Are Women Not Terrorists?

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the UN Counter-Terrorism
Strategy from a Gender Perspective

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Abstract

This bachelor thesis critically explores and deconstructs the commonplace position that a terrorist is typically a radical man rather than a woman. This stereotypical construction is explored in the context of the United Nations' (UN) Counter-Terrorism Strategy through the perspective of Feminist Security Studies and Critical Terrorism Studies. The aim of this piece of work is to identify and shed light on gender stereotypes within the Strategy. Through the employment of Quantitative Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, gender stereotypes are found in both the manifest and latent discourses of the Strategy. The stereotypes in the Strategy are consistent with the constitution of women as Beautiful Souls (Elshtain 1982) and the Terrorist as male individuals from the Arab-Muslim world. As Beautiful Soul women are assumed to be in need of protection, contrarily men from the Arab-Muslim world are described to be the ones to protect from.

This study is based on a social constructivist view on science; the wordings of terrorism stereotypes are interpreted as social constructions, some of which are explicitly referred to in the key materials analyzed below and others are silently constructed within the text.

Key words: Terrorism, Critical Terrorism Studies, Feminist Security Studies, Gender Stereotypes, Beautiful Soul

Words: 9903

List of Abbreviations

9/11 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

CTS Critical Terrorism Studies

FSS Feminist Security Studies

QCA Quantitative Content Analysis

UN United Nations

UNESCO UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNGA UN General Assembly

UNSC UN Security Council

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1   Introduction

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon, though it came to be redefined in the aftermath of the September 11th 2001 discourse. Referring to the research of political scientist Richard Jackson, society came to create the *new terrorism,* associated with fanatical religious beliefs, a willingness to seek martyrdom through suicide (bombings) and not as predictable as the *old terrorism* which involves a message of warning before acting (Jackson et al. 2011). A change was seen in the definition; from a freedom fighter for the rights of a people not legally in charge without fear of sacrificing the lives of oneself or others, to the definition as we see it today: reflecting the perpetrators of 9/11 with a focus on suicide bombings (Ibid.). The new face of the terrorist is a creation of mass media and super power politics; a face of a Muslim man- far from the Western stereotype of manhood.

   The debate regarding Counter-Terrorism within the field of International Relations, especially at the UN, has been a driving force in the creation of the *new terrorist* stereotype. This stereotypical construction of the terrorist as a male leads to an invisibility of women as terrorists, a phenomenon that has been common throughout history as well as in contemporary international society. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the discursive construction of a male stereotype, and on how the discourse excludes the view of women as perpetrators of violence. Can this exclusion of women in the discourse in relation to the stereotypical male terrorist in itself lead to an international security threat? This boils down to the question of whether women are seen as capable of violent acts, or not?

1.1   Problem area and research question

The problem area that I see is security - specifically the counter-terrorist debate and its stereotypes. For long, terror attacks made by women were not categorized in the same way as attacks carried out by men; they were explained differently and circled around arguments of women being hysterical, an argument leading to the pursuit of narratives of female violence as a Monster (further presented in the theory of Sjoberg & Gentry 2007). The problems that come out of this are many but I would like to bring attention to the specific discourse constructed in the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy (henceforth the Strategy) in order to concretize how the terrorist is gendered and typically stereotyped. I aim to make the latent message of the Strategy visible. My research question and its sub-question are:

How is the narrative of terrorism and its gender stereotypes presented within the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy?
When studying the Strategy, what is left out and not written?

2 Theoretical framework

To understand the post 9/11 stereotype of terrorism and enable an analysis of the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy I first use Richard Jackson's Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) as a theoretical base. This since the policies regarding how to treat the threat of terrorism were changed and more centralized as a result of the new wave of terrorism post 9/11. Secondly, I use Feminist Security Studies (FSS) and its perspective of terrorism, for how to understand and find the hidden female perpetrators. The following steps are both parts of the FSS theory. In the third step the narratives and discourses that uphold the norm structure within the transnational system are presented. I will foremost interpret Jean Bethke Elshtain's concept of women as Beautiful Souls, as well as Laura Sjoberg's reasoning, putting the assumption of women as Beautiful Souls in contrast to women as perpetrators and how they fall under one of three other narratives: The Mother, Monster or Whore. As a fourth step, the theory of silence is presented; if something is not said - is it said in another way? The words of the narratives might not be explicit in the resolution; they might just be a weak portrait shimmering under the manifest message.

2.1 The study of terrorism from a critical perspective

Critical Terrorism Studies (henceforth CTS) is critical of the re-creation of the definition of terrorism that followed the events of 9/11, recognizing the two terrorisms and stressing that terrorism is not a unique kind of political violence. CTS argues that terrorism is a social construction – a linguistic term or label that is applied to certain acts through a range of specific political, legal and academic processes (Jackson et al. 2011:3).

After 9/11, the UN started to debate the subject of terrorism more often, the George W. Bush administration declared 'war on terrorism' and the meaning of terrorism came to change and was locked into one image instead of being a general term for describing acts of terrorism. By the shift in the definition of terrorism, CTS became useful to see the problems that are caused in the matter of categorizing security threats caused by terrorism differently. Terrorism was not a new phenomenon but came to be described as such in the international community.

Through the lens of CTS, the discursive change in the debate of terrorism becomes clear. The foremost recognized author within the field, Richard Jackson, writes "that the language of the 'war on terrorism' is not simply a neutral or objective reflection of policy debates and the realities of terrorism and counter-

terrorism; rather, it is a very carefully and deliberately constructed public discourse that is specifically designed to make the war seem reasonable, responsible, and inherently 'good.'" (Jackson 2005:147). CTS thereby offers a critical lens on research as well as on the socially produced image of terrorism and the terrorist, aiming for a change regarding what is produced (Jackson 2009:3-4). The critique put forward by CTS mainly focuses on the fact that Western states are the knowledge producers with non-Western states being denied to produce knowledge (Jackson 2008:386). CTS is questioning whom the producer of the discourses is: who is allowed to speak and which kind of truth and knowledge is made. The production of knowledge plays a major part in the norm- and stereotype construction of the Other made by the Western world (Jackson 2005:153). The word terror has become more than an expression for a certain security threat and the discourse has become a "hyperbolic language of threat. It is not just a threat of sudden violent death, it is actually a 'threat to civilization,' a 'threat to our way of life,' and a threat to 'the peace of the world'" (Jackson 2005:158).

By making changes in the field of terrorism studies, the question of the gender of the perpetrator is visualized (Jackson 2009:18). By combining CTS with the following theory of Feminist Security Studies, the exposition of gender in the field of terrorism is made.

2.2 Feminist Security Studies – making the problem(area) visible

Both CTS and Feminist Security Studies (FSS) aim to broaden discourses and look for alternative truths of the story in question by not always taking the well-established truth for granted (in this case, the 'truth' of women as vulnerable victims). FSS is thereby not just a theory about how to add women to the debate, it also brings stereotypes to light and questions the assumption that adding women equals higher gender awareness. The aim is to identify different narratives, how they are created and what stabilizes them as a constituted truth. In a FSS theoretical view, narratives lead to constituted stereotypes (Wibben 2011).

Though FSS does not only see women as possible perpetrators, it questions how women are included in the debate of International Politics. For example, Laura Shepherd examines UN resolution 1325 and while agreeing that there is a point of having strategies for protecting women, she problematizes the fact that separate policies and strategies for women create an Otherness, whereby the woman becomes the Other. In line with this, Shepherd also critiques the reproduction of norms and discourses within UNSC 1325 and argues that "[w]oman-in-need-of-protection is the centralized signifier around which other articulations of femininity are articulated." (Shepherd 2008:119-120). Women are placed as the ones to protect; women are not the ones that perform the acts that

civilians are in need of protection from. The appearance of UNSC 1325 in the Strategy will be analyzed from this perspective.

2.2.1 Can women be terrorists? Bringing a gender perspective to Critical Terrorism Studies

An increasing number of women have participated in suicide bombings and other terrorist acts such as religious-fundamentalist, including jihadist attacks, since the first one with a female perpetrator in 1978 (Davis 2013:280). There has been an increase from just under ten during the 1980s to over 100 in the 2000s in different countries and terrorist networks (O'Rourke 2009:681-682). In 2007 almost 7 per cent of all Palestinian suicide bombers and 1 per cent of the attacks in Iraq were perpetrated by women (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:112). Female terrorists are around the same age and play the same role in terrorism as their male counterparts, though previous studies conducted constitute the image of female terrorism as something different (Jacques & Taylor 2013:35). Women in terrorist networks are described as mentally ill and different from men, not noted to be a security threat to the same extent (O'Rourke 2009:717). Cases of this kind have been detected amongst Chechen, Palestinian, Kurdish, and Tamil terror networks (O'Rourke 2009:690).

2.3   Why are women described as the deviant Other in violence? - The narratives

In *Mothers, Monsters and Whores*: *women's violence in global politics,* Laura Sjoberg and Caron E Gentry argue that as women become visible in the naturally masculinized field of International Politics, the female perpetrators can be found (2007:8). Women are described and understood as the peaceful counterparts to violent men, and are therefore not supposed to be violent. Women are assumed to be part of the private sphere in the society, while man is the political animal, as Aristotle said, located in the public sphere (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:2). The spheres carry the norm of women as pacifist, which is questioned by FSS and CTS, leading to the questioning of the "traditional explanations of all women as the 'peaceful people' whom 'war protects' and who 'should be protected from war'" (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:3). As Sjoberg and Gentry write "[b]ecause both the terrorists themselves and the governments they attack operationalize gender, terrorist attacks are gendered and cannot be fully explained without reference to gender discourses" (2007:136). By not rethinking terrorism from new stereotypes and analyzing the ones that already exist, the security threat is maintained and heightened. This is in line with Barry Buzan's and Lene Hansen's theory of securitization, in which a security threat is dependent on the discursive construction of something. They argue that anything can become a security threat

although it might not be concrete without a well-grounded argument (Buzan & Hansen 2009:213). If the rethinking of terrorism from new stereotypes is well argued and discursively created – it will become a security threat.

2.3.1 The Beautiful Soul (and the Just Warrior)

Seeing women as Beautiful Souls and men as Just Warriors has become an archetype in the field of International Politics (Elshtain 1982:341). One of the first to map this system of narratives was the political philosopher Jean Bethke Elshtain. These archetypes have been playing and still do play a role in how to understand the roles of men and women in wartime, particularly in the question of justifying war and peace[1]. Historically women have been placed in the category of Beautiful Souls on the grounds that they are seen to be pacifist, pure and self-sacrificing, the Other and counterpart to men who are described as aggressive, active fighters (Elshtain 1982:342). The Beautiful Soul narrative constitutes a war discourse where women are eliminated from the field of taking an active role (Sjoberg 2006:897). It places women as innocent and peaceful as a reproduction of feminine characteristics where she is to be a part of the private sphere in society (Sjoberg 2010:57). The narrative gives an easy justification of war in the aim of peace; women and children need the protection of men (Ibid.).

   These discursive categories influence International Politics and Just War theories in the way that pacifist women should be protected by active men in war – arguments that have legitimized war throughout history (Elshtain 1982:343). The principles of the Just War Theory contribute to giving women immunity in war, as they are the ones to be protected (Sjoberg 2006:895). This is in line with the Strategy which treats UN Resolution 1325 stating the need of protection of women.

2.3.2 In contrast: The Mother, Monster and Whore

Women participating in the *male narrative* of the violent villain are not constituted in the same way as men, nor are they understood to be Beautiful Souls. Laura Sjoberg and Caron E Gentry have studied the narratives of the Other (violent woman in the participation of suicide bombings and other war crimes) and have come to the conclusion that women are not included in the *normal* male group of action because of their femininity (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:9). Women, in contrast to men who take on an active role in violence, "have acted outside of prescribed gender role; they have to be separated from the main /malestream discourse of their particular behavior" (Ibid.). What needs to be stressed is that a "woman's involvement in political or criminal violence is not necessarily men's

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[1] Though Hegel first constituted the terminology in the understanding of villains and saints in society, in this thesis it refers to the interpretation of Elshtain (1982:341).

fault; nor does it make her less of a human being or less of a woman" (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:19) though it is commonly understood to be this way. Women that engage in violence are, according to Sjoberg and Gentry, portrayed as either one of three stereotypical narratives: as *Mothers, Monsters* or *Whores* (2007:12). The *Mother* is a female described to be driven to violence through maternal frustration; an emotional relationship or a loss engaged her to violence. The female terrorist group Black Widows of Chechen is categorized under this narrative (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:13,88). The *Monster* narrative is the one used when hysteria has been the explanation of female acts of violence. These women, described as monsters, are seen to be "in denial of their femininity, no longer women or human" (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:13). The *Whore* narrative is described as the sexualisation of female violence (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:41-42). This narrative categorizes women in terms of their sexuality, as "both extreme and brutal" and their "erotic dysfunction emphasize either desperation wrought from the inability to please men or women as men's sexual pawns and possessions" (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:13).

The narratives presented in the previous two sections make two categories of women as either the *normal- Beautiful Soul* or the *abnormal* as the *Mother, Monster* or *Whore.* Both of these narratives subordinate the violence perpetrated by women (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:50).

2.4   What is said when it is not said – the latent discourse

When the narratives are not concretely found in the discourse that is analyzed, what is then being said? The hegemony of masculinity within International Politics neutralizes gender identities and stereotypes. When a gender perspective is brought to the discussion, women become visible since, 'masculinity is not a gender, it is the norm' (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007:174). Annica Kronsell has discussed the latent discourses and the naturally assumed gender neutrality within the field of International Politics. She argues that through critical readings, deconstructions of texts enable a reading of what is written 'between the lines', through symbolic of the discourse and what is assumed to be natural becomes illuminated (Kronsell 2006:109). As Kronsell writes "[s]ilence on gender is a determining characteristic of institutions of hegemonic masculinity and this is a key point. It indicates a normality and simply 'how things are'. Men are the standards of normality, equated with what it is to be human, while this is not spelled out" (Ibid.). The study of silence and making the latent discourses visible

enables us to see hegemonic masculinity[2] in practice and enables a discussion of gender stereotypes (Kronsell 2006:115).

In this thesis, the silent discourses are studied by contrasting and comparing the spelled out gendered roles in the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy found by the method of Quantitative Content Analysis and the latent message found by using the method of Critical Discourse Analysis. The context of the gendered word of *Women* and the not mentioned gendered word of *Men* will be the base of questioning in the Strategy and the meaning of the silence regarding the gender of the *terrorist*.

2.5   Operationalization

The themes of this theoretical framework are the understandings of CTS and FSS. FSS shed light to women as potentially violent, seeing how the female perpetrators are understood and described through the narratives of the Beautiful Soul, the Mother, Monster and Whore. In the last part, the theoretical framework of the silence that will be studied was discussed. This theoretical framework gives a background for understanding the discourses and semiotics within the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy, strengthening the argumentation of the findings.

The output tool made from this theoretical framework is the theory of identifying and unpacking the constructions of the terrorist, making the terrorist visible in the UN Strategy in its manifest and latent discourses. The manifest discourse will be analyzed through gendered words as the characteristics of the narratives, and the latent discourse through the description of the narratives based on a hegemonic masculinity that causes the silence. To sum up, the narratives are constructed by the stereotype that I have identified in the documents analyzed below. The text is explored by identifying how the Counter-Terrorism Strategy presents gender stereotypes, by narratives of the terrorist. How does it describe women? As being in need of protection (the narrative of the Beautiful Soul) or in contrast, seen as vengeful, mentally ill or sexualized (the narratives of the *Mother, Monster* and *Whore*)? Or not mentioned at all (the discourse of silence)?

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[2] Hegemonic masculinity is defined as the configuration of a gender practise that contains for the moment accepted legitimated practises. Thereby, the male domination and female sub-ordination in society is taken for granted (see Connell 2008:115).

3 Methodology

Is it possible to combine a quantitative and a qualitative method in one study? Although the feminist approach is more or less limited to qualitative ones, in the following part I argue for the possibility of combining quantitative and qualitative methods. My purpose is to use a quantitative method as a base for the qualitative one. I do not believe that the underlying messages of texts can become visible by exclusively using a quantitative method. Therefore I will use a mixture of these two scientific methodologies. The method of Quantitative Content Analysis (henceforth QCA) is an introduction to the analysis to visualize the manifest message of the Strategy regarding gendered roles, while the qualitative method – the Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) – is the main method of analysis, stating the unwritten.

I am taking feminist critique of the quantitative field of methodology into consideration, arguing that quantitative methodologies do not open up for all perspectives and make marginalized persons invisible in the production of knowledge. The quantitative results do not show the whole truth or the plurality of voices of the ones it speaks for. Furthermore, quantitative methodology does not open up for extensive dialogue with the study object. By just quantifying the study object, the whole person is not seen. In contrast, the qualitative methodology promotes dialogue and brings attention to such socially constructed power related inequalities (Tickner 2006:35-36). Therefore I combine the two.

3.1   The manifest message – Quantitative Content Analysis

As presented above, the analysis of the selected Strategy starts in the manifest message. To this end, a word count of the number of times the gendered discursive markers of the actors in the Strategy is conducted. These manifest messages refer to words such as: Male, Female, Man, Men, Woman, Women, He, She, He/She, His, Her and His/ Her (see table 1).

QCA is, according to Ludvig Beckman, a method that measures frequencies of words and/or expressions in a specific textual material (Beckman 2005:42). The use of this method in this study enables me to find and establish the frequency of words. This method will clarify the manifest message of the resolutions whereas the CDA will put forward the latent message (Esaiasson et al. 2012:221). In the aim of an *objective, factual or unbiased* report regarding the manifest message of the text this method is to be used (Boréus & Bergström 2005:47).

The quantitative content research was conducted in the six documents of the Strategy with a total of 119 pages. All of the pages were reviewed with a *word find* in Adobe Reader and manually detected and put in to the table(s) (see Appendix). The frequency table used for the analysis is presented below:

Gendered word	Frequency
Male	
Female	
Man	
Men	
Woman	
Women	
He	
She	
He/She	
His	
Her	
His/Her	

Table 1.

3.2   The message of the silent discourses – Critical Discourse Analysis

The method of Critical Discourse Analysis is foremost associated with the linguist Norman Fairclough. The main focus of the method is the linguistic structures within a document, since "the question of power in social class, gender and race relations is partly a question of discourse" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999:vii), and thus, intersectional[3]. One of the aims of this work is to find the power holder in the discourse that leads to a security threat, for example the hegemonic masculinity that keeps the discourses of women's violence out from the forum for terrorism-countering work in the UN.

Seeing a discourse through the lens of CDA involves dividing the discourse in question into three parts: 1) the linguistic as the language itself, the manifestly written; 2) the discursive practice, the order of the discourses in the system and its implications for the reading; and, 3) the socio-cultural practice(s) which all influence and drive the discourses to the meaning of the latent discursive reading (Neumann 2003:87). This discursive division is related to the constructivist view of science more than a material class perspective in the way that it identifies relations between the discourses and social structures. Through this, it sees the

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[3] Intersectionality is a theoretical concept of mapping and problematizing systems of subordination in society within specific historical and spatial contexts. The simultaneous effects of structures of sex, class and race are a central part of the constitution of power and hegemony in society (see de los Reyes & Mulinari 2005).

text as more than just a text; it has powers to construct and re-construct social structures (Boréus & Bergström 2005:13). According to Fairclough, CDA enables a study of how discourses create and constitute the social world and surroundings (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000:13). CDA is conducted in five stages, presented below.

The first stage is to "[f]ocus upon a social problem which has semiotic aspects. Beginning with a social problem rather than the more conventional 'research question' accords with the critical intent of this approach - to produce knowledge which can lead to emancipatory change" (Fairclough 2003:209-210). This stage is used to enlighten the linguistic-discursive dimension of cultural problems and their possibilities to change in the *late modernity*[4].

The second stage of CDA is to identify obstacles to it, through analysis of three sub-stages. The objective is to "understand how the problem arises and how it is rooted in the way social life is organized, by focusing on the obstacles to its resolution - on what makes it more or less intractable" (Fairclough 2003:209-210). It is important to establish how the discourse is constituted as well as how it constitutes the social world at the same time, since the social practices are in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000:67-68). The three parts that are analyzed in this second stage of CDA are: (1) the network of practices within which it is located, focusing on how the discourses are linked and visualizing the semiotic discursive network[5] in the studied material; (2) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned, as well as the relationship between the discursive reality and the social society; and lastly (3) give semiotic examples of the discourse, both textual and intertextual ones. All of these sub-stages follow the hierarchical order of the discursive network, to enable a revelation of the power relations and hegemony of the social society reflected in the Strategy.

In the third stage consideration of the *need* of the discursive problem in the social order is required, in a sense of reflection over asking "whether those who benefit most from the way social life is now organized have an interest in the problem not being resolved" (Fairclough 2003:209-2010).

The fourth stage is to "[i]dentify possible ways past the obstacles. The stage in the framework is a crucial complement to stage 2- it looks for hitherto unrealized possibilities for change in the way social life is currently organized" (Fairclough 2003:209-210). The identification of obstacles is to find the discursive practices that contribute to the reproduction of unequal power structures in between social groups; for example between men and women, social classes, and ethnical minorities and the majority (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000:69).

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[4] Late modernity - the social changes of the past twenty years that came to, and still do, change the language; CDA should be seen to contribute to a field of critical research on late modernity (Chouliarki & Fairclough 1999:3).
[5] Semiosis - meaning-making through language, body language, visual images, or any other way of signifying. The discursive network refers to the hierarchal order structures of the discourse as cause of the strengths of the signified object (Fairclough 2001:229).

The fifth and last stage of CDA is to reflect critically upon the analysis of stages one to four, aiming for inter-subjectivity and understanding of the positioning of the researcher, their background and social positioning (Fairclough 2003:209-210). The stages are somewhat diffuse – there cannot be an exact rule of how to conduct a CDA as is the case amongst the methods within the field of quantitative research. Thereby the fifth stage of the CDA is important to derive the argumentation and make the research material inter-subjective.

4   Material

The empirical material chosen for the study of gender stereotypes within the UN Counter–Terrorism Strategy is comprised of a series of UN resolutions. General Assembly resolution A/66/762 "United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy: activities of the United Nations system in implementing the Strategy" is analyzed together with the supplementary work from previous resolutions (A/RES/60/288, A/RES/62/272, and A/RES/64/297), as well as two resolutions from the Security Council (S/RES/1989 (2011)* and S/RES/1988 (2011)*).

The General Assembly resolution A/66/762 dates from the fourth of April 2012 (there has not been a new counter-terrorist strategy published so far). It was proposed and passed in the Assembly together with the previous versions of the counter-terrorism work with the supplement of the Security Council resolutions. Since they have been implemented in an ensemble, they will be analyzed in this way and treated analytically as one text.

The selection of material is based upon my interest in an internationally operating organization with legitimacy to call for *international* security threats (not exclusively at the national security level). It should be noted here that the UN consists of a multiplicity of nations and if they are to call for a security threat, more nations will be concerned then if a single nation calls for the same matter. The discourses constituted within the UN make up the ones at the national level, by directives from the UN being implemented at the national level. Thereby the constituted and constituting parts of the discourse are the matters of analysis in this work.

The second argument for the selection of this distinct Strategy is that by definition, UN Resolutions shall be gender neutral and written in a non-stereotypical way. Gendered words should not frequent in these types of strategies, as to not create or support stereotypes, or exclude views of potential security threats. As written in the purpose of the Strategy, "terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group" (UNGA 2006:2). The only gendered word in this context should be *His* referring to the Secretary General or *His* and *Her* referring to the Ombudsperson or to the Human Rights Council. Apart from these in the context of the different UN agencies, gendered or other intersectional categories should not be written in the Strategy. I will seek to identify instances of this gender bias in the text of this matter.

5   Analysis

In the following chapter, two analyses are presented, starting with the QCA followed by the CDA. The QCA is, as put forward in the chapter of Methodology, a guideline to establish the concrete gendered discourses in the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

5.1   The manifest message – Quantitative Content Analysis

In this first part of the analysis, the methodology of QCA is used to present the manifest message of the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy. The aim is to introduce and present gender discourses. The documents were analyzed separately in a first step, and secondly put together in one table presenting the total results, since the material is analyzed and treated as one Strategy. All the separate tables for each of the six documents of the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy can be found in the appendix. No deeper analysis than the concrete message and context of the word is presented in this first part of the analysis, the intertextuality referring to the discursive system, is reviewed in the second part of this chapter. For this reason, the analytical tool is not used in this first part of the analysis. The result of the frequency count of the gendered words is presented below:

Gendered word	Frequency
Male	0
Female	0
Man	0
Men	1
Woman	0
Women	7
He	5
She	3
He/She	1
His	12
Her	5
His/Her	2

Table 2.

As emerges from table 2, *Male, Female, Man,* and *Woman* are gendered words that were not mentioned at all in the document(s). The following words: *Men,*

Women, He, She, He/She, His, Her and *His/Her*, were stated between one to twelve times each.

His was the most frequented word in the documents, amounting to a total of 12 times. It occurred to the largest extent in A/66/762 and then, as in all the other resolutions, in the context of the Secretary General and his work. The secondly most frequented word was *Women* (7 times). As in the case of the word *His,* the word *Women* was primary mentioned in resolution A/66/762, though the word was mentioned in a different context and intention then *His*. Primarily the word *Women* was found in the context of "increase the participation of women and to incorporate a gender perspective in all United Nations peace and security efforts" (UNGA 2012:11) and in the sense of "trainings to help women to deal with the effects of terrorism," (UNGA 2012:11). *Women* were also mentioned in the context of taking leading roles in participation in counter-terrorism activities operating on the UN side of the Strategy. Thirdly the word *Women* was found in the context of Human rights in the Counter-Terrorism efforts put forward by the Strategy.

Words such as *He, She, His* (in the word's second context) and *Her* were primarily mentioned in pairs and found in S/RES/1989 three times each. The words are to be found in the context of the Ombudsman's obligations and work tasks during His or Her mandate working in the Counter-Terrorism Council. *Her* was also found in the framework of Human rights and the Human Right council. This in the same matter as *His* frequented in the matter of the Secretary General of the UN.

5.2   The message of the silent discourses– Critical Discourse Analysis

In this second part of the analysis, the methodology of CDA has been used to shed light on the silent discourses of the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy, seeking to make deeper analytical reflections regarding the manifest results presented in the Quantitative Content Analysis. Here the contexts of the gendered words presented in the first part are analyzed, as well as the silent discourses of what is not manifestly stated in the text. The theoretical tools presented in the operationalization, such as the narrative description of women as Beautiful Souls, constitute the basis for my CDA of the Strategy (see 2.5 Operationalization). The visualization of the terrorist in the Strategy is openly stated and the terrorist is described and understood within the counter-terrorism agenda, which is explored in the next section.

The aim of CDA is to present gender stereotypes and other socially constructed power relations within society, such as social class and race relations, through an intersectional perspective. The stereotype of women in the Strategy is dependent on the one constructed of men, which in its own is a construct related to socially constructed power relations. CDA enlightens how discourses create

and constitute the social world and its surroundings, using the perspective of intersectionality to illuminate and identify power relations and hierarchies. My piece of critical research is thus normative in that it seeks to identify inequalities of different kinds. This is further discussed in the later stages of the analysis with a critical reflection of the analysis.

5.2.1 Stage one: a social problem with semiotic aspects

The first stage of the CDA, as previously presented, is to focus upon a social problem with semiotic aspects. This relates to the questions of research: *How is the narrative of terrorism and its gender stereotypes presented within the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy? When studying the Strategy, what is left out and not written?* The question here is to identify stereotypes within the Strategy and if an international security threat of terrorism can be seen as an effect of these gender stereotypes. The concrete social problem is the presence of gender stereotypes in the Strategy. The semiotic aspects of the gender stereotypes are the ones presented in the theoretical framework regarding CTS, in particular those relating to the creation of narratives in the post 9/11 context of terrorism. Bringing attention to the (latent) discourses present in the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy I seek to challenge the constituted and constituting knowledge of women as the passive actors in life, not capable of violence.

The discourses which are analyzed in the following stages are the discursive practices in line with the narratives of the *new terrorist* foremost related to the male gender and the *Beautiful Soul* related to the female gender. To some extent the discourses of the narratives of the *Mother, Monster* and *Whore* have been found – though they are foremost analyzed in the context of silent discourses and in contrast to what is manifestly written in the Strategy.

The aim of the Strategy is to implement an international system to prevent terrorism, through "multidimensional, comprehensive and integrated approach to combating terrorism" by "promoting dialogue, understanding and countering the appeal of terrorism; strengthening law enforcement and capacity-building efforts; the role of regional organizations in counter-terrorism cooperation; and promoting human rights and the rule of law while countering terrorism" (UNGA 2012:4).

5.2.2 Stage two: finding obstacles in the Counter-Terrorism Strategy

There are obstacles in the Strategy that are built upon discourses as narratives existing in the semiotic sphere creating stereotypes. In this stage these obstacles are identified through three sub-stages: location of the discourses; the relationship between the semiotics and the Strategy (concretely how the discourses impact on society); and concrete examples of the discourses (semiotics) as well as the interdiscursive message (the silent discourses) of the Strategy. With the identification of these, the objective is to bring understanding to how the problem,

here, the possible international security threat as a cause of gender stereotypes, is constituted as well constituting.

5.2.2.1 The location of the discursive networks

The discourses are found in one manifest and one latent context: the constituted and the constituting network of discourses. The UN constitutes the manifest discourse stating that terrorism should "not be associated with any religion, nationality or civilization" (UNSC 2011a:1). Thereby, according to the UN, "terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group" (UNGA 2006:2). At the same time the discourse is situated in a network with semiotic aspects giving space for the latent discourse's visibility and a second meaning to the first constituted reality. In other words, two separate but intertwined discursive networks have been found in the Strategy.

The first network identifies the terrorist through writings such as referring to "following the events of 11 September 2001" (UNGA 2012:14), leading towards a shift of the semiotic definition of terrorism, in line within the critique presented by CTS (*new terrorism*). Further examples of the *new terrorism* concept are found in the Strategy regarding education in human rights through intercultural dialogue and mutual understandings between the "Arab-Muslim world and the West" (UNGA 2012:9). The mentioning of Al-Qaida and the Taliban in two separate documents (see UNSC2011a and UNSC2011b), promotes the shift in the discursive network and gives a second meaning to the discourse of the terrorist as undefined.

The second discursive network, that of women, is separated from the first network, even if there is no manifest gendered identification of the terrorist or acts of terrorism. Through the appearance of the word *Women*, mentioned in the Strategy in the context of including women in the Counter-Terrorism Task Force and the protection of women in the international counter-terrorism work, women are placed in the discourse of the *good protection side* (UNGA 2012:11). This together with discourses, such as respecting human rights in the countering work and "including the rights of women and persons belonging to minorities" (UNSC 2011b:2) are signs of the hegemonic masculinity. Thereby the first discursive network in the Strategy is influenced by the hegemonic masculinity, by the gender silence that constructs the terrorist male which constitutes women as peaceful - Beautiful Souls - in terrorism.

The different discursive networks in the Strategy are presented in the same way as the discourses govern. First, the inclusion of whomever as possible perpetrator of terrorism: regardless of religion, nationality, civilization or ethnicity (UNGA 2006:2). Secondly the discourse of preventive work, situated in an intercultural dialogue between the Arab-Muslim world and the West. Lastly, the statement of the role of women implies that the genderless silence when women are not mentioned refers to men –in line with the hegemonic masculinity. The semiotic aspects of the networks are further discussed in the following part.

5.2.2.2 The relationship between the semiotics of the discourses and the Strategy

The semiotic signs[6] that are found through the location of the discourses impact the meaning and purpose of the Strategy. As argued above, the Strategy calls "for the promotion of dialogue, tolerance and understanding among civilizations, cultures, peoples and religions […]" (UNGA 2012:8) opening up for the possibility of anyone possibly being a terrorist. The order of network with symbolic signs leads on to dominating and guiding the Strategy in to a second meaning. By writings as such of 9/11, Al-Qaeda and the Taliban implicates bigger symbolism in the matter of terrorism of today as a cause of the *new terrorism* leading to the symbolism of other terror networks are subordinated. For example, the Strategy promotes an exchange of experience in the matter of terrorism. In this case, if the semiotics of the *new terrorism* would not be as strong as it is, female terrorism could have been detected. An example of this can be found in Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), where women have been taking an active role in terror-related activism (UNGA 2012:60). The problematic aspects of the terrorist narrative are the contradiction between what is promised to be the objective of the Strategy and the semiotic meaning. Narratives of the *Mother, Monster* and *Whore* could have been found if the LTTE – *old terrorism -* would have been taken more into consideration within the present UN Strategy (Sjoberg & Gentry 2007). As a cause of the semiotic network dominated by the *new terrorism* and the hegemonic masculinity, women are only found to be Beautiful Souls.

5.2.2.3 Semiotic examples and intertextuality

Which are the signs of the discourses in the semiotic network? Following the structure of the networks that have been outlined in the Strategy, a strategic plan to counter terrorism in all its forms has been found. Then narrowing it down to one specific kind of terrorism and lastly placing women in the Strategy.

According to the UN, "terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group" (UNGA 2006:2), and terrorism shall be condemned "in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes […]" (UNGA 2006:1). Through this the UN states that the terrorist does not correlate with a specific narrative of any kind, a statement that is mentioned repeatedly in the introducing chapters (UNGA2010:1). Since the terrorist does not have a narrative, the Strategy is calling for a "promotion of dialogue, tolerance and understanding among civilizations, cultures, peoples and religions […]" (UNGA 2012:8). At the same time, it calls for understandings and respect of Human Rights in the operative work which is indicative of protection of the vulnerable from the dangerous

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[6] Semiotic signs- words that have a meaning more than a word. For example, 9/11 is a date though it represents the Terror Attacks of 11 September 2001. The semiotic sign of 9/11 is therefore filled with meanings beyond its linguistic definition.

terrorists. By delegating to the member States to show "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the equal rights of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character" (UNGA 2006:1-2), the Strategy categorizes all human beings as being possible terrorists or peaceful souls. The Strategy opens up for a broad action plan, not directed pro- or against any groups. Thereby, in the manifest discourse, anyone can be *the terrorist* or *the victim.*

At the same time the Strategy is not as broad in the latent interdiscursive sense. Gender and sex are words only appearing in the context of protection – not as categories of whom terrorism should not be correlated with (regarding religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group). To some extent the message told from the statement is that terrorism can be associated with any one of the genders/sexes. In relation to the hegemonic masculinity and the narrative of Beautiful Souls, the silence of the male gender and the presentation of gender only in the context of protection, the terrorist is gendered to be male.

Secondly presented in the network of semiotics is the narrative of the male terrorist stereotype of the *new terrorism*. He becomes visible through examples of implementations of the Strategy through the work of UNESCO. The implementation efforts of UNESCO are made through education and promoting "dialogue between cultures to build a culture of peace and understanding" (UNGA 2012:9), so far between all the different cultures of the member states, but in the second sentence the exchange between whom is stated. As written in the document,

> [...] enhance mutual understanding and strengthen ties between societies in the Arab-Muslim world and the West. Furthermore, the Philosophy and Democracy Programmes of UNESCO aim to construct 'peace in the minds of men' by promoting philosophical reflections, research and all forms of dialogue through which critical thinking and mutual understanding are built. (UNGA 2012:9)

Hereby, the cultures of whom the international community should direct its efforts to is presented, stressing that the efforts should be directed towards the Arab-Muslim world – in line with the narrative of the *new terrorism*. The West is stated through the Strategy to uphold values of peacefulness. Understandings of the critique that is put forward in CTS is clear because of the values underlined by the quote directs the efforts of the Strategy exclusively to the Arab-Muslin world, as the West educates the Arab-Muslim world in 'good' values. Even though the first network of discourses contradicts the religious and cultural specific focus in the action to counter terrorism, the side effect of the stated Arab-Muslim world efforts gives a significant meaning to the discourse.

Though the semiotics of the discourse and the building of the narrative as someone from the Arab-Muslim world (in line with the narrative created by the media) does not stop here. The Strategy complements the discourse by promoting specific efforts regarding the countering of Al-Qaida and the Taliban, this by the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force establishing a Working Group on Dialogue, Understanding and Countering the Appeal of Terrorism concerning Al-Qaida and the Taliban (UNGA 2012:10). Thereby the Strategy implies that the

main efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force shall be made towards terrorism that is caused by Al-Qaida and the Taliban. Terrorist networks and groups have therefore been inscribed with a strongly mediated narrative as someone from the Arab-Muslim world, by the exemplifications, semiotics is strengthened and the narrative excludes other associations to terrorism.

Thirdly presented in the discursive order are women in their leading roles in the counter-terrorism project, by encouraging and "[f]ostering equal rights and opportunities for women and promoting their role and leadership in interreligious and intercultural dialogue are among the priority objectives" (UNGA2012:32-33), regarding the projects of education. The encouragement of promoting women is, as the quote shows, within the semiotics of the culture of the Other, in the intercultural–interreligious project launched by UNESCO. Thereby the narrative that is built up in the first discursive network is strengthened, that of the terrorist from the Arab-Muslim world. Women are as well presented in the context of The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Force through mentioning and proposal to interpret UN Resolution 1325. As written;

> […] increase the participation of women and to incorporate a gender perspective in all United Nations peace and security efforts. The Task Force is endeavouring to consider programmes and trainings to help women to deal with the effects of terrorism, to become active in the global campaign against terrorism, to build partnerships, and to take into account gender as a relevant human rights concern in the activities of the Task Force. (UNGA 2012:11)

The interpretation of 1325 is, as the quote entails, that gender perspectives are embraced by merely including women. This is the interpretation that is often made which is, and also a critiqued by FSS. Women are seen to be gendered, men are not. Women are seen to be Beautiful Souls, as the Strategy states, and by including women on the UN side, the countering work will grow stronger. The Strategy proposes investigations of the role of women in countering terrorism, thereby women and the narrative of her being a Beautiful Soul is constituted once again (UNGA 2012:73). Women in the matter of Counter-Terrorism are only possibly seen, through the reading of the Strategy, as active within the organization of UN. The Task Force, through resolution 1325, implies a gender perspective, leading up to the obligation to think about women in the matter of participating in leading roles and as well as respecting human rights. In line with the Beautiful Soul narrative, women are *good* humans and they need protection.

Lastly: the second role of the narrative of Beautiful Souls, the woman in need of protection. The quote regarding the implementation of Resolution 1325 conflicts with the argument of justifying wars by fighting for women since women are encouraged to take an active role in The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Force, but still justifies the narrative through the gendered perspective on respecting human rights. Repeatedly respect of human rights in the countering work is mentioned, with the complement of "especially Women and Children", "the rights of women and persons belonging to minorities" (UNGA 2012:40 &UNSC 2011b:2). Women become in this way synonymous with human rights and promotion of "interfaith dialogue and combating all forms of discrimination based on ethnic origin, gender, religion, nationality or political opinion" (UNGA 2012:55). She is not seen as the one that the member states should be protected

from, she is the one to be protected. She is the Beautiful Soul. What, then, does the categorization and mentioning of women as a specific case imply? It reiterates the message within the first discourse relating to terrorism can be made by *whomever*. As stressed before, the words gender and sex are not written into the document regardless of whoever the terrorist might be, in contrast gender and sex are categories mentioned in the contexts of human rights protection, constituting the stereotype of women as Beautiful Souls and men as terrorists.

5.2.2.4 The silent discourse

Since *Men* are just mentioned once in the Strategy, but *Women* are mentioned more often, (see Table 2, *Men*- 1 *Women*-7), does this imply that when there is no gendered term in the proposition of countering efforts of the Strategy, that the efforts are directed towards men? The one time the gendered word of *Men* appears in the Strategy is in the context of "peace in the minds of men", though *Women* appear in the context of involvement in the operative team, protection of- and the rights of women. To some extent, do then the discourses also lead to the understanding of the terrorist as the specific terrorist male narrative created in media (*new terrorism*)? Since the Strategy encourages the role of media narratives in the countering work, the terrorist the media exposes is the stereotype the Strategy is taking action against (UNGA 2012:5). Thereby the Strategy, through its semiotics, constitutes and is a part of a well-constituted view of terrorism in the context of *new terrorism*. The view excludes and contradicts the statements made regarding the terrorist being whomever regardless of nationality, civilization or religion. Partly caused by the hegemonic masculinity and the Western knowledge producing institutes in the matter of terrorism, the terrorist is created. Hegemonic masculinity constitutes the *new terrorism* through the gender specific statements in the Strategy, since women are the only gender mentioned in the Strategy and then also by not constituting women as terrorists- the rest of the statements without any gender definitions states that the terrorist is male (table 2). This is a definition that goes hand in hand with the narrative created by the media, with the main focus on the Arab-Muslim male as the terrorist and as the Strategy stresses, the post 9/11 context and the specific efforts to counter the terrorism caused by Al-Qaida and the Taliban.

Women are encouraged to participate on the UN protector side as well as being protected by the Strategy. According to these specific definitions and implementations of terrorism, women are not seen to be terrorists. Since one of the aims of the Strategy is to open up for dialogue and mutual understandings through exchange of experiences, women as terrorists could have been found, as female terrorism has been experienced within member states. Since women are constituted as Beautiful Souls rather than terrorists it closes the opportunity of seeing them as potential perpetrators of terrorism. At the same time the focus on *new terrorism* within the narrative of the terrorist in media constitutes the well-constituted image of the male perpetrator. Though, the media (ex Jihad Jane) does also produce the narratives of the violent women, *The Mother, Monster* or *Whore,* but since this is a small part of terrorism, they are often individual and specific.

These narratives are not found in the Strategy - women are only presented as Beautiful Souls.

The narrative of the male terrorist, constituted through the absence of the wording of the male gender, as an effect of hegemonic masculinity, reproduces knowledge about the terrorist. This, in itself, can lead to an international security threat by excluding alternative views on the terrorist. In the same context women are found to be peaceful – not terrorists.

5.2.3   Stage three: who benefits from the discourses?

By excluding half of the population as possible perpetrators in terrorism, there are less human beings to be suspicious towards. Identifying the terrorist within a specific narrative and with specific attributes, narrows the security threat down, mostly focusing on the West being protected. As discussed in stage two, the majority of efforts in the countering work are directed towards intercultural and interreligious projects between the Arab-Muslim world and the West. The profit made from the system of discourses as it is today is the easier and narrower group to take action against. By not seeing women as terrorists, women do not have to be targeted by states, leaders and institutions. Something becomes a security threat once it is called to be so, if it is not well argued to be– it does not become one (Buzan & Hansen 2009:213). If women are not constructed as terrorists, they will not be seen as such and thereby will not be seen as a security threat.

5.2.4   Stage four: where do we go from here to make a change?

In this last stage of the analytical part of the Strategy, possible ways to change the system are proposed. Here the discursive practices that contribute to unequal power structures are presented, visible through the lens of intersectionality. The construction of hegemonic masculinity contributes to the silence regarding gender, and the Western-based knowledge production within the international society leads to the narrative of *new terrorism*. This is an effect of ethnic and racial hierarchies in society. These hierarchies contribute to the discursively constituted and constituting practices of the production of the narrative of the terrorist. A first initiative to make a change would be to use the media, as proposed by the Strategy, to be a driving force in the countering work (UNGA 2012:5). If the narratives of the media would change by un-identifying the terrorist this could lead to a change challenging the most basic media narratives regarding the terrorist, such as male residing in the Arab-Muslim world. This would enable us to consider women's role in terrorism. By changing the mediated narrative some changes could be made, as well as by recognizing and taking into consideration the *old terrorism* concept, since the Strategy promotes dialogue and exchange of practices; some of the member states have experienced other types of terrorism than the *new terrorism* and even terrorist acts perpetrated by women (UNGA 2008:2). By taking the *old terrorism* into account, education regarding

terrorism from a critical perspective (CTS) could be promoted in the aim of breaking the stereotype and changing the system.

The second initiative to challenge the system would be to make the Strategy more general operating by reviewing it, as well as gendering words and reflecting upon and rewriting other categorizations. The meaning and symbols of certain words, such as 9/11 or Al-Qaida, would need further explanations to keep the Strategy objective to operate against all forms of terrorism not only using the constituted stereotype since the Strategy is constituting in itself. As for the case of making women visible as terrorists – the wording of terrorism that can be made by whomever can be rephrased by adding the category of *gender* into "regardless of nationality, civilization or religion" (UNSC 2011a:1). And as a second step revealing paragraphs that are exclusively directed towards women, alternatively, adding ones regarding men (UNGA 2012:11).

5.2.5 Stage five: reflecting on the reflections made

In this last stage of the analysis, I reflect critically upon the reflections made in stages one to four. My reflections will be the basis of this analysis and my intersectional traits are thus significant. I chose this problem area to study since I am interested in alternative stories and constructions of women in the academia as well in media. Reflecting on the narrative of the terrorist, I found myself asking if there are acts of terrorism that are perpetrated by women. Through a literature review regarding female violence (such as by Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry), as I do believe in the power of words and the discursive constructions of society, I started to examine if women are targeted as terrorists to the same extent as men, resulting in this study. I am theoretically positioned in the schools of social constructivism and feminism and I favor perspectives that pertain to interest in intersectionality.

Not everyone would see the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy as a possible security threat in itself. If this is so or not depends on the position of the reader. The Strategy does not state in manifest words that women are not terrorists, but the interdiscursive reading does, which takes part of a normative field of research. Depending on whether or not the reader accepts the argumentation s/he finds different problems in the Strategy dependent on their context and social positioning. Does the reader believe that women can be violent and assume that stereotypes do exist and that the division of *new* versus *old* terrorism is of relevance? Then the latent and interdiscursive message can be accepted. This is the problem I refer to - the male stereotype of the terrorist excluding alternative views of the narrative.

In stage two (mapping the networks of semiotic discourses), the reader can see different problems and highlight different parts of the Strategy dependent on which ideological socially constructed power inequality that is most important for the reader. Here I have tried to make visible examples of intersectional character to show that the statements of the Strategy lead to stereotypes and locked images regarding terrorism. I wanted to illuminate the positioning of women in the

Strategy and the silence regarding the gender of the terrorist that was specified through countering programs, the example of UNESCO and stating the interreligious/intercultural dialogue between the Arab-Muslim world and the West and interpretation of resolution 1325. I am aware that not all readers will see the same problems of the quotes and examples stressed in stage two, although I promote them through the background of the theoretical framework.

In stages three and four (who benefits from the problem and how to solve it) I state that the ones benefiting from it are organizations within the society that targets terrorist activities. This is in line with securitization theory, when something is not called a security threat; it is not seen as a problem. Here someone else would say that it could also be the terrorist organizations and networks that benefit from the problem, but since this study focuses on the social practices of language and not physical operations, by this it cannot encourage terrorism on the behalf of the Strategy being too weak in its force to actions. The problem could be solved through a changed mediated narrative, education and rewriting the Strategy away from the narrative of today. This solution is in line with the idea that words are deeds and carry power; by changing the wording, the discourses will be changed. Because the discourses constitute and are constituted by the social; society can be changed if the discourses are. Analysts who do not believe in the power of wording and phrasing would see other solutions to the problem, but as mentioned before, s/he would not see the problem to the same extent to begin with. The solution put forth by someone from another scientific perspective might propose a more radical change or just hushing the problem. Since the stereotype of women as peaceful beings the idea that women are not capable of violence-why change the stereotype?

6 Concluding remarks

In this Bachelor Thesis, the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy has been analyzed by critically questioning and unpacking discursive constructions of women as Beautiful Souls which make women invisible as perpetrators of terrorism. The theoretical framework employed consists of: Critical Terrorism Studies; Feminist Security Studies; the Beautiful Soul narrative; narratives of the Mother, Monster and Whore; and the study of silent discourses. The Strategy has been analyzed on the basis of the methodology of Quantitative Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, thus identifying both the manifest and the latent messages of the Strategy and as such making them visible.

Through CDA, narratives of the terrorist have been found as a male from the Arab-Muslim world – even though the Strategy urges states to take action against all forms of terrorism independent of nationality, civilization and religion. The stereotype of women as Beautiful Souls is also found by including women in the countering work, as well as the need of considering and respecting women's (specific) rights in the operative work of the Task Force. I have outlined and problematized these discourses and thereby revealed the stereotypes present in the Strategy and specifically the ones regarding women, with focus on the construction of women as fragile and in need of protection in the countering work. Regarding the Strategy at an interdiscursive level, women are not identified as possible terrorists- which in itself can lead to an international security threat.

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8   Appendix: Tables for Quantitative Content Analyses

Table 3.

A/66/762 - United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy: activities of the United Nations system in implementing the Strategy.

Gendered word	Frequency
Male	0
Female	0
Man	0
Men	1
Woman	0
Women	5
He	1
She	0
He/She	1
His	8
Her	2
His/Her	2

Table 4.

A/RES/60/288 - The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy

Gendered word	Frequency
Male	0
Female	0
Man	0
Men	0
Woman	0
Women	0
He	1
She	0
He/She	0
His	0
Her	0
His/Her	0

Table 5.

A/RES/62/272- The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy

Gendered word	Frequency
Male	0
Female	0
Man	0
Men	0
Woman	0
Women	0
He	0
She	0
He/She	0
His	0
Her	0
His/Her	0

Table 6.

A/RES/64/297- The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy

Gendered word	Frequency
Male	0
Female	0
Man	0
Men	0
Woman	0
Women	0
He	0
She	0
He/She	0
His	0
Her	0
His/Her	0

Table 7.

S/RES/1989(2011)*- Resolution Security Council 1989 (2011)

Gendered word	Frequency
Male	0
Female	0
Man	0
Men	0
Woman	0
Women	0
He	3
She	3
He/She	0
His	3
Her	3
His/Her	0

Table 8.

S/RES/1988(2011)*- Resolution Security Council 1988 (2011)

Gendered word	Frequency
Male	0
Female	0
Man	0
Men	0
Woman	0
Women	2
He	0
She	0
He/She	0
His	1
Her	0
His/Her	0