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Research Topic

*The application of feminist mangement in the nuclear weapon discourse
using Scandinavian, particulary Sweden as an example.*

Bachelor Thesis

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Bachelor in Business Administration

Major in

International Relations

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Declaration of Authorship

“I hereby declare:

- That I have written this work on my own without other people’s help (copy-editing, translation, etc.) and without the use of any aids other than those indicated;
 - That I have mentioned all the sources used and quoted them correctly in accordance with academic quotation rules;
 - That the topic or parts of it are not already the object of any work or examination of another course unless this has been explicitly agreed on with the faculty member in advance;
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Date: 28th of May 2020

Name: Amanda Nådell

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Amanda Nådell', written in a cursive style.

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Amanda Nådell
Barcelona, Spain
28th of May 2020

“I have both feminine and masculine energy inside me. Both are so equally powerful.”

- Juansen Dizon

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Abstract

The current power norms and structure are two of the reasons why our societies are not equal. Nevertheless, it is even more clear in politics which traditionally has and still is male dominant. In this study, the power relationship in the nuclear weapon discourse will be presented. This study highlights the need of a gendered lens in the discourse. Furthermore, Scandinavian countries are known for being in the front row of diversity and equality. Therefore, this study is using Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden as examples and investigate if these countries can be seen as role models with feminist management in the nuclear weapon discourse. The methodology used for this study is semi-structured interviews, where the three interviewees were asked questions according to the topic. Moreover, the main findings from the interviews were; the patriarchy of today and its structure, how we look at masculinity and femininity and what we consider is rational, and how Scandinavia, particularly Sweden, are not leading by example in the gendered discourse concerning nuclear weapons. Lastly, the conclusion made from the empirical and theoretical data, feminist management can affect the nuclear weapon discourses in a positive way although the Scandinavian countries can not lead by example.

Keywords: Nuclear weapons, gendered lens, feminism, feminist management, gender equality, equality, masculine, feminine, power norms, TPNW, Scandinavia, Sweden.

List of Acronyms

Organisations

ICAN International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

ILPI International Law and Policy Institute

IR International Relations

NATO The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NPT Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons

TPNW The Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty/The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

RevCon Review Conference on the Programme of Action

UNA United Nation Association

UNODA United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs

UNIDIR United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

WILPF Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate if feminist mangement can impact current global power norms on the nuclear weapon discourse. In addition to this, Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden will be used as an example of feminist management and policy. Therefore, the purpose is to investigate if Scandinavian countries' way of handling the nuclear weapon discourse can be set as an example and be a role model for other countries where equality among men and women is not as high as in the Scandinavian countries. The main research question for this study is;

How could the application of **feminist management**, using Scandinavian countries, particulary **Sweden**, as an example, impact current **global power norms** concerning the **nuclear weapon**

1.2 Gender Equality

The world today still has a long way to go in the work on gender equality. It is a fundamental human right that women and men are and should be equal. Furthermore, it is crucial for our societies to become peaceful (The UN, 2020). It is an ongoing battle even if we have come far, it is still not enough.

Furthermore, the fifth Sustainable Development Goal is; Gender Equality. It includes not only equality it does also address empowerment of women and girls. Since the establishment in 2016, of the 17 goals, the UN has reported progress. However, the overall number and measurements are still high. It is not a surprise that one of the main issues that still show high numbers are the low level of women participation in politics. To add on, those countries which have legislated gender quotas have a higher number of women elected in comparison to countries which have not legislated quotas (UN Sustainable Development, 2019).

1.2.1 Peace and security

Gender equality in the peace and security work is essential. According to UN Women, women's participation in peace work have been shown to be a contributory factor to achieve longer peace after war and conflict. Still women are being excluded in processes and negotiations for peace (2020).

1.2.2 Women and nuclear weapons

This study will focus on gendered discourse and nuclear weapons. According to ICAN, the gender aspect regarding nuclear weapons can be divided into three categories (2020).

- Women are more vulnerable to ionizing radiation than men. Whereby the radiation harms women more and there is a higher risk for women to get diseases such as cancer etc.
- Decision-making is and has traditionally been countered by male dominance. • The discourse is gendered as possessing and using nuclear weapons are seen as masculin and the opposite is seen as weak and feminin.

1.3 The gap

Prior to this study, an extensive research was made on firstly how women are affected by nuclear weapons, which power norms exist around these weapons and lastly where does the Scandinavian countries stand in the discourse. The gap found was between the nuclear weapons discourse and if Scandinavian countries are leading as an example in the nuclear weapons discourse with a feminist manangement approch. This due to, that

i.g Sweden is world know for their largest feminist government and the other Scandinavian countries has women as their head of government.

Therefore, the aim for this study will be to identify the Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden's, approach towards nuclear weapons and if they can potentially lead by example in a discourse which is highly dominated by power norms and masculinity.

1.4 Outline of the study

Chapter 2. Literature review

In this chapter the theoretical data collection will be presented, where the main areas are directly connected to the questionnaire, as feminist theory, feminist management and nuclear weapons.

Chapter 3. Methodology

In this chapter the methodology approach chosen for this study will be presented. The reader will as well be given an overview over how the empirical data will be collected, the interview method, the participants and organisations for the empirical data.

Chapter 4. Findings

In this chapter the empirical findings will be presented from the interviews. The data is put into different categories depending on the questions asked during the interviews. A discussion will be presented at the end of this chapter.

Chapter 5. Summary

In this chapter the conclusions, recommendations, future studies and limitations are presented.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Chapter 2 of this study, will present the theoretical data collected, the literature review of existing research on the topic and key information that is crucial for the background of concepts, keywords and theories.

The literature review will begin with explaining feminism and the feminist theory that exist today and how it has evolved to a movement. Further on, nuclear weapons will be explained as well as how these weapons are managed today, the global power norm. Lastly the reader will be given an overview over the Scandinavian countries and their governments.

2.1 Feminist Theory

One of the main pillars in this study is feminism and its intent. The word feminism has never and will never have one singular definition because it has taken a long time for the concept to be accepted in the modern world (Nådell, 2019; Hopkin 2016). The concept of feminism has developed throughout an injustice system which has derogated and diminished the women's place in society for decades (Chinn and Eldridge Wheeler, 1985).

Furthermore, Cain (1989) argues that feminism was born as a product of a patriarchal system where men have created different categories within society, and therefore it is men who have basically given women a definition. Furthermore, Delmart (1986) states that in order for discrimination to stop towards women due to their sex there is a need for a change in society, as social, economic and political. Therefore a person who is in favour of these views can be referred to as a feminist or a supporter of feminism (Delmart, 1986).

In addition, another aspect of feminism and its definition should be treated as a theory. This is supported by Professor Joan W. Scott (1988) who wrote in her book, *“Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Post-structuralist Theory for Feminism,”* that *“we need theory that can analyze the workings of patriarchy in all its manifestations-ideological, institutional, organizational, subjective-accounting not only for continuities but also for change over time. We need theory that will let us think in terms of pluralities and diversity rather than on unities and universes. We need theory that will break the conceptual hold, at least, of those long traditions of (western) philosophy that have systematically and repeatedly constructed the world hierarchically in terms of masculine universals and feminine specificities”*(p33). In other words, a feminism theory is needed in order for society to change the hierarchy among men and women.

Feminism and its concept has brought women together which have created movements all over the world. Writer Winifred Breine, wrote in her book *“The trouble between us -*

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An Uneasy History of White and Black Women in the Feminist Movement” in 2006 that *“the movement that began by questioning women’s secondary status and ranged far and wide as it examined all aspects of female experience, including gender, race, class, sexuality, work, family, religion, law, and culture”* (p6) . This is also supported in the paper *“What is feminism?”* by Owen M. Fiss (1994) where he wrote that *“Feminism is the set of beliefs and ideas that belong to the broad social and political movement to achieve greater equality for women”*.

Another aspect which needs to be taken into consideration is women in power and what impact feminism has on it. In the latest Global Gender Gap Report from 2018 showed that there is still a major gender gap on average, by 32% globally. Positively there is upgoing trend and improvement in the covered countries (World Economic Forum,

2018).

Even though there is an upgoing trend it is slow and it will take time before societies become equal (The Fawcett Society, 2018). To add on, in the report “Sex an Power 2018” by The Fawcett Society it is stated that in the last election in the Eurpean Parliament in 2014, 41% were women. Furthermore, researchers have shown that there is a positive relationship and correlation between gender equality and level of democracy. This was argued in the “*Gender Equality and Democracy*” report by Inglehart, Norris and Welze (2004) where they showed “*the relationship between a society’s level of civil rights and political liberties, and the percentage of women in the lower house of parliament*”. In other words, in the 65 included societies (80% of the world population) the “*higher level of freedom as well as high on civil and political liberties had a higher percentage of women in their parliament. Countries which had a low level of freedom had natural then a lower percentage of women in parliament.*” (Nådell, 2019).

In this study, feminism is defined as an ongoing movement of compassion which has the goal of changing power norms in societies and the collective by making all levels and labels equal. The goal of feminism today is not only achieving equality between men and women, it includes all groups which are not seen as the norm and have a secondary status in society.

2.2 Feminist theory in International Relations

The theory of feminism in International Relations can be found back in the 1980s (Tickner, 2006). According to Runyan it began when women started to ask where women are in international affairs (2018). However, during the World War I women met in the Hague in 1915, which is now the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which today is considered to have a leading role internationally in feminist peace advocacy (Confortini, n.d). Furthermore, feminist scholars consider the global norm of IR to be mainly represented by realism and liberalism in particularly politics (Enloe, 2000a).

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Feminism theory and IR together has developed slowly and is still not incorporated, the main reason being that IR has still and was created for governments i.g in diplomatic matters. IRs roots are in political science and in contrast feminism has its roots in social movements (Whitworth, 1994).

2.3 Feminist Management

Another pillar in this study is the concept of *Feminist Management*. This study will give the reader an understanding of what feminist management means in this study, as well as what is on the contrary to feminist management, here referred to *management* or “*masculine*” *management*.

Today, there are several different types of leadership styles and the definitions of them. Here the focus will lay on how women have and still are underrepresented in leader positions such as CEOs and political leaders of today. In the latest Fortune 500 Companies list from 2019, 33 of those 500 had women as CEOs, an all time record (CNBC make it, 2019).

In addition to this, according to UN Women in June 2019 there were in total 11 female leaders who served as Head of State and 12 as Head of Government. To add on, CNN reported in April 2020 that “four of the five Nordic countries are led by women”, the latest added the youngest ever Prime Minister, Sanna Marin in Finland. Furthermore it is stated in the article that there is a need for more women in power positions and that gender equality is crucial for international security.

As written above, feminism has evolved as a concept due to political and social change and movements. Furthermore, feminists or people who believe in the meaning of feminism often tend to care and be more collectivity oriented and strive for its success rather than one man standing alone. Therefore putting feminism or feminist next to management could be seen as the contrary as management can and is often another word for control or authority or even dominance (Mauthner; Edwards, 2010).

Another aspect of management is that it could be read as an ideology, then it becomes political (Mooney Nickel, Eikenberry, Tech, 2006). Researchers have found that the political practise and the way women and men behave when they do business differ from one another, in terms of leadership differences. In the book “Gender and Elections. *Gender and Elections. Shaping the Future of American Politics*” by Susan J. Carroll and Richard L (2010), they stated the following; “*Women officials’ propensity to conduct business in a manner that is more cooperative, communicative, inclusive, public, and based on coalition building may well lead to policy outcomes that represent the input of a wider range of people and a greater diversity of perspectives*”(Pritzlaff, p2, 2010). This behavior could be referred to as a “*feminine leadership model*” (Pritzlaff, 2010) or in other words feminist management.

2.4 Nuclear Weapons

In this study, nuclear weapons are defined as a weapon of mass destruction which could harm and kill millions of civilians in a second (UNRCPD, 2020).

Nuclear weapons have not been used since the Second World War when the United States of America detonated in total two bombs over Japan, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in 1945. Since the bombings the General Assembly of the United Nations has been working on to dissarm all nuclear weapons (United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA), 2020).

Today there are five countries which are officially known to possess nuclear weapons by the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), *The United States of America (which include five host countries, Belgium, Germany, The Netherlands, Italy and Turkey), China, Russia, United Kingdom and France* (NPT, 2020). According to ICAN, there are other countries as *Pakistan, Israel, India and North Korea* which as well possess nuclear weapons but these countries are not officially known. The total amount of nuclear weapons is estimated to be nearly 14.000 (ICAN, 2020).

Due to the amount of nuclear weapons and the development of their power they possess, organisations as the UN have established treaties which goal is to disarm the weapons completely. Next topic will briefly introduce the most crucial treaties on nuclear weapons.

2.4.1 Treaties on nuclear weapons

Since 1946, the UN General Assembly has tried to eliminate nuclear weapons. There are currently many established multilateral treaties which aim to eliminate nuclear weapons, since the impact of detonating nuclear weapons could potentially jeopardize human nature for generations (UNODA, 2020).

In this study the main established treaties on nuclear weapons are:

- Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

NPT is a binding commitment between the 191 state members who have signed the contract, hence including the official nuclear weapons states. Its intent and goal is to disarm all existing nuclear weapons. The treaty was in force in 1970 and has since 1995 been extended indefinitely (UNODA, 2020).

- The Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty or the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)

TPNW was established in 2017 after months-long negotiations (UNODA, 2020). However in comparison to the NPT the treaty has not been signed by all member states and has not been enforced. As of today it is open for signing. The current number of

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signatories are 81 out of 191 members. The latest state who signed was Belize in February 2020 (ICAN, 2020). Hence none of the Scandinavian countries has signed the treaty. Only Sweden voted in favor of the TPNW during the negotiations while Norway, Denmark, Finland or Iceland did not participate in the negotiations nor has signed (ICAN, 2020).

The aim of the treaty is to prohibit any type of activity with nuclear weapons, including; production and developing, testing, posses or stockpile and lastly not use or even use as a tool to threaten e.g another state.

Furthermore, as this study focuses on the gendered discourse regarding nuclear weapons both treaties are in favor of less nuclear weapons, however, the TPNW includes and acknowledged the cost of nuclear weapons on human nature if it would be used as well as it acknowledge the fact that a detonation of a nuclear bomb would “*have a disproportionate impact on women and girls, including as a result of ionizing radiation*”, in other words making women more vulnerable for the consequences (TPNW, 2017).

2.4.2 The management norm of nuclear weapons

Nuclear weapons are often discussed as being a tool of showing strength and power. Nevertheless weapons and war in general are associated with showing of power, in other words it can be referred to as a patriarchal tool or a way of showing militarised masculinity (Acheson, 2018). In this study this is seen as the norm of management of nuclear weapons.

Furthermore, Mr Acheson discuss in his article “A feminist critique of the atomic bomb” that a feminist perspective on disarmament of nuclear weapons is a way of explaining and understanding how nuclear weapons can be used as a patriarchal tool. He also mentions that from a masculin perspective, not using any weapons or disarmament of nuclear weapons seem weak in contrast to having them, in other words a feminist perspective is in this context the weaker option. In addition to this he wrote; “*It helps us see how certain expectations about masculinity and femininity, coded through our social norms, mean that bombs make us strong and disarmament makes us weak. About how “more weapons” is rational and “less weapons” is irrational. About how those who want to challenge the dominant narrative are kept in line by having their manhood threatened.*” (Acheson, 2018).

2.4.3 Feminist aspect on nuclear weapons

Feminist scholars, such as Carol Cohn, began already in the beginning of the 1980s the discussion on gender and in particular the disarmament of nuclear weapons. The “norm” in their discourse was that masculinity was pro nuclear weapons and therefore more highly valued and equaled to be the more powerful option in contrast to disarmament which was seen as weak and feminine (UNIDIR;ILPI, 2016). Furthermore, the feminine aspect has been neglected due to the tendency of women in general care and have more

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concerns for the collective and, especially in this study, the harm and impact a detonation of nuclear weapons could have on human nature and the humanitarian consequences.

Since the first scholars began the discourse about gender and nuclear weapons it has reached the arenas of the UN. The next chapter will give examples of resolutions in favor of gender equality and women's involvement in the discourse about security and peace.

2.4.4 Resolutions nuclear weapons

As known, women in general in decision-making bodies are underrepresented, which is one of the key issues for gender equality. In the latest document published by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and the International Law and Policy Institute (ILPI) in 2016 on the topic “Gender, Development and Nuclear Weapons - Shared goals, shared concerns” one of the main topics were the relationship between nuclear weapons and gender, and how both are interconnected with one another. This has as well been recognized by the international community and is written in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEADW) from 1979, hence it focus on disarmament and gender equality (UNIDIR;ILPI, 2016 & OHCHR, 1979-2020).

Furthermore, in the latest *Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons* (RevCon 2015) the participation rate between women and men was approximately 27% to 73%. Comparing the general result for all UN members to the Scandinavian member states (incl; Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland) the participation rate between women and men was approximately 31% to 69%, a slight difference (UN, RevCon, 2015) .

Additionally, the Security Council has highlighted in several resolutions (e.g the United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 from 2000 (UNSCR 1325)) and been promoting the importance of how conflicts affect us differently, as men and women. Therefore there is a special need for women and girls to be protected during not only conflicts but also gender-based violence and, in this study the most essential, a women perspective on security, including nuclear weapons, and finally peace. In addition to the Security Council the General Assembly has as well developed and passed a considerable number of resolutions on the subject e.g “*Women, disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control*” (United Nations General Assembly resolution, 2014). In resolution A/RES/69/61 the importance of “*equal, full and effective participation of both women and men is one of the essential factors for the promotion and attainment of sustainable peace and security*” is stated and continues with “*the role of women in disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control should be further developed and in particular the need to facilitate the participation and representation of women in policymaking, planning and implementation processes related to disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control*”(UN General Assembly, 2014).

2.5 Scandinavian countries overview

This section of the chapter provides an overview over the Scandinavian governments. Throughout this study, Sweden is the main example however the Scandinavian countries are mentioned as well. Furthermore, it is essential to understand the background of the governments as i.e four out of the Scandinavian countries have female leaders as well as

three of the Scandinavian countries are members of NATO. The empirical data collection will potentially explain the current states of the Scandinavian states and their status in the nuclear weapons discourse.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Government</i>	<i>Ideology of Governm ent</i>	<i>Head of State</i>	<i>Foreign Policy Minister</i>	<i>Defence Policy Minister</i>	<i>NATO Member</i>	<i>Signed TPNW</i>
Sweden	Coalition	Left-wing	Stefan Löfven	Ann Linde (Previous Margot Wallström)	Peter Hultqvist	NO	NO
Norway	Coalition	Right-wing	Erna Solberg	Ine Eriksen Søreide	Frank Bakke-Jensen	YES	NO
Denmark	One party	Left-wing	Mette Frederiksen	Jeppe Kofod	Trine Bramsen	YES	NO
Finland	Coalition	Left-wing	Sanna Marin	Pekka Haavisto	Antti Kaikkonen	NO	NO
Iceland	Coalition	Left-wing	Katrín Jakobsdóttir	Gudlaugur Thór Thórdarson	-	YES	NO

Table 1, summary of Scandinavian governments.

Chapter 3. Methodology

In chapter 3, the methodology will be presented to the reader. Furthermore, which research approach that was selected for this study. Furthermore, the reader will also get

an explanation and overview of the participants and the organisations that were interviewed for the data collection. Lastly, the collection of the data will be explained, in other words, the questions asked in the interviews.

3.1 Research approaches

This study is considered to be a “business research” as its topic is related to business which relates to management, here feminist management (Bell, Bryman, Harley, 2018, p.4). In the book “*Business Research Method*” written by Bell, Bryman & Harley (2019), there are different approaches for conducting a business research. Those are deductive, inductive and abductive. In this study, an inductive research approach will be applied. *Inductive research approach* potentially creates theories with help from the empirical data collection and observations. It is common for the inductive research approach to collect data from interviews and focus groups, in other words grounded theory approach and qualitative data. To add on, the qualitative data is seen as the background of the theory (p.23).

As written above, this study will use existing theories, here feminism and feminist management, and link them with the collected qualitative data. This leads to the next chapter of the methodology, the research method used.

3.2 Research method

According to Lapan, Quartaroli, and Riemer (2012) there are two different methods, quantitative and qualitative. The difference between the two is often described among researchers as “*quantitative researchers count and qualitative researchers describe*” (Chapter 1, Historical Roots of Qualitative Research). The research method in this study will be based on qualitative data. For this study to be successful there is a need to understand how a feminist management perspective can affect the nuclear weapon discourse, either if it is total disarmament of the weapons or simply the power norms that surround them. In other words, the study’s intent is to show if there is a possible positive effect on nuclear weapons using feminist management and break the power norms that exists today as well as if Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden can lead by example.

3.3 Semi-structured interviews

For this study semi-structured interviews will be conducted. Semi-structured interviews are described as conversational and follow an informal tone where the answers by the interviewee are open (Longhurst, 2003). In this study a total of three persons will be interviewed both women and men, from different organisations which share the same goal of nuclear weapons, to be disarmed completely. The aim of the interviews is to gain a greater and deeper understanding on how the interviewees and the organisations see

today's power environment surrounding nuclear weapons and if feminist management could be a way to help the goal of disarmament. Furthermore, during the interviews there will be possibilities for the interviewer to respond to the interviewee's response, by asking supplementary questions. Which will potentially make the interviews seem more conversational.

3.4 Collection of data

The collection of the empirical data will be collected through semi-structured interviews. The participants will be asked questions according to the topic. It is essential that the questions will be as open as possible in order for the author to be able to extract as much information as possible, see section 3.3 semi-structured interviews.

The questions will be developed prior to the interviews, however depending on the conversation during the interviews the questions and the supplementary questions could differ. The questions that will be asked can be found in the appendix.

Furthermore, in order to make the interview's as time efficient as possible the interviews will be recorded, with the consent of the interviewees, and then transcribed. As the interviewees are from Sweden the interviews will be conducted in Swedish and then translated by the author, if nothing else is mentioned.

3.4.1 The feminist critique

A factor for the author to consider prior the interviews is the feminist critique regarding which method that should be used, qualitative or quantitative. According to Bell and Bryman, from a feminsit perspective, there is a possibility among women who interview women that barriers between them are created. Furthermore, it is important that the interviews do not become too familiar since then the answers by the interviewee can be biased. To add on, feminsit researchers tend to use the qualitative research method as it has been more "compatiable with their goals and norms" (2015).

In addition researcher Tickner described the feminist approach in reaserach that feminists tend to see the reserach as a journey, in other words it is an ongoing process (2006).

3.4.2 Selection of participants for semi-structured interviews

The participants in the semi-structured interviews were selected because of the nature of the organisations they work. In addition to this, the participants were selected as well

because of their experience in peacework, their general political understanding of the international community and their knowledge about the topic of this study.

Additionally, prior to this study, the first obstacle was to find participants who had the knowledge needed for the empirical data collection, for the information to be useful and

an addition to the theoretical data that was already collected.

For the reader to get a greater understanding about the participants and their experiences the interviews can be found in the appendix.

3.4.3 The organisations

The organisations which were represented by the participants were UNA Sweden, WILPF and ICAN. In the table (2) below the reader can gain a short overview of the organisations and the interviewees.

The interviews were conducted over either Skype or Zoom due to the situation of Covid-19 and the positioning of the offices for the organisations not being in Barcelona.

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Participant role</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>Type of Organisation</i>	<i>Number of interview</i>	<i>Date of interview</i>	<i>Duration of interview</i>
Interviewee 1	Senior Adviser on peace, security and disarmament issues.	UNA Sweden	NGO	1	12th of May 2020	35 min
Interviewee 2	Executive Director	ICAN	Member based organisation (International Campaign)	1	15th of May 2020	One hour
Interviewee 3	Policy & Advocacy Officer	WILPF Sweden	NGO	1	18th of May 2020	One hour

Table 2, summary of participants and organisations.

3.4.4 Analysis of interviews

To add on to this chapter, the conclusions made from the interviews will be drawn depending on the subjects and questions asked. After that it will be discussed in the finding chapter (4) as well as put into a matrix where the reader can more clearly understand the pattern between the interviewees and organisations.

Chapter 4. Findings

In this chapter of the study, the empirical findings will be presented from the interviews undertaken by the author with interviewees from different organisations. The findings will be presented in an organized structure depending on the theme and question asked in the interviews.

The interviewees were asked questions which are stated in the methodology, however the questions differed a bit since the questions asked depended on the responses from the interviewees. Though the questions asked were in the same category, as open as possible and led up to a discourse regarding nuclear weapons, feminism and the gendered lens.

Lastly, the findings will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

4.1 Similarities of the organisations and interviewees

As mentioned in the previous chapter 3.3.1 in table (1) there were a total number of three interviews, where the interviewees were from different organisations.

Similarities among the organisations found were their goal of working for total disarmament and prohibition against nuclear weapons. As well as how the three organisations work to demand a different political path concerning nuclear weapons in Sweden, here WILPF Sweden and UNA Sweden primarily since ICAN is an international campaign which does not focus on one country. Furthermore, the organisation or the interviewees in this study share the same vision of how the Swedish government is affected by NATO and the members, primarily the US, and depending on what the nuclear states say and what Sweden follows in order to not interfere with the relations between them and the US. In addition to this, the interviewees agree on the fact that Sweden is moving in the wrong direction in the work of disarmament of nuclear weapons.

Then we have the nuclear weapon states and the allies to the nuclear weapon states, as Sweden, who is unfortunately moving in the wrong direction and supports nuclear weapons more than before.

Executive Director, ICAN

4.2 Identified issues with the structure of the UN

In the interviews the interviewees were asked about the UN and their work for peace and security where disarmament of nuclear weapons are categorized under security as well as it was stated in the first resolution done by the UN in 1946. (Here UNA Sweden is excluded).

Initially, WILPF Sweden and ICAN considered the five permanent states in the security council to be one of the main problems as there is no higher decision-making body. Therefore the structure of the UN makes it difficult for other states to challenge the power, especially regarding nuclear weapons and security as the permanent states dictate everything from budget and which priorities they will make as well as they have their veto.

Furthermore, both interviewees agreed that the UN is a good organisation for states to meet and discuss, however the criticism against the UN is still that they do not do enough, one of the questions being nuclear weapons. Therefore, even though the structure of the UN is considered flawed it is still positive that the member states meet.

To add on, the overall representation of women in the UN is lower than men. During the last RevCon in 2017 the rate was 73% men to 27% women, however according to interviewee number three it is a quite good rate for being in the security and nuclear weapons discourse. Along with this interviewee number one added in the interview the following regarding the last RevCon:

If the women are under-represented as UN ambassadors, which they are, then it is quite natural that those attending the conference become an over-representation of men. It's not strange. More strange is that a feminist country like Sweden first got its second female UN ambassador this year. It's little remarkable.

Senior Adviser on peace, security
and disarmament issues

4.3 The lack of a gendered lens

As written before this study focus on feminist management and the gendered lens on nuclear weapons. The three interviewees gave their views on it and agreed that right now there is a lack of the gendered lens on the nuclear weapons discourse. An example, Sweden has the largest feminist government but the feminist policy is often referred to their foreign policy as the gendered lens Can not be seen in security and defence policy.

Furthermore, all interviewees mentioned the impact on women if a nuclear weapon would explode. To start with, the radiation harms women worse than men, since the uterus extracts more of the radiation and it affects the possibility of reproduction. Along with this women who have been exposed to radiation are more likely to obtain cancer. To add on, interviewee number 2 mentioned that today there is aswell a lack of studies on women and their vulnerability to radiation since men have and is often the reference to these studies.

Secondly, the interviewees mentioned that today there is a lack of the gendered lens in decision-making bodies as the nuclear weapon industry and discourse is very male dominant. Traditionally the participation rate has been low and is still today, and

therefore it is essential for a gendered lens to be included, since it should represent the civil society.

The feminist analysis which is a power analysis, and which you do to make structural change to reorganize, look at things in a different way and from the bottom reconstruct the way you do things, and that is the one that is the most difficult since it then threatens those in power, to add women to prevailing structures or approaches is for sure not as difficult even though we are not here yet, we are not done yet with it but to reconstruct, the will to do so is threatening for many who are in power.

Policy & Advocacy Officer, WILPF Sweden

4.3.1 The differences between the masculine and feminine concept Thirdly, whether the discourse regarding nuclear weapons is gendered depending on gender is the third argument for the needed gendered lens. According to the interviewees the discourse is gendered but not only in the sense of being a man or a woman it also includes how we look at what is masculine and feminine as well as what we consider to be rational in the discourse.

All of the interviewees pointed out the differences between the masculine and the feminine named approaches, especially interviewee number two and three. They described the difference and attributes of the masculine concept as being the one which is pro nuclear weapons. In other words the option which is considered to be strong and does not want to disarm nuclear weapons. Pro nuclear weapons, the masculine concept, is considered to be rational.

On the contrary is the feminine concept which was described by the interviewees as being pro prohibition and total disarmament of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the feminine concept and discourse regarding nuclear weapons are often misinterpreted and mistaken for being human rights as well as it does not belong to the discourse of nuclear weapons. Which can be discussed according to the quote below, the two correlate with one another.

But human rights are also security and the safer people feel the less conflict there will be.

Policy & Advocacy Officer, WILPF Sweden

To add on the concept which is “coded” feminine is considered to be the alternative which is weaker when it is compared to the masculine concept, as according to that it is better to possess nuclear weapons than not possess them. On the contrary science has proven the opposite according to interviewee number two.

While disarmament, negotiations and peaceful solutions, even though

science says it is safer. There are facts about this. The more weapons you have, the more likely you are to die in war and conflict. The smaller weapons you have, the safer and safer your population is. But still, it is portrayed as naïve, irrational, weak and less worthy.

Executive Director, ICAN

Additionally, there are always exceptions in both ways, i.g men can be feminine in their approach and vice versa. However still the general picture concerning nuclear weapons is gendered.

But I have also met a lot of female decision-makers who have proven to be just as much militant or more than some men.

In the longer term, I think the increased influence women have in the longer term will lead us on the right path.

Senior Adviser on peace, security
and disarmament issues

Lastly, today's society has a conception of what we think is important and therefore what is considered to be the “right” path and option for nuclear weapons, where the macho style of leading a government tends to be more valuable and rational, even if science have proved the opposite according to interviewee number two.

So the third thing is, our conception of what is important in society, what is strong and rational are based on some kind of masculinity as negative and positive. That's where we see the whole, as much problem as it is in the world, it's such a prime example right now with what's going on with Putin, Kim Jong-Un, Trump, Bolsonaro and all these, this incredible macho style and how bad it works. If you compare countries that have a smarter strategy, both in international relations, such as how to tackle climate change and a pandemic. I think that the science back up feminist policies a lot as better pretty much, though in some way we think it's weak and naive, irrelevant.

Executive Director, ICAN

4.3.2 Obstacles for the gendered lens

The nuclear weapon discourse is defined in this study as male dominant. Nevertheless it was clear from the interviewees, it is as well backed up by researcher Acheson where

militarised masculinity (2018). Hence this is the stereotype as there are always exceptions.

During the interviews the male perspective or the male dominance in the nuclear weapons discourse was mentioned several times. In other words, it was a clear clarification that women are today underrepresented in the discourse. As well as how patriarchal structures makes it difficult to apply a gendered lens and the feminist perspective as it is then refered to being naive and irrelevant.

Continuing, the patriarchal hierarchy can in some cases even be dangerous for women to participate in the sense the masculin approach tends to be more menacing and threatening in regard to nuclear weapons and in other forums.

Participation can also be, if you forget the remaining part, participation can be almost dangerous, if you put women in patriarchal structures it can be dangerous for women, even for men of course.

Policy & Advocacy Officer, WILPF Sweden

So there is not enough that I have enough nuclear weapons to completely annihilate the enemy, but I must have at least as many nuclear weapons, they should be just as pretty and as much "high tech". And I think that can be attributed to some kind of male drive in some way, but I'm not a gender scientist so I dare not cover it myself.

Senior Adviser on peace, security
and disarmament issues

But that is not enough, women also grow up with that this masculine and threatening style is more worthy, we have learned from the beginning that the feminine, we have to do it because otherwise we will be punished, and that it is worth less than the masculine. It is also a lot like female leaders are told to behave like men to get anywhere, that it is the wrong way to go, it is not something we should strive for that we all should behave like men but instead more that we should try to behave a little more like women.

Executive Director,
ICAN

This is indicating how female leaders are seen and in some cases can even be threatened in structures that are particularly male dominant, here in the nuclear weapon sector where it tends to be a male drive to have more and stronger arms.

4.4 “Sweden the largest feminist government”

countries, particularly Sweden (as the interviewees are from Sweden) in the nuclear weapon discourse. Sweden is internationally known for its feminist policy government, however whether it permeate the security and defence policy can be discussed as the interviewees share the same vision that it actually does not or next to nothing. Even though the Swedish government is doing a good job on equality and has put Sweden on the map for their work, equality is still left out in the discourse on nuclear weapons. On the other hand, interviewee number two mentioned that it takes time to implement it and that it will take time.

In addition, the interviewees mentioned that the Swedish government seems divided and could even be seen as “schizophren” in the nuclear weapons discourse. The government is internally divided on how Sweden should act in the nuclear weapon discourse, between the foreign policy department and the defence policy department. Where the previous foreign policy minister Margot Wallström was the one who pushed for Sweden's participation in the latest RecCon, while on the other hand defence policy minister Peter Hultqvist and the defence did not really realise what was happening when Sweden went into the negotiation for the TPNW. This has resulted in tensions internally among the departments.

Interviewee number one explained the situation from his personal point of view and how he can not understand how a feminist government can have the US as its ally when it goes against the feminist policy completely.

“I cannot understand how we can conduct a security and defense policy where the United States is one of our closest allies, when we pursue a feminist foreign policy where the United States is one of the foremost "enemies". I can't get it together. [...] But if Trump is re-elected then I **personally expect** (If I talk a bit outside my role at the UNA) that a country that pursues a feminist foreign policy also ensures that that line is reflected in the the security policy pathways, then we cannot have the US as our closest ally, but then we have to think about how we do with defense and security policy as well.”

Senior Adviser on peace, security
and disarmament issues

4.4.1 Pressure on the government

Both WILPF Sweden and UNA Sweden has pressured the government regarding nuclear weapons, an example being during the latest RevCon when WILPF Sweden lobbied until the end in the decision-making process. Furthermore, the two organisations meet decision-making bodies in order to give their perspective.

In addition to this, one of the main concern with the Swedish government is that even

though they promote the government as the targets feminist government in the world, it seem to only refered to the participants among men and women, and not fully the actions in questions as nuclear weapons as well as the knowledge about the gendered lens and

feminism between departments and ministers depends as not every department has gotten the education in it. To add on, it could as well be a part of the already existing culture at these departments, especially the defence policy department and foreign policy department.

4.5 TPNW and the indirect pressure of NATO and the US

The role of NATO and the US was mentioned in the interviewees as they play a big and important role in the nuclear weapons discourse. It was once again seen when the TPNW was established in 2017. Furthermore it became more clear how much indirect power NATO and their “main” member the US has over not only the member states but also non-members as Sweden. During the negotiations for TPNW NATO recommended their member states to not take part in the negotiations, therefore Sweden was the only country from Scandinavia who participated as they are not a member as well as the foreign policy minister Margot Wallström pushed for participation.

Today none of the Scandinavian countries has yet signed the TPNW, however Sweden is the country which is the closest to sign, and if Sweden would sign it would put pressure on Finland and Norway. The difference is that Norway, Denmark and Iceland are NATO members and that follows with policies in security, including nuclear weapons.

The main takeaway from the RevCon is how much the US can dictate surrounding security and defence policy in the international community. If they do not get their way, states are potentially threatened to lose the strongest ally they have, the US.

4.6 Summary of findings

The findings from the interviewer's can be summarized into three main findings or potentially three main limitations of practices in the nuclear weapons discourse. Firstly, the patriarchy of today and its structure. Secondly, the general view on what is masculine and feminine, which has resulted in stereotypes and an ideal which is seen as the rational option today. Thirdly, Scandinavian countries are leading countries in equality however it seems to be forgotten in the nuclear weapon discourse.

	<i>Interviewee 1</i>	<i>Interviewee 2</i>	<i>Interviewee 3</i>
<i>Disarmament as the organization's goal</i>	X	X	X
<i>Structure of the UN is flawed</i>	-	X	X

<i>Women more vulnerable for a</i>	X	X	X
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<i>potential nuclear bomb</i>			
<i>Lack of gendered lens</i>	X	X	X
<i>Masculine concept consider rational</i>	-	X	X
<i>Patriarchal structures obstacle for gendered lens</i>	X	X	X
<i>Lack of feminist perspective in foreign, defence and security policy</i>	X	X	X
<i>Sweden indirect pushed by NATO & the US</i>	X	X	X

Table 3, summary of answers from interviews.

The three main findings will be the groundwork for the discussion, which will be presented in the next and last section of this chapter.

4.7 Discussion

This section of chapter four will be dedicated to the summary of the findings, the empirics, as well as it will be combined with the theoretical findings. The aim is to divide the three main takeaways from the empirical data into a clear structure.

- Patriarchy

Despite the difference between the interviewees and the organisations the goal for working for an equal world seems to be the main part that binds the UNA Sweden, WILPF Sweden and ICAN together. Nevertheless, an equal representation of women is considered to be the first step towards a more equal world than we have today. The

representation of women in areas and questions as defence and security is very low as it could according to interviewee number three been seen as the last patriarchy sector that will be broken and become equal.

The patriarchy of today in the nuclear weapons discourse makes it difficult for other groups, mostly women, to give their perspective as it is considered to be irrelevant. Other perspectives than possessing nuclear weapons are seen as the weaker option since

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the norm is considered to be that if a country possesses nuclear weapons it is stronger and safer than countries who do not possess them or who are even working with other methods such as negotiations and peacework. Therefore, one of the main issues of the nuclear weapon discourse is the patriarchy structure and the hierarchy that it has currently. Scholars, as Carol Cohn, began already in the 1980s to discuss norms in the nuclear weapons discourse (UNIDIR;ILPI, 2016). Still today, the discourse has not made major breakthroughs yet. One way to interpret it is that the current social structure, that exists in most societies, could be a hindrance for feminism to fully bloom and to become another option, a better option. To add to this, the discourse strategy of today focuses on “in case of war” rather than working for preventing it even though the goal of the UN is to ensure stability and peace.

Furthermore, in the interview the patriarchy and the masculine approach was discussed as being the rational option today, it is the “normal” way today to rule and especially in areas as defence and security policy. Even though, according to interviewee number two it is safer to not possess weapons. In contrast to the masculine approach this would be seen as feminine and irrational. Hence, the United Nations Security Council has been promoting the fact that conflicts in particular affect women and men differently (UNSCR 1325). Therefore it would be essential for the masculine approach to understand and interpret other aspects of conflict and security, as it affects us all and even in different ways. It is therefore strange that the humanitarian aspect of the nuclear weapons discourse is seen as the weaker approach and is the one coded feminine. In other words, the option that cares more for the collective and therefore the security of everyone is seen as irrelevant and naive. Additionally, security is a human right.

- Masculine and feminine

In this study, the two perspectives that have been presented on the nuclear weapon discourses are; masculine and feminine. Furthermore, in the discussion on masculine and feminine approaches, in the nuclear weapons discourse, as said before, the feminine approach has many negative adjectives if looking through the glasses of the masculine approach. As stated in the empirical data and the theoretical data the masculine approach, the rational option of today, is the one that is considered to be the right path in security and here nuclear weapons. Other options have not been tested as it could potentially threaten power, in other words the ones that are challenging the dominance of today are not welcome. Challenging the power could be dangerous for groups that are not supporting the rational option.

On the other hand, in the theoretical data collected it was proven that there is a need for women to become and be in power positions as well as women participation is crucial for international security. This as well was found through the empirical data, that if the power is increased by feminine influence it will lead the power on the right path as well as will give other perspectives. Hence, this should be referred to stereotypes of the masculine and the feminine approach as there are always exceptions on both parts. However the general picture of today's power hierarchy corresponds to the empirical and

theoretical data collected for this study.

- Scandinavian equality as an example

In this study the Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden, are used as examples due to their work in the progress of equality where Scandinavian countries are doing well. Supposedly these countries can be put as a prime example in many matters of equality, however in the nuclear weapons discourse they are falling behind as this does not permeate in their defence and security policy.

The default in promoting equality in the nuclear weapon discourse are very much influenced by macro political differences in the international community where the need to please countries and organisations as the US and NATO is highly important in order to secure national security. However, the implication of this is accordingly to if there will be a war in the future.

Furthermore, even though i.g Sweden is not a part of NATO they are acting as if they were. One major example is the signing of the relatively new UN resolution of prohibition of nuclear weapons, TPNW. Sweden took part in the negotiations however after the resolution was established they can not find themselves to sign. Which is strange as the government of Sweden profiles themselves as the largest feminist government.

As in this study, it has been proven that feminism in the matter of defence and security policy is not yet achieved, where one of the examples is the unclearification in the question of nuclear weapons. The feminist aspect on nuclear weapons is working for disarmament of nuclear weapons. However, in the current power game and structure it is seen as a weak option due to the fact that it is believed that possessing weapons of mass destruction is essential to prove the strength of a state or organisation, NATO. Again this is in case of war and in the power game in the international community where countries threaten each other with detonating a nuclear weapon or weapons.

Furthermore, the other Scandinavian countries are depending on either each other or because of their membership in NATO. Norway, Denmark and Iceland are members of NATO and therefore it is difficult for them to sign TPNW as being a part of NATO a country is accepting nuclear weapons as a way of the defence. Then Finland is

depending on Sweden as they often follow Sweden. Therefore, if Sweden would sign the TPNW Finland would probably follow.

Nevertheless, the Swedish government will need to choose a path in the nuclear weapons discourse that goes and is accordingly to their outspoken feminist approach, which then would be to sign the TPNW, if they want to position themselves as a feminist government. As found out in the empirical data and theoretical data it is not enough with participation of women it is also essential to make decisions that reflect the idea of feminism.

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Chapter 5: Summary

5.1 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate if feminist management can impact the current global power norms on nuclear weapons by using Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden as an example. As a result of the findings through the empirical and theoretical data, the conclusion is that feminist management can affect the nuclear weapon discourse in a positive way, however, the Scandinavian countries can not lead by example with feminist management in this discourse.

- Feminist management and nuclear weapons

In this study, both the masculine and the feminine approach has been provided. These approaches are coded in different ways and today stand for different opinions in the nuclear weapons discourse. Where the masculine approach is considered to be the rational option. This approach tends to always refer back to war and “in cases there is a war”, and that states need to possess nuclear weapons as well as they are used as a way of threatening enemies. “In case of no war” is not taken into account as it then refers to being a weaker option, the feminine approach. However, even if studies have shown the opposite, that the more weapons a state possesses, the less safe the population feels.

Furthermore, the discourse surrounding nuclear weapons is still male dominant and makes it difficult for women to enter the discourse as women tend to think about nuclear weapons from another perspective, the humanitarian perspective.

An obstacle for feminism to enter into decision-making policies is the current power structure and the patriarchy that permeate internationally in governments, organisations and overall in societies. Therefore, here, it is very important for organisations as WILPF to advocate women’s rights and role in peace work and conflict. As, UN Women have concluded, women's role has shown a contributing factor in achieving longer peace after conflict (2020). The solution for the gendered discourse regarding nuclear weapons

would be to create a new rational approach, where it first of all thinks about the humanitarian consequences a detonation of a nuclear weapon would have on both men and women, but particularly on women due to the impact of the radiation.

- Scandinavia not a role model

As a result of this study it has been shown that the Scandinavian countries can not lead by example in the nuclear weapons discourse with feminist management. To start with, the three NATO members, Norway, Denmark and Iceland will not be able to sign the

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TPNW as in the NATO membership agreement nuclear weapons are a part of it. Furthermore, Sweden and Finland are not doing enough. Sweden has an outspoken feminist government, however it has not been shown in their foreign policy or the defence and security policy. It is not enough to have a high participation number of women in the government, it has to lead by an example and be able to make certain decisions in order to be called a feminist government. The Swedish government is doing a good job in terms of equality but still the gendered lens is not applied.

5.2 Recommendations

The outcome recommendations for this study is firstly education. Education is key to many problems of today. Not only does it teach us knowledge about certain subjects, it teaches us to form opinions about the knowledge that we have. Furthermore, that knowledge can be used in forms and movements as feminism. Therefore, it is essential that schools teach children different perspectives and that we are all equal. It is in school and the environment around us that shape our views on life, what is right and wrong and even what is rational and irrational.

The second recommendation is that we need to explore a new rationality in the nuclear weapons discourse, where the humanitarian aspects are far more important than being able to show strength in the international community. Imagine that the feminine approach is the rational option in today's discourse, where the power game between states does not exist of threats but instead knowledge and diplomatic views are the once leading the discourse.

However, in order for this to become reality the work on continuing including women need to be more extensive. As well as women need to be given and taken the chances of taking part in the discourse, because how can we expect the discourse to take another path and put women's rights and needs into the discourse if the representation is not equal?

In the end, if a nuclear weapon detonated we will all be affected terribly, therefore it is essential that we work to prevent that from happening by i.g signing the TPNW.

5.3 Future study

This study has not gotten into details of what happens with women's bodies when exploited towards the radiation, a potential future study field would be to explore that and then connect it to feminism and advocacy.

Furthermore, another aspect would be to study the environmental impacts that a detonated nuclear bomb would have. It could then be connected to how women and girls would be affected in terms of; would they need to flee and would that make them

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refugees?

Lastly, a future study topic would be to explore and investigate the women leaders of today and compare their style of leadership to the masculine norm in the nuclear weapons discourse.

5.4 Limitations of the study

To start with, a factor of limitation of this study was the lack of expertise and experience on research on the topic by the author. However, it was expected as learning is a part of the process and the aim was to investigate a new field which was not known for the author.

Secondly, the empirical data collection could have included other parts of the discourse. As this study is focusing in Scandinavian countries, other advocacy professionals from the other Scandinavian countries than Sweden could have been interviewed. However, it was difficult to find interviewees, many attempts were made without any result. In addition to this the number of interviewees could have been higher, as that would have given more empirical data and the patterns would have been backed up even more. However, the main factor why more interviews were not made was due to time as well as it is difficult to find interviewees for the subject of this study.

In addition, this study has not interviewees or taken into the account of those who are in favour of nuclear weapons. However, the aim of the study was to investigate the feminine aspect on it and as the coded feminine aspect is considered to be pro disarmament of nuclear weapons it was more interesting to collect data which is not the norm.

Moreover, the author made attempts to contact the Swedish government but without result. Therefore, a limitation in this study is the fact that the government has not been able to give their opinion on the discourse. However, it was discussed in the empirical. Another limitation in this study is the mother tongue of the author, as it limitates the collection of theoretical data and keywords for this study may not have been known for the author.

Lastly, in this study the idea of an international supreme authority is left out of the discussion due to it being difficult to fulfill.

“You educate a man; you educate a man. You educate a woman;
you educate a generation.”

- Brigham Young

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Empirical sources

- Interviewee number one, Senior Adviser on peace, security and disarmament issues, UNA, United Nations Association (Sweden). Took place on the 12th of May 2020 over Zoom and the duration was 30 minutes.
- Interviewee number two, Executive Director, ICAN, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons. Took place on the 15th of May 2020 over Skype and the duration was one hour.
- Interviewee number three, Policy & Advocacy Office, WILPF, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Sweden). Took place on the 18th of May 2020 over Skype and the duration was one hour.

Appendices

Questions

- Could you please describe to me your background, and how you became a part of X organisation?
 - (SV) Kan du beskriva din bakgrund och hur du blev en del av X?
- Could you describe the activities of X?

- (SV) Kan du beskriva vad X gör och arbetar för idag?

- How would you describe the discourse today regarding nuclear weapons? - (SV)
Hur skulle du beskriva diskussionen idag inom kärnvapenfrågan?
- Nuclear weapons is one of the pillars in UNs work when promoting peace and security, what are your thoughts on this?
- (SV) Kärnvapen ingår i FNs arbete för fred och säkerhet, vad är dina tankar om det?
- How would you position the Scandinavian countries in the nuclear weapons discourse? -
(SV) Hur skulle du positionera de nordiska staterna i kärnvapenfrågan?
- I have read that there is an increasing movement toward feminist management, could you please describe your thoughts on this?
- (SV) Jag har läst att det finns en ökande rörelse mot feminist management, hur går din tankar om det?
- Furthermore, I have read that there is a need for a gendered lens in the discourse on nuclear weapons, including the organisation you work for. Could you elaborate and describe your thoughts on this further?
- (SV) Jag har läst att det finns ett ökat behov av en könad lins inom kärnvapenfrågan, er organisation inkluderad, kan du utveckla och beskriva dina tankar om detta?
- Sweden and Scandinavian countries are known for having high levels of equality among women and men. Sweden has the largest feminsit government in the world. What are your thoughts on that, in your opinion is Sweden promoting this as well regarding nuclear weapons? How does that correlate?
- (SV) Sverige och skandinavien är kända för att var ledande i jämlikhet mellan män och kvinnor. Sverige har till exempel den största feministiska regeringen i världen. Hur går dina tankar kring detta, för Sverige en politik kring kärnvapen

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genom ett feministiskt perspektiv? Hur det liksom går ihop med kärnvapenfrågan och deras ställning?

- Throughout my research I have found that the power norm regarding nuclear weapons could be described as masculin and a patriarchal tool, meaning nuclear weapons is often a way of showing strength and power.
- What are your thoughts on this as well as your response to the fact that a feminist approach often stand for disarmament and therefore is seen as weaker in contrast to having these weapons?

- (SV) I den research jag har gjort har jag hittat att den makt normen inom kärnvapenfrågan beskrivs kärnvapen som ett maskulint och patriarkaliskt medel för att kunna visa makt och styrka.
 - Vad är dina tankar kring det här och att en feministisk approach oftast står för nedrustning och därför ses som det svagare alternativet?
-
- When the new treaty TPNW (Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons) in 2017 was achieved, Sweden was the only scandinavian country which was present in the discourse. What are your thoughts on the positioning of Sweden as a state and the other scandinavian countries?
 - (SV) Sverige var det enda landet av de skandinaviska länderna som var med under diskussionerna när den nya kärnvapen resolutionen TPN togs fram och röstades igenom. Hur ser du Sveriges och de andra skandinaviska ländernas positionering i frågan?