

Cracks in the IR Glass: The Evolving Relationship Between International Relations & Gender Equality

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INTRODUCTION

It is often said that if more women were at the helm of foreign policy, there would be more peace in the world. However--and despite the fact that women have played important roles--there is little research about the actual foundations of this claim.

While female leadership is increasingly gaining momentum, women involved in International Relations-related jobs, be it in academia, diplomacy, international organizations, government or international business, are still facing more difficulties than in other areas in climbing the seniority ladder.

Also, despite evidence of women's role in the diplomatic and international arena, the core historical narrative of international politics remained depleted of women.²

This article will review the status of women in International Relations (IR), discuss the main reasons why breaking the glass ceiling is more difficult in international relations than in other areas, and what can be done to change the situation.

DIPLOMACY: A MALE-ONLY JOB?

Sumerian city-states used diplomats to convey messages among kings. Diplomats existed in ancient India and China as far back as the 3rd and 2nd century BC. In Europe, diplomacy began with the first Greek city-states. Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and China were the first states that perpetuated environments of diplomacy. In Europe, early modern diplomacy's origins are often traced to the states of Northern Italy in the Early Renaissance. By the late 16th century, permanent missions became customary. The top rank representative was an ambassador. At that time an ambassador was a nobleman, as they were required to have large residences, host lavish parties, and play an important role in the court life of their host nations.

In those pre-modern centuries, when marriages defined the political map of Europe, royal wives and their ladies-in-waiting were recognized by their contemporaries as major diplomatic actors. Not to mention the role of Queens: the cooperation between Queen Mariana and Maria Theresa of Austria to achieve the marriage of Carlos II of Spain to the French Princess Marie Louise, a union that brought 14 years of Franco-Spanish conflict to the end, provides a telling

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² James, C. and Sluga, G.: *Introduction: The Long International History of Women and Diplomacy* in Sluga, G.; James, C.: *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, Routledge, New York, 2016.

example.³ In Renaissance Italy, dynastic brides were expected to perform diplomatic tasks from the earliest stages of marriage. Noblewomen destined for notable political union were trained to deliver speeches to foreign powers and to dictate and write letters in correct chancery style, so they could participate fully in official diplomatic networks and correspondence, as well as keep in touch with their influential relatives.⁴

By the XVII century, the title of *Ambassadrice* was given to women who accompanied their spouses to foreign posting and envoys were increasingly selected with consideration to the dynastic capital of their wives.⁵

As permanent foreign ministries began to be established in almost all European states to coordinate embassies and their staffs, the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) represented a turning point in European diplomacy: by establishing an international system diplomatic ranking and professionalizing diplomacy, women were essentially cut out.⁶ Meanwhile, in the new American republic, women were prohibited from working on government property and thus could not be hired by the Department of State or other federal agencies. They did, however, represent their country as wives of Diplomatic and Consular Service personnel serving abroad. Spouses were expected to socialize with their foreign counterparts, host receptions in their homes, volunteer for various charities and, in the latter part of their diplomat husband's career, mentor the wives of lower-ranking officers. Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, was one of the first spouses to assist her husband in his role as an American diplomat as she joined him at his post in Paris in 1784.

In the US, during the 19th century, more and more women were hired as part-time and then regular State Department employees, mainly in clerical jobs. Though women made periodic attempts to enter the full-time Foreign Service ranks, it was not until 1922 that Lucile Atcherson became the first woman to be accepted. Atcherson passed the Diplomatic Service examination with the third-highest score that year, and in April 1925 was assigned as Third Secretary to the US Legation in Bern, Switzerland. However, in 1927 she resigned in order to get married. The first woman to be appointed to a major diplomatic post was Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde, who was appointed minister (effectively Ambassador) to Denmark in 1933, followed by Florence Jaffrey Hurst Harriman who in 1937 was named minister to Norway. The first American woman to be appointed chief of mission at the ambassador level was Helen Eugenie Moore Anderson, named in 1949 to Denmark, while the first woman to achieve the rank of Ambassador was Frances Elisabeth Willis in 1962.

Among political appointees, Clare Boothe Luce certainly deserve a special mention. The former journalist and Congresswoman was appointed Ambassador to Italy in 1953 by Dwight Eisenhower. Her greatest achievement was the negotiation of a peaceful solution to the Trieste Crisis of

³ Mitchell, S.Z., "Marriage Plots: Royal Women, Marriage Diplomacy and International Politics at the Spanish, French and Imperial Courts, 1665-1679," in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, Sluga, G.; James, C., Routledge, New York, 2016.

⁴ James, C., "Women and Diplomacy in Renaissance Italy," in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, Sluga, G.; James, C., Routledge, New York, 2016.

⁵ James, C. and Sluga, G. "Introduction: The Long International History of Women and Diplomacy," *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, Routledge, New York, 2016.

⁶ Ibid.

1953–1954, a border dispute between Italy and Yugoslavia. Trieste had been declared an independent city-state, the Free Territory of Trieste, under the protection of the United Nations in 1947. The territory was divided into two zones: Zone A, governed by the US and the British and Zone B, controlled by Yugoslavia. Worried that the territory would escalate conflict in the region, Luce played a critical role in negotiations that eventually led to the signing of the London Memorandum, which granted civil administration of Zone A to Italy and Zone B to Yugoslavia.⁷

Despite the progress, it was however still very difficult in the postwar years for women in the US to be hired by and promoted within the Foreign Service. From 1961 to 1971, recruitment of women remained at seven percent and the rate of promotion was slow.⁸

It will not be until Alison Palmer brought a class-action discrimination suit against the State Department that things started to change. Palmer had begun her career in the Foreign Service in 1959 specializing in African affairs. Several ambassadors had objected to her assignment to their embassies in Africa in the late 1960s, and during one assignment, she was expected to act as social secretary to the Ambassador's wife. She then started an internal grievance procedure through the Department's Equal Employment Office charging sex discrimination. In 1969 Palmer, then stationed in Vietnam, was notified that the EEO had found in her favor but refused to enter the report in her personnel file. In 1971, she then filed a sex discrimination lawsuit which she won three years later. Her victory resulted in an order from management barring all discrimination in assignments. In 1972, the State Department overturned its ban on the marriage of female diplomats. It also took steps to improve inequities in housing allowances and in the recruitment process, and removed wives from their husbands' performance evaluations.

In 1976, after numerous attempts at getting higher ranking positions as a Foreign Service Officer, Palmer filed a class action lawsuit against the State Department for discrimination in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. After several years of litigation, a 1989 court order found that the Department had discriminated against women in the written portion of the Foreign Service Officer Test. In 2010, Palmer decided to terminate the lawsuit as all parties agreed that the State Department had finally demonstrated compliance of the court orders by making reparations to women who were affected and modifying the hiring system.⁹

The first woman to have a high-ranking position in the US administration was Reagan's Foreign Policy Advisor and US Ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick. She once remarked how she felt out of place in foreign policy meetings, such as those held in the "Situation Room": "I do not think there had ever been a woman in the room before because the male monopoly of foreign policy has been so complete."¹⁰

⁷"Clare Boothe Luce, A Woman for All TIME." *Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*. Accessed April 24, 2016. <http://adst.org/oral-history/fascinating-figures/clare-boothe-luce-a-woman-for-all-time/>.

⁸ "An Online Exploration of Diplomatic History and Foreign Affairs." *A Brief History of U.S. Diplomacy*. <http://www.usdiplomacy.org/history/service/representative.php#women>.

⁹ "The Palmer Case and the Changing role of women in the Foreign Services," *Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*, http://adst.org/the-stump/the-palmer-case-and-the-changing-role-of-women-in-the-foreign-service/?fdx_switcher=true.

¹⁰ Jeffrey-Jones R.: *Changing Difference. Women and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy, 1917-1994*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ, 1995.

After Jeane Kirkpatrick, Madeleine Albright, Condoleezza Rice, Hillary Clinton, Susan Rice, and Samantha Power became either/and U.S. Secretary of State, National Security Advisors and US Ambassador at the UN.

Starting 2002, Secretary Colin Powell's *Diplomatic Readiness Initiative* accelerated the process of recruiting the most diverse Foreign Service Offices (FSOs) in the Department history.¹¹ In 1985, 80 percent of the Foreign Service professional staff was male (and 72.5 percent white male); in 2005 the male/female ratio was 66/34 and white males constituted 54 percent of the total.¹²

During her tenure, Hillary Clinton sought to further rebalance gender equality in the State Department. She promoted women in many positions at State and, among other things, Melanne Veerveer was named as the first US Ambassador-at-Large for Women Global Issues, thus giving birth to a number of programs and actions promoting gender parity. Clinton is also said to have promoted an informal positive discrimination policy while she was at State. Positive discrimination is a policy used in countries like Scandinavia on the basis of which if two equally qualified applicants are competing for a job, a preference shall be given to the female candidate. She is also said to have enacted family-friendly practices to help women on her staff: she would for instance leave the State Department at a decent hour and continue to work from home to allow people on her staff to do the same.

Gender-streaming as an integral part of the US foreign policy continued under Secretary John Kerry.¹³ In a study of the data from 1994 to 2014, the State's Bureau of Human Resources found that women's promotion has been proportionate to their percentage when they entered the Foreign Service. However, in a more detailed breakdown of promotion statistics for 2014, the disparity in the rate of promotion in the higher ranks was significant. Of the women who competed for promotion from Counselor to Minister Counselor that year, 23.9 percent were promoted. Of the men who were eligible for the same rank, 30.3 percent were promoted. As the rank increases, the proportion of eligible women who competed decreased. Of the 379 officers who competed for promotion from FS-1 to Counselor, 33.5 percent (127) were women; of the 161 who competed for Minister Counselor to Career Minister, 27.3 percent (44) were women.¹⁴ Are fewer women promoted to leadership roles because they choose not to compete for higher rank, or are additional training and professional development required to aid in their quest? Additional research will help to answer that question.

Save the Soviet Union,¹⁵ in Europe women essentially started to be able to join the diplomatic career after WWII. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde's appointment as US Ambassador to Denmark in

¹¹ "Powell's Army." *Government Executive*. Accessed April 24, 2016. <http://www.govexec.com/magazine/2003/11/powells-army/15328>.

¹² "A More Representative Foreign Service." *A Brief History of U.S. Diplomacy*. <http://www.usdiplomacy.org/history/service/representative.php>.

¹³ "Promoting Gender Equality and Advancing the Status of Women and Girls," U.S. Department of State, <http://m.state.gov/md231391.htm>.

¹⁴ "The Palmer Case and the Changing Role of Women in the Foreign Services," *Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*, http://adst.org/the-stump/the-palmer-case-and-the-changing-role-of-women-in-the-foreign-service/?fdx_switcher=true

¹⁵ Herren, M. "Gender and International Relations through the Lens of the League of Nations," in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, Sluga, G.; James, C., Routledge, New York, 2016.

1933 sparked controversy in the UK. Mrs. Owen's appointment was not welcomed by her male British colleague in Copenhagen, who wrote:

*She is not a figure commanding undoubted respect ... [Her sentimentality] raised doubts that she was capable of setting forth impartially and objectively her country's point of view' or 'carrying on ... negotiations in involving sustained concentration and effort. [...] I should myself undoubtedly feel a certain hesitation in asking Mrs Owen to dine alone with me, particularly in a public place, at any rate more than once a year; whereas I might readily do so in the case of a male colleague.*¹⁶

The Foreign Office fiercely resisted attempts of opening to women--as it was happening in other fields of civil service. Among the argument presented were that it would be inequitable to require men to take more than their fair share of the less coveted posts barred to women, that the position of the husband of a woman diplomat would be embarrassing, and that admitting women would *incontestably affect the prestige of His Majesty's Government abroad*. Diplomats also said that they would be aghast at having to share an office with a member of the opposite sex.

In 1946, finally, British women were given the opportunity to become career diplomats. Yet, only 17 women were recruited between 1946 and 1951, among the hostility of older diplomats. The marriage ban persisted until 1973 and the Foreign Office remained very reluctant to send women to posts such as in the Middle East or to train them in 'hard' languages such as Chinese and Japanese as there was a good chance that their investment would be *wasted* once they got married and thus forced out of diplomacy. As many husbands continued to refuse to follow their wives around the world, in 1988 there were still only 284 married women in all grades of the Diplomatic Service. (Unmarried) Barbara Salt was the first woman to be offered an ambassadorship (to Israel) in 1962, but unfortunately, sudden ill health prevented her from taking up the post. Anne Warburton was next, in 1976, when she became Ambassador to Denmark. Veronica Sutherland was the first married woman to be appointed to an ambassadorship, in 1987, followed by Juliet Campbell. But both had married quite late in life and were childless. As of today, none of the four major Embassies—Washington, Paris and the Permanent Representatives to the UN and the EU—has even been held by a woman.¹⁷

As the case of the marriage ban shows, the special status that the diplomacy holds within civil service makes it possible to strip women of their basic rights without creating public outcries. A case in point is parental and sick leave which, especially in European countries, is especially generous, but not when it comes to diplomats. For instance, in 1967, the Italian Foreign Ministry established that—when stationed abroad—anyone taking leave for more than 60 days would lose her/his job, thus clearly discouraging women to have children.¹⁸ Due to the misogynous corporate culture and of common practices of discrimination against women, no one has yet challenged this in court, nor has the Foreign Ministry felt compelled to change.¹⁹

Overall, therefore, diplomacy continues to be a mainly-men affair, especially at the highest levels of the professional ladder. Only 29 percent of the chiefs of mission at the State Department

¹⁶ Stanley, Martin. "Civil Servant." *UK Civil Service*. <http://www.civilservant.org.uk/women-diplomats.html>.

¹⁷ Mc Carthy H.: *Women of the World. The Rise of the Female Diplomat*, Bloomsbury, London, 2014.

¹⁸ Cfr. Art. 183 of DPR 18/1967

¹⁹ Cogliandro, P., "Women in Italian Diplomacy: Perceived and Experienced Burden in a Male Dominated Organization," *Donne Diplomatiche*, http://www.donnediplomatiche.net/uploads/1/4/1/2/14125668/women_in_italian_diplomacy.docx

and of senior foreign positions at USAID are held by women; 29 percent of the staff at the EEAS headquarters are women and 19 percent of the EU head of Delegation are women.²⁰ In the UK, women hold 22 percent of the senior management positions in the Foreign Office;²¹ in Italy—despite the fact that since 2010 women outnumber men in applying for the diplomatic service—women represent 20 percent of the total, out of which 4 percent hold the rank of Ambassador and 7 percent that of Minister.²²

The situation is however totally different in Scandinavia. The Swedish Foreign Ministry created a mentoring scheme that has greatly benefitted new female recruits; in 2013, for the first time, Norway's foreign ministry named more women than men to head the country's embassies and general consulates around the world.²³

WOMEN LEADERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The League of Nations was the paradigm of a new, multilateral, public oriented international relations, where connections, networks and technical know-how mattered, opening new perks to women's participation. Article 7 of the Covenant created "international civil servants," who were given diplomatic immunity and extraterritorial status. Article 7 also prescribed that "All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women."²⁴ This opened new possibilities for women—who were generally still banned from the national diplomatic services—to be involved in international relations. Indeed, women played a role in the formation of the League, either directly in the delegations (for instance as Red Cross representatives) or through the women's international organizations that lobbied the negotiations.

Despite their small number, their difficulties in climbing the ladder and their reduced salaries as compared to men, the women working at the League's Secretariat attracted the interest of the press and sparked discussion about the (eventual) role of women in diplomacy.²⁵ They also served as role models to other women, thanks to articles like Constance Drexel's "Young Women contributing and Brain Serve in the League Headquarters."²⁶

The League was also the first place where a woman, USSR's Aleksandra Kollontai, served as an Ambassador Plenipotentiary. However, as the League declined in the 1930s, so did the role of the women in it: as the staff was reduced, the cuts were primarily directed to women; as the fascist totalitarian regimes rose, less women were appointed by the member governments to serve in the

²⁰ http://eeas.europa.eu/images/top_stories/2012_eeas_speech_rome_women-in-diplomacy_en.pdf.

²¹ <http://www.civilservant.org.uk/women-diplomats.html>. Cfr also: Mc Carthy H.: *Women of the World. The Rise of the Female Diplomat*, Bloomsbury, London, 2014.

²² Cogliandro, P.: *Women in Italian Diplomacy: Perceived and Experienced Burden in a Male Dominated Organization*.

²³ "Most New Top Diplomats Are Women." *Norway's News in English*. 2016. <http://www.newsinenGLISH.no/2013/08/20/most-new-top-diplomats-are-women/>.

²⁴ Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 7.

²⁵ Wright, H. "Women in International Politics – Their Past and Future. Can a Woman be a Diplomat?" *The North American Review*. Vol. 248(1) (1939), pp. 100-109.

²⁶ Drexel, C. "Young Women Combining Beauty and Brains Serve in League Headquarters." *The Washington Post*. September 9, 1929.

League. The remaining women were put under pressure by regular evaluations and increasing demands of administrative work.²⁷

The League successor, the UN, is probably the most advanced among international organizations when it comes to gender equality and women empowerment, both internally and in terms of policies.

Gender questions have been raised in conjunction with human rights questions from the UN's inception, promoted by a group of highly active women diplomats and activists. The pioneer was certainly Eleanor Roosevelt, who chaired the UN Commission on Human Rights, which drafted the UN Declaration on Human Rights. When, in December 1945, President Harry Truman offered her a position on the first United States delegation to the United Nations, she hesitated because of her lack of diplomatic experience; yet, she brought to her job as chair the skills she had acquired as political activist, reformer, and advocate for those excluded from power. Roosevelt herself regarded her role in drafting and securing adoption of the Declaration as her greatest achievement.²⁸

Following the activism of pioneers like Roosevelt, the *Commission on the Status of Women* (CSW) was established by the UN in 1946. Over the years, a number of reports have highlighted the underrepresentation of women not only in national assemblies and politics, but also in UN delegations and the UN system. The CSW thus called for a *Women's Year* to be held in 1975. This was accompanied by a global conference in Mexico City, followed by the *UN Decade on Women* culminating with the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The institutional architecture also progressed over time. From the *Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women* (DEDAW) in 1967 to the *Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) in 1979, the normative and legal framework strengthened, while the establishment of funds such as the *UN Development Fund for Women* (UNIFEM) and the *International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women* (INSTRAW) offered opportunities for capacity building. This institutional development of gender issues culminated in 2010 with the establishment of UN-Women.

Global Goal #5 of the Post-2015 Development Agenda, adopted by the UN General Assembly in the fall 2015, is to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. Gender empowerment is thus a horizontal policy, crosscutting UN programs and policies to the limit of having created a paradox: in states in which women are generally more disadvantaged (e.g., literacy, health), quotas have ensured a high degree of political representation. Elsewhere, however, women may enjoy a higher degree of human development and employment but are politically under-represented.²⁹

The UN did not just commit itself to supporting and advancing gender equality, women's issues, and women's rights across the world; it also recognized the need to reflect the same issues within its own organization, both as employer as well as a political organization. In 1988, the

²⁷ Herren, M. "Gender and International Relations through the Lens of the League of Nations (1919-1945)" in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, Sluga, G.; James, C. Routledge, New York, 2016.

²⁸ "Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," *The Task Force- Celebrating Eleanor Roosevelt*, 2008. <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/library/pdfs/sears.pdf>.

²⁹ Haack, K. "Breaking Barriers? Women's Representation and Leadership at the United Nations," *Global Governance*. 20 (2014), 37-54.

Secretary-General established a Focal Point for Women. The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action then called for strategies aimed at achieving gender equality by 2000. While this call led the Secretary-General to establish the *Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women* (OSAGI) in 1997, the implementation of quotas within anticipated deadlines proved to be overly optimistic.

The General Assembly adopted its first resolution committing itself to gender equality in 1986, aiming at a level of 30 percent of women’s representation subject to geographic distribution. It has since adopted eleven resolutions, raising the bar to 50 percent. References to the priority of geographic representation were dropped in 1990. Gender parity has now been achieved across the UN system at the lowest level of the professional ranks (P2). Some Secretariat departments have also achieved parity at higher levels, such as P5. Between 2000 and 2010 the proportion of women increased from 35.5 percent to 38.8 percent in the Secretariat and from 33.5 percent to 40.4 percent in the UN system. Change at the upper professional and managerial levels has however been slower: for levels D1–2 and assistant secretary-general, gender parity is projected to be achievable by 2036.³⁰

The first women appointed to UN leadership position were, in 1987, the British Margaret Anstee, named head of the UN Office in Vienna (UNOV), and the Pakistani Nafis Sadik, appointed head of UNFPA. A wave of women were appointed during the terms of Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan. Yet, it is during Ban Ki-moon’s term that women have more widely assumed leadership of UN agencies.³¹

Equality between women and men is one of the European Union's founding values. It goes back to 1957 when the principle of equal pay for equal work became part of the Treaty of Rome. The EU has made significant progress over the last decades. This is mainly thanks to equal treatment legislation, gender mainstreaming and specific measures for the advancement of women. The *Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019*, published in December 2015, sets the framework for the Commission's future work towards improving gender equality. It reaffirms commitment to gender mainstreaming: a gender equality perspective will be integrated into all EU policies as well as into EU funding programs.³²

Yet, within EU institutions, things are less rosy. In the European Commission—the Executive of the European Union—at the college level, the overall men to women ratio has been 10 to 1; in the 2014-2019 Commission there are 9 women out of 28.³³ Among them, Vera Jourová’s portfolio includes Gender Equality. At the senior administrative level things are not better, as the table below shows.³⁴

	Level 1 administrators			
	Women (N)	Men (N)	Women (%)	Men (%)

³⁰ Haack, K., “Breaking Barriers? Women’s Representation and Leadership at the United Nations,” *Global Governance*, 20 (2014), 37–54.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² “Gender Equality.” *European Commission*. <http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/>.

³³ “Women in European Politics: Time for Action,” *European Commission*, Luxembourg, 2009.

³⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/database/015_en.xls.

Council of Ministers	1	10	9	91
European Commission	10	63	14	86
European Parliament	3	8	27	73
Total	14	81	15	85
	Level 2 administrators			
	Women (N)	Men (N)	Women (%)	Men (%)
Council of Ministers	9	25	26	74
European Commission	91	180	34	66
European Parliament	15	30	33	67
Total	115	235	33	67

Swedish Foreign Ministers Margot Wallstrom and her Nordic colleagues pressed EU High Representative Federica Mogherini to name a EU Special Representative on Women Issues. She finally appointed Mara Marinaki as the *EEAS Principal Gender Advisor*. Marinaki—who was the EU principal negotiator in the Iran nuclear negotiations—was already the most outspoken and passionate EEAS Senior official on gender issues. Questioned by Green MPE Ernest Urtasun about the functions and objectives of this new role, Mogherini answered:

“The functions and objectives of the EEAS Principal Advisor on Gender/PAG cover on the promotion of gender issues overall, and on women's rights more specifically. Ms. Marinaki leads the coordination of EEAS work on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, and on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), as well as on promoting proper accountability and ensuring EU internal/external coherence of relevant actions. Her priority is to enhance visibility and effective prioritization of the EU External Action on Gender and on the WPS agenda [...].”³⁵

Yet, as Mogherini stated: “The PAG does not have a specific budget, apart from the usual credits to allow her to carry out her duties (travel costs, etc.),” which means that the EU PAG will have little opportunity to have real effect on the EEAS or elsewhere.

Similar the situation in NATO: when in 2012, then Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen appointed the Norwegian diplomat and Deputy Perm. Rep. to NATO Mari Skare as the first NATO Representative for Women, Peace and Security. She was not give a budget nor real autonomy.

³⁵“The Creation of the 'EEAS Principal Advisor on Gender' Role - E-014702/2015,” *European Parliament*, Accessed April 25, 2016, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT WQ E-2015-014702 0 DOC XML V0//EN>.

NATO adopted a NATO-wide Equal Opportunities and Diversity Policy in 2003 but there is no quota system. Today, among the International Staff, NATO female personnel represents 31 percent of the A-grade staff. Yet, while at A2-A3 level women and men are almost in equal numbers, at A7 level the proportions are 20 percent to 80 percent in favor of men.³⁶

In elective legislatures, the situation is not better than in diplomacy. In the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, only 2 members out of 18 are women, while in the House of Representative they are 5 out of 46. In the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee there were 20 women out of 73 in the 2009-2014 legislature and they are today 13 out of 71 in the 2014-2019 one.

Curiously, while both Congress and the European Parliament had a woman Chair (Nancy Pelosi, Simone Veil, and Nicole Fontaine) never a woman has chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs or the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ACADEMIA

At the beginning of last century, the first women diplomats did not come out from the (then) newly established international relations academies. Academic-based access to diplomacy was in the hands of a mainly male group of scholars with a limited interest in integrating women.

Likewise, both the role of women as practitioners in international relations and the scholarly work of the few women studying international relations was widely disregarded. Among the exceptions, Florence Brewer Boeckel managed to place an article about "Women in International Affairs" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.³⁷ Yet, when Merze Tate, the first African-American woman to earn a Ph.D. from Oxford in international relations highlighted in her thesis the role of the many women's organizations active at The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907, she received ambivalent feedback from the scientific community.³⁸

In academia, women scholars in International Relations are still a minority: 77 percent of the IR faculty are male; women also tend to be more junior and less likely to hold tenure than their male colleagues³⁹ and just a minority achieve senior positions such as Full Chair.⁴⁰ The discrimination begins early in the career: 5 percent of male IR scholars receive their PhD from Harvard, as opposed to 2 percent among women.⁴¹ It continues along the career, when women are less likely to work at research universities: more women IR scholars (48 percent) teach at liberal arts colleges

³⁶ http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_topics/20120301_gender_and_diversity-gender_2012.pdf.

³⁷ Brewer Boeckel, F., "Women in International Affairs," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 143 (1929), pp. 230-248.

³⁸ Herren, M., "Gender and International Relations through the lens of the League of Nations (1919-1945)," in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, , Routledge, New York, 2016

³⁹ Maliniak, D.; Oakes, S; Peterson, S.; Tierney M.J., "Women in International Relations," *Politics and Gender*, 4(1) 2008, pg. 122.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

or universities without Ph.D. programs than men (39 percent).⁴² Scholarship by women is also not as well recognized as that of male IR scholars—a problem for the whole political science, as women are significantly underrepresented on the list of the 400 most frequently cited political scientists—and men out publish women by a ratio of two to one.⁴³ Women are also systematically cited less than men. This is likely because women tend to cite themselves less than men, and men (who make up a disproportionate share of IR scholars) tend to cite men more than women.⁴⁴

An article published by the *Monkey Cage* on the Washington Post showed only seldom are women invited to speak in panels about Middle East, and the same can be said about virtually any other branch of International Relations.⁴⁵

In international business, women only hold 21 percent of senior management positions globally.⁴⁶

In other words, in climbing the leadership ladder in IR-related jobs, whatever the nature of the job, women face more difficulties than they would already normally do.

The claim that is often made to justify the low number of women in IR senior positions is that there are not enough qualified women. This is a baseless claim commonly used in many fields to justify the absence of women in senior positions. During a 2012 presidential debate, Mitt Romney told an anecdote from the time he was elected Governor of Massachusetts:

“I had the chance to pull together a Cabinet and all the applicants seemed to be men... I said: ‘Well, gosh, can’t we find some women that are also qualified? And so we took a concerted effort to go out and find women who had backgrounds that could be qualified to become members of our cabinet. I went to a number of women’s groups and said, ‘Can you help us find folks?’ And they brought us whole binders full of women.”⁴⁷

THE DIFFICULTY OF BEING A WOMAN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

⁴² Ibid., 125.

⁴³ Ibid., 127-128.

⁴⁴ Maliniak, D.; Powers, R. and Walter, B.F. “The Gender Citation Gap in International Relations,” *International Organizations*, Vol. 67, Issue 04, October 2013, pp. 889-922.

⁴⁵ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/01/20/the-mysterious-absence-of-women-from-middle-east-policy-debates/>

⁴⁶ Kasperkevic, Jana. "These Charts About Women In Leadership Prove How Far The U.S. Is Behind The Rest Of The World." *Business Insider*. 2012. <http://www.businessinsider.com/women-worldwide-still-struggle-to-break-into-leadership-roles-2012-3?op=1#ixzz3U0B95hdF>.

⁴⁷ Parke, S., “Mitt Romney’s ‘Binders Full of Women’,” *The Washington Post*, October 17, 2012.

There is very little research about the role of women leaders in foreign policy and international relations, as opposed to male leaders, in International Relations. Compare for instance the abundance of research on the late French President Charles de Gaulle's foreign policy with that of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

In her book, *Women World Leaders*, Laura Liswood analyzed a number of Prime Ministers and Presidents, though she did not focus on their foreign policy. The Liechtenstein Institute on Self Determination at Princeton University issued a booklet in 2010 titled *Women Leaders in International Relations and World Peace*. But else, there is surprising little literature about the role of women as leaders in foreign policy and international relations.

We-BIND is an international research project financed by the European Commission and lead by Federiga Bindi the *Institute for Women Policy Research* in Washington that is working on shedding light on the concrete difficulties women leaders face in International Relations, with the aim of contributing to a more gender-balanced IR environment.⁴⁸

In any work that has an international relations component—be in academia, diplomacy, business or international organization—frequent traveling and living periods working abroad is an essential component of the job and a condition sine qua non for climbing the leadership ladder. The constant need to cope with different cultures, the need for eventual children and partners to adapt, are all variables that add to normal difficulties in keeping a life-work balance and succeed professionally.

Yet, managing the work-family balance in an international career and environment is often harder especially for women—especially those having a family—than for men, which are in fact a small portion of the so-called traveling spouses.⁴⁹ It is usually up to women to prepare the children and help them in coping with the move, choosing and organizing home etc., not to mention dealing with the challenges that having a traveling spouse often put strains on the relationship.

Not surprisingly, a constant that is so far is appearing in the research undertaken at IWPR is that successful women leaders in international relations either do not marry (or marry without children) or have a supportive partner that takes a step back in his profession to take care of the family, allowing the spouse to progress in her career. As seen, the reverse has historically been the case for men involved in IR. Yet, so far the professional decision of the partner has not been considered as a relevant variable in women empowerment. Federica Mogherini,⁵⁰ Catherine Ashton—not to mention Angela Merkel and Margaret Thatcher—are all cases in point. Hillary Clinton's career launched the moment Bill became the supporting spouse. But the same can be said for most women in senior IR positions: as most would privately concede, they could do it because either they did not have children/partner or because they were blessed with partners that took charge of the household. A case in point is Andy Moravcsik, Anne Marie Slaughter's husband: himself once an IR raising star in academia, at a certain point he decided to put his career to allow Anne Marie

⁴⁸ "WeBIND," Women@IR, Accessed April 25, 2016, <https://womenleadersinternationalrelat.squarespace.com/>.

⁴⁹ "Trailing Spouse – the Graveyard of Ambition?" *Six Degrees North*. 2014. Accessed April 25, 2016. <http://sixdegreesnorth.me/2014/03/07/trailing-spouse-the-graveyard-of-ambition/>.

⁵⁰ Bindi, F. "The Real Meaning of Mogherini," *Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, September 2, 2014; Bindi, F., "Female Leaders in Misogynous Foreign Policy: An Example to Follow," *Huffingtonpost.com*, May 30, 2014.

take up the post as Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton and then as the first female US Policy Planner.⁵¹

There is however more to the plate for women leaders engaged in international relations. As customs change across cultures and countries, so does misogyny, laws protecting against harassment,⁵² and the perception of what is appropriate and what is not for women. Women need to adapt more than men do. When working in a foreign country or negotiating internationally, women need to adapt their behavior and dress code more than men have to; they have to have a better control of the way they speak and of the hidden messages their body language may send.⁵³ What is considered appropriate in one country might in fact be completely unappropriated (or misunderstood) in another. This is even true across countries that share the same Western democratic values, such as for instance the US and the different European countries, mind you the rest of the world.

Women are also traditionally less prone to promote themselves. Diana Bilimoria, Chair of Organization Behavior at Case Western Reserve University, calculated that by the end of her professional career a woman will have earned \$2,120,731 less than her equally skilled and qualified male colleague, due to unwillingness/lack of ability to promote herself and negotiate accordingly.

Last but not least, as the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) denounces, there often happen *situational sexism* that is biased against women in the name of cultural sensitivity and practicality. The societal gender restrictions of the Middle East and parts of South Asia have offered a particularly fertile environment for this phenomenon historically and AFSA reports how male diplomats may slip into discrimination against their female colleagues once they are surrounded by a sexist culture, in the name of working effectively in the country.⁵⁴

HOW TO CHANGE THE SITUATION? STEP ONE: RESEARCH

The lack of research also means a lack of evidence—and narrative—about the effectiveness of women leadership in international relations. In business, the movement towards gender parity on corporate boards is making its way thanks to hard evidence showing the positive effects of having women on boards. Research in fact shows how gender-diverse corporate boards and societies where women are key participants outperform those with no women.⁵⁵ Is there a similar positive correlation with women leadership in international politics? This question can only be answered by a comparative analysis that will assess the impact of women leaders in foreign policy and international relations.

⁵¹Moravscik, Andrew, "Why I Put My Wife's Career First," *The Atlantic*. Accessed April 25, 2016. <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/10/why-i-put-my-wifes-career-first/403240/>.

⁵² Bindi, F. "Harassment in the Workplace: Why the EU and the US must Act," *Huffingtonpost.com*, November 26, 2014.

⁵³ Bindi, F. "Women Leaders in Foreign Policy: When Federica Mogherini Found her 'Voice'," *Huffingtonpost.com*, October 7, 2014.

⁵⁴"The Palmer Case and the Changing role of women in the Foreign Services."

⁵⁵ Stelling, Brande. "Why Female Board Members Are Good for Business." *The New York Times*, April 1, 2015. www.nytimes.com.

The We-BIND research network thus also aims to explore the question of what effectively women leaders achieved at the helm of foreign policy or international relations. What are the specific features that characterize women leadership in foreign policy and international relations? How do women leaders make the difference? What are the advantages that women leaders bring to the table when negotiating internationally? We know very little about all this.

Yet, there is enough material to be explored. Among *Presidents and Prime Ministers* one may want to recall women leaders like Margaret Thatcher, Edith Cresson, Tarja Halonen, Mary Robinson, Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Tansu Çiller, Angela Merkel, Maria de Lourdes Pentasilgo; Vigdís Finnbogadóttir; Hanna Sochocka, Kim Campbell, Mary McAleese, Julia Gallard, Golda Mayer, Vilma Roussel, Indira Gandhi, Megati Sukarnoputri, Luisa Dias Diogo, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, etc. *U.S. Secretary of State, National Security Advisors and US Ambassador at the UN* include Jeane Kirkpatrick, Madeleine Albright, Condoleezza Rice, Hillary Clinton, Susan Rice, Samantha Power. Prominent *European Commissioners and EU High Representatives* include Catherine Ashton, Emma Bonino, Viviane Reading, Anna Diamantopoulou, Margot Wallström, Nelie Kroes, Loyola de Palacio, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Monica Mocovei, Kristalina Georgieva, and Federica Mogherini. Prominent members of the Foreign Affairs Committees in Congress include Barbara Boxer and Jeanne Shaheen. Last but not least there is a (small) number of national Ministers shifted between national and international careers; examples include Christine Lagarde, Mary Robinson, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Michelle Bachelet, Kolinda Grabar.

Hopefully, the project will not only contribute academically to women leadership in international relations but also—just like the first women working at the League of Nations did for their contemporaries—will provide powerful role models inspiring new generations of women leaders in International Relations.

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