 1919 congress. The two congress papers of 1919 and 1989 will be examined through qualitative content analysis. It is expected that the 1919 report relies more on maternalist/biological essentialist frames to integrate strategically in the discursive context of its time that was quite restrictive for women's political activism. In contrast to that, given the changes in public discourse, the 1989 report is expected to display more feminist narratives in WILPF's strategy of framing. It is important to note here, that feminist

narratives will be identified according to how they relate to the respective feminist movement of the time. This is done, because it is acknowledged that feminism is a diverse field, covering various social and political projects with various aims and demands. Thus, feminism is no monolithic, stable, and objective category that does not change over time and place. The word feminism is, therefore, used in the analysis only in direct and explicit connection to the respective feminist movement of the time.

2. Why narratives matter – Social Movement Theory and Political Opportunity

Structure

The theories produced by Social Movement scholarship cannot only be applied to social movements in a narrow sense but they are adaptable to organizations as well. Especially Social Movement Organizations (SMOs), that is organizations working toward social change organized in a more institutionalized form than social movements usually are, can be subject to the analysis of Social Movement scholars. However, the Social Movement scholarship is quite a complex one, being especially obvious when it comes to the topics of framing and the meaning of narratives. It is marked by a thicket of different terminologies that often mean the same thing but imply different connotations to the concept. This chapter is aimed at disentangling this terminological confusion to explain the importance of framing for SMOs and to show what influences the choice of frames.

Social Movement Studies experienced an essential reorientation during the 1980s. The general rise of Constructivist thinking in Social Science did not leave the field of Social Movement Studies untouched and provoked what Williams (2004) describes as a general cultural turn. Traditionally, the motivation of people to rise up and start social movements to promote social change was explained by focusing on economic factors (Williams 2004). Marxist thinking during the 20th century led to an understanding of social movements based on economic interests (Williams 2004). Social movement actors, accordingly, were seen as social classes and the incentive to revolt stemmed from the economic inequality they faced. Consequently, the focus of Social Movement Studies was on economic and structural factors as explanatory variables for the success or failure of social movements (Williams 2004). Resource Mobilization Theory, for instance, argues that the success of social movements depends on the actors' access to resources and their ability to exploit them (Jenkins 1983); the participants in social movements are presented as rational actors. However, this conviction changed in the 1980s. Williams (2004) situates the start of the cultural turn in the writing of Western European scholars. He states that thinkers such as

Habermas (1981), Melucci (1985) and Offe (1985) emphasized the importance of the ideology transported by a movement and the concerns of the movement activists, which were not limited to economic incentives. Furthermore, they argued for taking the cultural context in which social movements occur into consideration while trying to explain the movement's success or failure (Williams 2004). What emerged was the New Social Movement Theory.

The New Social Movement Theory launched three major changes in the social studies' understanding and conceptualization of social movements and, thus, SMOs. First, it shifted Social Movement Studies from an exclusive focus on the movement itself to taking into consideration contextual factors (Williams 2004). The cultural context in which the movement emerged or the organization operated should be seen as an arena in which collective action was taken (Williams 2004). This arena is distinctly shaped by its norms, identities and cultural understandings and was said to influence the movements' or organizations' strategies, design and success/failure (Cooper 2002; Williams 2004). Second, in line with that, the scientific attention shifted from a focus on structures and institutions to a focus on culture (Williams 2004). Before, theories were based on the access to political decision-makers, the openness or closeness of political procedures and institutions to activists and existing laws that regulated their abilities (McAdam 1996; Tarrow 1989; Tilly 1978). With the New Social Movement Theory, this understanding of context was expanded by a cultural dimension, focusing on symbolism, rituals, meanings and language (Williams 2004). Third, based on these shifts toward the acknowledgement of the meaning of the cultural context in which movements emerge or organizations operate, the meaning of framing gained attention. Relying on Foucault's theory about how the creation of meaning shapes power relations (Foucault 1980), framing was seen as an important tool for social movements and SMOs to gain authority for themselves and to legitimize their claims.

Social Movements or SMOs use frames to explain and shape the understanding of their matters in the awareness of the public. Frames are actively created by actors in a movement or an organization (Benford and Snow 2000). They serve to create meaning around the identities and actions taken by the activists (Noonan 1995), and they are used to compete in a struggle over meaning between movement/organization activists and the authorities they aim to challenge (Benford and Snow 2000). Cooper (2002) calls this struggle for meaning 'framing contest'. In regard to SMOs, Snow and Benford (1988)

identify three aspects which require framing in order to promote support from the broader public, or even mobilize people to join the struggle. First, social movement actors have to frame their own identity. By doing so, they determine how they want to present themselves to the public (Snow and Benford 1988). Second, Social Movements use framing to define the problem they want to tackle, and third, they use framing to articulate the solution they promote (Snow and Benford 1988). The framing of the movement's identity, the problem and the solution, have to correspond to one another to create a coherent argumentation of why a particular movement has legitimacy to address a particular problem and propose a particular solution. The framing and the coherence in framing then is essential in establishing the movement's authority – or in Benford and Snow's words credibility (Benford and Snow 2000, 619) - on the respective issue.

However, as the Cultural Turn in the New Social Movement Theory implies, movements and organizations do not use framing in a cultural vacuum (Noonan 1995). Instead, the cultural context in which they operate influences the use of framing essentially (Noonan 1995). In fact, the better a frame fits into the cultural context the movement or organization operates in, the more likely it will be successful in promoting social change (Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson 1997). Cooper (2002), for instance, states that the 'framing contest' between movement actors and political authorities happens in an arena shaped by a distinct public discourse which defines the boundaries of the acceptance of the frames (37). The extent to which framing corresponds with the public opinion of the cultural context is crucial to the success of the frames to convince people. Snow and Benford (1992) use the terms 'empirical credibility' or 'narrative fidelity' to describe how frames must assort with the cultural context in which they are applied. And still others, such as Williams and Kubal (1999) call this congruence between movement frames and the cultural context "resonance". Resonance describes the fit between a frame and the audience's previous beliefs, worldviews, and life experience. Only when frames resonate with the audience, who are to be convinced by the movement's or organization's claims, can they be successful (Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson 1997; Williams 2004; Williams and Demerath 1991). This is because they link to beliefs which already exist among the audience.

What becomes obvious here is that the activists' choice of frame is bound by social norms and values that constitute the cultural context of the movement's activities (Levin 2005). A variety of terms circulate within Social Movement Scholarship to conceptualize this context. Examples are discursive context (Koopmans and Statham 1999), repertoire (Tilly

1978), public discourse (Ferree et al. 2002), cultural structure (Rambo and Chan 1990), masterframe (Snow and Benford 1992) or ideological packages (Gamson 1988).³ Although they incorporate different connotations, they all imply the same assumptions. The cultural context in which a movement happens has a remarkable influence on how collective action can be taken, which framing has to be adopted to build which narrative of authority, and finally how this affects the success or failure of the movement. In this paper, the term Political Opportunity Structure (POS) will be used to refer to the context of a movement. The concept of POS has the advantage of incorporating both structural and cultural factors within the analysis of the context of a movement or organization. It, therefore, allows a more holistic analysis of how the context influences movements' or SMOs' framing.

The theory of Political Opportunities lies at the heart of Political Process Theory (Giugni 2009). Consequently, in its traditional form, it is marked by a focus on political structures and institutions (see McAdam 1996, Tilly 1978). Tarrow (1994, 85-86), for instance, as one of the traditional representatives of Political Opportunities Theory, identifies four main dimensions of the concept, which all relate to the structural and institutional design of the political system in which the movement operates. The openness or closeness of the political system for activists, according to him, depends on the level of opportunities to participate in the political process, the volatility of ruling alignments, the existence of powerful allies, and cleavages among the influential elite. However, with the Cultural Turn in Social Movements Theory, the traditional scholarship on POS was criticized for their system-centric approach. Melucci (1990) points out that traditional POS theory totally neglects the question of collective identities. Consequently, scholars started to rethink the concept, opening it up to a more constructivist way of thinking. Theories of discursive opportunities, for instance, emphasize the cultural dimension of POS (Ferree et al. 2002; Gamson and Meyer 1996). Furthermore, the idea of specific opportunities points out that POS might differ for different actors as well as issue fields (Berclaz and Giugni 2005; Koopmans et al. 2005). Finally, perceived opportunities emphasize the importance of opportunities being acknowledged as such by actors. If the actors are not aware of the opportunities they have, it is impossible for them to use them (Banaszak 1996; Gamson and Meyer 1996; Kurzman 1996).

³ See Williams (2004) for a more detailed discussion of the different terminologies.

Both discursive and specific opportunities are especially relevant for the issues in this paper. The idea of a discursive opportunity structure extends POS theory by a cultural dimension (Koopmans et al. 2005). Instead of solely focusing on political structures and institutions, public discourse and the framework of ideas and meaning-making in a particular society (Ferree et al. 2002) should be taken into account to explain social movements' or SMO's success/failure. Here, the discursive POS functions as the framework in which collective identities are formed. In other words, discursive POS presents the cultural context in which the framing of the actors' identity, the problem they tackle and the solution they propose are conducted. Koopmans et al. (2005), for instance, in their analysis of xenophobic mobilization in Europe, show how different understandings of citizenship and national identity dominant in public discourse lead to different opportunities for anti-migration activists to frame and, thus, legitimize their claims and collective actions. Understanding the discursive POS in which a movement or organization is situated, therefore, is essential to understanding the movement's active choice of framing to create their own identity, establish authority and apply legitimacy to their claims and actions (Koopmans and Satham 1999; Koopmans 2004).

The adoption of the discursive dimension to the concept of POS was especially helpful for the scholarship on women's political activism. The former focus on political structures, processes, and institutions, which was created and understood in the context of Western liberal democracies, is argued to exclude women as well as non-Western contexts from the picture (Noonan 1995). As women's political activism usually took more informal and non-traditional shapes, it was often not acknowledged as such by scholars of POS as it did not fit in their presupposed repertoire of political activism (Noonan 1995). The adoption of the discursive dimension to POS now allows for a more holistic understanding of opportunities for political activism and, among others, helps in answering gender specific questions such as "why women were actively protesting at a time when their male counterparts were silenced" (Noonan 1995, 85).

Specific Opportunity Structures also contributed to a more detailed understanding of Political Opportunities. The theory states that Political Opportunities might not be the same for different social groups within a society and, furthermore, differ between specific issue fields (Berclaz and Giugni 2005). Relating to that, Kutz-Flamenbaum (2012) states that POS changes according to the social status of activists or activist groups and Levin (2005) concludes that movements and organizations actively choose framing strategies based on

their own social position. This strategy includes the evaluation of the public discourse on the respective issue. In a gender perspective, the theory of Specific Opportunities indicates that Political Opportunities might differ between men and women at a respective point in time in a respective society. Furthermore, the difference in the Political Opportunities men and women face differs between issue fields (Koopmans et al. 2005). POSs, therefore, are not gender-neutral (Ferree and Mueller 2004). In contrast, the social and political structures, the cultural context or public discourse prevalent in a specific movement's or organization's context offer different opportunities for men and women to articulate their political activism.

Generally, POS traditionally was gendered in a manner that excluded women from the political sphere. In regard to structures and institutions, the most obvious sign for this was the denial of women's right to vote. Even today, women are regularly clearly outnumbered as political representatives or decision-makers. Chapman (1993) and Sturgeon (1997) describe how political institutions disadvantage women in playing a role in the political sphere, which traditionally is connoted as 'men's terrain' (Ferree and Mueller 2004, 589). As a consequence of the gendered nature of the institutional POS, as already mentioned, women tend to conduct their political activism in more informal, non-institutional ways (Noonan 1995). Similar to that, the discursive POS was rather restrictive concerning women's political activism traditionally. Public opinion and discourse attributes women to the private and men to the public sphere. Character traits attributed to men, such as rationality, autonomy, power, agency, and strength (Peterson and True 1998; Rotundo 1993; Tickner 1995) were established as more valuable in the political and public sphere. In contrast to that, female ascribed features, such as weakness, passiveness, naivety, irrationality, and gentleness (Peterson and Runyan 1993, 22) were framed as useless or even counterproductive in politics. The female, consequently, was constructed as "ultimately non-political" (Delehanty and Steele 2009, 529). Thus, women's political activism was not encouraged but rather suspiciously discredited in the general public.

The general conclusion from the scholarship on gendered POS in regard to women's political activism is that the more restrictive the POS for women's political participation is, the more likely women are to draw on traditional gender roles to frame and legitimize their protest (Ferree and Mueller 2004; Kutz-Flamenbaum 2007; Noonan 1995; Sharoni 1998). Furthermore, in contexts where feminism is less widespread and respected, traditional frames help women's activism to gain legitimacy in the broad public (Bernstein 2005;

Franceschet 2004; Noonan 1995; Sharoni 1998). The use of traditional frames for women's political activism is advantageous as it is culturally resonant with the discursive POS in a traditional context shaped by patriarchy (Noonan 1995). As women's activists' claims and collective actions are framed in a way that suits the public discourse on women's role within society, it becomes easier to legitimize nontraditional activities such as political protest (Noonan 1995). Therefore, the use of traditional gender roles to frame women's activism can be employed as a strategic tool to disguise women's political activism as unthreatening.

The maternal role, here, is the most prominent traditional gender role that is employed in women's political activism when facing a restrictive POS. Traditionally, women are attributed with the adjectives of nurturing, maternal, and caring (Kutz-Flamenbaum 2007). In relation to the political sphere, these character-traits connect to the topics of health care, education, social welfare and children, which account as somehow suitable for women's political participation (Noonan 1995). Chaney (1979), here, sees the gendered division of labor within the family as translated into the public, political sphere. She states that "both men and women believe that women should participate in politics, but in a style that is a reflection of the political institution of the division of tasks in the family" (Chaney 1979, 21).

The use of traditional gender roles for framing women's political activism offers women an array of possibilities to express their protest even in situations of quite restrictive POS. Noonan (1995), drawing on Chuchryck (1991), for instance, shows how the strategic use of the maternal frame helped women in Chile to articulate political protest towards the Pinochet regime. Due to the socialist context of the time, in which feminism was seen as a white middle class endeavor unnecessarily distracting from the class struggle, the discursive POS was very restrictive for women's activism framed around feminist claims. However, when the women's activists started utilizing maternal frames, their claims and actions fitted within the public perception of women's roles and, thus, their protest was seen as legitimate (Noonan 1995). Furthermore, the concentration on maternal topics resulted in the regime not seeing the women as a threatening political power. Noonan (1995) states that women had the opportunity to protest in ways that seemed apolitical, because they framed their activism as corresponding to traditional gender roles. Sharoni (1998) describes the same situation by comparing two Israeli women's activist groups. She concludes that "Parents/Mothers against Silence", by explicitly distancing themselves from

feminism and employing the maternal frame, are perceived as mostly favorable in the Israeli public (Sharoni 1998). In contrast to that, “Women against the Invasion of Lebanon”, a group which was founded by activists of the Israeli feminist movement, outspokenly protests against Israeli militarism in combination with sexism. Here, Sharoni observes a disapproval of the group’s activism by the Israeli public. She concludes that women expressing their political dissent are only perceived as legitimate by the public as long as their claims link to dominant norms of gender-roles which imply motherhood and caregiving as central female characteristics (Sharoni 1998). In line with that, Swerdlow “identifies the motherhood theme as a conscious political tool on the part of ‘Women Strike for Peace organizers’” (Swerdlow as referred to in Alonso 1995, 171). Mhanje and Wetstone (2018), furthermore, detect the same strategy among women participating in Egypt’s Arab Spring. Taken together, the examples show that the maternal frame can be strategically employed to gain access to the political sphere in a society harshly shaped by patriarchy.

The employment of a maternal frame to legitimize women’s political activism may enable women to express their political dissent, by giving it an apolitical appearance. Obviously, it offers some advantages and can be clearly strategically employed. It even equips women with greater Political Opportunities to protest than their male counterparts might have in the respective situation, as they are perceived as less threatening to the political order (Miethe 1999). Furthermore, women’s political activism, even in the form of an extension of their traditional role within the family, has the potential to empower women as it gives them a sense of their political capabilities (Chaney 1979; Chuchryck 1989, 1991).

However, the employment of maternal frames and other traditionally female ascribed gender roles, at the same time, bears its dangers (Einwohner, Hollander, and Olson 2000; Ferree and Mueller 2004; Noonan 1995). Ferree and Mueller (2004) point out that the use of traditional gender roles to frame women’s political activism might blur their actual incentives. The maternal frame, furthermore, might give women specific opportunities on distinct issues connected to motherhood, by simultaneously preventing their political influence on other issues (Noonan 1995). Consequently, it might get harder for the women activists to speak out on issues which are not traditionally linked to their female role. Due to that, there have been women political activists that chose a counter-strategy in framing. Kutz-Flamenbaum (2007), for instance, shows how the “Missile Dick Chicks” criticize the US’s intervention in Iraq in 2001 by challenging traditional gender roles. With giant strap-

on penises in the form of military missiles, they undermine traditional gender roles and explicitly show the connection between militarism and patriarchy (Kutz-Flamenbaum 2007). The framing strategy of countering traditional gender roles generally is rather applied in contexts of relatively open POS for women. In these contexts, the need for drawing on traditional gender roles to evoke resonance in the broad public decreases and the threat of a restriction of women's activism to traditionally ascribed female issues can be prevented.

To sum up, gender perspectives on POS and its influence on frames and narratives implies a clear dichotomy. This dichotomy materializes in the choice between traditional-maternalist or progressive-feminist narratives to legitimize women's political activism in the matters of peace and security. Here, maternalist narratives are argued to be especially valuable in contexts with a restrictive POS for women as they resonate with the traditional gender roles represented in public opinion. However, maternalist frames are also said to restrict female activism to specific areas of politics that echo the gender-division of work in the private sphere. Based on that, maternalist narratives are understood as detrimental to feminist demands, because feminist demands call for the abolition of the same traditionally patriarchal and hierarchical gender-order on which the maternalist narratives build and to which they relate. Maternalist narratives and feminist narratives, which can be employed in contexts with rather open POS for women's political activism, are, here, understood as oppositional. Consequently, gender-perspectives on POS for women's activism present the choice between maternalist and feminist frames as a question of either/or, which has to be chosen strategically by women's activists with regard to their resonance to the public discourse of the respective context.

The discussion in this chapter implies six major conclusions for the further analysis of how WILPF legitimizes themselves as female activists as authorities in the matters of peace and security:

1. Framing of the activist's role and the underlying concepts the organization uses is crucial to establish legitimacy to the organization's claims and authority to the activists' role within the matter.
2. The framing is dependent on the POS the organization finds itself in.
3. This POS consists of an institutional dimension, concerning laws, access to political decision-makers and the like, as well as a discursive dimension, concerning public opinion and cultural presumptions.

4. The POS is gendered and, therefore, offers different opportunities and constraints of framing for men and women.
5. It is generally observable that a more restrictive POS leads to a greater embrace of traditional gender roles, which is especially expressed in the maternal role for women, for the framing of women's political activism.
6. It should be expected that when the POS shifts, strategies for framing will shift accordingly.

3. Political Opportunity Structure and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Describing the POS for WILPF, both institutionally and discursive, is no easy encounter. As an international organization WILPF does not act within distinctly defined borders but rather pursues a transnational strategy. As stated previously, the organization was created after a conference held in The Hague in 1915, where women from several European countries and the US gathered to discuss issues on peace and security from a female perspective in relation to the start of WWI. After the conference, the participating women went to 14 different national European governments to represent their positions and campaign for their claims nationally. This multilevel strategy of political lobbying shapes the organization's strategies until today. On the international level, WILPF's policies and strategies are created, which are then implemented by the national sections of the organization in collaboration with (or opposition to) the respective national governments. In this process, international conferences and organizations, such as the UN, present a lobbying platform for WILPF, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.1.

Due to this inter- or transnational orientation of the organization, describing the POS WILPF faces poses theoretical and practical challenges and requires a reconceptualization of the concept. The dominant academic discourse on POS conceptually focuses closely on the nation-state framework. Traditional POS scholars analyze movements that either are bound to one particular state or compare how different national contexts influence how claims are made and how actions are taken in international movements (Kitschelt 1986; Kriesi et al. 1995). However, in a globalizing and internationalizing world, the methodological nationalism of POS scholarship becomes problematic. Smith (2004), for instance, describes how political opportunities change for activists as movements itself internationalize and often refer to issues which cannot be solved within nation-state borders. As a result, nation-states increasingly engage in the international sphere,

institutionalized by international organizations, to coordinate political solutions to global problems. Consequently, based on an analysis of the international environmental movement, Van der Heijden (2006) concludes that a concept of POS bound to the nation-state is no longer sufficient in the international context. Thus, he, in accordance with J. Smith (2004), demands the conceptualization of an international POS.

Unfortunately, the literature on international POS is quite limited and focuses almost entirely on the institutional dimension of POS. The basic assumption of international POS is that movements and SMOs use international political structures, such as organizations and conferences, to lobby political decision-makers (J. Smith 2004; Van der Heijden 2006). Here, international treaties and agreements serve to legitimize movements' or organizations' claims (Goldmann 2012; J. Smith 2004). Van der Heijden (2006) argues for the UN being the central aspect of most organization's international POS as it constitutes the "most important political power center" (33). Relating to that, article 71 of the UN constitution offers activists access to take part in the UN's political processes (Passy 1999, 153). Although SMO's cannot exercise direct influence on decisions made in the UN, as they lack the right to vote (Passy 1999, 154), they are able to lobby within UN's commissions, conferences, and working groups due to their consultative status (Van der Heijden 2006). Additionally, social movements serve as important information sources for the UN, giving them leverage to integrate their opinions (Passy 1999, 155). Depending on the specific issue and area the movement or organizations is working on, other regional or global international organizations can, of course, be important factors constituting their institutional international POS. The African or European Unions, for instance, play an important role for movements or organizations working on the respective region; the World Trade Organization, instead, is interesting for movements or organizations that are concerned with economic issues.

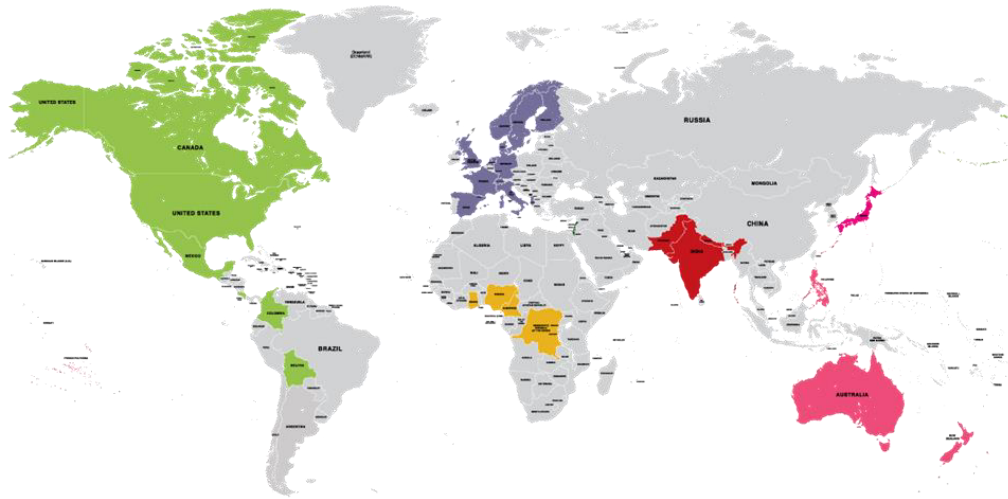
In contrast to that, the small body of literature arguing for an international POS is not very explicit regarding the discursive dimension. Van der Heijden (2006), very briefly worded, hints at the fact that international organizations, treaties, and regimes create distinct structures of norms and values. Although he does not explicitly link this idea to a discursive dimension of international POS, it becomes obvious that these values constitute a moral framework for movements' or organizations' actions and claims. Similarly, Goldmann (2012) and J. Smith (2004) use the concept of global or transnational political discourse to refer to a discursive dimension of international POS. J. Smith (2004) argues

that sociocultural globalization creates ideologies, identities, and culture that are not bound to a national public. By drawing on Brysk's (1996, 2000) analysis of how organizations working on indigenous rights transformed their framing when internationalizing their activism, she points out that national frames have to be reconsidered when facing an international public discourse. In accordance to that, Goldmann (2012) describes how global governance serves as an increasing source of legitimacy for international actors by shaping global public discourse (Goldmann 2012). However, he also states that the application of discourse theory for international POS "would require a worldwide public sphere, a common political culture for opinion formation, and representative central institutions that would transform societal discourse into political decisions" (Goldmann 2012, 377).

When trying to approach something like a worldwide public sphere, it is important to note that this sphere is far from being equitable. Here, Western dominance becomes a factor which has to be considered regarding both the institutional and discursive dimensions of an international POS. In regard to structure, J. Smith (2004) bases his argument on World System Theory by stating that states are embedded in a global hierarchy which shapes global political institutions, their processes, structures, and policies. Therefore, the institutional POS internationally is clearly biased by Western ideas and interests. This becomes particularly obvious when looking at the composition of the UN Security Council. The UN Security Council reinforces power dynamics from the 1950s by granting the victors from WWII, all of which from the Global North besides China, extreme power through a permanent membership including a right to veto. This example shows that Western dominance initially shaped the structures and institutions of the UN when it was built (Mazower 2008). Now, these structures and institutions, in turn, reproduce and strengthen Western dominance with every decision that is taken and with every policy that is adopted. Additional to that, Western dominance within international structures and processes of politics manifests itself in global norms and values. Here, Sikkink and Smith (2002) speak of a "norms cascade" or a "spiral model" of normative change describing how structures of international cooperation and negotiation socialize states into increasingly agreeing with a distinct set of norms and values. As these structures are Western dominated, the norms and values transported are also shaped by Western dominance.

The factor of a Western dominated international arena becomes especially relevant as organizations from the Global South are often more dependent on lobbying the international sphere, because their national contexts are usually more repressive and closed for activism (J. Smith 2004). Consequently, they are forced to adapt their strategies, claims, and actions to a Western-biased international POS to be successful (J. Smith 2002). By analyzing the dynamics between women's groups from the Global North and Global South at the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, Snyder (2003) observes a mutual influence. However, although Northern women's groups used the information of the Southern groups on respective problems to integrate them into their strategies, the Southern groups had to adjust their framing to attract resonance among the conference participants (Snyder 2003). In Smith's (2004) words, they had to learn how to "speak the language" of the global conference (321). Here, framing that was linked to widely shared norms, shaped by Western dominance, was most successful in bringing specific issues onto the conference's agenda (Snyder 2003).

In regard to the following analysis of the POS for WILPF, Western dominance is a particularly relevant factor. WILPF portrays itself as an "international non-governmental organization with National Sections covering every continent" (WILPF 2018a). However, it is set up on a history of Western dominance within its own structures and among its own members. Starting off from the social work and suffrage movements at the beginning of the 20th century in Europe and the US, WILPF was founded by Western activists (Confortini 2012). In describing the composition of WILPF members, Confortini (2012) points out that the participating women at times supported very different and even opposing political views. However, she also states that most WILPF women stemmed from the upper and middle class and were white (Confortini 2012). Furthermore, in accordance with Western dominance among the members of the organization, Western dominance within the organization's structures becomes obvious by looking at the national sections that exist today. Map 1 displays how the national sections are globally distributed and shows a clear concentration of offices in the Global North covering almost all Western European countries, North America and Australia. Consistent with that, the list of places, where WILPF's triennial congresses were held during the past 100 years, reveals a similar picture. New Delhi in India, Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, San Jose in Costa Rica, and – just recently - Accra in Ghana are the only four places within the Global South. As four is an extremely small number given the total of 33 congresses held since 1915 (WILPF 2018c), the Western-centrism in WILPF's very own structures, here, becomes obvious.



Map 1: National Sections of WILPF

(WILPF 2018b)

Indeed, WILPF show some efforts in abolishing this Western dominance by collaborating with Southern local women groups and by launching initiatives to attract non-Western members (WILPF 2016). However, their Western-bias in combination with a Western dominance within the international political sphere, both institution-wise and normative, is a factor that is important to consider while analyzing the narratives they use to frame their claims and actions. Thus, the analysis of WILPF's international POS will reflect these international and WILPF-internal power dynamics. Particularly the description of WILPF's discursive international POS will be marked by the development of discourses that appear very Western-centric. In regard to the previous discussion, this has to be seen as an active decision by the author instead of an inconsiderate step into the trap of Western-centrism.

3.1. The institutional dimension

As already stated, WILPF pursues a multilevel strategy in their political work. As a consequence, describing the institutional dimension of WILPF's international POS requires the acknowledgment of three different levels of the political sphere: the international, the regional, and the local or national level. However, the aim of this paper is to describe what narratives the organization as a whole uses in legitimizing their efforts in peace and security issues and not to compare how narratives change according to specific local contexts in which they are applied. Therefore, the institutional POS in the international sphere is argued to be more relevant regarding the paper's research questions and the discussion in this chapter will very much focus on this aspect of the threefold multilevel institutional POS WILPF is situated in.

On the national level, WILPF engages with national governments to lobby for their interests. Here, the national sections of WILPF's institutional structure play a key role in identifying local problems, issues, and solutions. The lobbying of national governments is a strategy of WILPF that was active from the very beginning and is still implemented today. Between 1915 and 1919, for instance, WILPF's founding members met with several heads of states in Europe and the US to persuade them to end WWI. Furthermore, complementing their efforts for disarmament, in 1934, WILPF successfully pushed the US Senate to investigate the arms industry's involvement in suspicious trades; and, in 1952, WILPF lobbied the Australian government to promote the adoption of Aborigine rights. The three examples show that lobbying the national political sphere serves two major purposes. First, it is useful to coordinate a solution for an international problem, such as a world war, where diverse national governments are involved. It applies especially to contexts where international organizations are not yet securely established as the primary arena of diplomacy. Second, it helps in addressing issues that are specific to the local context, such as Aborigine rights in Australia or the weapons industry of the US.

Similar to lobbying on the national level, the regional level steadily presents an important reference point for WILPF's activism. Here, mostly regional conferences are used to address problems that are context specific, but shared by countries belonging to the same region. In 1928, for instance, the Pan Pacific Union Conference in Honolulu offered an opportunity for WILPF to engage with the Pan Pacific Women's movement and to build up a network with Pacific women's groups to channel and combine their efforts. Similar to that, WILPF attended the first Asian and African Women's Conference, held in Colombo in 1960. In 1992, WILPF even took an organizational role in an international seminar held on the behalves of indigenous women of the Americas. Finally, in 2001, WILPF participated in the UN Asia Pacific Regional Disarmament Conference in Wellington.

On the international level, the institutional dimension of WILPF's POS can be linked to three aspects: organizations, conferences, and treaties/agreements. WILPF continuously uses conferences as opportunities to push forward their agenda. Conferences offer them the opportunity to express their views on issues such as disarmament (World Disarmament Conference in 1932, the conference on the SALT II Treaty in Washington DC in 1978, the International NGO Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1978), racism (International NGO Conference against Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa in Geneva in 1974, World Conference Against Racism in Durban in 2001), sustainable development (World Summit

on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002), and women's rights (UN's Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985, Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995), as well as the access to political decision-makers and other organizations working in the field that attend the conference.

In regard to international organizations, there are two detectable ones which present the most important opportunities for WILPF's political activism, the League of Nations and its follower organization the United Nations. The League of Nations is both a product of WILPF's political activism itself and a platform for WILPF's further lobbying. WILPF highly supported the idea of the League of Nations as an institutionalized arena for diplomacy. In light of WWI and stemming from their belief that peace can only be reached by cooperation among states, they advocated for the formation of a League already in their 1919 Congress Resolution (WILPF 1919a). After the League of Nations was formed, WILPF consequentially moved their headquarters from Amsterdam to Geneva to be close to the League's headquarters.

Following the demise of the League of Nations and the troublesome years of WWII, the UN, the League's successor, presented the new center of WILPF's international institutional POS. Especially the fact that WILPF was granted a consultative status at the UN Economic and Social Council in 1948, and further holds special consultative relations with other UN bodies (UNESCO, UNCTAD, ILO, FAO, UNICEF, WHO) shows that WILPF possesses a well-established role within UN structures. The consultative status offers WILPF the opportunity to attend and monitor the conferences, a way to express their own opinions. Additionally, WILPF also uses the opportunities other organizations offer for international politics. In 1983, for instance, WILPF lobbied the NATO with a signature campaign. In 1993, they campaigned the International Court of Justice to acknowledge rape as a wartime crime. However, the UN and its sub-organizations by far present the steadiest and most important reference points for WILPF's international lobbying. Their formal acceptance, expressed in the consultative status they hold, here, makes a difference as it offers the opportunity to lobby UN members as an 'insider' instead of lobbying other organizations 'from the outside'.

Additionally, the importance of the UN within WILPF's institutional international POS becomes obvious, when looking at the central treaty/agreement which WILPF uses for its work. In 2000, the UN adopted Resolution 1325 and launched what is called the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. Resolution 1325, together with its followers, Resolutions

1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, and 2242, manifest the goal of gender equality and establish women's participation in peace-making as a crucial step towards world peace. Therefore, it is described by WILPF as "a historic watershed political framework that shows how women and a gender perspective are relevant to negotiating peace agreements, planning refugee camps and peacekeeping operations and reconstructing war-torn societies for sustainable peace" (Peace Women 2018).

To sum up, WILPF's institutional POS is shaped by a multi-level structure that allows the organization to engage with politics at the national, the regional, and the international levels. The international level is of particular importance for the analysis of this paper. Here, international organizations present the central anchor points for WILPF's lobbying, among which the League of Nations and the United Nations are of major importance. Regarding the UN, WILPF's leverage for political influence was broadened especially with the UN's decision to grant the women's organization consultative status in 1948. Furthermore, the adoption of various resolutions which manifest the importance of gender equality for sustainable peace-building, illustrate the increasing acknowledgement of the gender-dimension of war and peace within the international, institutional sphere.

3.2. The discursive dimension

On the discursive dimension, two major discussions are identified which influenced WILPF's international POS. First, there is the discussion about definitions of peace and security, especially reshaped by an upcoming academia of Feminist International Relations. Second, there is the debate about gender roles. Here, the idea of biological determination was challenged by the field of Gender Studies which introduced the theory of gender being socially constructed. Both discussions span across the academic as well as the general public and the political sphere and influenced how women's roles in regard to politics in general and peace and security in particular are perceived. Consequently, they transformed political realities, decisions, and activities for women peace activists.

The fact that the underlying definitions of peace and security are relevant for understanding WILPF's narrative connection of women to the matters becomes clear when looking at a study of Koopmans et al. (2005). By analyzing claim-making concerning immigration and ethnic relations politics, they show how frames in this field are essentially influenced by the underlying concepts of citizenship which are dominant within the receiving society (Koopmans et al. 2005). Transferring this assumption to the matter of

women and peace and security reveals that understanding how peace and security are defined and understood in the public and political sphere is crucial for understanding women's authority in the matter. Peace and security are concepts which are omnipresent in our everyday lives. Peace and security dominate political discussions, and influence global political interaction, as well as, policy-making in countries around the world. Often, a political candidate's answer on peace and security issues regarding their country decides whether or not they are voted into office. The omnipresence of peace and security in daily political debate blurs the fact that the concepts themselves are not unequivocally defined. The variety of answers to security problems as proposed by opposing political parties within the left-right spectrum shows that there must be something more complex to understand. Thus, it is essential to dig deeper into how the concepts of peace and security are actually defined and to whom they are addressed.

Depending on the definition of peace and security which is used, the understanding of who is involved in the process of peace-making and security-ensuring either as actor or as addressee changes profoundly. Consequently, different concepts of peace and security can have a direct effect on an organization's way of framing both themselves and their claims as it transforms the discursive POS the organization is situated in. In regard to WILPF, Confortini (2012) describes how a feminist critical methodology, which emerged within International Relations academia during the 1980s, motivated WILPF to reflect their beliefs and actions due to reshaping the concepts of peace and security. Chapter 3.2.1 will explore this development in detail and describe how the change of concepts of peace and security influence the opportunities women peace organizations have to connect themselves, as women, to the matters of peace and security.

Further, in chapter 3.2.2 the debate on whether the differences between men and women are biologically determined or socially constructed will be examined in depth. The discussion is a crucial part of the framework for women's peace activism as the argument about biological differences between men and women has been consistently used to exclude women from the public sphere and, thus, hamper their political activism. With the theory of gender roles being socially constructed, first introduced by Simone de Beauvoir (1973) in the 1920s, women's political participation was no longer naturally restricted by alleged biological factors. However, as the chapter will show, this did not lead to the intuitive conclusion that political leverage for women changed from being completely impossible to being completely and widely accepted and encouraged. Instead, in both

discursive contexts, women found loopholes for their political activism by (strategically) making use of the dominant discourse of the respective time. By adjusting the framing of their activities and claims, they managed to maneuver the rough discursive terrain for women's peace activism.

3.2.1. What is peace and whose security is it? - Feminist International Relations and the reconceptualization of peace and security

International Relations is the academic field that traditionally copes with peace and conflict as patterns of interaction in the international sphere. IR scholars are concerned with finding a structure for the international arena to prevent violent conflicts from happening. Terms such as world order and global security architecture, here, mark keywords and imply the idea of establishing a more or less institutionalized, stable global structure of interaction. However, theories in IR distinctly differ in their definition of peace and security as concepts, their analysis of the nature of the international system, and the way states interact in such. Profound contradictions in their proposal for a functioning world order or global security structure are the consequence. The variety of definitions and theories becomes even larger when alternative academic fields started to enter the debate on peace and security. For a long time IR remained the only discipline working on this issue, reluctant to share academia on peace and security with other fields and, therefore, to allow challenging points of view. However, this changed profoundly during the 1980s when Feminist and Post-colonial theory gained attention and demanded a say in the matters of peace and security. The following chapter will describe how the academic debate on peace and security shifted across time and how this changed definitions of peace and security. It will further argue how this shift opened up opportunities for women to enter the debate as it transformed the understanding of central actors and addressees of peace-building projects.

To start off, de Carvalho, Halvard, and Hobson (2011) describe the years of 1648 and 1919 as the two big formation moments of IR as a discipline. Both years mark important caesuras in European history that changed the design of global security and governance.⁴ In 1648, the Westphalian Peace Treaty manifested the sovereignty of the state as the highest principle of security given the anarchic nature of the international system (Hettne

⁴ The Eurocentrism of International Relations becomes evident with this argument. For a long time, the field was exclusively shaped by Western scholars and predominantly remains so until today. Although International Relations Theory developed in light of European (and later also North-American) events, its implications for policies are used in the Global South and influence a lot of International Organization's practices, often poorly fitting to local realities. For a deeper discussion on this issue see Buzan and Little 2002, Jones 2006, Kayaoglu 2012.

2010). The principle of an anarchic international system in which the state serves as a protector to its people transfers Thomas Hobbes' idea of war being the natural state of human interaction to the international sphere (Hobbes [1651] 2005). Until today, this principle shapes the conventional Realist definition of security as being the survival of the state and its capability of maintaining order (Hettne 2010). Richmond (2008) describes this concept of peace as a "victor's peace that has Darwinian, exclusive [to the powerful], and unreflexive qualities" (444). Following that, peace can only be maintained in a balance-of-power system that might be structured around a hegemon, similar to Hobbes' idea of the Leviathan, who rules the people within a state (Hobbes [1651] 2005). In line with that, Luttwak (1987) argues that war can also be a means to peace, when it is about combatting an opponent that challenges state sovereignty.

The Realist idea and the balance-of-power system dominated most of 19th century security thinking. WWI, finally, staggered this structure by introducing two contrary developments which polarized scholars and politicians in their understanding of peace and security. On the one hand, Realist theory of the 19th century was increasingly translated into chauvinistic nationalism (Hettne 2010). On the other hand, the theory of Idealism emerged, challenging Realist thinkers in their conviction of how peace was manifested and, thus, how it could be pursued. Here, the establishment of the League of Nations marks the most prominent sign of this second line of conventional IR theory. As Idealism is based on an account of human nature which is juxtaposed to its Realist counterpart, the international sphere is not seen as anarchical but as capable and willing to cooperate. Thus, peace will be established through liberal-internationalism and interdependence best institutionalized through international organizations which offer a permanent platform for political diplomacy. Furthermore, early representatives of Idealism dreamed of an eradication of war and the establishment of peace through disarmament (see Angell 1921, Woolf 1916), directly opposing the Realist narrative of peace through war.

Although Realist and Idealist strategies to achieve peace are set against each other, their understanding of peace as a concept is pretty much the same. Both use peace as equal to the absence of war (Bull 1977). This corresponds with what Galtung (1969) describes as negative peace or the absence of direct violence. Direct violence is an act of physical or psychological violence that has a clearly identifiable executor and a clearly identifiable addressee (Galtung 1969). With the introduction of Marxism at the end of the 19th century, this narrow definition eroded and became translated into a new International Relations

school of thought. Structuralism argues that, additional to the absence of war, social injustice has to be eliminated to ensure peace for the people within a state (Richmond 2008). Translated into Galtung's (1969) terminology, this idea implies that, in addition to direct violence, structural violence⁵ has to be abolished to gain positive peace. What can be seen here is the beginning of a shift from security as being the sovereignty of the nation-state towards the security of the people within the nation-state. Based on that, peace is thought to be only possible through resistance by the oppressed classes against structures of domination (Richmond 2008).

Structuralism, consequently, gave rise to other theories in International Relations that follow a bottom-up or grassroots approach on peace. Actor and addressee of peace are no longer exclusively states but increasingly the people within states. This shift from a state-centric towards a human-centric approach on peace introduces a change from state security towards human security. The UNDP manifests this shift in its Human Development Report from 1994 (UNDP 1994). Human security, here, is explicitly delimited from state security. In fact, it is acknowledged that the two sometimes stand in sharp contrast to each other. Consequently, in later reports, the concept of human security is integrated into human development programs and becomes part of the UN's Human Rights agenda (Hettne 2010). The paradigm shift from state to human security follows a general development towards a logic that is increasingly concentrated on post-nationalism and the idea of a transnational responsibility for peace and security (Hettne 2010).

Two aspects accompany this paradigm shift: globalization and constructivism. Hettne (2010) argues for globalization being the driving force in bringing forward a post-national approach on peace and security. Globalization, with its underlying ideology of neoliberalism, challenges the nation-state order with a call for greater interaction and less state control of the market (Hettne 2010). According to Reno (1998), a direct result of this neoliberal globalization project is the changing nature of wars: from inter-state armed conflict, where two armies oppose each other, towards an increase of internal wars.⁶ Although his analysis limits internal wars to economic reasons, the rise of those wars is well perceivable. As a counterstrategy the practice of humanitarian intervention was

⁵ 20 years later, Galtung (1990) extended his categorization of violence by introducing an additional dimension. He described cultural violence as the moral justification for structural violence (Galtung 1990).

⁶ The liberation of the market led to the emergence of what he calls "glocalized economies". Those economies are no longer subject to state control but often are protected by private security firms or militias (Reno 1998). Resources become privatized and conflicts about access to these resources are on the rise (Reno 1998).

introduced on the international political level. However, with humanitarian interventions, the Westphalian logic becomes challenged as state sovereignty no longer remains the highest principle of the international sphere (Hettne 2010). Instead, an intervention into a state's affair becomes legitimate in the name of human security.⁷ In line with that, NGO's role in global governance becomes reshaped and international courts such as the ICC are established to deal with crimes against humanity (Duffield 2007). Falk (2004) describes this development as initiating a post-Westphalian era. Consequently, the actor of peace is no longer the state as the protector of its people, but rather the international community, organized in international governmental and nongovernmental organizations as well as civil society in general.

Simultaneously to globalization changing the nature of wars, constructivism as a new scientific philosophy came up and changed the understanding of the world and its social interactions and, consequently, the understanding of peace. The categorical definition of peace inherent in the orthodox theories of International Relations - Realism, Idealism, and Structuralism - was transformed by Constructivist thinkers towards an identity and interest-based concept, which fluctuates both over time and regions (Richmond 2008). According to the Constructivist line of thought, states were seen as creating peace as a project that is heavily influenced by respective underlying values and interests (Richmond 2008). Following this, the concept of 'securitization' replaces security by defining it as a process that discursively emerges according to a respective societal and historical context (Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde 1998).

As a consequence, the shift from state to human security and the introduction of Constructivism opened a window for Critical Theory, which further transformed International Relations thinking and its understanding of peace and security. Critical Theory argued for peace and security as being flexible concepts that should be approached through emancipatory projects (Richmond 2008). Thus, a process of steady dialogue, including all people and moral positions is introduced as the source for definitions of peace and security that are inclusively negotiated (Linklater 1982). Only through this inclusive process the absence of structural violence could be ensured.⁸ Together with the paradigm

⁷ To read more on the critique of humanitarian interventions as imperial projects and the instrumentalization of Human Rights for national interests see Glanville 2006, Stegner 2008.

⁸ Nevertheless, despite their inclusive aspiration, discursive and emancipatory approaches on peace and security under Critical theory still often aim at developing a universal definition for the two concepts (Richmond 2008). Due to the domination of the field by Western scholars, outcomes can be rightly accused of Western-centrism by generally reflecting a Western set of values and norms (Richmond 2008).

shift from state to human security and the emphasis on structural violence, the theory of peace as an inclusive and discursive project paved the way for emancipatory projects of the time to step in and create their own notion of International Relations. The underlying narrative was clear: Sustainable peace is not achieved by the absence of war but by the creation of a society which is shaped by social equality (see Booth 2005). Consequently, the abolition of any kind of discrimination was the core aim.

The two most influential emancipatory movements during this development that reshaped International Relations theory extensively were Feminism and Post-colonialism. In line with the Foucaultian idea of the connection between power and knowledge, the social movements of post-colonialism and feminism perceived it as essential for their projects to transform academic theory. As academic theory not only described reality, but rather created reality (S. Smith 1996, 11), it reinforced the hierarchical power dynamics in society that both feminism (male vs. female) and post-colonialism (the west vs. the rest) tried to overcome. Elshtain (1987), for instance, reflects on this problem by showing that women were completely excluded from International Relation's theory as it simply focused on the state and state institutions, because women were neither fighters nor leaders. Warren and Cady (1994) even state that "if feminism is taken seriously, then most philosophical discussions of peace must be updated, expanded and reconceived in ways which centralize feminist insights into the interrelationships among women, nature, peace, and war" (4). Parashar (2016) links to their ideas by describing the parallelism between post-colonial and feminist approaches on International Relations. She states that both, in their respective fields of interest, help to integrate the diversity and unpredictability of political and social life into International Relation's theory, which was formerly shaped by categorical and absolutist definitions (Parashar 2016). In line with this, post-colonialism and feminism have the potential to mutually benefit each other in regard to methodology (Parashar 2016) as well as theory (Gandhi 1998, 102).⁹

Concerning Feminism, Sylvester describes the 1980s as the formative decade of International Relation's transformation (Sylvester 2002). By starting off with Bull's "The Anarchical Society" (1977) and Waltz's "Theory of International Politics" (1979) and

⁹ However, the relationship between Feminist and Post-Colonial IR is also marked by heavy discrepancies. Where Post-colonialism highly values nationalism for its anti-colonial connotation in the decolonization and emancipation project, feminism criticizes nationalism as a masculinized form of institutionalized oppression (Parashar 2016). Furthermore, Feminism and Post-Colonialism contrast in their understanding of the 'Third World Woman'. Mohanty, Russo, and Torres (1991), here, describe the simplified and monolithic depiction of the 'Third World Woman' in most (Western) feminist texts.

closing with Enloe's "Bananas, Beaches and Bases" (1990), International Relations within those ten years developed from a deeply orthodox line of thought to an increasingly critical, and in this case feminist thinking (Sylvester 2002). In contrast to Bull's (1977) and Waltz's (1979) writing which focuses on political institutions and processes, Enloe's (1990) theoretical approach puts people and their social interaction as the central actors of her theories about peace and security. Due to this disagreement on the focal point of International Relations, the growing influence of Critical Theory, in general, and especially Post-colonial and Feminist theory did not only provoke applause but also heavy rejection from representatives of orthodox International Relations. During the 1980s and until today, Conventionalism, Realism and Positivism clashes with Critical Theory, Post-modernism, Feminism and Post-colonialism as they differ profoundly regarding scientific methods to approach the matters of peace and security.

However, Feminist International Relations not only transformed the academic field, by introducing new methods¹⁰ and asking new questions¹¹, but also had an influence on the political sphere by transforming the understanding of war and peace adding a gender-perspective to both phenomena. Enloe (1990) and Tickner (1996), for instance, started off by describing gender as part of identity politics, implying that women and men form different identity groups due to their different gender (Griffiths, Roach, and Scott 2009). In regard to war and peace, this idea lead to the conclusion that women and men have essentially different experiences and face different needs during times of violent conflict and thus must be addressed differently. Induced by this theory, peace-keeping projects shifted from gender-blind to gender-sensitive programs, although far from being perfect. Further, Tickner (1996) argues that gender-sensitivity, in her case related to science, is only realizable by encouraging more women to become an active part in academia. Here, she supports a standpoint feminist view. Standpoint feminism holds that the perspective of women in social science is crucial for the holistic understanding of political phenomena. Based on Foucault's (1980) theory about the influence of one's positionality within social power structures on the creation of knowledge, standpoint feminists argue that it was crucial to include a female perspective to eliminate the male-bias in social science (Sylvester 2002; Tickner 1996). With regard to the political sphere, this conviction

¹⁰ Feminist scholarship introduced methods such as ethnography and discourse analysis to IR. It emphasized the importance of science as a dialectic process and transdisciplinary undertaking.

¹¹ Narain (2014) gives the example of three questions hinting on issues formerly neglected by traditional IR scholarship in regard to peace and security: Why have wars been fought predominantly by men? How do gendered structures of masculinity and femininity validate war and militarism? How is women's political role constructed in opposition to war, constructed as a typically male activity?

translates into measures to include women as active peace-keepers and decision-makers to ensure a female perspective on a situation.¹²

Moreover, by adding a gender-sensitive view to International Relations, early feminist IR broke up with conventional thinking of gender roles in relation to war. Traditionally men have always been associated with state defense, counting as the highest form of patriotism (Narain 2014). Women, however, were excluded from this principle. Instead, they were expected to stay within the domestic realm as caring mothers and wives, comforting during war, or in the extended domestic realm in jobs such as teachers and nurses (Narain 2014). In line with that, Elshtain (1987) describes the ideal male as the Just Warrior, whereas the ideal female is marked as a beautiful soul, relating to her caring and nurturing role as a mother. In “Women and War” Elshtain (1987) deconstructs this dichotomy by showing men who refuse to fight and women who actively engage in violent activities. The abolition of the dichotomous understanding of women’s and men’s roles during war is essential for the success of peace-keeping efforts. Women, who generally do not fit in the general definition of fighters being “men with guns” are regularly denied access to post-war reconstruction programs (McKay and Mazurana 2004, 116). Although, Coulter, Persson, and Utas (2008) show how this problem still prevails within the international sphere, there is a growing awareness of the complexity of roles women and men perform during peace times, which is retraceable to feminist IR ideas introduced in the 80s.

Furthermore, feminist IR reveals the relation between politics and the oppression of women, in general, and war, in particular. Enloe (1990), for instance, describes how it is inherent in the concept of nationalism that a man is required to control and protect his women from foreigners. Consequently, this “need” becomes even stronger during war times. Tickner (1996) shows that a higher threat from “outside” leads to a more repressive situation for women on the “inside”. Consequently, patriarchy grows stronger during times of conflict. Nevertheless, the relationship between patriarchy and violence can also be vice versa. Here, Keohane (1998) shows that states with a higher level of oppression against women are generally using higher levels of violence in international crises. Therefore, patriarchal structures must be addressed by peace-keeping programs in order to establish a

¹² The Civil War in Sierra Leone is generally seen as the first context in which female peace-keepers were employed. Other peace-missions later drew on this experience. The UNAMID mission in Darfur, for instance, employs female police-officers from Sierra Leone to incorporate a gender-sensitive dimension to its peace-keeping (UN News Center 2010).

sustainable peace also for women. Tickner (1992) concludes that peace is only possibly when gender hierarchies are abolished.

Summarizing the discussion of the above paragraphs, three developments in the academic discussion on concepts of peace and security have been detected that reshaped peace discourse and opened it up for women's participation. First, the discursive shift from a focus on state security to a focus on human security replaced Realist and Idealist black box approaches on states. Thus, people were increasingly acknowledged as the central actors within the struggle for peace and security and the focus of peace-building shifted from concentrating on the interaction between states towards social interactions within states. Second, emerging Structuralist theories redefined war by adding the notion of structural violence to the picture. Consequently, the abolition of oppression became a central factor for the establishment of peace within a state. Third, the Constructivist turn in Social Science introduced principles of inclusivity to debates on peace and security. Taken together, theories of human security, Structuralism, and Constructivism opened the opportunity for Feminist theories on International Relations to be heard. On the one hand, the Structuralist understanding of peace allowed Feminist International Relations scholars to argue for the oppression of women being a source for war. Consequently, gender equality became understood as an essential factor for establishing peace. On the other hand, principles of human security and Constructivism enabled Feminist International Relations theorists to highlight the need for a greater participation of women, both in academia and in practical peace work. Only by doing so, they argued, it was possible to include women's perspectives on peace and security and their special experiences with war and, thus, develop comprehensive strategies to build peace. Here, the status of women within discussions on peace and security was transformed from being completely neglected to becoming central for the eradication of war and the establishment of long-lasting peace.

3.2.2. From biological essentialism to social constructivism – gender studies and the nature-nurture debate

The nature-nurture debate is a debate about the differences between men and women and how they are derived. Opposing views argue about whether differences in character traits between men and women are actually biologically determined or socially constructed. Both argumentations are then used to explain differences between men's and women's everyday realities, the relationship between men and women shaped by unequal power hierarchy which favors men over women, and the division of labor, both in the household and on the

labor market. Argumentations of biological essentialism and social constructivism both serve to explain the distinct spheres of social structures which are either attributed to women or to men. However, the two strands of theory differ excessively according to both their understanding of human interactions and the consequences they draw from their theoretical foundation.

Supporters of biological essentialism understand the structure of social systems as being derived from biological differences between the sexes (Connell 2018). Biological differences between the sexes result in fundamental differences in character, which make women and men suitable for different tasks within a social system. Theories of biological essentialism base their arguments on evolutionary theory and the early stage of human kind, where human interaction was predominantly designed for the survival of the species resulting in a clear division of labor between the sexes (Connell 2018). Following this line of thought, men in their role as hunters and fighters are seen as biologically designed to be “aggressive, dominant, promiscuous, and rationale”, whereas women who nursed the children and fireplaces had to be “nurturant, passive, monogamous, and emotional” (Connell 2018). Representatives of biological essentialism explain the patriarchal structure of modern societies based on these original necessities which are grounded in biological differences and manifest themselves in clearly distinguishable social roles for men and women. Consequently, the gender division of labor, which consigns men to the public and women to the private sphere as well as inequalities of power is seen as biologically set and, therefore, cannot be challenged (Connell 2018).

Supporters of social constructivism, however, harshly disagree with this conclusion. First of all, they distinguish between sex and gender (Butler 1986). While the former is seen as being biologically grounded and expressed in differences in physical appearance, genetics and reproductive organs, the latter is argued as being socially constructed (Butler 1986). The character traits which manifest each gender, consequently, are not understood as natural, but as ascribed and learned through socialization (Butler 1988; Peterson and Runyan 1993; Tickner 1996). Simone de Beauvoir (1973), who is widely perceived as one of the founding thinkers of the social constructivist approach to gender, sums up this line of thought by saying that “...one is not born, but, rather, becomes a woman” (301).

Furthermore, in a system which is shaped by unequal power relations, the female and the male gender are constructed as dichotomous opposites which stand in a hierarchical relation favoring the male over the female due to patriarchy (Cockburn 2013; Deleahanty

and Steele 2009). In turn, the socially ascribed character traits reinforce this power relation. As masculine connoted character traits historically have been constructed as associated with public and political agency, they are perceived as higher in value for the public sphere (Delehanty and Steele 2009). What emerges here is a vicious cycle: men, due to their character traits, are favored for public agency because the system which favors male character traits for public agency historically has been shaped by men that dominated the public sphere. Nevertheless, theories of social constructivism present a leverage to change the hierarchical order of gender and, within it, conventional expectations for women and men. As Butler (1986) puts it, when it is “no longer possible to attribute the values or social functions of women to biological necessity” (35), the prevailing gender order becomes challengeable; a gender order which is not naturally given but socially constructed can also be constructed differently (Butler 1988). Connell, here, describes how the Women’s Liberation Movement during the 1970s used this argumentation to challenge biologically based justifications for traditional division of labor, income inequalities, men’s overrepresentation in public office and positions of power, and violence against women (Connell 2018).

It might initially appear as if the social constructivist argumentation is more suitable to the feminist struggle as it offers more leverage for women to challenge the patriarchal social order. However, also biological essentialism can be and historically has been used to enable and encourage women’s political participation. Heilmann (2011), for instance, describes how biological essentialism was instrumentalized during First Wave Feminism to lobby for women’s political participatory rights (Heilmann 2011). Here, women’s moral superiority based on biological explanations was argued to be essential in the political sphere to ensure the wellbeing of the society (Heilmann 2011). At the same time, post-colonial feminism and third-wave-feminism accuse gender studies, with its social constructivist idea of gender, of weakening the feminist struggle (Chakraborty 2004; Spivak 2012). By denying biological traits that all women share, they say, social constructivism offers arguments against the unification of all women (Heilmann 2011). Heilmann (2011) calls this argument strategic essentialism because essentialism is picked up as a strategy to unite all women to work together. Consequently, both lines of argumentations have the potential to support or hamper the feminist struggle (Heilmann 2011).

Corresponding to these findings, both biological essentialism and social constructivism have been used to justify women's peace activism. Jeanette Rankin, the first female elect to the US-American House of Representatives and the only member of congress opposing both WWI and II, for instance, understood women and peace as fundamentally connected (Hoff Wilson 1993). In her view, women were 'working for the future' by nurturing their children which determined them to 'peace habits' (Rankin as referred to in Hoff Wilson 1993, 250). This idea was essential for Rankin's struggle to emphasize diplomacy over military violence as a means to solve international conflicts. Consequently, she understood peace as a "woman's job" (Rankin as referred to in Hoff Wilson 1993, 251). Similar to this, John Ruskin, already in his 1865 public lectures in London, expressed his conviction of women and men being essentially different (Ruskin 1865). He argues that whereas man is "eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender [...]" the woman's power is not for battle [...] [instead] her great function is Praise; she enters into no contest" (Ruskin as referred to in Groag Bell and Offen 1983, 391). In line with that, Schott (1993) describes how the Women's Peace Party in the US, active in the beginning of the 20th century, was convinced that women naturally were more strongly drawn to peace because of their moral superiority. Women, as life givers, they argued, were convinced of the high moral value of saving human lives instead of destroying them. Jane Addams, one of their representatives, thus, saw the women's rejection of war as morally manifested in their souls (Schott 1993).

The most dominant narrative, which underlies argumentations which present women as biologically more peaceful than men is the narrative of maternalism. Narratives of maternalism understand women as being essentially shaped by their role as mothers (Alonso 1995). The mother role biologically and psychologically determines women to be life-givers (Alonso 1995; Goss and Heaney 2010). Based on that, it is argued that women naturally support peace and oppose war which destroys life (Alonso 1995; Goss and Heaney 2010; Thorn 2010). Rankin, for instance, represents this argument by stating that killing as the "antithesis of life" opposes women's instincts (Rankin as referred to in Hoff Wilson 1993, 251). Consequently, she concludes that "the motherhood of the world must demand that destruction to be stopped" (Rankin as referred to in Hoff Wilson 1993, 251). Thorn (2010) describes how during the 1940s and 1950s maternalist narratives were used to argue for women's peace activism. Women, it was said, were united by sharing a common responsibility to protect children around the world due to their distinct morality, derived from their biological role as carers and nurturers (Thorn 2010). The Suffrage

movement in North America, also supported this argumentation. Sangster and Hobbs (1999) describe how Alice Paul and Nellie McClung viewed the source of women's opposition to war in their maternal instincts to protect. Thorn, here, speaks of the emergence of a "specifically female kind of radicalism", where the support of peace was seen as inherent to the biologically argued female role of mothering (Thorn 2010, 631).¹³

In contrast to that, social constructivist theories of gender do not understand the linkages between masculinity and violence and femininity and peacefulness as biologically derived. Instead, it is created through existing social expectations about how men and women have to be and social structures which support these conventional character traits. Cockburn (2013), for instance, describes how the connection between masculinity and violence is established at a very young age. Here, she speaks of a gender difference in toys: girls are generally introduced to their nurturing role as future mothers by playing with dolls, whereas boys are equipped with toys for construction and fighting, such as toy diggers and toy swords (Cockburn 2013). Moreover, conventional gender roles are highly represented in children movies (Cockburn 2013) – where the princess has to be saved by the prince, presenting her as passive, while he is the active protector. Through this, children's understanding of gender roles gets shaped very early in a conventional direction. Furthermore, corresponding to Cockburn, Gilligan (1982) describes how men and women are raised into two different strands of moral expectations. Whereas, girls and women are conventionally expected to fulfill the ethics of care, boys and men are associated with the ethics of justice (Gilligan 1982). Based on that, women are generally expected to be caring and nonviolent, whereas men are allowed and expected to use violence to fulfill their roles as protectors and defenders (Cockburn 2013). This social constructivist argument is strengthened by behavioral research that shows how women are in no way more empathetic than men, if they are not raised with a specific expectation (Sigel 2016). Belligerence or peaceableness, thus, are cultural establishments which are reproduced with every generation (Sigel 2016).

Due to this constructed division of gender in regard to violence, Cockburn (2013) perceives war as being the ultimate realization of social constructs of gender. Conventional

¹³ However, the motherhood narrative is not exclusively used by women that oppose war. Christensen (2018), for instance, shows how motherhood is used as an obligation to support warfare in online groups for mothers of US soldiers. The underlying argument is that a mother's primary duty is to care for and support her son. Being the mother of a soldier, thus, means to support warfare in order to show support for the son. Opposition of warfare by mothers of soldiers within these groups is seen as a betrayal of their sons and as a danger to troop morality.

roles, which teach men to be designated protectors and women to be natural victims, climax in the institution of warfare (Cockburn 2013). During warfare masculine attributed character traits such as violence can be realized in their extreme and are highly promoted as necessities to survive and protect. At the same time, female ascribed character traits, which are constructed as the dichotomous other, become extremely devalued and coined as dangerous for the survival of the group. Here, Cockburn (2013) describes how US marines are taught during boot camps that all “good things are manly and collective” whereas all “despicable are feminine and individual” (Cockburn 2013, 439). Consequently, the soldiers are expected to “kill the women in them[selves]” equating an erasure of all weaknesses which could disturb the soldiers moral and ferocity in facing enemies (Gilder 1973, 258, as cited in Bourke 2007, 367).

The dichotomous construction of female and male values and the overemphasizing of male values during times of conflicts results in a strengthening of patriarchy during warfare. Cockburn (2013), here, speaks of the gender division of war which strengthens patriarchy and limits the freedom of women during periods of violent conflict. She bases this argument on two observations. First, during the preliminary stages of war, public spending is usually rearranged, favoring traditionally male occupied spaces, such as the military, while neglecting traditionally female occupied spaces, such as social institutions (Cockburn 2013). Second, during wartime, as masculinity is shaped in its extreme, sexual assaults on women increase (Cockburn 2013).

The understanding of women’s peacefulness and men’s belligerence as being socially constructed leads to two conclusions concerning the questions of peace and security. First, the denial of a biological difference between men and women regarding character traits allows for the argument of women’s participation in the public and political sphere based on the concept of egalitarianism (Evans 1979). By stressing the equality of men and women, the argument to exclude women from political participation because they are not able to fulfill such roles becomes obsolete. Thus, egalitarianism naturally demands the same rights for women and, thus, their agency within political decisions, also regarding matters of peace and security. Therefore, egalitarianism was used by feminist movements to encourage collective action among women (Kraditor 1971; Mansbridge 1986). Second, the existence of patriarchal structures in which the male is constructed as active and violent and the female as passive and peaceful, which culminates in its extreme during wartime, has to be abolished to enable sustainable peace, which is not only defined as the absence of

direct violence but also of structural and sexual violence within a society (Tickner 1992). Linking patriarchy with peace and security in this argumentation offers women activists a leverage to take part in decision making.

The two lines of argumentation about differences between men and women - biological essentialism and social constructivism - are not unequivocally assignable to a distinct period of time or wave of feminism.¹⁴ However, there are tendencies resulting in a shift from a predominance of biological essentialism in public discourse within and surrounding First Wave Feminism and the beginning of the 20th century, towards a predominance of social constructivism during Second Wave Feminism in the 1970s and 1980s. Schott (1993), for instance, argues that the general society was predominantly convinced of a clear dichotomy of naturally peaceful women and war-drawn men during the early 20th century. Hoff Wilson's (1993) analysis of Jeanette Rankin supports this view. He describes how Rankin was torn between the "'men's' vote for war" (Hoff Wilson 1993, 258) and the "'woman's' stand against war" (Hoff Wilson 1993, 260). At the same time Rankin argued for the women's vote as a strategy to "keep the country out of war" (Rankin as referred to in Hoff Wilson 1993, 260), further showing her understanding of the peacefulness of women. Contrasting this, the rise of Second Wave Feminism during the 1970s and 1980s is usually attributed with a higher influence of social constructivist arguments. Dunbar (1995), for instance, writes how until the 1960s, feminist theory relied on the assumption that women were generally peaceful, whereas men were attracted to violence and, thus, war. Although Simone de Beauvoir published her thoughts on social construction of gender already in the 1920s, Heilmann (2011) agrees with the view that it was Second Wave Feminism in the 1970s and 1980s that picked up this theory and introduced it to a broader public discourse.

3.3. Implications

The discussion of the previous chapters concerning the POS WILPF is situated in gives important implications for the analysis in this paper. It directs the choice of data for the

¹⁴ Alonso (1995) shows that already within the suffrage movement of the early 20th century, women activists lobbied for women to vote and against war based on the argument of citizen duty. Kradt (1971) also points out that egalitarian arguments already developed during First Wave Feminism. Simultaneously, biological essentialist theories did not disappear in the discursive context of the 1980s. Morgan (1989), a Second Wave Feminist herself, in the discussion of nonviolent or violent measures of protest as suitable for the feminist movement, argued that any woman who takes up violent actions would act against her natural determination. Moreover, psychopathologist Simon Baron-Cohen (2003) continues to try proving the biological determination of female roles as nurturers in the domestic sphere and male roles as technologically and structurally inclined by studying the human brain in the early 2000s (Baron-Cohen 2003).

analysis of the narratives which WILPF uses to legitimize their peace activism. Furthermore, it gives important implications on how WILPF's framing strategy changes over time. Both the institutional POS and the discursive POS, which have been described, influence the context in which WILPF operates. Thus, they build the framework for WILPF's framing strategies and are expected to influence the narratives WILPF uses to legitimize their activism.

First, the description of WILPF's institutional POS implies that WILPF has been continuously able to find acceptance in the international spheres' institutional structures. From its very beginning, WILPF was received by international organizations as well as national governments. Thus, the institutional international POS appears to have always been quite open, offering WILPF a number of opportunities to gain access to political decision-makers. However, the women's right to vote was only recently or even not yet granted in most European countries, where the participants mainly came from, when WILPF was founded. Consequently, the clear gender division which attributed the public and political sphere to men and the private or domestic sphere to women was well alive during this time restricting the institutional POS for women's political activism. This initial situation changed eventually and in 1948 WILPF was even officially acknowledged by the UN. The recognition of WILPF by the UN transformed their opportunities from being external to being internal to UN affairs by granting them an observatory status and opened up access to UN conferences, debates and decision-makers. Additionally, it can be read as a sign for the increasing acknowledgement of WILPF among political key-actors. Consequently, WILPF's new position strengthened their recognition as a relevant body in international politics.

Second, the discussion on concepts of peace and security and how they have shifted over time illustrates that women have increasingly become acknowledged as playing a legitimate role within the matters of peace and security. On the one hand, due to the acceptance of structural violence, the oppression of women has been increasingly regarded as an obstacle to sustainable peace within a state and leads to an understanding of women being special addressees of peace (Hunt and Posa 2001, Lindsey 2001). Thus, women's issues are recognized as central factors for the establishment of long-lasting peace. Based on this argumentation, women peace activists gain leverage to frame feminist demands, such as the liberation of women and gender equality as essential requirements for global peace and security. On the other hand, feminist IR managed to strengthen the importance

of women being actors of peace. As a result, gender-sensitivity and the involvement of women as active decision-makers have been established as guiding principles in international peace missions. Although, this development is far from being completed as women still only make up for a marginal percentage of international decision-makers and peace-keepers (Harsch 2005), the awareness of these issues rose essentially in the international sphere. Women became integrated into peace and security theories as well as policies. Their involvement with the matters became normalized. Consequently, the discourse shift from state to human security and the development of feminist IR opened up the discursive POS for women's peace activism. Here, it should be expected that due to the shift in public opinion and the political sphere, women are acknowledged as legitimate actors in these regards. They do no longer have to refer to traditional gender roles while framing their activism to legitimize their claims and actions. Instead, they are expected to draw on standpoint feminist narratives that support the view of female participation as crucial to initiating gender-sensitive projects and, thus, abolishing gender hierarchies.

Third, contemporaneously with the discourse shift in the debate about concepts of peace and security, the shift from biological essential towards socially constructed understandings of gender roles occurred. Consequently, the attribution of peacefulness as a natural asset of the female gender and violence as natural for men became disrupted and traditional gender roles were questioned. This discourse shift influences the framing opportunities of women's peace groups. Biological essentialist arguments built the basis for maternalist framings within women's peace activism. Within biological essentialist argumentations, women are said to be natural supporters of peace and opponents of war due to their determination as mothers to give and protect life. Without this biological essentialist basis, maternalist narratives become difficult to reason. Consequently, it should be expected that women's peace groups' framing adapts to this shift and mainly abandons maternalist/biological essentialist narratives.

Taken together, the three identified discussions which influence WILPF's institutional and discursive POS predict a clear shift in WILPF's framing strategy. Here, it is expected that WILPF's deployment of narratives to legitimize their activism changes from a concentration on maternalist/biological essentialist framings towards a concentration on feminist narratives, that are rooted in the organization's conceptual understanding of peace and security. Furthermore, it has been shown that both the debates on concepts of peace and security and on gender roles were especially influenced by the development of

Constructivism and Second Wave Feminism. Thus, both discursive shifts can be situated in the 1970s and 1980s. This periodization influences the choice of data for the analysis of WILPF's framing strategies.

Therefore, the following analysis will be based on two congress reports which were officially published by WILPF as protocols of their triennial congresses in 1919 and 1989. The congress report of 1919 presents an opportunity to examine the narrative WILPF used in its foundational context to legitimize their activism for peace and security. Although the International Congress of Women, which was held in 1915 in The Hague, is argued to mark the birth of the organization as it gave the initial impulse for the necessity of a women's peace organization, it was not until 1919 that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was officially founded as an institutional body. Furthermore, there is no officially published record of the 1915 congress available due to its uninstitutionalized framework. Consequently, there is no official documentation which enables to make conclusions about the organization's standpoints on peace and security as well as on women's issues. Therefore, the congress report of 1919 is used in this paper to detect the original narrative for the women activists' understanding of themselves and their role in the matter of peace and security. To see how this original narrative has changed over time, the congress report of 1989 is used as the category of reference. The year 1989 is chosen because the discussion of the discursive POS both in regard to definitions of peace and security and the nature of gender roles experienced a major shift during the late 1970s and 1980s. It is argued that in 1989 this shift might be already reflected in the congress reports argumentation.

The fact that the political sphere was relatively closed for women in 1919, is, indeed, reflected in the report. WILPF's 1919 report describes how the participating women felt underrated by the male dominated political sphere. Therefore, they did not believe to have a huge power in influencing decision-making in the international political sphere. WILPF, here, expresses the feeling of being underestimated and disregarded by male political decision-makers due to their gender. They, for instance, state that they are convinced that "the statesmen will not think much of what we [women] discuss here" and that "their decisions will not depend on [our congress'] decisions" (WILPF 1919b, 79). Thus, it should be expected that WILPF's 1919 report uses the traditional gender roles of their temporal context to legitimize their activism in a narrative that resonates with the public discursive context by drawing on maternalism and biological essentialism mainly.

In contrast to that, in 1989 the feeling of underestimation is no longer expressed in the reports. Rather - as will be shown in more detail in the following analysis - it appears to be taken for granted that women are an active part of the political sphere and, thus, do not have to explicitly justify their political activism. Consequently, it should be expected that the narrative WILPF uses is increasingly based on feminist and progressive argumentations. Furthermore, the direct comparison between the 1919 and 1989 reports is expected to reveal a shift from maternalist towards feminist narratives to connect women with peace and security

4. Legitimizing women's peace activism – the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

4.1. Data and Method

A first cross-reading of the two congress reports was conducted to identify the parts and paragraphs which are relevant for an in-depth analysis. It is important to note here that the narrative connection of women and peace and security can be established in two ways. It can be either made explicit or implicit. Obviously, the explicit paragraphs and statements in the texts are easy to detect by simply asking the question of how women and peace and security are linked to each other. However, this connection is often not openly stated in the reports. Thus, there is a need to dig deeper and identify implicit connections of women and peace and security in WILPF's argumentation. As the theoretical discussion in chapter 3.2 has shown it is important, here, to look at the underlying concepts of peace and security and gender and gender roles, which shape WILPF's understanding of the two aspects. Different understandings of peace and security as well as of gender and gender roles offer different opportunities to connect women to peace and security. To detect this implicit narrative, the following questions were added: 'What obstacles of peace and security are defined?'; 'What strategies to achieve peace and security are promoted?'; 'How are women, their status, and social roles understood and presented?'. Adding these sub-questions to the original research question (How are women and peace and security narratively connected?), allows for a more detailed analysis of the texts, which does not only reveal explicit statements about the connection of women and peace. Thus, it enables to read between the lines and to trace a narrative which is based very much on hidden implications rather than on obvious statements.

Based on these assumptions, the following chapters were identified as relevant for the analysis of the 1919 report: Preface (WILPF 1919b, I-IV), Opening Addresses (WILPF

1919b, 1-20), Organization Preceding the Congress (WILPF 1919b, 21-42), Proceedings (WILPF 1919b, 43-185), and Evening Meetings (WILPF 1919b, 186-240). The French and German versions of the Preface (WILPF 1919b, V-XIII) were excluded from the analysis as they are only translations of the English text which do not give additional information. Similarly, Resolutions and Constitution (WILPF 1919b, 241-386) were left out because they present a literal repetition and summary of the discussions of the Evening Meetings. Furthermore, Greetings (WILPF 1919b, 387-400) were excluded as they consist of contributions from other organizations, and the reports of the National Sections (WILPF 1919b, 401-437) were left out as they do refer to the specific contexts of the national sections and do not address the international sphere which is the context of investigation in this paper. Finally, the List of Committees and Delegates (WILPF 1919b, 438-468) and the Financial Reports (WILPF 1919b, 482-484) were excluded as they do not present substantial information. In the 1989 report, the following chapters were included in the analysis: Welcoming Addresses (WILPF 1989, 1-4), Keynote Speeches (WILPF 1989, 5-22), International Reports (WILPF 1989, 23-54), and Workshop Reports (WILPF 1989, 112-135). The Section Reports were excluded from the analysis because they, again, focus on the national level. Finally, from the section about Congress Decisions (WILPF 1989, 135-177) all chapters concerning structures of the institution were left out as they do not contain content-related information. As the 1919 report includes speeches in English, French and German, direct quotations from the report will be translated in the running text in order to facilitate readability. However, the original versions in the respective language will be added in the footnotes.

In order to examine WILPF's narratives for legitimizing their political activism as women in the field of peace and security, content analysis will be used to analyze the identified parts. Although content analysis was originally developed as a method for quantitative research that allowed the analysis of large texts through a strategy of counting key terms (Berelson 1952), it increasingly was used for qualitative analysis as well. By using content analysis, qualitative researchers added an interpretative dimension to the method which makes it especially valuable for the purpose of this paper (Egberg-Thyme et al. 2013; Lindgren et al. 2014; Schreier 2012). While the aim of quantitative content analysis is to offer "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson 1952, 18), qualitative content analysis focuses more on the latent or underlying meaning of texts (Downe-Wamboldt 1992). Here, Bengtsson (2016) states that instead of exclusively focusing on the text, qualitative content

analysis takes into account the context in which the text was produced to interpret the results of the analysis itself. Consequently, qualitative content analysis offers a suitable method to analyze the congress reports, because the underlying assumption of this paper is that the cultural context, conceptualized in the institutional and discursive POS, matters for the understanding of SMO's framing. Here, qualitative content analysis allows taking contextual factors into account for interpretation.

Furthermore, qualitative content analysis fits the social constructivist approach on science (Lincoln and Guba 1985), which is underlying the entire argumentation within this paper. By allowing room for interpretation it acknowledges the subjectivity inherent in any kind of research. Qualitative content analysis, thus, offers a possibility to incorporate the researcher's own take on the subject by integrating it in a systematic and transparent process (Mishler 1986). It, here, fits into feminist methodology as it emphasizes the importance of openly stating the researcher's positionality on a topic. Derived from the conviction that knowledge is "based on experience and so different experiences should enable different perceptions of ourselves and our environments" (Harding 2004, 7), acknowledging a researcher's positionality on a topic is meant to prevent the research to aim at universalisms. Therefore, it is important to note that the following analysis does not aim at making universal or even representative claims on narratives used by women peace activists. Instead, the results have to be seen as products of the author's subjective, yet systematic, interpretation of one specific women's peace activist group. Therefore, it is not possible to apply the conclusions of this paper on women's peace activism in general. However, it can be seen as contributing to a deeper understanding of women's peace activism by being one piece in a bigger puzzle of research. Further, its implications can be used as a starting point for further research on the topic connecting it to different contexts.

Erlingsson and Brysiewicz (2017) describe the objective of qualitative content analysis as to "systematically transform a large amount of text into a highly organised and concise summary of key results" (94). In a step-to-step process, which describes an inductive approach, the meaning of the text becomes condensed and abstracted to identify underlying strands of argumentation and meaning-making (Erlingsson and Brysiewicz 2017). The researcher, here, moves from a concrete, specific level or a close reading of the text to an increasingly abstract and general level or a distant reading of the text that allows for interpretation (Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman 2017). In a first step, the text is read intuitively to gather a first idea of its broad meaning. Second, the text is divided into

smaller meaning units. The length of those meaning units can differ between sentences, fragments of sentences, or whole paragraphs. However, they have to contain one central message, which is extracted in a third step by condensing the meaning units. Fourth, the condensed meaning units are assigned with a label. This step is also called coding. Fifth, codes that are connected through their content and meaning are grouped into categories. Following Morse (2008), categorizing serves to compare and contrast the contained meanings between categories. The sixth step is described as optional by Erlingsson and Brysiewicz (2017). Here, categories become grouped into themes, marking the most interpretative step of the analysis. Themes describe the underlying meaning (Erlingsson and Brysiewicz 2017), the meaning 'essence' (Morse 2008), or the 'red thread' (Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman 2017) which can be found in more than one of the categories. Throughout the whole process, it is important to repeatedly compare the established codes, categories and themes with the initial understanding of the text. This process is called hermeneutic spiral and prevents the researcher to get lost in abstract interpretations of text parts that are not supported by the narrative of the text as a whole (Erlingsson and Brysiewicz 2017).

Although the step-by-step guide aims at making the analytic process transparent to maximize the trustworthiness of the research results, it is inherent in an interpretative approach that the researcher's presumptions become involved in the analysis. One way of coping with this problem is to actively reverse the procedure turning it from an inductive into a deductive approach. Following a deductive approach, the researcher is able to test hypotheses which he/she derived from previous theorizing (Berg 2001; Catanzaro 1988; Polit-O'Hara and Beck 2006). Thus, deductive approaches on qualitative content analysis are described as concept-driven (Schreier 2012). Reversing the step-by-step procedure makes the analytic process move from an abstract level of pre-assumed themes and categories to a specific level, looking for codes and meanings in the text that fit the categories (Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman 2017). By doing so, the existing theory is backed up with evidence from the texts.

Both inductive and deductive approaches contain their problems. The inductive approach presents the difficulty to keep the balance of not letting previous beliefs and assumptions interfere too much with the analytic process by simultaneously using preunderstanding, which is necessary for an interpretative account on the data and thus a deeper understanding of the narratives of the text (Erlingsson and Brysiewicz 2017). In contrast to

that, a deductive approach leads to the difficulty of only including text which supports the hypotheses (Eriksson and Lindström 1997). Here, the dominant question is what to do with text parts which are left over because they do not fit the categories formed on the basis of the underlying hypotheses (Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman 2017). A combination of both inductive and deductive approaches in the analysis offers a way out of this problematic situation (Elo and Kyngäs 2008; Blackstone 2012; Sayer 1992); a strategy which is called abductive (Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman 2017). First, a deductive approach can be used to test hypotheses derived from a discussed theoretical background which acknowledges presumptions by actively converting them to categories of the analysis. In a second step, the left over content, which did not fit into the preexisting categories, can be analyzed in an inductive way to possibly complementing the theory by the discovery of new narratives.

In the following analysis, qualitative content analysis will be used in an abductive way. In the previous chapters the theoretical background of the analysis was discussed. By describing the discursive and institutional POS of WILPF, hypotheses about their framing and use of narratives were derived. These hypotheses already imply the ‘red threads’ or themes which are likely to be found within the analysis. To conduct a fully inductive analysis would mean to ignore the presumptions which have been made in detail within the theoretical discussion. Therefore, in a first step, an inductive account will be used to identify codes and categories that are prevalent in the texts concerning the above posed questions to the text. In a second step, the codes and categories will be grouped according to how they feed into the broad narratives of maternalist/biological essentialist or feminist argumentations. In this step, codes derived from the questions for peace and security and gender will be combined to identify how the two topics are narratively connected in the texts. Here, it will become obvious that the two categories are not easily distinguishable. Especially the obstacles for peace and security and strategies to achieve peace and security defined by the organization tell a lot about the understanding of women’s role in society and politics and gender relations. Although this approach sounds relatively simple, it is not done with a one-time analysis. Instead, it will be conducted in a way of going forth and back between the identified meaning units and the narratives in which they feed. In the process of analysis the codes and categories, thus, become repeatedly grouped and regrouped. This is conducted based on Erlingsson’s and Brysiewicz’s (2017) method of the hermeneutic spiral which helps researchers doing qualitative content analysis to keep the

connection between the interpretation of abstract parts of the text and the meaning of the whole.

4.2. Outcomes

In the following chapters, the outcomes of the analysis of WILPF's two congresses from 1919 and 1989 will be presented separately. Both chapters will start with an introduction that contextualizes the congresses. Contextualization is considered necessary to understand the leading topics of the respective congress which are influenced by the place and time the congresses are situated in. Following that, conclusions on the development of the narratives between 1919 and 1989 will be conducted by comparing the outcomes of the two analyses.

4.2.1. The restoration of Europe and the establishment of just and lasting peace – WILPF Congress 1919

The WILPF Congress of 1919 was held in Zurich, Switzerland, just one year after the official end of WWI. In 1915, the outbreak of WWI had animated the founding women of the League to organize the first women's conference in The Hague. Consequently, the 1919 Congress was still influenced by the cruelties of the newly ended war and the current peace process. The debates of the 1919 meeting focus predominantly on issues regarding the restoration of Europe and the prevention of future wars on the continent and in the whole world. Accompanying the diplomatic peace process of the time, which was held between the European governments and influenced by US American President Woodrow Wilson, the topic which dominates WILPF's 1919 congress is the discussion of the establishment of a League of Nations (LoN). However, the participating women are in no means in complete agreement. The discussion in the meetings displays two strands of argumentation, about the LoN as a tool for lasting peace and, thus, about its worth to be supported publicly by WILPF. The idealist wing criticizes the LoN because of its unfair covenant, which grants all benefits to the victor nations, while especially disadvantaging the Germans with one-sided demands for disarmament and high reparation claims. The women argue that this unfairness will be a source for future conflict and, thus, will hamper the LoN's aim to establish longlasting peace. Although, the more realist wing agrees with these concerns, they argue in support of the LoN, as they see it as the best available solution for establishing the internationalism WILPF promotes. Additionally to the debate about the LoN, the global economic system marks a second central topic in the congress

discussions. Because capitalism is perceived as a trigger for WWI and economic injustice is argued to be the most probable source for future violent conflict, WILPF women discuss socialism as an opportunity to decrease economic inequalities both nationally and internationally. This discussion is heated within the context of the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, showing how economic injustice can lead to extreme violent clashes.

Concerning the narrative WILPF uses to establish a connection between themselves and peace and security matters in 1919, the first thing which stands out to the reader in their report is the explicit identification of the participants as women. “We women” is a term which is used throughout the whole text. The extensive use of the term implies that womanhood is seen as an identifying characteristic, which plays a central role within WILPF’s peace activism. However, femininity is not understood as isolated but rather as standing in relation to masculinity as its counterpart. The relation between femininity and masculinity, male and female, is thus, constructed as oppositional throughout the text. In other words, the fact that they are women is presented as a factor which distinguishes themselves, their understanding of peace and their ideas about establishing it as the diametrical opposite from male decision-makers and politicians. There are three narratives which use the women-men dichotomy and establish an opposition between the two genders. The first presents women’s peacefulness and compassion in contrast to men’s violence. The second relates to concepts of peace and the functioning of the international system of the time. Here, women are described as idealists, whereas men are understood as supporters of realism. The third is influenced by the realism-idealism dichotomy and portrays women as cooperative and men as competitive. All three dichotomies serve the cause of establishing a strong argument for women as especially responsible for and capable of establishing universal and lasting peace by presenting them in contrast and opposition to the men responsible for the terrible bloodshed of WWI.

The narrative which presents women as peaceful and compassionate or, using the terminology of the report, as “pacifists at heart” (WILPF 1919b, 224) is based on arguments of biological essentialism and maternalism. Expressions like “we have no desire to hurt other peoples, because to us other peoples are merely the rest of humanity, the human race for which women are responsible.” (WILPF 1919b, 188) show how the women in the organization feel they are naturally responsible for the well-being of humanity. Thus, the “desire to hurt” works against their nature. This depiction of women as naturally peaceful is rooted in the idea of motherhood, turning women into naturally caring and

protecting characters. Consequently, women, who are the “mothers of future generations” obviously want “understanding, love, peace” (WILPF 1919b, 188f.).¹⁵ Here, women are defined through their role as mothers, which is perceived as their primary objective and naturally determines women to protect life from violence. Additionally to that, the typically female ascribed compassion, constructed through maternalist logic, is used as an argument to unite women across nations, continents and races. In her account on poverty and racism in Africa, Mary Church Terrell calls on the “white sisters” of the “coloured mothers” to “help the children of [her] race, as of every other non-white race” (WILPF 1919b, 216).¹⁶ The narrative which is transported by this quote puts motherhood at the top of a hierarchy of identity markers. In light of the naturally shared determination of all mothers, according to Terrell, categories such as race should become immediately unimportant. This strategy is well-known within the feminist movement of the late 19th and early 20th century, which, based on the colonial context of the period, is called “imperial feminism” (Burton 1994). However, in this case female unity was used by white Western women to argue that the liberation of the “colonized woman”¹⁷ was their duty due to the universal bond of women through the shared experience of motherhood (Midgley 1998). The maternalist argument is used in three ways in the report: to explain women’s peacefulness and compassion, to unite women and to mobilize them as advocates for peace and justice.

In contrast to female peacefulness, men are presented as inherently violent. Dr. Anita Augspurg, a member of the German delegation of WILPF at the 1919 congress, for instance, states: “Based on my own experiences, I can tell you that even those parties and individuals which I heard speaking in assemblies against war and the use of force as soon as they get access to weapons will look for opportunities to use them in fulfilling the well-

¹⁵ „Wir Frauen aller Nationen, wir Mütter der kommenden Generation, wir wollen Verständigung, Liebe, Frieden.“ (WILPF 1919b, 188f.)

¹⁶ „Den weissen Frauen aller Länder, welche diesen Kongress zusammenberufen haben, um Fragen von höchster Wichtigkeit für die menschliche Gesellschaft zu besprechen, rufe ich als farbige Frau zu: Helft den Kindern meiner Rasse, wie aller Rassen, die nicht eine weisse Haut haben. Die farbigen Mütter ersuchen ihre weissen Schwestern, die hohen Prinzipien der Gerechtigkeit, Freiheit und Gleichberechtigung nie aus dem Auge zu verlieren und ihre eigenen Kinder so zu erziehen, dass sie dieselben nicht vergessen.“ (WILPF 1919b, 216)

¹⁷ The quotation marks around “colonized woman” show that the term describes the colonial construct of the “colonized woman”, which was shaped by an imperialist understanding of a monolithic idea of colonized women as being oppressed, passive and helpless. To read further into how the “colonized woman” was constructed as a cultural essentialist category, shaped by strategic othering in Western imperialism, see Mohanty (1991) and Narayan (1998).

known heroism of men” (WILPF 1919b, 113)¹⁸. This quote depicts men’s drive for violence as an automatism: no matter how much they advocate for pacifism and the principles of non-violence, as soon as they hold a weapon in their hands, men cannot resist their instinct to use them. The conclusion which is drawn from this assumption is that women have to “make sure that men do not get access to weapons” (WILPF 1919b, 113).¹⁹ This narrative provides women with a concrete mandate. According to WILPF’s 1919 report, it is their moral obligation to prevent violence, as they are naturally peaceful and compassionate, due to their maternal calling for protection and care, and because men in power, who are driven by their typical male violent nature, will not fulfill this aim.

The only disruption of the clear dichotomous depiction of violent men in opposition to peaceful women is when the women’s contribution to WWI is critically discussed and, thus, women’s opposition to violence and war is questioned. Here, WILPF states that “it is not only the men who have sinned against this idea of the holiness of life by making war and by fighting. Women have done so, too, by preparing the arms which men have used to destroy life, by helping the men in many ways to carry on warfare” (WILPF 1919b, 158). However, women are presented here as exclusively supportive leaving the active violent behavior and the initiative to use force to men. Thus, the statement does not really present a counter narrative. It rather ascribes women to having been “too much passivist” (WILPF 1919b, 224) in carrying out their natural determination of opposing violence.

The typical female non-violence, which is constructed throughout the paper, links to an approach to peace, which is clearly idealist. Idealism in opposition to realism embraces the principles of non-violence as essential for the establishment of peace. The statement “[...] women and other idealists in the world [...]” (WILPF 1919b, 79) suggests that all women are supporting an idealist concept of peace and security. Thus, peace idealism is constructed as inherently female while its realist counterpart, in turn, becomes connoted as typically male. The idea that the division between realism and idealism is gendered is based on a clear disparity in male and female understanding of human nature: “They [men] tell us sometimes that war will never be eradicated, because war is a deep instinct of the human heart.” (WILPF 1919b, 231), whereas we women are convinced that “war is not an

¹⁸ „Aus meinen eigenen Wahrnehmungen kann ich Ihnen sagen, dass selbst diejenigen Parteien und Individuen, die ich in den gesetzgebenden Versammlungen gegen Krieg und gewalttätige Mittel hatte reden hören, in dem Augenblicke, da sie Waffen in die Hand bekamen, mit dem bekannten Heldenmute der Männer, der stets über sie kommt, sobald sie eine Schiesswaffe haben, auch Gelegenheit suchten, diese Waffen zu benützen.“ (WILPF 1919b, 113)

¹⁹ „Das ist die Mahnung, die ich Ihnen entgegenrufe: Sorgen Sie dafür, dass die Waffen den Männern nicht zugänglich sind.“ (WILPF 1919b, 113)

instinct of the human heart; love is the instinct of the human heart; brotherhood is the instinct of the human heart” (WILPF 1919b, 231).

The opposition between male realism and female idealism becomes even more obvious when looking at the strategies which WILPF proposes to achieve long-lasting peace. The strategies, that directly emerge from WILPF’s belief in idealism, can be summarized in two major categories. First, WILPF calls for a strong internationalism because they “believe that only immediate international action of this kind can save humanity and bring about the permanent reconciliation and union of the peoples” (WILPF 1919b, 67). The LoN is here seen as an opportunity to establish a stable platform for international cooperation, which offers an arena in which diplomacy can be deployed to solve conflicts. Thus, the LoN - in an improved design - is seen as capable of becoming “the savior of the world” (WILPF 1919b, 54) which will “lay the foundations of a new world order, based on international cooperation” (WILPF 1919b, 55) “and which marks an enormous advance upon the previous anarchic relations existing between states” (WILPF 1919b, 56). Additionally, WILPF promote “ultimate, complete liberty of commerce” (WILPF 1919b, 58) to increase international interdependency as a way to lift the costs for countries to declare war against each other. Demilitarization marks the second major strategy of WILPF to achieve peace, as they call to “fight against [...] militarism in every shape and form” (WILPF 1919b, 233). The strategy entails disarmament measures because “permanent peace can be ultimately secured only by complete disarmament” (WILPF 1919b, 69), as well as the fight against conscription, “[...] since permanent peace can be ultimately secured only [...] by abolition of conscription in all countries [...]” (WILPF 1919b, 69), and the increase of cooperation and diplomacy so “that nations can co-operate and organize to save life as efficiently as they can co-operate and organize to destroy life” (WILPF 1919b, 64).

The methods of demilitarization and internationalism stand in sharp contrast to the strategies to achieve peace promoted by realism. The principle of non-violence, for instance, opposes the realist idea of achieving peace through war. However, WILPF are convinced that “a peace, which is established through force, carries the seed for future war” (WILPF 1919b, 205)²⁰ and that “a peace of violence can never bring the world to

²⁰ „da haben wir deutschen Frauen entschieden gegen diesen Gewaltfrieden protestiert. Wir waren der Ueberzeugung, dass ein Friede, der auf der Gewalt ruht, nur Keime zu neuen Kriegen in sich trage, und wir glauben, dass nach diesem Krieg die Menschheit zu dauerndem Frieden gelangen müsse um wieder aufzubauen, was in diesen Jahren zerstört worden ist.“ (WILPF 1919b, 205)

rest” (WILPF 1919b, 104). Further, the international cooperation WILPF imagines is based on the principles of equality and inclusivity. Thus, they oppose the victor-takes-it-all mentality of peace realism. Here, the peace treaty between the European nations is especially criticized. “By guaranteeing the fruits of the secret treaties to the conquerors” the peace treaty is expected to “create all over Europe discords and animosities, which can only lead to future wars” (WILPF 1919b, 60). Moreover, the injustice of the peace treaty is manifested in the strategy of one-way disarmament, where only the loser nations have to give up their military strength: “by the demand for the disarmament of one set of belligerents only, the principle of justice is violated and the rule of force is continued”(WILPF 1919b, 60). The same discrepancy has influence on the discussion of the LoN’s current Covenant, which WILPF describe as “a League of Conquerors against the Conquered²¹, [which] tacitly maintains the old discredited system of the balance of power, [...] and it therefore will not achieve its declared purpose of saving the world from future wars” (WILPF 1919b, 69). Justice, however, is perceived as an essential aspect to establishing a long-lasting peace. WILPF are convinced that it is not possible to “establish the peace of the world upon injustice” (WILPF 1919b, 220). Stating that there is a “need of educating men toward political idealism” (WILPF 1919b, 80), WILPF uses this dichotomy in order to, again, give women a mandate to step out into the public and influence political decision making in the name of peace and security.

The idealist concept of peace framed as female in contrast to the realist concept of peace framed as male, feeds into the third dichotomous narrative, which understands women as cooperative and men as competitive. As the previous paragraphs explained, cooperation is seen as an essential aspect among the strategies of establishing sustainable peace. Thus, competition is perceived as counterproductive to peace because it provides source for future conflicts. Due to the fact that compassion is understood as a naturally female character trait, cooperation is framed as a typically female feature as well. This is because compassion is a necessary emotion to realize the importance of a cooperative behavior in which people act together instead of against each other. The statement that “women, according to their kind, have a special talent” “to teach emphasizing with another soul” (WILPF 1919b, 228) depicts this connection between compassion and femininity.

Therefore, WILPF regard cooperation, which is explicitly presented in contrast to competition, as the fundamental principle of their work: “Our highest principle must be

²¹ Capitalization is maintained from the original quotation (WILPF 1919b, 69).

that we do not work towards competition, but towards reciprocal help” (WILPF 1919b, 77). Because cooperation is so highly valued by WILPF, they reject both the existing political and economic systems as violating its principles. In the political context, power politics are rejected because they rely on the method of (forceful) coercion. Instead, WILPF strongly advocate to “replace coercion by consent and cooperation” (WILPF 1919b, 107). This demand applies an inclusive dimension to WILPF’s understanding of peace and, again, links to the discussion of the LoN, which is accused of “excluding certain peoples” making it “impossible to work under it” (WILPF 1919b, 72). In the economic context, WILPF displays a strong anti-capitalist attitude. First, “capitalist interests” are seen as one of the “decisive factors” (WILPF 1919b, 112)²² of WWI. Capitalism, here, is presented as the economic system of “competition for profits” which led “the governments that were under the influence of the capitalist powers in their country [...] available for militarism” (WILPF 1919b, 112). This idea accompanies the argumentation of many socialist groups at the time, who determined themselves to anti-militarism as they saw war between nations as a form of force by governments to exploit the working class in order to gain profits for capitalist elites. However, unlike WILPF, socialist thinkers often did not reject violence in general. Lenin ([1915] 1970), for example in his pamphlet “Socialism and War”, explains how war in context of the liberation struggle of oppressed classes has to be seen as completely legitimate and even inevitable (299). WILPF share the conviction of the dangers of capitalism as being a major threat to a peaceful future as it fosters economic and social inequalities amongst people. Injustice, here, is the keyword, which will either lead to “new wars amongst the nations” or “bitter wars between the classes” (WILPF 1919b, 120) and which adds a structuralist layer to WILPF’s concept of peace. Due to this analysis, WILPF strongly promotes the establishment of a “socialist world economy” (WILPF 1919b, 91). However, they do not share the idea of violence being a legitimate means of overcoming social and economic hierarchies and injustice. Especially, in light of the violence in the Russian Revolution of 1917, they put a special emphasize on their job being “to invest our efforts in the peaceful development” (WILPF 1919b, 91) of this new economic system.

²² „Denn ausschlaggebend waren in letzter Linie doch nur kapitalistische Interessen. Es waren Interessen der gegenseitigen Konkurrenz im Gewinnst, im Einheimsen der Beute aus den Schätzen dieser Erde, die dazu geführt haben, dass sich die einzelnen Völker, oder sagen wir doch lieber die einzelnen Regierungen, bekämpft haben, die Regierungen, die unter dem Einflusse der Finanzkräfte ihres Landes standen und sich dem Militarismus zur Verfügung stellten.“ (WILPF 1919b, 112)

The dichotomous depiction of men as being violent, realist and competitive, whereas women are peaceful, idealist and cooperative is used to give women a special responsibility and mandate in working towards peace and security. Based on this narrative, WILPF understands themselves as women peace activists as central actors for introducing the future of international relations and world order. Because men's politics led to the incredible bloodshed and cruelty of WWI, women now are presented as "determined to introduce the new times" (WILPF 1919b, 80)²³ and to "make good the wrongdoing of the men" (WILPF 1919b, 154). Thus, women's active participation is presented as substantial for the world and the interaction of states to leave the violent past of international relations behind and start with the project of building a peaceful future: "I always say that to women the future belongs in a very peculiar way, that in her lives and moves the world that is to be. Let her strive to make it as bright and beautiful as it can possibly be; if she succeeds, then there will be no fear of wars in the future" (WILPF 1919b, 236).

This special responsibility of women for realizing a future vision of a peaceful world is legitimized by the use of maternalist and biological essentialist arguments. Women, as mothers, are presented as having a special responsibility for the future because one of their primary objectives in life is to raise children. This natural female determination provides women with an essential influence on future generations. Thus, "a new world should be built, in which the women play a major role concerning the education of the new generation" (WILPF 1919b, 226)²⁴. Resulting from this paradigm is a concentration on education for peace in WILPF's catalogue of strategies to establish long-lasting peace. They are convinced that "only education towards a pacifist mind, non-violence and mutual help can save [the world] from the horrible dangers of [the] times" (WILPF 1919b, 227)²⁵. At the same time, education should help children to develop an "international spirit" and "world consciousness" (WILPF 1919b, 132). Here, concrete measures are "the exclusion from schoolbooks, etc., of anything which tend to hinder international understanding, to

²³ "Aber wir Frauen sind dazu berufen, die neue Zeit zu bringen. So wenig die Staatsmänner in meinem Staate, nicht nur die dazumal Regierenden, sondern alle die Staatsmänner, die sich irgend wie mit dem Blut befleckt haben, das in unseren Ländern geflossen ist, im Stande sind, die neue Zeit zu bringen, ebenso wenig sind dazu im Stande die Staatsmänner auf der anderen Seite. Ich spreche diesen Männern das Recht ab, Völkerbundsvorschläge zu entwerfen, nachdem sie 4 Jahre lang nicht im Stande gewesen sind, den Militarismus niederzuwerfen. Ich sage ihnen: „das, was Ihr aufgestellt habt, das ist kein Völkerbundsentwurf! – Darum lassen Sie uns ruhig unserem Ideal leben. Wir werden uns durchsetzen, wie wir uns schon jetzt mit anderen Forderungen durchgesetzt haben, sei es mit dem Frauenstimmrecht, sei es mit den Forderungen, die noch 1915 als Utopien gegolten haben.“ (WILPF 1919b, 80)

²⁴ „Eine neue Welt soll und muss aufgebaut werden, wo die Frauen eine grosse Aufgabe bei der Erziehung der neuen Generation leisten.“ (WILPF 1919b, 226)

²⁵ „nur die Erziehung zum pazifistischen Geiste, der Gewaltlosigkeit und der gegenseitigen Hilfe Rettung aus den schweren Gefahren unserer Zeit bringen kann.“ (WILPF 1919b, 227)

injure national pride, or to arouse hate and scorn for foreign peoples” (WILPF 1919b, 132), “the establishment of a free international University” (WILPF 1919b, 132), the “exchange of professorship and exchange of students” (WILPF 1919b, 132), and “the teaching of an easy auxiliary language to promote rapid communication on matters of scientific, commercial and international interest” (WILPF 1919b, 86). Consequently, education is recommended as a tool to teach children both pacifism and internationalism and women are said to have a special talent and responsibility in realizing the project of peace education.

The previous paragraphs have shown how maternalist and biological essentialist narratives are used throughout the congress report to legitimize women’s political activism by connecting them to peace and security. To do so, they use womanhood as an identifying characteristic for the peace activism of the organization. Both the dichotomous depictions of women and men as well as women’s responsibility for the future are presented as rooted in women’s roles as mothers. The maternal instinct provides them with natural characteristics which are especially valuable for the struggle for peace. Consequently, the argumentation is based on a very traditional line of thought, understanding women in their primary role as mothers and attributing them with a natural obligation to care and nurture. The connection between these aspects of the female character and the establishment of peace and security in the world is often made very explicit. It is described as the women’s job “as the mothers of the entire world, to find means to protect our children, so that nobody will be murdered and nobody will become a murderer” (WILPF 1919b, 189)²⁶. Similar to that, pacifism is justified as “the natural right of women being the carriers of life and not destruction” (WILPF 1919b, 102) and, thus, immediately gendered as female.

Nevertheless, traditional narratives of maternalism and biological essentialism that give women a special responsibility and talent to work for peace are not the only ones which are used in WILPF’s argumentative strategy of 1919. Instead, there are explicit connections made between the contemporary feminist movement and WILPF’s peace activism. The feminist movement is understood as “closely bound up with the movement for peace” (WILPF 1919b, 224). This is because they acknowledge that women’s status decreases in times of violent conflict in the patriarchal system because “the power of women totally vanishes as soon as men hold weapons in their hands. The moment men start using these

²⁶ “C’est a nous, les meres du monde entire, de trouver les moyens de protéger nos enfants, afin qu’ils ne soient pas tués, ni qu’ils ne deviennent des meurtriers. Ma foi est dans les meres du monde entire!” (WILPF 1919b, 189)

weapons, they go over women's heads, they ignore women's will and every sense of reasoning" (WILPF 1919b, 113f.)²⁷. Thus, when taking a "stand for a new and nobler community of nations, [one is] also serving the Cause of Woman" (WILPF 1919b, 17)²⁸. The acknowledgement that patriarchy grows stronger in times of violent conflict can be argued to be a very progressive attitude in the context of the early 20th century. As has been explained in Chapter 3.2.2, Cockburn (2013) picks up on this idea almost a century later, referring to it as the gender division of war. WILPF, here, seem to be ahead of their time using findings that become prominent after gender intersectionality entered the sphere of International Relations research. The assumption that it was impossible to "have the freedom of women if war was to go on" (WILPF 1919b, 222f.) presents peace as a substantial starting point for women's liberation. In turn, the belief that "freedom, whether it is the freedom of women, or the freedom of labour, is at the root of this question of how to settle the disputes of the world" (WILPF 1919b, 223) describes women's liberation as a necessity to establish global peace. Here, the direct relationship of women's liberation struggle and the struggle for peace is constructed based on mutual dependency and again links to a structural conceptualization of peace. Without women's freedom no peace, and without peace no women's freedom is a narrative which connects the struggle for peace with feminist demands and vice versa.

At the same time, WILPF's feminist argument especially materializes in the number of feminist demands that are expressed in the report and which, indeed, do well fit into the context of the First Wave Feminism of the late 19th and early 20th century. Liberal feminism and imperial feminism are two lines of thought, which were prominent during First Wave Feminism and which are picked up by WILPF in their report. First, liberal feminism is the feminist movement which emerged in the 19th century around the demand for women's suffrage and which is defined by its strife for individual liberties for women (Marilley 1996). Liberal feminism is rooted in the conviction that all people, women and men, possess natural rights for being humans. Based on that, liberal feminism draws the conclusion that all people, men and women, should be granted equal opportunities in life to achieve their individual goals (Marilley 1996).²⁹ As such everybody is the architect of their

²⁷ „Ich weiss aber auch, dass die Macht der Frauen vollständig dahin ist in dem Augenblicke, da die Männer die Waffen in der Hand haben. Ueber den Kopf der Frauen und über den Willen der Frauen und über jeden gesunden Sinn und Verstand geht es hinweg in dem Augenblicke, wo die Männer zum Gebrauche der Waffen schreiten.“ (WILPF 1919b, 113f.)

²⁸ Capitalization is maintained from the original quotation (WILPF 1919b, 17).

²⁹ However, Marilley (1996) notes that there exists another strand of liberal feminism that does not conclude on gender equality, which she describes as egalitarian liberal feminism. Egalitarian liberal feminism

own fortune. However, there is a need to equalize the point of departure between men and women by creating equal opportunities for both sexes. By stating that they understand their feminism as creating “a place for every human being, irrespective of their sex, that enables them to work for the improvement of their fate, in accordance with their strength, their intelligence and their capabilities” (WILPF 1919b, 155)³⁰, WILPF obviously embraces this liberal feminist principle. Consequently, liberal feminism carries a strong notion of egalitarianism that places the equal treatment of women and men at the core of its aims. The tool through which liberal feminists during the 1st wave of the feminist movement wanted to achieve this egalitarian relation between men and women is a change of the legal system. By using a rights-based approach to gender equality, they follow a top down process of social change (Jaggar 1983). Here, liberal feminism concentrates very much on the public sphere. Equal rights at the workplace, equal access to the education system and political rights are typical liberal feminist demands of 1st wave feminism (Jaggar 1983).

In the 1919 report, the call for women’s suffrage is a demand that links the organization to the liberal feminist movement of the time. Based on the idea that women “must not just follow governments but have to elect the government” (WILPF 1919b, 77)³¹ to finally step out of the passive position to only follow men’s political decisions, WILPF calls for „suffrage and eligibility [to] be granted to women on the same terms as to men” (WILPF 1919b, 99). The direct relation between WILPF and the feminist movement for suffrage becomes even more obvious when focusing on personnel connections. Among the women participating in WILPF’s congress of 1919 in Zurich are a number of well-known 1st wave feminists deeply entangled with the suffrage movement: Jeanette Rankin, for instance, a prominent US American suffragist, or Jane Addams, who next to her strife for class justice was an influential activist for achieving women’s right to vote. Consequently, the connection between WILPF’s peace activism and the suffrage movement is quite obvious both personnel-wise and narratively-speaking.

concludes that based on natural characteristics, men and women have different talents. As women’s primary role as mothers teaches them to be nurturing and caring, they in turn lack the talents necessary for the public sphere and political decision making. Thus inegalitarian liberal feminists support the traditional gender division of work that applies women to the private and men to the public sphere.

³⁰ “Car notre féminisme n’est pas la lute contre l’homme, il veut le Bonheur de l’humanité, il veut la place pour chaque être humain de n’importe quel sexe, travaillant à l’amélioration du sort de tous, dans la mesure de ses forces, de son intelligence, de ses facultés.” (WILPF 1919b, 155)

³¹ „Die Frauen haben nicht mitzugehen in den Fussstapfen der Männer. Wir haben nicht Regierungen zu folgen, wir haben Regierungen zu wählen, so wie sie uns für unsere ferne Zukunft vorschweben.“ (WILPF 1919b, 77)

Furthermore, WILPF's strategy to achieve equality is clearly rights-based and mainly focuses on the public sphere. The call for equal pay, for instance, promotes gender equality at the work place and is expressed in the demands "that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value" (WILPF 1919b, 166). Moreover, the call for "educational opportunities for mothers" (WILPF 1919b, 134f.) promotes equal access to education. Finally, the demand for encouraging women's political participation, particularly through women's suffrage, is very prominent in the 1919 congress report. Here, the link to 1st wave feminism is particularly established through the use of the citizenship narrative. Marilley (1996) shows how suffrage was understood as a tool to acknowledge women's full citizenship and, therefore, their status as equal citizens of their nations. By gaining the right to vote the participants of the suffrage movement wanted to get rid of their status as "second-class-citizens" (R. Smith 1989). By stating that women should be given suffrage "not as a favor, but as their right" (WILPF 1919b, 203)³² and that all countries in the world should "[recognize] the citizenship of their women" (WILPF 1919b, 94). WILPF clearly use this 1st wave liberal feminist argumentation.

Second, WILPF's connection to imperial feminism becomes visible when looking at how the claims described in the previous paragraph are legitimized. WILPF argues for the need to improve women's status in society based on an argument of societal progress. By stating that "social progress is dependent upon the status of women in the community" (WILPF 1919b, 95f.) they directly link their argumentation to narratives of imperial feminism which framed women's status within a society as one essential marker of progress. Thus, it feeds directly into the Western narrative of a civilizing mission based on the development paradigm in which Western nations are in the highest position (Midgley 1989). Mill ([1869] 2017), Taylor Mill ([1851] 1984), and Reid ([1843] 1943), are some influential authors, who depict female empowerment as a final step in Western social progress. The assumption that women's liberation is part of a society's civilizing process, further, leads to the conclusion of women's empowerment benefitting the whole community. The underlying argumentation was that women's moral guidance was essential if the developmental progress of society was to be encouraged (Bland 1995). Of course, imperial feminism, here did not call upon all women's public participation, but exclusively addressed white women from the middle-class contexts (Bland 1995). The narrative of women's superior morality as being essential for social progress was then used to

³² "Haben Sie doch keine Furcht, den Frauen das Stimmrecht zu geben, nicht als seine Gnade, aber als sein Recht." (WILPF 1919b, 203)

legitimize women's claims for suffrage and citizenship equal to men (Midgley 1989). WILPF links to this narrative as follows: "Don't be scared of granting women the right to vote [...]. By doing so, you will create good associates for answering all the big political and social questions that demand an urgent solution today." (WILPF 1919b, 203)³³. The quote shows how suffrage is considered beneficial for the whole community as women are a strong force in solving contemporary problems. Furthermore, the quote "our feminism is not a fight against men, it aims at the well-being of the whole humanity" (WILPF 1919b, 155)³⁴ shows this connection. Therefore, WILPF's argumentation can be clearly integrated into narratives of progress and civilization, that were used during First Wave Feminism to advocate for women's political empowerment.

As the above analysis has shown, both maternalist and biologically essential, as well as feminist narratives are used throughout the congress report of 1919 to legitimize WILPF's peace activism. On the one hand, a traditional argument presents women as being especially responsible for and capable to establish peace because as mothers they are naturally caring, nurturing and compassionate. These features are especially emphasized in their oppositional position to men's leadership style. Thus, women are given a mandate enter the public sphere and work for peace because men, due to their natural violence and sense for competition, will never be capable or willing to do so. On the other hand, WILPF uses a feminist argumentation when linking its peace activism to the contemporary feminist movement. They do so explicitly by emphasizing the strong interrelation of feminist and peace movements and the mutual dependency between the two, as well as, implicitly, when their use of the civilization narrative and their demand for women's rights and higher participation seizes on imperial feminist and liberal feminist argumentations from the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The combination of both maternalist and feminist narratives might appear as a contradiction, as the theories discussed in Chapter 2 usually present them as mutually exclusive. However, WILPF's 1919 report shows that women's peace activist are not caught in an either/or situation while choosing between maternalist and feminist narratives

³³ "Haben Sie doch keine Furcht, den Frauen das Stimmrecht zu geben, nicht als seine Gnade, aber als sein Recht. Sie werden sich dadurch gute Mitarbeiterinnen schaffen, um mit ihnen für alle die grossen politischen und sozialen Fragen zu arbeiten, die heute dringlich eine Lösung verlangen." (WILPF 1919b, 203)

³⁴ "Comment établir ce monde nouveau dont on a tant parlé pendant le carnage – excuse à sa prolongation indéfinie – sinon par la collaboration incessante de l'homme et de la femme? Car notre féminisme n'est pas la lutte contre l'homme, il veut le Bonheur de l'humanité, il veut la place pour chaque être humain de n'importe quel sexe, travaillant à l'amélioration du sort de tous, dans la mesure de ses forces, de son intelligence, de ses facultés." (WILPF 1919b, 155)

to legitimize their work. In contrast, maternalism and feminism can be easily combined. This becomes especially obvious given the huge amount of double coding which happened during the analysis of the 1919 report. The maternalist argument that “the most important service for women has been and always will be the bringing up of children”, for instance, is used to legitimize the demand that “women be given such opportunities for education as may qualify them to meet with technical knowledge their supreme responsibility” (WILPF 1919b, 141). Similar to that, the “special responsibility [which] lies upon women with regard to the birth rate” is used for a higher evaluation of “the judgement and opinion of women” (WILPF 1919b, 102f.) in this matter. And finally, WILPF state that “if the women of these countries had a vote, if they were represented in the councils of their nation, the mothers of Europe would not allow the fields of Europe to be drenched with the blood of their sons” (WILPF 1919b, 235). The examples show that maternalist arguments can be used to legitimize feminist demands such as women’s right to education, an increase in women’s political participation, and women’s right to vote. Thus, maternalist narratives and feminist demands do not necessarily contradict one another. Instead, maternalist narratives can be used to back up and legitimize feminist demands.

Thus, the analysis of WILPF’s Congress Report of 1919 shows that maternalist arguments do not necessarily limit women’s political claims to their traditional spheres of power. Although they use maternalist narratives, WILPF are still able to make feminist demands and to claim their right to influence the public, political and economic spheres; areas which have been almost strictly closed for the women of the early 20th century. However, the previous analysis of WILPF’s 1919 report not only shows that maternalist narratives do not interfere the feminist struggle. But, it also depicts how it does even show that maternalist narratives can provide a source for helping feminist claims to gain support from the broad public. By using their womanhood, their motherhood, and their allegedly natural characteristics of being caring and nurturing, WILPF women manage to relate to the public discourse of the early 20th century, which was shaped by traditional gender roles, a clear division of labour attributing men to the public and women to the private sphere, and the conviction that men’s and women’s characters are naturally differently constituted. By doing so, they use a strategy of integrating their feminist demands, which pursue a progressive societal change towards egalitarian gender relations into the dominant and traditional narrative of their temporal context.

4.2.2. “Women building a common and secure future” – WILPF Congress 1989

“Women Building a Common and Secure Future” was the slogan of WILPF’s congress in 1989 in Sydney, Australia. It was the 24th congress of the organization and the two main topics – minority rights and the global military build-up - related to the temporal as well as local context in which it was held. As the congress took place in Australia, it was the first time that WILPF organized one of their triennial congresses on the Southern part of the globe, which was understood by the participants as a sign for the increasing post-colonial approach within WILPF’s structures. Consequently, the rights of indigenous peoples mark one of the leading topics in the congress report. However, the problem of discrimination against indigenous peoples is not only addressed with regard to Aborigines in Australia, but also regarding the indigenous peoples of South and North America and in context with the oppression of minorities in general. Issues such as indigenous’ rights to land and resources and self-determination were discussed. Additionally, the fight against a “new militarism” in the world was discussed in the context of the Cold War, which was drawing to a close. However, the fear of a nuclear world war was still in the air at the time. Therefore, the emerging global bloc-instability builds the framework in which issues of global arms build-up and nuclear weapons are discussed in the report.

In contrast to WILPF’s report of 1919, the participants of the 1989 congress very rarely directly refer to themselves as women and gender roles are generally very seldom explicitly discussed. Consequently, womanhood does not appear to be a central characteristic with which WILPF identifies any longer in 1989. According to that, the connection of the congress participants to peace and security is not explicitly established by using womanhood as a narrative link. Where previously phrases like “we women” (WILPF 1919b, 78) are “determined to bring the future” (WILPF 1919b, 80)³⁵ or “make good the wrongdoing of the men” (WILPF 1919b, 154) have been regularly used in the 1919 report to establish a direct link between the participants of the congress and the matters of peace and security by using womanhood as the linking factor, in the 1989 report such explicit arguments are not central for the report’s narrative strategy. Instead, in the 1989 report the direct connection between WILPF’s participants as women and peace and security is only made once: By stating that they “as women have tried to establish conditions under which all people may live in peace and justice without distinction of sex,

³⁵ “Aber wir Frauen sind dazu berufen, die neue Zeit zu bringen.“ (WILPF 1919b, 80)

race, class or creed” (WILPF 1989, 5), the congress participants explicitly identify as women. Besides this quote, however, WILPF does not refer to themselves as women within the report. Here, it is important to acknowledge that using content analysis does not only involve making meaning of what is actually said in the text. Instead, what is not said in the text is equally important for interpretation. By recognizing and analyzing what has been deliberately left out, content analysis, thus, values the blank space of a topic with a high importance for understanding a certain narrative structure within a text. For the understanding of the narrative which WILPF uses in the 1989 congress report, the fact that the linkage between women and peace and security is not explicitly established can be interpreted as that the organization perceives it as unnecessary to legitimize their engagement as women in a struggle for peace and security. It creates the impression that the women, who participated in WILPF’s 1989 congress did not anticipate that their political activism could be questioned based on their gender. Indeed, the non-existence of an explicit argument establishing the connection between women and peace activism implies that WILPF women in 1989 understand their active engagement in the public political sphere as natural and unquestionable. They appear to be very self-confident in their roles as female peace activists and certain of their stable place within the international political sphere. Thus, they do not see a need to explicitly legitimize their political activism as women.

Nevertheless, the fact that WILPF does not explicitly identify based on their womanhood within the 1989 congress report should not distract from two facts. First, WILPF still is very conscious of womanhood and, indeed, it appears as a factor in their argumentation for peace and freedom, although not too frequently. Second, the implicit way of establishing a connection between women and peace and security is omnipresent within the text. Here, a closer look into the understanding of peace and security presented in the report is needed to draw conclusions about how WILPF perceives women and particularly themselves as women as connected to the topics. The following paragraphs will examine the concept of peace which WILPF presents in the 1989 report. Here, the analysis mainly relies on WILPF’s identification of major obstacles to global peace and the strategies to achieve it. Further, it will be argued that this analysis can be used to understand the implicit connection WILPF draws between women and peace and security matters.

The threats for peace and security which WILPF identifies in the 1989 congress report can be assigned to three broad categories. First, the “increasing global militarization” (WILPF

1989, 120) and the “escalating arms race” (WILPF 1989, 123) are perceived as “a growing threat to international security” (WILPF 1989, 139). This development, which WILPF calls “new militarism”, is argued to be especially dangerous due to the deployment of modern weaponry. Nuclear weapons, for instance, are understood as a “growing danger to the survival of humanity” (WILPF 1989, 19), chemical and biological weapons pose a similar risk, according to the report, and are identified as “the poor man’s nuclear weapon” (WILPF 1989, 19) and, finally, the report states that electronic spying capabilities or “the C3 – command, control, communications facilities” (WILPF 1989, 18) have to be controlled to ensure peace. Having identified the global arms build-up as a major obstacle to peace and security, WILPF concludes that demilitarization and the adoption of peaceful means of international political interaction are essential for achieving global peace. WILPF’s 1989 strategies to achieve peace are, thus, directed at “the achievement of total and universal disarmament” (WILPF 1989, 159). Simultaneously, cooperation and diplomacy are promoted to replace military actions and are presented as strategic tools to achieve inclusive solutions to conflict situations that help to respect all parties’ interests and to “build root level security” (WILPF 1989, 128) by “creating partners, not opponents” (WILPF 1989, 1). Additionally, cooperation and diplomacy are understood as tools to increase the cost of military intervention – “regional diplomatic offensives would aim to establish a web of economic and political interdependence which would act to constrain military adventures by any of the members” (WILPF 1989, 20). Generally, principles of non-violence are seen as “tackling these problems through [...] confidence-building and trust-building” (WILPF 1989, 20).

With the identification of militarism as a major threat to peace and security, the 1989 congress report picks up an idealist understanding of peace and security. The focus on non-violence, disarmament, and international cooperation as strategies to achieve long-lasting peace, here, resembles the underlying idealist concept of peace and security that was already prevalent in the 1919 report. Furthermore, the similarity between 1919 and 1989 becomes especially obvious as idealism is directly juxtaposed with the realist concept of peace in both reports. While in 1919, WILPF states that they “are convinced that peace which relies on force will only plant the seeds for new wars” (WILPF 1919b, 205)³⁶, in 1989, WILPF demands to “make war no longer the means to achieve goals when

³⁶ „Wir waren der Ueberzeugung, dass ein Friede, der auf der Gewalt ruht, nur Keime zu neuen Kriegen in sich trage, und wir glauben, dass nach diesem Krieg die Menschheit zu dauerndem Frieden gelangen müsse um wieder aufzubauen, was in diesen Jahren zerstört worden ist.“ (WILPF 1919b, 205)

diplomacy has failed” (WILPF 1989, 136) and to “replace ‘military security’” (WILPF 1989, 119). Therefore, both reports reject realist strategies to promote their idealist ones. However, there is a major difference in how the 1919 and the 1989 reports understand the dichotomy between idealism and realism. The 1919 report presents the discrepancy between realist and idealist concepts of peace as gendered and depicts women and men as oppositional categories. As the analysis of the 1919 report has shown, this dichotomous narrative, which presents women as peaceful and men as violent, is used to provide women with a legitimate mandate to become active and work for peace. In contrast to that, the 1989 report does not argue for idealism to be inherently female. Thus, WILPF do no longer understand idealist arguments of peace as enabling women to counter men’s superiority in political decision-making, because men and women are not presented as natural categories that stand in opposition to each other. Therefore, although both reports appear to be very similar in embracing an idealist concept of peace, they use this concept in different ways. Whereas, in 1919, idealism serves as a direct source for the narrative that connects women to peace, in 1989, this connection is way more complex.

To further examine the narrative connection between women and peace and security it is important to address how WILPF understands militarization as embedded in global power structures. Additional to the simple increase in the number of weapons in the world, WILPF identifies another aspect of militarism, which turns it into a threat to global peace and security. In 1989, WILPF understands the military build-up, above all, as a source for increasing global inequalities. The global arms trade is said to incorporate “profiteering elements” (WILPF 1989, 123) for industrialized countries and, thus, to be specially beneficial to the rich countries. At the same time, poor countries are particularly endangered. This is because nuclear weapons, for instance, are predominantly employed in the Asia/Pacific region, which negatively affects the “health and welfare of the Polynesian peoples” (WILPF 1989, 118) and “presents a threat to the environment in Asia/Pacific” (WILPF 1989, 19). Furthermore, “modern war and structure of an up-to-date defence demand increasing resources”; resources which then reinforce global poverty as they are lacking in “efforts for the improvement of living conditions in all party of the world” (WILPF 1989, 154). In this context, WILPF recommends a strategy of conversion from military to civil spending of public resources. Governments are urged to “report regularly on plans and possibilities for conversion of military to civil production” (WILPF 1989, 119), to devote “all development aid [...] for social and health projects, not military ones” (WILPF 1989, 125), to “[curb] military expenditures and [use] the money so saved for

basic human need” (WILPF 1989, 113) and to change the legislation to “[make] it possible for the individual citizen to pay the percentage of the taxes that goes to military purposes to a fund for peace building activities of a non-violent character” (WILPF 1989, 154). Here, conversion is presented as a strategy to address the injustice associated with “new militarism”. Thus, the 1989 report does not present demilitarization as an end in itself but as a strategy to solve the problem of global inequalities.

Moreover, the identification of growing injustice as the major consequence of the “new militarism” shows that WILPF understands the international trading of arms and other military supplies within a framework of global interconnectedness and responsibility. The arms trade is argued to both use and strengthen the global system of hierarchies, which puts the rich countries of the Global North in a higher position than the poor countries of the Global South. It is understood as part of a system of “free market capitalism and materialism, and the exploitation this involves” (WILPF 1989, 116) which consists of “destructive processes that have been going on for hundreds of years” (p. 116) and that “will rape the Third World” (WILPF 1989, 20). The same approach of global interconnection and injustice is taken by WILPF regarding the issue of environmental pollution. Similar to “new militarism”, environmental problems are argued to be a deteriorating factor in the system of hierarchical global interconnections. It is said that “the destruction of our environment [...] imperils the very basis for life on earth” (WILPF 1989, 136) and “the risks of environmental catastrophe is enormous” (WILPF 1989, 19). However, the harm of environmental destruction again is very unequally distributed. While “environmental threats have already become the security issues for many Pacific islands” (WILPF 1989, 18) it benefits the multinationals, mostly based on the Northern part of the globe, who deal in unsustainable but profitable seeds. Thus, both environmental pollution and the arms trade are presented as feeding the system of global inequalities.

All in all, global injustice is framed by the 1989 report as the most important obstacle to global peace with all other aspects such as militarization or environmental pollution contributing to it. By analyzing militarization and environmental destruction in the context of global hierarchical structures, the congress report links to a prominent discussion of the time: Post-colonial and Dependency theories critically debate global hierarchies in regard to how activities of the Global North endanger the population of the Global South. They argue that the current global interconnectedness, which is shaped by hierarchical structures, leads to increasing inequality in the world by benefitting the Global North and

adversely affecting the Global South (Nohlen 1998). In line with this, WILPF advocates the application of paradigms of sustainability to the global economic system in order to change the existing global trade relations which feed into the consolidation of global hierarchies and economic injustice. As long as the global economic system is “based on an illusion that continuous growth is not only achievable but necessary” (WILPF 1989, 126), WILPF perceives it as impossible for global injustice to be abolished and thus peace cannot be established. By doing so, they aim at reshaping the “resource allocation system [...] to move from a power-based to an ethics-based system” (WILPF 1989, 126).

What becomes clear here is that WILPF identifies global injustice as the most central threat to world peace. This global injustice is both the basis and the outcome of current global structures shaped by a hierarchical north-south-divide. Additional to the discussions of militarization, environmental destruction and the global trade system in this context, the 1989 congress report identifies various forms of oppression that directly result from this situation. Here, WILPF adds dimensions of race and gender to their depiction of global injustice. They, for instance, address the situation of indigenous peoples as one aspect in the broader context of racism which is argued to be “increasingly evident world-wide” (WILPF 1989, 114). Similar to that, gender related hierarchies, which result in the oppression of women, are discussed by stating that “the subjugation of women continues world-wide” (WILPF 1989, 142). Because WILPF are convinced that “under a system of exploitation and oppression [...] a real and lasting peace and true freedom cannot exist” (WILPF 1989, 159), both racism and sexism, expressed in the oppression of indigenous peoples and women, are argued to be obstacles for the establishment of global peace. Thus, WILPF perceives it as their duty “to facilitate by non-violent means the social transformation which would permit the inauguration of systems under which would be realized social, economic and political equality for all without discrimination on grounds of sex, race, religion, or any other grounds” (WILPF 1989, 159).

The above discussion reveals three conceptual aspects which underlie WILPF’s understanding of peace and security in the 1989 report. First, all issues are understood in their context of global hierarchies. Thus, militarization, global trade relations and environmental issues all are shaped by global hierarchies and at the same time reinforce these hierarchies. Further, global injustice, which is resulting from that, is argued to be the root cause of global conflict with all other aspects feeding into it. The fact that WILPF identify justice as a crucial factor for peace and security by stating that “no enduring peace

without social and political justice” (WILPF 1989, 4) can be established implies their understanding of peace as being “more than the absence of war” (WILPF 1989, 5). This conclusion adds a strong structuralist notion to WILPF’s concept of peace and security. Second, the issues that are identified as threats to global peace are presented as interconnected to one another. They state that “it became obvious as [they] worked [their] way through [their] topics that they were all connected” (WILPF 1989, 126). Due to the close “relationships between disarmament, development, human and women’s rights, a sustainable environment, cooperation and confidence building” (WILPF 1989, 121), WILPF asserts the need to replace “traditional military concepts of security with a new, more comprehensive security system” (WILPF 1989, 120). Consequently, WILPF introduces a new concept of peace, which they call “common security”. It incorporates the need to understand problems as interconnected, which then require a comprehensive strategy of solution. Third, the idea that all issues are connected in a global hierarchical system, leads to the conclusion that problems cannot be handled by single nations but they “require global solution” (WILPF 1989, 2). Thus, there is a sense of global responsibility and every one, no matter where they live, or if they are affected directly by the problem “have a responsibility to know and understand the issues” and “a role to play in resolving them” (WILPF 1989, 2). This sense of global responsibility links to the concept of “human security” “in which the human being is the supreme subject and not the object” (WILPF 1989, 33). Thus, WILPF’s 1989 report uses an underlying concept of peace and security that is structuralist in nature and which requires comprehensive, holistic and global solutions to eliminate injustice as the root obstacle for global peace. However, what does this tell us about the narrative WILPF uses to connect women to peace and security in 1989?

WILPF’s strategy of connecting women with the work for peace relies on the three identified conceptual principles of peace and security – structuralism, common security and global responsibility. Together, they build a strong basis for feminist narratives which appear within WILPF’s 1989 report and which will be described in detail in the following paragraphs. First, the structuralist focus of WILPF’s peace concept builds a strong basis for feminist narratives of women’s liberation and empowerment. As already stated, global injustice is seen as a factor in a global system, which is structured hierarchically and benefits the Global North by simultaneously disadvantaging the Global South. However, within this general hierarchical structure, the gender factor presents a second layer and reveals further social hierarchies. WILPF, here, identifies women as suffering more than

men under the system of global hierarchies because it is paired with patriarchy. Consequently, when combining the North-South-hierarchy with patriarchy in an intersectional approach, women from the Global South are identified as the most vulnerable group of people in regard to global threats to peace and security. WILPF use this analysis to argue that a special emphasis of their work towards peace must be put on the situation of women in general and women of the Global South in particular. In fact, their work has to be directed at examining how the identified threats to peace and security affect the situation of women by increasing social injustice in the patriarchal system. WILPF promotes, for instance, to “report on all aspects of militarization in the Pacific with an emphasis on its effects on women” (WILPF 1989, 140), “to increase awareness of the special concerns of women in the Asian-Pacific region” (WILPF 1989, 118) and to examine “the impact of the international economy on women workers” (WILPF 1989, 113). Here, women’s issues are revealed as central to the work on peace and security as women are especially harmed by the global system and because women’s oppression is seen as one factor of hampering peace and security.

This conclusion enables WILPF to combine the struggle for peace with gender equality. WILPF, for instance, state that “while men continue with their present behavior there can be no peace” (WILPF 1989, 6), or even more harshly that “there will never be peace until men cease this war against women” (WILPF 1989, 5). Women empowerment, here, marks the key word, which is seen by WILPF as “a basis for the peaceful settlement of conflicts” (WILPF 1989, 140) and follows a primarily egalitarian approach. For instance, they promote “economic equity for women” (WILPF 1989, 117) by strengthening “economic literacy of women” (WILPF 1989, 142). Here, WILPF explicitly identifies the patriarchal system as counterproductive to the global peace project. Thus, according to WILPF, it is necessary to overcome patriarchy and replace it with a social system shaped by gender equality to achieve long-lasting and just peace. Consequently, WILPF does not see gender equality as an accidental byproduct of the struggle for peace, but rather understands it as the essential fundament upon which peace can be built.

Second, the inclusive and human centric approach to peace and security, which is used in the 1989 report, enables WILPF to argue for specific strategies aimed at achieving gender equality. These strategies can be identified as feminist because they link directly to relevant discourses of Second Wave Feminism of the 1970s and 1980s. WILPF, for instance, argues for the necessity of “discussing [aspects] from a women’s perspective”

(WILPF 1989, 4) to be crucial to gain a holistic view of the problems at hand and “to develop alternative women’s ways and means for a common and secure future” (WILPF 1989, 25). By doing so, they pick up theories of Feminist International Relations, or more precisely Tickner’s theory of standpoint feminism. According to WILPF, it is only possible to redefine “the components of security and peace today [...] to bring about transformation exploitative policies and systems to ones that serve humanity” (WILPF 1989, 136) by including women’s perspectives on peace and security. Here, women’s perspectives are argued to be crucial in establishing a global system which is not based on hierarchies and exploitation, but on justice and common needs of humanity.

Additionally, WILPF states that an increase of women’s participation in the political sphere is crucial for the inclusion of women’s special needs to political decision-making. Here, WILPF perceives one of the main objectives of women’s peace groups in general and themselves in particular as to “contribute significantly to raising the level of consciousness of these issues in the community and also to providing international institutions and national governments with an independent source of advice” (WILPF 1989, 6). However to be able to do so, they perceive it as necessary for “the anger, sadness and passion of our hearts and voices [...] to be heard increasingly from the platforms of male academic conferences, at the UN, and at all levels of decision-making in the peace movements” (WILPF 1989, 21) and for “women to lead the way” (WILPF 1989, 126). Consequently, the argument for a higher participation of women in political decision-making is presented as necessary to integrate women’s special experiences during conflict into conflict solution.

Again, WILPF’s argumentation is linked to prominent demands of Second Wave Feminism. Due to the introduction of gender studies and theories about how patriarchal structures exclude women from political decision-making, the demand for equal representation of men and women in politics became increasingly accepted within public discourse during the 1970s and 1980s (Bari 2005). By combining this demand with their idea of standpoint feminism, WILPF integrates their approach into an instrumental line of thought. By being convinced that men and women are different due to their socially ascribed roles, women’s equal participation is seen as adding new perspectives to the search for political solutions for global conflicts. These particularly female perspectives are understood as vital for an inclusive approach on peace because they are sensitive to the problems of women and women’s oppression, which have been previously excluded from

political decision-making. Thus, the inclusivity of the peace concept WILPF promotes serves as a basis to argue for a higher participation of women in the political sphere.

Third, the principle of common security relies on the belief that all threats to global peace and security are interrelated and, thus, have to be approached comprehensively. This belief paves the way for WILPF to connect the oppression of women with other exploitative activities that they have identified as threats to global peace. By stating that they “identified patriarchal values as the root causes contributing to environmental exploitation” (WILPF 1989, 126), WILPF makes use of an argumentation which came up with the feminist strand of ecological feminism, or Ecofeminism. The term goes back to Françoise d’Eaubonne (1974), who theorized about how the oppression of people, especially women, is connected to the oppression and exploitation of nature. Ecofeminism contains the social constructivist arguments of their time with a special emphasis on female nurturing being the product of their socially attributed role in the patriarchal system. Thus, attributes such as nurturing, which can be also applied to processes in nature, are socially connected to femininity (Stoddart and Tindall 2011). WILPF are convinced of this close “interrelationship between the destruction of the environment, the exploitation of resources, and the exploitation and oppression of women” (WILPF 1989, 150). Patriarchal values are said to be the reason to “see women, animals and nature as objects to be owned, colonized, consumed and forced to yield and to reproduce” (WILPF 1989, 126). Consequently, they state that “the introduction of feminist values is essential to the healing of our planet” (WILPF 1989, 126) and demand a “greater involvement of women in responding to the needs of the environment” (WILPF 1989, 127). Because environmental destruction is identified by WILPF as a major threat to peace and security, the feminist values which need to be introduced to heal the planet are part of the strategy to achieve peace. The comprehensive aspect here is that one problem cannot be solved without solving the other. Therefore, the liberation of women becomes a substantial aspect in working for global peace as it is part of a strategy to protect nature.

Fourth, given the global interconnectedness of the problems WILPF identifies in their congress report, womanhood plays an important role in the struggle to achieve peace as a uniting factor. In a statement at the very beginning of the report, the female gender of the participants is directly addressed for the only time throughout the whole report. By stating that their aim is to “bring together women from all five continents, women from different backgrounds, and different languages; women from industrially developed and developing

countries; women from areas of severe tensions or military conflict, violence and death, and women from countries with the highest rate of military production and arms sales, especially to countries in areas of tension; women from countries whose people suffer from starvation, deficiencies in health care and education, and women from countries where nourishment is wasted” (WILPF 1989, 3f.) WILPF demonstrate two aspects. First, they describe the diversity of their female participants and simultaneously establish a sense of unity among them. Second, this unity is presented in the context of understanding the world as interconnected. Thus, they imply that female unity is a useful tool to pool women’s strength, to increase the power of the organization in influencing the political sphere, and to tackle the global problems which require global solutions inclusively. This unity between women is further used as an example for the unity of whole humanity: “the webs woven by our ancestors connect us, and all women working for peace and the planet” (WILPF 1989, 21).

What emerges from this argumentation is that feminist demands are presented as a substantial strategy for achieving peace. Women’s oppression in the patriarchal system is argued to be an aspect that contributes to global injustice, turning women’s liberation and the abolition of sexism into substantial contributions to global peace. At the same time, the abolition of patriarchy will help to save the environment and, consequently, contribute to global peace and human security in a comprehensive sense. Finally, due to global interconnectedness and global responsibility, womanhood can be used as a resource that has the potential of uniting women all around the world and of pooling their strength to work for the establishment of peace together. To sum up, WILPF clearly uses a feminist narrative to connect women with peace and security in the 1989 report.

Nevertheless, the fact that feminist argumentations are used in WILPF’s narrative to connect women to the struggle of peace and security in 1989 does not really distinguish the report from 1919. Feminist demands as relevant for world peace can be found in both the earlier and the later report. In 1919 WILPF states that “the freedom of women [...] is at the root of this question of how to settle the disputes of the world” (WILPF 1919b, 223). Similar to that, the 1989 report constitutes that “there will never be peace until men cease this war against women” (WILPF 1989, 5). However, the underlying narrative which legitimizes the connection of feminist demands with the struggle for peace differs profoundly. In 1919, WILPF used predominantly maternalist and biological essentialist narratives to explain their feminist demands as useful for the struggle for peace. Their

argument focused on the idea that women as mothers are naturally caring and peaceful, whereas men are naturally driven to violence. Thus, women empowerment and participation, such as suffrage, was seen as necessary to compensate for men's aggression in international interaction.

In contrast to that, the 1989 report does not use maternalism or biological essentialism to justify its work. Although they incorporate some maternalist aspects in their catalogue of strategies to prevent further war, - the focus on childcare as a strategy to achieve peace by "teaching [...] children to be non-violent" (WILPF 1989, 130), by promoting "national laws against corporal punishment as a method used in child rearing" (WILPF 1989, 130) and by actively working "against war indoctrination through toys, computer games, TV and video films" (WILPF 1989, 156) - these are, unlike in the 1919 report, not taken as an opportunity to state the special responsibility of women in this regard due to their natural determination of being mothers. As already stated, womanhood in general does not play a central role in the organization's self-understanding. Consequently, they do not directly argue that their female gender gives them a particular mandate to become active in the struggle for peace, especially not because as women they are naturally more peaceful and driven to non-violence. Instead, the importance of their own participation in the public sphere in particular and that of women in general is justified with liberal feminist and feminist IR arguments. The underlying idea is that a higher participation of women in the public sphere is necessary to apply a women's perspective on issues of peace and security. The female perspective, here, is argued to be crucial for addressing the special needs of women, suffering the most in violent conflict, and for abolishing the oppression of women in the prevalent patriarchal system which prevents peace in the structuralist sense.

Thus, the two reports of 1919 and 1989 do neither profoundly differ in their identification of obstacles and strategies to peace and security, nor in the amount of feminist demands and the closeness to the respective feminist movement. However, they, indeed, differ extensively in the narratives that are deployed to legitimize these feminist demands. Whereas the 1919 narrative uses maternalist and biological essentialist arguments, the 1989 report relies on standpoint feminism and ecological feminism. In a nutshell, the 1919 report argues for women's political activism in the matters of peace and security as being crucial, because women are - due to their natural determination of being mothers - naturally peaceful and thus have to counter the violent politics of male decision making. In contrast to that, the 1989 report argues for women's political activism in the matters of

peace and security as being crucial, because gender equality marks a substantial aspect within the broader struggle for establishing global justice. Furthermore, to achieve gender equality it is important to include women in the political sphere in order to achieve a holistic and comprehensive strategy against war.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of WILPF's congress reports from 1919 and 1989 shows that other than expected based on the theoretical background of this paper, 1919 is just as little shaped exclusively by traditional maternalist and biological essentialist framing, as the 1989 report is exclusively shaped by progressive feminist framing. Instead, the 1919 and 1989 congress reports use both traditional framing of maternalism and biological essentialism and feminist framing to justify WILPF's peace activism. However, the ratio between the two strategies of framing and the way in which they are used differs profoundly between 1919 and 1989.

First of all, both 1919 and 1989 congress reports display an understanding of peace and security that is quite similar. Both 1919 and 1989 correspond to a peace concept that is shaped by idealism as well as structuralism. On the one hand, the 1919 report focuses extensively on international interaction and diplomacy as necessary aspects for the creation of a long-lasting peace. Here, WILPF promotes the creation of a strong internationalism. They state that internationalism has to be established in the hearts of the people, especially by teaching children international understanding and inter-cultural competencies. At the same time, the 1919 report pushes for integrating internationalism into the structure of the international sphere by supporting the creation of international organizations as platforms for continuous diplomacy between states. On the other hand, WILPF points out that peace without justice could never be sustainable. In this context, they criticize the European peace contracts to settle WWI and the design of the League of Nations as unjust because both benefit the victor nations only. Moreover, they identify economic inequalities as highly potential sources for future conflicts. By accusing the capitalist economic system of producing social and economic injustice, it is addressed as a structural problem which has to be overthrown in order to create the basis for a long-lasting peace. By addressing both internationalism and injustice, the 1919 report's argumentation is based on a concept of peace and security that is both idealist and structuralist. However, the idealist concept is made way more explicit, whereas the structuralist connotations just appear implicitly in their analysis of root causes and suitable solutions for future violent conflict.

Similar to that, the 1989 report also incorporates both idealist and structuralist notions of peace and security. In 1989, WILPF identifies global injustice as the major source for future conflicts. They address the problem of global hierarchies that benefit the Global North by simultaneously disadvantaging the Global South. All other problems which are identified by the report are understood within this context of global inequalities and, thus, are argued to feed into structures of global injustice. Militarization, for instance, is said to benefit the Global North by granting immense profits from the global arms trade. In contrast to that, the Global South is argued to suffer due to the weapons - including biological and nuclear weapons - that are predominantly deployed in the Asia/Pacific region, bearing severe threats of health and environmental problems to the local population. Environmental deterioration, moreover, is also argued to affect the population of the Global South disproportionately and, thus, feeds into global injustice. Based on this understanding of the singular aspects of militarization and environmental destruction within their framework of global hierarchies, WILPF concludes that a sense of global responsibility is necessary to solve these problems. Thus, WILPF's 1989 report identifies the need for global interaction to solve global problems with global solutions. Only by international cooperation, they argue, it will be possible to overthrow the system of global injustice and, thus, achieve the basis for sustainable peace. Consequently, WILPF's 1989 report uses both idealist and structuralist conceptual aspects of peace and security, with international cooperation promoted as the only strategy to abolish global injustice.

As the last two paragraphs have shown, both the 1919 and the 1989 reports use idealist and structuralist notions of peace. However, they differ profoundly in how they make use of these arguments to legitimize their activism as women. In contrast to 1989, the 1919 report genders the clear opposition between realist and idealist strategies to achieve peace. In 1919, idealist principles such as peaceful means of international interaction and the importance of cooperation between people and states are argued to be particular female qualities. As opposed to this, realist principles, such as violent, militaristic, and competitive means of state interaction are gendered as typically male character traits. The dichotomy between male realism, violence and competition and female idealism, peacefulness and cooperation is justified by maternalist and biological essentialist arguments. Here, WILPF states that women were natural supporters of life, due to their motherly instinct. Based on this argument, women are presented as naturally caring, peaceful, cooperative, and compassionate. Furthermore, all these qualities are said to clearly differentiate women from men based on the biological differences between the

male and the female body. Women are, here, portrayed as biologically determined to preserve life and to fight war, whereas men are presented as biologically determined to support war and the use of violence.

This dichotomous depiction, which portrays idealist principles as female and realist ones as male forms the basis for the 1919 report's argument of women's peace activism. Female attributed idealist principles are promoted by the report, whereas the male attributed realist principles are condemned, as they are said to only provoke new violence. Because men are presented as incapable of applying the necessary idealist principles to achieve peace, women are given a clear mandate to become active, enter the political sphere and work towards peace themselves. Additionally, the declaration of women to be naturally peaceful is used as a legitimizing basis for feminist demands in the 1919 report. Women's suffrage, for instance, is turned into a necessary component of war prevention. The argument, which WILPF pursues here, is that women should be granted the right to vote to have the opportunity to prevent war. Based on the idea that women are naturally more peaceful than men, women's vote is expected to shift the electorate towards a higher support of peaceful strategies of international interaction and a lower support of militarism. Furthermore, the 1919 report calls for better education for women to lift their status. Again, this demand is justified by maternal arguments. Here, WILPF states that the education of children towards internationalism and demilitarization – a typical women's job – can be only effective if women have the opportunity to educate themselves first. Feminist demands are here clearly legitimized based on maternalist and biological essentialist arguments.

In contrast to that, the 1989 report does not use maternalist or biological essentialist arguments to connect women to peace and security and, thus, legitimize their activism. Instead, WILPF uses the structuralist concept of peace and security, which clearly outweighs the idealist aspects in their argumentation of 1989, as the basis for their narrative connection of women and peace and security. The structuralist peace concept that identified global injustice as the core obstacle for the establishment of sustainable peace, here, gets an emancipatory touch. Global injustice is not only understood in relation to the hierarchy between the Global North and the Global South, or in relation to the economic injustice between the poorer part and the richer part of the global population. Instead, WILPF also connects hierarchical gender relations to global injustice. The unequal distribution of power between women and men that advantages men and disadvantages women is argued to be a central part of global problem of injustice. Injustice, which has

been argued to be both social and economic, here, gets a gender dimension. By stating that peace would be only realizable, if the oppression of women was abolished, WILPF, furthermore, explicitly connects gender inequality with peace and security. Consequently, gender equality becomes a necessary aspect for the establishment of global peace. Feminist claims for a greater participation of women in the academia and in practical peace-keeping, and for a reconceptualization of peace and security from a female perspective in order to develop inclusive strategies of peace-building and conflict transformation, are legitimized.

To conclude the comparison between the different narratives which WILPF uses in 1919 and 1989 to connect women to peace and security and thus to legitimize their activism as a women's peace organization can be summed up as follows: In 1919, WILPF argue for women's political activism in the matters of peace and security to be crucial because women are naturally more peaceful than men who are torn to violence. This dichotomous picture is established based on the argument that women, as mothers or potential mothers, are biologically determined to be caring, nurturing and supporters of life. Because of the biologically determined division of gender characteristics, women are argued to be granted the rights to vote and to better education. In 1989, however, women's political activism for peace is legitimized by constructing gender equality as a central part of the struggle to achieve peace. This argument is rooted in the structuralist conception of peace and security, which WILPF employs in 1989. The argumentation does not only legitimize WILPF's own activism, but also their feminist demands for a higher share of female participation in the academic sphere, political decision making and peace-building, as well as the adoption of a gender perspective on peace and security that integrates female perspectives. What becomes obvious here is that the 1919 report uses maternalist and biological essentialist strategies to justify its feminist demands, whereas the 1989 report relies on its structuralist conception of peace to argue for gender equality.

Additionally, the 1919 report is significantly more explicit in connecting women to peace and security. By explicitly stating that women are more peaceful than men, WILPF constructs a direct connection between the female gender and peace activism in 1919. In contrast to that, the argumentation of the 1989 report is more implicit and the narrative that uses a specific concept of peace to connect women to peace and security becomes only obvious when analyzed more closely. This discrepancy between explicit connections in the 1919 report and implicit connections in the 1989 report is also mirrored by the reports' use of womanhood as a characteristic of identification. In contrast to 1989, the 1919 report

sets womanhood as the central characteristic around which WILPF's self-understanding evolves. Identifying themselves as women, thus, plays a central role in their peace activism and in the legitimization of this activism accordingly. Here, the connection between peace and security is a very explicit one. 1989, instead, does not explicitly address the womanhood of the participating activists.

Regarding the theoretical considerations that were conducted before the analysis of the two congress reports, their implications were proved only partly. Social Movement Theory, which explains the importance of framing for social movement organizations, and theories of Political Opportunity Structures, which recommend the strategic choice between maternalist and feminist narratives for women's peace groups, built the theoretical framework for the analysis of WILPF's congress reports of 1919 and 1989. Based on this theoretical background, the following implications for WILPF's 1919 and 1989 report were surmised. First, the POS in 1919 was argued to be relatively closed for WILPF as a women's peace organization. Consequently, the 1919 report was expected to rely on maternalist and biological essentialist narratives to resonate with the public discourse of its time shaped by traditional gender roles. Second, the POS in 1989 was argued to be more open to women's political activism due to the Second Wave of Feminism, the development of Gender Studies that challenged the traditional division of labor, which excluded women from the public and political sphere, and the development of feminist theories on peace and security. Hence, the 1989 report was expected to make use of feminist narratives.

The analysis of the reports does not fully support these expectations. It is true that, in 1919, WILPF appears to perceive a greater need to justify their activism as women than in 1989. In 1919 femininity, for instance, is used as a central aspect of constructing both their self-understanding and the picture of their appearance for the greater public. In contrast to that, in 1989, WILPF seems to no longer perceive it as necessary to make their womanhood explicit. This can be interpreted as a sign that in 1989 women's political activism was normalized, which decreases the need for WILPF to address their womanhood and justify their activities. Moreover, the 1919 report uses maternalism and biological essentialist narratives far more explicitly and frequently than the 1989 report. Whereas maternalism only appears implicitly, in 1989, in the promoted strategies of child care and peace education, it shapes the central argument for legitimizing WILPF's activism in 1919. In turn, Feminist International Relations argumentations which perceive gender equality as a core aspect of sustainable peace are stronger in 1989 than in 1919. At first glance, these

findings corroborate the hypotheses which were drawn from the previous theoretical considerations. Due to the restrictive political context for women as peace activists in 1919, they perceived a greater need to justify their work and used traditional narratives that resonated with the public discourse of the time. As opposed to this, in 1989, WILPF did not justify their activism as women explicitly, but rather integrated their feminist demands into a concept of peace and security that was influenced by feminist theory.

However, besides the unequal ratio between maternalist and feminist frames, both strategies have been found in the 1919 and the 1989 reports. Here, especially the analysis of the 1919 report contradicts some of the theoretical considerations about POS in women's peace activism. The authors which applied a gender perspective to POS and which were referred to in Chapter 2, depicted traditional frames based on maternalism/biological essentialism and feminist frames as oppositional categories. Depending on the respective POS, women were argued to have to strategically choose between the two options, either using a maternalist/biological essentialist framing strategy or choosing a feminist strategy. Further, it was argued that maternalist/biological essentialist frames offered both advantages and disadvantages to women's peace groups. On the one hand, maternalist/biological essentialist frames were said to be beneficial to women in a context shaped by traditional gender relations. It was argued that maternalist/biological essentialist frames helped women's activism to appear apolitical and, thus, less threatening to the traditional gender order. By being resonant with the public opinion, traditional frames were expected to encourage greater sympathy and support from the broad public. On the other hand, it was argued that women's peace activism runs the risk of becoming restricted to traditional women's fields by using maternalist/biological essentialist frames that rely on traditional gender roles. Thus, maternalist/biological essentialist frames were presented as being incompatible with feminist demands that challenge the traditional gender order.

However, the 1919 report contradicts these theories. In the 1919 report, maternalist frames and feminist frames are combined. As a matter of fact, maternalist frames are used to justify feminist demands. The use of maternalist arguments to connect women and peace and security, thus, does not prevent WILPF from making its feminist demands in 1919. Instead, the argumentation based on women's role as mothers, which makes them biologically determined to protect life, is used within WILPF's 1919 report to support the feminist demands for suffrage and gender equality. Maternalist arguments are, here, used

to frame claims for women's vote and political participation as well as education for women as essential for women to be able to fulfill their determined roles as mothers. By using this narrative, the 1919 report manages to make the feminist claims understandable to the public by linking it to gender roles that resonate with the prevalent traditional gender order. Therefore, maternalism and feminism, here, are not understood as juxtaposed, as the literature suggests. Instead, maternalism and feminism are complementarily combined to build a strong narrative that advocates for women's rights by making use of traditional female attributed spheres of influence.

Of course, the analysis which was conducted in this paper is based on a case study. Therefore, it is not the aim of this paper to simply transfer its findings or to draw universal conclusions on framing used in women's peace activism. This applies especially due to the fact that framing and the use of narratives have to be understood as depending on the very specific context which builds the framework for the respective movement or organization. With regard to women's peace activism, the status of women and their relation to the public and political sphere is only one aspect of the discursive and institutional POS that shapes the framing strategies of the respective organization. The conclusions drawn from the analysis of WILPF's 1919 and 1989 reports, thus, have to be clearly understood as specific findings that do not allow to make claims about the framing strategies of other women's peace organizations.

However, despite these limitations, the outcome of this paper still reveals some important implications for the research on framing strategies in women's peace activism. The analysis showed that traditional understandings of gender roles, which see motherhood as the predominant and natural female role, and feminist claims do necessarily conflict with one another. This finding questions dominant perceptions on women's activism in the academic literature. It shows that the relationship between traditional understandings of gender and the feminist struggle is not unidimensional. Moreover, traditional gender roles and the feminist movement should not be considered mutually exclusive binaries. Instead, they can be combined to support each other and to create a relationship based on mutual dependency. Consequently, the relationship between feminist progressive policies and the support of traditional gender orders does not have to be perceived as inherently conflicting, but the research has to allow for a more complex interaction of the two, both rejecting and supporting each other.

6. References

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Abstract (English):

This paper analyses the narratives the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom uses to legitimize their peace activism. By using qualitative content analysis, two congress reports are examined. The paper here integrates into gendered studies of peace and security and follows an interdisciplinary approach. Theoretical implications from Social Movement Studies explain the importance of framing for the success of movements or social movement organizations. Further, theories of Political Opportunity Structure illustrate that these narratives depend on the context the respective organization operates in. For women's peace activism the theoretical background suggests that women activists have to choose strategically between traditional narratives that frame women as mothers and progressive narratives that use feminist argumentations. It is said, that the former are especially beneficial in political contexts that are restrictive for women's activism, whereas the latter are particularly useful in relatively open contexts. However, the analysis in this paper shows that the relation of traditional and progressive narratives is not as mutual exclusive as the literature suggests. Instead, both narratives can be combined in order to build a strong argument to legitimize women's peace activism.

Abstract (German):

Diese Arbeit analysiert Narrative, die von der Women's International League for Peace and Freedom zur Legitimierung ihres Friedensaktivismus genutzt werden. Mit Hilfe von Qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse werden die Berichte zweier Kongresse der Organisation untersucht. Dabei ordnet sich die Arbeit in die Gender-sensitive Friedens- und Konfliktforschung ein und verfolgt eine interdisziplinäre Herangehensweise. Theorien aus der Forschung über soziale Bewegungen werden genutzt, um die Bedeutung von Framing-Strategien für den Erfolg sozialer Bewegungen oder Organisationen zu beschreiben. Desweiteren werden Theorien über Political Opportunity Structures herangezogen, um zu zeigen, dass diese Framing-Strategien stark vom jeweiligen Kontext abhängen, in dem die Organisation oder die Bewegung operiert. Im Bezug auf Frauen-Friedensaktivismus beschreiben diese Theorien, dass Aktivistinnen zwischen einem traditionellen, maternalistischen Narrativ, und einem progressiven, feministischen Narrativ strategisch wählen müssten. Ersteres sei besonders vorteilhaft in Kontexten, die von traditionellen Geschlechterrollen geprägt sind, während zweiteres als besonders nützlich in Kontexten, die offen für weibliche Beteiligung am politischen System sind, gilt. Diese Arbeit allerdings stellt die kontrastierende Darstellung von traditionellen, maternalistischen und progressiven, feministischen Narrativen in Frage. Stattdessen wird gezeigt, dass die Narrative kombiniert werden können, um ein starkes Argument für Frauen-Friedensaktivismus zu konstruieren.