

# Women in Diplomacy: How is the Problem of Absence of Women in Diplomacy Framed by the UN?

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# Abstract

The following Bachelor's thesis is analyzing contemporary advocacy for more women in diplomacy by the United Nations (UN), with the help of framing theory. More specifically, it examines, (1) how is the absence of female diplomats represented as a problem? (2) What is represented as the causes of that problem? And finally, (3) what is represented as the solutions to that problem? The thesis examines one UN body: UNITAR, which is the only body that focus on the promotion of women explicitly in diplomacy. This is a single case study with a qualitative approach, and makes use of framing theory, based on social constructivism. Through gathering of outward-focused documents from UNITARs webpage, it has been observed that UNITAR frames the absence of women in diplomacy as an inefficiency problem. The argument is that by promoting more women in foreign policy, there will be greater productivity, enhanced economical growth and less poverty. The main causes of the problem are represented as a mix of societal, individual and organizational barriers. The solution to the problem is represented to be mainly training of individual women to improve skills needed to successfully carry out diplomacy, but also, to a lesser extent, training of organizations to inforce a gender mainstreaming approach.

Key Words: Women in diplomacy, framing, United Nations, women in foreign policy, international campaigns.

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# 1. Introduction

Diplomacy has long been considered to be one of the most prestigious and important professions in the world. However, even though half of the world's population consists of women, they have been heavily underrepresented in this field. Indeed, foreign policy in particular has been largely dominated by men (Youngs 2004, Neumann 2008, McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993, Tickner 1992, Sharp et al 2002). Rarely have women been allowed into this sphere, and if so, their role has mainly been unofficial, for example as a wife of a diplomat. Some have argued that there have been, and still are, numerous barriers that contribute to the exclusion of women. Others claim that women tend to be less willing to apply for these positions (Enloe 1990). According to McGlen and Reid Sarkees:

There is still a sense in government that the traditional fields of national security, defense, nuclear policy and intricate policy are just not things that women do. Women do social policy. Women do environment. Women do humanitarian things. (McGlen and Reid Sarkees (2001: 298).

Lately, the lack of women in this arena has been problematized, and many seem to have raised their voices in favor of increasing the representation of women in diplomacy. Nonetheless, the only international actor that actively promotes the importance of more women generally in diplomacy is the United Nations (UN). Since the UN is the sole, consistently active international voice on this topic, it is interesting to know exactly how they frame this as a problem. Traditionally, international politics has remained a male arena. Men have long naturally carried out interstate relations, warfare and sensitive diplomatic relations. The exclusion of women has been motivated by the view on women to not understand warfare and the sphere of International Relations have thus belonged to men (Sjöberg and Gentry 2007: 1-2). "Women in politics are channeled into certain areas of public that are perceived as 'women's issues'" (Tickner 1992 :2) and the view that men need to protect women, has remained (Sjöberg and Gentry 2007).

Military and foreign policy are arenas of policy-making least appropriate for women. Strength, power, autonomy, independence, and rationality, all typically associated with men and masculinity, are characteristics we most value in those to whom we entrust the conduct of our foreign policy and the defense of our national interest (Tickner 2007 :3).

What is the UN's relation to this view of the gendered roles of diplomacy? Since they are actively promoting women in foreign policy, this view is likely to be challenged by the UN and thus, the underrepresentation of women must, in some way, be problematized. Since the

lingering view were that women do not belong in foreign policy, what is the motivation for increasing their participation on this field now? How does the UN frame the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy? How is the absence of female diplomats represented as a problem, what is represented as the causes of and solutions to that problem?

The thesis has focused on two previous lines of scholarships: women in diplomacy and of frames used in previous international campaigns to increase women in politics. The first line of scholarship focuses on domestic-level factors that affect the entrance of women into foreign policy. However, there appears to be lack of research about international efforts to engage more women into diplomacy. The second line of scholarship focuses mainly on international campaigns on quotas and suffrage to promote women in politics, though there is no research on international campaigns to promote women in diplomacy. A combination of these two research gaps recognizes the lack of scholarship on frames used to promote women in diplomacy.

This qualitative single case study seek to help fill this gap and uses framing theory and idea analysis to answer three more specific questions about how the UN frames the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy: (1) Why is the absence of female diplomats a problem? (2) What is represented as the cause of this problem? And (3) what is represented as the solutions to this problem? This thesis begins with a literature review, discussing prior scholarship in the research fields of women in diplomacy and an explanation of frames used in previous international campaigns for promoting women into politics. The second chapter announces the theoretical use of social constructivism and framing theory and concludes with an analytical framework that is developed in order to identify and analyze the findings. The following section formulates a more specific aim of this thesis, along with the above mentioned research questions. The methods chapter describes the application of a single case study along with an explanation of how data will be gathered and analyzed on the basis of idea analysis. These parts will eventually lead to the analysis chapter, identifying the frames, followed by a conclusion of the entire thesis.

## **2. Literature Review: Previous scholarship on women in diplomacy**

This thesis aims to contribute to two lines of scholarship with bearing on the question of women in diplomacy. The first line of literature focuses on women in foreign policy. The second line is about international campaigns for promotion of women into politics. We recognize that there is a lack of scholarship concerning the specific area of promotion of women into foreign policy making, and it is this gap our thesis seeks to fulfill.

### **2.1 The field of women in diplomacy**

Most of the already existing research about women in diplomacy explores the factors that influence women's ability to enter into foreign policy (e.g. McGlen and Sarkees 1993, Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008). The scholarship points to three general sets of factors that affect women's ability to enter foreign affairs. The first of these three sets of factors is individual-level factors, for example the difficulties women face in combining family life with a demanding and time consuming career (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993, Berkovitch 1990). Biological factors are also included i.e. that women are seen to be weak leaders by nature. The second set of factors are society-level ones, where "society continues to doubt that women can be equally as effective as men in leadership positions that involve direct dealing with other nations or other nationals" (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993: 299). The third set of factors is organizational, where organizations themselves put the failure of women on their gender rather than the person (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993).

Most of this research focuses on domestic-level factors that affect the entrance of women into foreign policy, generally the entry of women into particular ministries of foreign affairs (MFAs), which are usually dominated by men (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993, Neumann 2008, Youngs 2004, Dobrowolsky and Heart 2003, Beveridge et al 2000, Berkovitch 1990). However, there appears to be no research about international attempts to engage more women into MFAs and no scholarship that has chosen to focus on this issue on an international level. Also, the literature discusses why women should engage in foreign policy and the contributions they would give to this field (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993,

Hoganson 2005, Neumann 2008, Dobrowolsky and Hart 2003). This discussion is, however, limited when it comes to what women could contribute with in foreign policy.

Despite diplomacy being an extensive research field, which does not problematize or acknowledge that most diplomats have been male, there are a few scholars who do focus on women in foreign policy (e.g. Jeffreys-Jones 1995; Klingvall and Ström 2012; Neumann 2008). These scholars claim that the foreign policy sphere has mainly been considered a place for men, and women have been excluded from holding an official position in this field (Crapol 1987, Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008, Tickner 1992; 2001, Sharp et al 2002). "...military and foreign policy are arenas of policy-making least appropriate for women" (Tickner 1992: 3).

Further, the literature confirms that even when women were legally barred from foreign policy, women have always played an important role in diplomacy and international relations (Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008, Youngs 2004). However, this previous research shows that women's role has been as wives of these important men (diplomat wives), not officially as representatives for the state (Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008). Women have not been the official decision makers, but they have nonetheless been an important part of the diplomatic process (Jeffreys-Jones 1995, Enloe 1990, Neumann 2008). Yet, this unpaid type of labor has been seen as expected and taken for granted. Enloe effectively points this out in her book *Bananas, beaches and bases* (1990).

Government men depend on women's unpaid labor to carry on relations with their political counterparts. So long as the conventional politics of marriage prevailed, no government needed either to acknowledge or to accommodate diplomatic wives and women careerists. They could use marriage both to grease the wheels of man-to-man negotiations and to ensure that no women reached positions of influence (Enloe 1990: 123).

There is a clear gap in this field: there is only scholarship about domestic political factors that affect the entry of women into foreign policy positions. The scholarship does not let us know much about international factors that may affect women in diplomacy. The world is progressively globalizing and international relations become increasingly important. It is vital to acknowledge all the contributions to why the political sphere looks the way it does today. This, not least, because it affects the reasons to why efforts to engage women in foreign policy making are considered to be of importance today.

## **2.2 Frames used in previous international campaigns to promote women in politics**

Efforts to increase women's participation in foreign policy are not taking place in isolation. Multiple other international campaigns have sought to increase the numbers of women in legislatures, in the executive branch or as voters (e.g Towns 2010). There is a large body of scholarship exploring other international campaigns, research that is essential to this study. Also there is a significant amount of research about international campaigns for women and two main scholars that are frequently mentioned are Towns (2010) and Krook (2006;2009). Previous scholarship focuses mainly on two international campaigns: quotas and suffrage, and there is a large selection of literature on these campaigns (Towns 2010, Krook 2006; 2009, Ramirez 1997, Keck and Sikkink 1998).

The scholarship on quotas focuses mainly on gender quotas described as an increasingly popular way to encourage women into parliament in different countries (Towns 2010, Krook 2006;2009). "Legislature sex quotas generally demand that a certain portion of candidates for national legislatures be slotted for women, ranging from 20 percent to 50 percent. They may also involve the less common action of reserving legislative seats specifically for women" (Towns 2010: 3). The international actors that seem to hold the highest involvement and that are most frequently mentioned in earlier research are UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), the World Bank and the UN (United Nations). Something that is often mentioned in the literature is the United Nations Women's conference, where women around the world gathered and formulated strategies and goals on how to achieve involvement as full partners with men in every sphere of decision (Towns 2010, Krook 2006, Annesly et al 2007). Parliamentarians advocating for more women are exemplified. However, this is made by regional and national organizations.

What frames have been identified in previous scholarship on international campaigns for women? In both the campaigns for suffrage and quotas, the two most frequently mentioned frames are injustice frames and inefficiency frames. The international campaigns for women's suffrage used frames of the denial of the vote as an injustice to women (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). Furthermore, suffrage was seen as the most basic part of legal equality and opportunity (Keck and Sikkink 1998 and Ramirez 1997). Political equality was framed as one of the basic values of the liberal state, because without suffrage, there is no equality, liberty and democracy (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). However, Towns (2010) acknowledges prior claims about justice frames, but argues that the international campaign for women's suffrage rather framed the demand for women's vote as a matter of efficiency. The campaigners

claimed that women needed to be included in voting processes for the advancement of the civilized state, Towns contends. Allowing women to vote would allegedly advance a society and hence make it suitable for more as well as less progressive societies to adopt suffrage legislation to make greater progress (Towns 2010).

For the international campaign for quotas, Krook (2006) categorizes the need for legislative sex quotas as injustice framing, arguing that quota-adaptation are ideas about equality and just access to decision-making positions. However, Towns (2010) again recognizes these arguments from prior scholars, but argues that having more women in national legislatures is also framed in terms of efficiency. Quotas advocates claim that societies with low levels of women in politics have higher levels of corruption, and thus slower productivity, slower economical growth and greater poverty (Towns 2010).

There is a vast amount of research on promotion of women into legislatures and as voters. There is nothing written about international campaigns for promoting women in foreign policy or diplomacy, however, this thesis seeks to help filling this gap by analyzing the frames of this international organization (the UN) who promote women in foreign policy. International actors have influence in global politics and it is important to investigate how they operate in order to promote women's participation in foreign policy. Since women are underrepresented in many international organizations, it is vital to know how actors are taking actions to improve this situation and also to gain knowledge of why women's participation is important to this field.

The first line of scholarship discusses domestic political factors that affect the entry of women in foreign policy. Evidently there is lack of research on international factors that may affect women in diplomacy. In the second line of scholarship there is a lack of research on international campaigns for promoting women in diplomacy. Therefore, it can clearly be understood that the combined gaps identifies that there is a lack of scholarship on international attempts to promote women in diplomacy. This thesis will help to fill this gap by answering our research questions.

### **3. Theoretical Approach: Framing Theory**

In this chapter, framing theory will be explained and the different core parts of this theory will be described. In this research, framing theory will be combined with parts of an approach developed by political scientist Carol Bacchi called “What’s the problem represented to be?” This chapter will also develop an analytical framework, which includes insights from previous scholarship on which frames actors have made use of to promote women in politics or diplomacy. Before turning to framing theory, its constructivist ontological foundation will be briefly discussed.

#### **3.1 Social Constructivism and Framing Theory**

Framing theory relies on a social constructivist perspective as its ontological position. So what is constructivism? According to Bryman (2008:19) “Constructionism is an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors.” The fundamental assumption of constructivism is that reality is a social construct. This perspective assumes that ideas, beliefs, norms and identities shape and inform human actions and practices (Bacchi 2010, Bryman 2008, Towns 2010, Marsh and Stoker 2010). Bacchi has a similar explanation of what the definition of social constructivism is. She highlights the extent to which our understanding of the world is a product of social forces and argues that knowledge does not exist separately from the signs or statement that creates them. Bacchi has developed an approach named “What’s the problem represented to be?” (WPR) which is an approach to policy analysis with the focus on how these policies represent policy problems and the effects of these. This thesis will use the WPR approach since one of the theoretical traditions that it is drawn upon is social constructivism. This will help to provide useful resources for thinking about issues such as gender, gender mainstreaming, gender analysis and gendering practices. Another reason for using this is while the WPR is an approach to policy analysis, framing theory is a way to interpret reality and/or policy problems. In this sense the approach will be useful to analyze the policy problem found. By using social constructivism as our general approach, we assume that there is no given answer to exactly what a “problem” is, such as the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy.

A frame is a “process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue” (Chong, Druckman, 2007: 104). This concept of a

frame suggests that a problem can be interpreted in multiple ways (Chong, Druckman, 2007). Namely, that how something is presented influences the choices people make and how something is presented is a form of construct. However, framing theory incorporates some aspects of rational choice theory and is a set of theoretical perspectives about how different actors communicate about reality (Chong, Druckman, 2007). Frames are often assumed to be used intentionally and rationally in order to give a certain meaning to a problem rather than another and to thus construct certain solutions as the more or only feasible ones. This approach implies that by the frame building, actors have an influence on how the world is constructed. It also indicates that people may react differently to an issue, depending on how something is framed (rather than as a result of set preferences). However, framing theorists often assume that actors choose frames and their contents rationally.

Collective action frames are constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change (Benford and Snow 2000: 615).

According to Benford and Snow (2000), the framing process has three core parts: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing. This thesis will make use of the two first ones and combine them with Bacchi's WPR approach. The WPR approach consists of six analytical questions, which are there to generate critical thinking by questioning the presumed empirical status accorded social policy problems but also to envision different ways of thinking about problems (Bacchi 2009). This thesis will not make use of all of the analysis-questions formulated in Bacchi's approach but will rather use a modified version of these main ones: 1. What is the problem represented to be? 2. What are the causes of the problem represented to be? And 3: What are the solutions represented to be? (Bacchi 2009).

## **3.2 Diagnostic Framing**

Diagnostic framing deals with identification of problems and assignment of cause and/or blame. It is a process by which an actor constructs an issue as a certain kind of problem rather than another one. Diagnostic framing does also often articulate problems of injustice and stresses that social movements often occur as an antithesis to situations in society, situations that they see as wrong or unfair (Benford and Snow 2000). The first two questions of Bacchi's WPR-approach are connected to the diagnostic framing because diagnostic framing brings up both what the problem is and the causes of it.

### 3.2.1 Representation of the Problem

So what is represented as the problem? By looking at earlier scholarship, two framing components can be identified as common one's in modern western politics: injustice framing and inefficiency framing.

*Injustice framing* refers to the form of moral offense that involves awareness of human actors who carry some kind of responsibility for causing suffering and harm. According to Johnston and Klandermans (1995), this kind of framing is a belief that an act or a condition has caused people to suffer in an unfair manner. In an injustice frame there are no requirements that those actors who are responsible for the conditions are to be autonomous. These actors may be constrained by past actions of others and by more abstract forces, but this does not matter as long as these actors have the same role of creating or continuing the unfair and wrongful injury (Johnston and Klandermans, 1995). For example, the findings that women do not hold the same opportunities as men to be involved in foreign policy is, based on the literature review chapter, often referred to as unjust. Benford and Snow (2005) highlight how certain movements enlarge the victimization image and in what way they identify these victims of an assumed injustice. Injustice frames are consequently a matter of interpretation created by the actors who sees the actions of an authority as unfair (Benford and Snow 2000). In other words: the diagnostic framing does not only identify the problem, it also puts the blame for it on someone and by doing so a collective opponent to the movement is created. However, Benford and Snow (2000) point out that not all collective action frames are injustice frames. Nonetheless, they seem to be found everywhere amongst movements supporting political and/or economic transformation.

The frames this thesis identifies will be categorized into the analytical framework. It will be categorized as injustice framing if there is a clear recognition of the victimization of these women who deserve to be in diplomacy, or if the frame implies that women who want to be diplomats are treated in an unfair manner. It will also be seen as injustice if a frame recognizes that women's participation in foreign policy is a basic human right, which could be claimed by stating that the lack of their participation leads to that these women's views are not taken into consideration and is therefore unfair.

*Inefficiency framing* is also highlighted in previous scholarship (e.g Towns 2010). Inefficiency framing point to an increased efficiency, on the area of concern, by the inclusion of a group that has previously been excluded from that area. In the case of increasing women's

participation in politics, the differentiation of men and women as possessing different skills has been used as a tactic to argue for the importance of women's participation. Separation of the sexes with the argumentation of them as having different qualities was used for example for the justification of implementing quotas to increase women's participation in policy-making. "As a matter of democracy and markets, quotas are advocated as not only beneficial for women but as productive of general welfare" (Towns 2010: 159). To present the inclusion of the underrepresented group to be more efficient in some way and pointing out the benefits that will occur when this previously excluded group get included, is a type of inefficiency framing. Towns (2010) explain that when women enter decision-making bodies, issues such as childcare, violence against women and unpaid labor are focused on. Therefore it is not, according to certain advocates, efficient to have only men in the sphere of foreign policy. For example, the World Bank emphasizes that gender equality is an issue of development effectiveness and are not concerned with how it is a matter of justice for women or of being politically correct. It has also been identified that societies that discriminate based on gender have a higher poverty rate, weaker government, lower quality of life and also slower economic growth (Towns 2010).

The categorization of a frame as an inefficiency frame will be done when there is an argument that without women, the outcome will be less positive than with their participation. A frame will be categorized as an inefficiency frame if there is an argument that states that it is more efficient to have women in foreign policy. Where an argument implies that the inclusion of women will lead to another end e.g. economic growth, peace or improved dialogue. A frame can be sorted in this category if it mentions that women have different focus areas, which men do not consider, suggesting that it is inefficient to exclude women.

### **3.2.2 Representation of the Cause of the Problem**

In order to classify how the cause of the problem is framed, we will turn to the three sets of levels of factors mentioned in the literature review as developed by McGlen and Sarkees (1993), which will help define and explain some of the main causes that could be contributing to the exclusion of women in politics. This will help us tease out some of the possible ways in which the cause of the absence of women in diplomacy may be framed. These are: Societal causes, Individual causes and Organizational causes. In other words, the absence of women in diplomacy could be framed as an effect of for example individual causes, societal causes or organizational causes.

*The Societal causes* in this area concern sex and/or gender roles and stereotypes in society. Societal stereotypes are according to McGlen and Sarkees (1993) one of the most difficult exclusion variables to identify in a concrete way and they consist of societal values and mainly the legacy of these. One example of a societal factor is the notion that men have special attributes, attributes that are considered to be more attractive in relation to leadership positions. Men are seen to possess certain traits, and even though an increased amount of women have entered into leadership positions, the more attractive traits are still considered to be male. Another gender-role could be which part the woman should play in the societal sphere. Would she for example be most suitable as a policy-maker, or are women more suitable in care-taking jobs or even as housewives, with the main responsibility of looking after the family and/or household?

Frames, which specifically emphasize the collective view from the society, as women as main responsible for family, will be taken into consideration here, if causes such as these will be found. This form of cause often articulates difficulties for the individual woman herself to find a way to combine her marriage and family life with a high-powered career (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 1993). For a long time, women had to prove that their labor life would not have a negative influence on their family. "The prevailing image is that paid employment might jeopardize the wife's commitment to her domestic and maternal responsibilities, which are thought to be her primary ones" (Berkovitch 1990:3). Factors on difficulties for women to combine their family-role with a career will be sorted under societal cause, the motivation for this is that it illustrates how the society views the power-relation in the family. As previously mentioned, the societal factors are difficult to explicitly explain. However, here a frame will be sorted as a societal one if it mentions that society has a view on different traits for men/women and that men's traits are superior to women's, concerning foreign policy making.

*The individual cause* aims to the "private sphere" for the woman. It is individual cause if the problem rests on the individual and not on the norms created by the society. Statements that will be categorized as an individual cause are recognitions that women as individuals lack enough skills to be able to perform well on the diplomatic arena. The lack of skills jeopardizes women's participation on the field because men already have the required skills or knowledge and therefore are more appealing for attaining the decision-making positions. A family-barrier could be put also in this category of individual causes, depending on how the UN presents their argument. It is possible that it could be explicitly framed as women's choice as an individual to choose family over career, thus it could be acknowledged as individual cause.

*The organizational cause*, in turn, takes these individual and societal factors and put them together in an organization. Underlying assumptions and stereotypes of which roles or traits women possess, affect the roles women are assigned to in organizational environments. Since the problem has been, as shown in the literature review, that women have been excluded from power, men are dominant at the power positions at workplaces. This cause suggests that the climate at work makes it difficult for women to enter the field and find their place in the organizations male-atmosphere. “Duerst-Lahti has argued that the organizational culture of a bureaucracy or department will influence the attitudes and behaviors of the members of that organization, and thus the relative power and influence of women within the organization” (McGlen and Reid Sarkees 2001: 60). In sum, the cause of the problem could also be framed as an organizational one, as a problem of foreign policy organizations shutting people out. This can be executed through the organizations agenda setting, treating women’s topics as separate ones. This hinders women’s participation because their issues are not treated in the same way as men’s issues.

This description is implying that factors within an organization can or will affect to what extent women could enter this sphere. When classifying frames into the analytical tool we will look for text that mentions factors such as negative attitude on women’s participation from bosses and assumptions of what women are expected to contribute with within the organizational sphere. In short: the organizational cause frame look for traces which explains women’s roles in this organizational environment and look for indications of obstacles set out from the organizations themselves as barriers to women’s participation in the organization.

### **3.3 Prognostic Framing – Representation of the Solution to the Problem**

Prognostic framing is the expression of a proposed solution to the problem identified in the diagnostic framing. In addition to this, it identifies strategies to carry out this assumed solution. Benford and Snow (2000) state that this part of core framing deals with the question of what is to be done. This thesis will use prognostic framing in order to see what possible solutions/answers to our research questions that can be found. The third question in Bacchi’s WPR-approach: “What is represented as the solution of the problem?” is connected with prognostic framing, because it points out some kind of solution or a “plan of attack”. Examples or suggestions that, based on the literature review, could represent the “causes” and “problems” of absence of women in diplomacy were discussed previously. To facilitate the usage of the analytical tool, the proposed solutions to the problems represented to be will

be structured in the same manner as with the representation of the causes, namely by: Societal, Individual and Organizational solutions.

**Societal.** In this case, a solution can be to explicitly contribute to changing the norms in society, for example in areas such as gender mainstreaming in society, division of labor and the view on who is the main responsible for childcare. A solution that could assist in the formation of a more equal power distribution between men and women in family life, benefiting women and thus providing them the opportunity to spend time on educating themselves and therefore be more likely to develop skills required for a diplomatic career.

**Individual.** One kind of affirmative action can be categorized into individual cause. If there are certain kinds of disadvantage of being a woman when performing a specific job, training for women has been used as a way to assist the individual woman and thus improve specific skills required for that particular job. With the help of individual training women could be able to perform more effectively (Bacchi 1996). To conclude: this type of training is for women as individuals, which is why it is categorized as individual solution i.e. when the emphasis is on the responsibility of the individual.

**Organizational:** A proposed solution to these problems can be affirmative actions, also called positive discrimination. Unlike the affirmative action in the individual sector, these are directed towards an organization. Bacchi (1996) describes this as programs directed to targeted groups because of their unequal representation and the aim to thus increase this representation. Since foreign policy, as found in the literature review, has been seen as a male dominated sphere, affirmative actions can be used to promote women into nontraditional jobs, which are usually dominated by men. Some examples of these affirmative actions on organizational solution are quotas, and recruitments (Bacchi 1996). Recruitments have been as a way to promote women into different spheres where they have previously been underrepresented. Another example of affirmative action is quotas for women in the international sphere, with the expected result to involve more women in diplomacy and thus achieve a more even gender distribution. Furthermore, training can, as previously explained, be an individual solution, but also an organizational solution. The criteria for the frame to be categorized as an organizational solution is if the training is offered by the organization to all its employees, both men and women, in order to introduce a gender mainstreamed environment. This training focuses on encouraging all employees to achieve a workplace environment more suitable for both genders and provide them with the right tools to reach this goal.

From a historical perspective, quotas and different campaigns have had effect on this issue. Many countries have increased their representation of women, for example countries in Latin

America and Africa (Towns 2010). These campaigns were focused on domestic politics, for promotion of women into parliament. To conclude, existing scholarship mentions how campaigns and quotas have helped the promotion of women in domestic politics. However, the same actions could be used also to promote women in foreign policy.

**Table 1. Analytical Framework to Classify the Frames of the UN.**

<u>Frames</u>	<u>Questions</u>	<u>Possible Answers</u>
Diagnostic	a) What is the problem?  b) What is the cause of the problem?	Injustice Inefficiency  Societal  Individual  Organizational
Prognostic	c) What are the solutions?	Societal (norm-changing actions)  Individual (e.g. training)  Organizational (quotas, affirmative action policies, recruitments, training programs, equal opportunity plans)

## **4. Aim and Research Questions**

The aim of this thesis is to analyze contemporary advocacy for more women in diplomacy by the United Nations, with the help of framing theory.

More specifically we ask how the issue is framed:

- 1) How is the absence of female diplomats represented as a problem?
- 2) What is represented as the causes of that problem?
- 3) What is represented as the solutions to that problem?

## **5. Research Design and Methods: Single Case Study and Idea Analysis**

The method used is a single-case study with the aim to identify the frames used by the UN to promote women in diplomacy. The specific UN body that will be studied is the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), since it is the only UN body focusing on promoting women specifically into diplomacy. Outward-focused documents will be collected from their webpage, since these are the type of documents aimed to the public, and therefore are most likely to make use of framing.

A qualitative method will be used for the analytical part, an idea analysis will be applied to find in-depth meaning of the documents very ideas, and thus be able to identify UNITAR's frames. The method of analysis is based on the "What is the problem represented to be" – approach and supported by the analytical framework developed in the theory chapter.

### **5.1 Single Case Study of the UN Campaign**

The research design that will be used in this thesis is a single case study to identify which frames the UN uses for promotion of women in diplomacy. According to Bryman (2010), a single-case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case in order to identify a specific form of inquiry. In the case of this thesis, the UN forms a discourse about the need for women in foreign policy, this "campaign" is therefore seen as one case: one case of an international campaign to promote women in politics.

A case study informs theory in the manner that it is able to offer a more in-depth understanding of, for example, organizations. This understanding is also referred to as a "sensemaking" process. "Sensemaking is the manner by which people, groups and organizations make sense of stimuli with which they are confronted how they frame what they see and hear, how they perceive and interpret this information, and how they interpret their own actions and go about solving problems and interactions with others" (Berg 2006:285). This implies that a single-case study is the right choice for this thesis, because, as previously mentioned, it seeks to provide an in-depth understanding of the choice of framing by the UN. This is in order to see what frames are used for the promotion of women,

i.e what type of frames they use to represent why the absence of women in diplomacy is a problem.

Esaiasson et al (2012) point out that the difference between a case-study design and a comparative design is narrow. However, the aim of this thesis is to identify frames used by the UN, not to compare frames from different UN bodies. The aim is to identify UN's frames and categorize them according to the analytical tool presented in the theory chapter. Since the categories in this analytical tool are based on frames found in previous scholarship, it thereby looks for common traits with these frames. In this sense, the study does contain certain comparative elements. If the aim were to compare the frames of different actors to one another, a comparative design would be most appropriate (Esaiasson et al 2012). However, the only comparative element in this case will be the categorization of the identified frames into the previously found ones explained in the analytical tool. To clarify: the aim is not to be able to generalize the findings we make, but rather to identify the frames used by the UN and categorize them and to some extent compare them with frames found in previous scholarship about international campaigns to promote women in foreign policy.

The two most active UN bodies within the field of promoting women in diplomacy are: UN Women and United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR). Both of these are working actively to promote women in politics/decision-making. However, UN Women's focus is on general improvement of women's rights and in all spheres of politics, not specifically foreign policy. Since this thesis aims to answer the questions of which frames the UN use to promote women in diplomacy, UN Women will be excluded from the analysis chapter. In addition to this, UN Women have limited information or documentation directed to the public, mainly general guiding documents such as the Beijing declaration and platform for action, which is not backed up with their own frames. If this thesis were to select UN Women it would not be able to fully answer the research questions and therefore not accomplish the aim of this study. The only UN body that explicitly focuses on the promotion of women into diplomacy is UNITAR. Thus, the analysis will be performed on the frames of UNITAR, using their information through the webpage/documents and combine it with their general guiding documents, which will be further explained in the analysis chapter.

## **5.2 Gathering of Documents from UNITAR**

The type of data that will be used is documents collected from UNITAR. The documents relevant for our study are documents that are directed outwards toward other actors than the UN agencies themselves. The reason for this is that these are the kind of documents that

aim to convince others, and those are therefore the type of documents that are suitable for analyzing frames. By doing this, the information about UNITAR regarding their policies and motives will be achieved directly. The intention is, through careful reading of the material, to answer the questions put forward in the analytical tool and thereby answer the research questions. It will also be efficient to complement the analysis of these documents with another source, namely previous scholarship concerning international campaigns for promotion of women. However, this will only be used as a complement for the main data, gathered by analysis of the outwards-directed documents.

What could complicate the gathering of data could be for example difficulties to find relevant documents, when searching for data there might be an overflow of documents that cannot contribute to this research. This can also be the case when gathering data from prior scholarship and previous research. However, since the thesis is looking for documents that aim to frame an issue, it is believable that it will find enough of them in order to conduct the study. The documents will be collected from UNITAR's own webpage, if they point to the promotion of women in diplomacy and problematize their absence on this arena, they will be relevant for this study. Only documents that emphasizes the focus on the promotion of women in diplomacy will be relevant for the aim of this thesis, not ones that focus on the promotion of women in domestic politics. If the frames are weak, and this UN body is repeatedly referring to other guiding documents, then also these documents could be taken into consideration, but in that case only to support their own frames. The classification of a frame will be performed on the basis of the analytical tool developed in the theory chapter. It is possible to make use of more than one frame in each of the research questions, however, it is likely that at least one of them will be dominant. In that case, it will be clearly pointed out which of them is the principal one, or explained how these frames function together.

### **5.3 Idea Analysis**

It is unlikely that the frames this thesis seeks to identify will be explicitly mentioned in the data and therefore its task is to identify and categorize them according to the analytical tool developed in the theory chapter. A qualitative method will be used for the analytical part of this thesis and it is qualitative in the sense that the contents of the documents are going to be analyzed to find a more in-depth meaning of their very ideas. According to Esaisasson (2012) one is, when conducting a qualitative analysis, trying to get deeper into the text and find something buried beneath it. This is what is aimed for when trying to identify the frames, which are "buried" in the text in the documents. Since this thesis is looking for frames to fit

into the analytical tool, it uses a deductive approach for this part. Nevertheless, it is also searching for frames that have not been discussed in previous scholarship and are for that part therefore also using an inductive approach.

When identifying the frames, they will be classified on the basis of the analytical framework presented in the theory chapter. When analyzing, the thesis will use the questions asked in that tool. First diagnostic core-framing will be identified, asking Bacchi's first two questions. (1) What is the problem represented to be? And (2) what is the cause of the problem represented to be? When looking at what the problem is represented to be, the frames used by UNITAR will be identified and further try to find if the causes of the problem might be connected to societal, organizational or individual factors. Thereafter, it will turn to prognostic framing asking Bacchi's last question: what are the solutions to the problem represented to be? Can the analysis detect affirmative actions, such as special training for women, quotas or recruitments as possible solutions to the given problems?

The method used for analyzing the results from the documents will be idea analysis. This is a method where political ideas and political statements are studied in a systematic fashion (Bergström and Boréus 2005). An idea analysis could have three possible purposes: 1. Describe and interpret the meaning of political messages. 2. Consider the sustainability of political messages. 3. Explain the formation and consequences of the political messages. This thesis will focus on the first one out of these three, since it aims to find frames used by the international actors who promote women in diplomacy.

## **6. UNITAR'S FRAME: Inefficiencies of few women in diplomacy**

The aim of this thesis is to analyze contemporary advocacy for increasing women in diplomacy by the United Nations. Thus, this study will answer the following questions about how the UN, or more specifically, the UN body UNITAR, frames the absence of women in diplomacy:

1. How is the absence of female diplomats represented as a problem?
2. What is represented as the causes of that problem?
3. What is represented as the solutions to that problem?

Since this thesis, with help from framing theory and idea analysis were able to identify UNITAR's frames, it will in this chapter further discuss how these frames have been identified and show how one can make use of different types of frames. First, it will be explained how UNITAR represents the problem as an inefficiency problem. Thereafter, how they represent the causes as the three main ones identified in the theory chapter, as co-existing and influential on each other. And thirdly, how UNITAR represents the solution to the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy to be training for the individual and, to a lesser extent, organizational training.

Historically, the number of female diplomats has remained at a modest rate. Even though there has been an increase of women in diplomacy, they are still underrepresented in this field. In 2004, about 3 percent of the ambassadors serving as their countries permanent representatives at the United Nations in New York were women (Bloch, 2004). This thesis has acknowledged that there is scholarship focusing on women's campaigns that sheds light on the promotion of women in domestic politics, such as campaigns for women's suffrage and quotas to enhance women's political participation. However, as found in the literature review, there is a lack of scholarship on campaigns to promote women in diplomacy. There are a few international actors promoting women in diplomacy, but the most active one is the United Nations.

The current efforts to increase women in diplomacy have their roots in decades of UN efforts to empower women. This can be seen through the different occasions of the UN World Conferences on Women, with the first one taking place in year 1975 and the latest in 1995. These conferences were an opportunity for delegations of women to gather and discuss

issues concerning gender equality and empowerment of women in all political spheres. The conferences were concluded with the creation of The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which was produced during the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, year 1995. This is a gathering of women all around the world, for discussions for improvement of gender equality. Delegates had prepared a declaration and platform for action aimed at achieving greater equality and opportunity for women. This document states what obstacles women face in foreign policy and also what actions different actors can take to promote women in diplomacy. UNITAR frequently refers to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), that document will therefore be used to support their frames. Further actions were made for example through the Security Resolution 1325, a decision taken by the Security Council and of great importance for women since this resolution reviews how to become more gender equal. UN operates through its various bodies for empowerment of women.

**UNITAR** is a body of the United Nations that aims to promote the advancement of women in diplomacy. Their main mission is to provide innovative training and to conduct and provide research on knowledge systems to be able to develop capacities of beneficiaries in various fields, such as environment, peace, security, governance and diplomacy. Furthermore, UNITAR is recognized as a training sphere of the United Nations, assisting with approximately 27 000 beneficiaries yearly. This is accomplished by leading more than 400 capacity development and research activities around the world (UNITAR E, N.D.). The diplomacy focused part of UNITAR regularly works to promote women in diplomacy and aims to promote women's advancement in the UN system. UNITAR themselves say that they have "taken over a pioneer role in the UN system, setting up a skills-building workshop series for women diplomats dedicated to promote and enhance women's leadership capacities" (UNITAR C, N.D.).

## 6.1 Representation of the Absence of Women in Diplomacy as an Inefficiency Problem

UNITAR clearly frame the absence of women in diplomacy as an inefficiency problem. Before attending to how, a repetition of what this means will be performed. As mentioned in the theory chapter, inefficiency framing in this thesis points to the lack of women in diplomacy as a problem due to an increased efficiency and improved outcome of foreign policy when they are included. UNITAR has recognized both the lack of women in diplomacy and the problem of inefficiency of their absence:

the dismal participation of women in diplomacy coupled with the effectiveness of policy outcomes where they participate highlights the importance and relevance of UNITAR's upcoming "Workshop on Women in Diplomacy" (UNITAR A, N.D.).

Since the second part of this quotation points more to a solution it will be dealt with in the analysis of the third research question. However, since its first section point out the value-added women bring to diplomacy it is essential also in this part for the justification of the identification of inefficiency-framing as what the problem is represented to be. This quote supports the inefficiency frame that argue that the exclusion of women is inefficient and that women will, to a large extent, make a positive contribution to the field of foreign policy. Thus, it is assumed that the inclusion of women in foreign policy strengthens the efficiency of diplomacy and therefore increase the value-added of the outcome:

We also aim to highlight the value-added that women bring to decision making processes (UNITAR B, N.D.).

However, in isolation the above-mentioned quotes only implies the theory of value-added women bring to the diplomatic field, but does not point exactly to why women's participation would contribute to an improvement. This increased efficiency is further framed in the explanation for why diplomacy gets more efficient when women participate and UNITAR's answer to this seem to be that the best results will develop through a situation where men and women work together and combine their different skills. As stated by UNITAR's director ad Interim Sally Fegan-Wyles:

It is very encouraging to see the growing recognition of the value women bring to peace negotiations and to diplomacy in general. This reflects what I have observed

over many years. Men and women approach the same issue in different ways, and both perspectives are useful and complementary (UNITAR B, N.D.).

UNITAR emphasizes the usefulness of women in the political sphere, demonstrating that they can bring about positive changes to the peace making, and diplomacy in general. This frame signifies that in the field of peace making, women in decision-making can add value to the outcome. Therefore the lack of women is inefficient in terms of the goal of peace. Since men and women complement each other, it is inefficient to not include women in foreign policy. In order to come up with the best possible solution for a given problem, the perspectives from both genders are important. As UNITAR frames it, women's participation in diplomacy is useful since it is complementary. The motivation for this is the belief that men and women do not approach the issue in the same way, thus they are likely to have different views on how to best solve a problem. Due to this, they will come up with different solutions, which can suggestively be combined in order to reach the best possible outcome. UNITAR problematize that there is currently almost only men's perspective taken into consideration on issues and thus only a "one-gendered way" of looking upon the problem and/or how it should best be solved. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action explains this approach a bit further:

Women in politics and decision-making positions in Governments and legislative bodies contribute to redefining political priorities, placing new items on the political agenda that reflect and address women's gender-specific concerns, values and experiences, and providing new perspectives on mainstream political issues (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995: 79).

This implies that a higher representation of women in diplomacy does not only contribute to an increased efficiency in problem-solving, it also suggest that the increased participation of women will help shine light on issues that has previously not been taken into consideration. The lack of women in diplomacy is inefficient due to the view that many so called "women's issues" are overlooked when the only ones represented in foreign policy are men. The inclusion of women is expected to result in an increased focus on issues that has not been considered previously. To repeat: UNITAR's document emphasizes that men and women are different and therefore contribute to foreign policy with different skills. If there is an unequal gender distribution in decision-making, with men as the dominant gender, many problems that concern women are in risk of getting severely overlooked, thus not getting the amount of concern it needs, and would get, if more women were involved in the process. UNITAR also argues for the increased efficiency of having women in the diplomatic sphere by comparing it to the contributed efficiency of having an equal gender representation in private sector companies.

...private sector companies with greater gender parity in top-management positions outperform those with low levels of female participation, the urgency and effectiveness of including women at all levels of decision making is evident (UNITAR A, N.D.).

UNITAR is implying that there are similarities between the private sector and the diplomatic sphere when it comes to the importance of an even gender representation. As the quote above states: with greater gender parity the results will be more profitable than if compared to companies with lower rates of women in the top-management positions. This suggests that UNITAR find this result representable for decision-making anywhere. Thus, the same positive result that was presented by the increased rate of women in the private sphere can have the same effectiveness in the diplomatic one. Both of the last two quotations shows that UNITAR clearly stick to a theory of an increased value by the inclusion of women in decision-making and by emphasizing the urgency and effectiveness of including women in diplomacy, this justifies their advocacy for it. This implies that a diplomatic arena that holds a greater gender distribution will be more efficient than a one-gender dominated one and therefore would outperform a diplomatic sphere consisting of mostly men. Based on these UNITAR statements and in accordance to this thesis analytical framework, these quotations will be categorized as a type of inefficiency framing.

As stated in the theory chapter: Injustice framing refers to a moral offense by an actor, causing suffering and harm. Further, it is recognition of victimization, for example women's right to equal participation in the diplomatic sphere. Since the previously identified inefficiency frame points in part to the importance of women in decision-making for improvements of women's rights within other spheres, this could also be seen also as an injustice frame. If women are not represented in diplomacy, women's issues will not be taken into consideration to the same extent as men, which is clearly unfair. This view indicates that women are treated in an unfair manner and their participation in decision-making is a demand and necessary for justice for women worldwide. However, UNITAR are not expressing themselves in terms of "justice", this viewpoint is only an interpretation one could make. Their clear statement is that the lack of women in diplomacy is inefficient to the outcome of diplomacy since men and women are different. In short, UNITAR represents the problem of absence of women in diplomacy primarily through the frame of inefficiency. As previously proven, there are many statements explaining that the lack of women in diplomacy is inefficient and to become more effective in solving problems, women's participation is needed. Equal participation result in men and women complementing each other, due to their various ways of approaching issues, and the value of combining these.

With this inefficiency demonstrated, one could ask oneself the question of why UNITAR have reasoned this particular way about the problem of absence of women in diplomacy. What are the reasons for believing that the participation of women in foreign policy will solve the problem of inefficient outcomes? By making the statement that women should be in diplomacy due to their ability of viewing things from another perspective, and arguing that the reason for this is that men and women are different builds on a two-gender approach. This approach says that men and women possess different qualities (Towns 2010).

As mentioned in both the introduction and the theory chapter, men are commonly assumed to possess different traits than women, and these traits are often believed to be more attractive for diplomacy than the traits of women. UNITAR continues on this two-gender approach, but are instead trying to lift the normally negative viewed “female traits” and transform them into something positive and desirable for diplomacy. This assumption of men and women having different traits builds on an old discourse to connect women to peace. The image of women as nurturing and caring and the connection of women with non-violence are both common and transcultural (Sylvester 2010). Women are seen as instinctively being against warfare, the rejection of violence is supposed to be in the women’s “nature”. Women are believed to only approve of wars that occurred to protect their virginity and innocence (Sjoberg and Gentry 2007).

A conservative interpretation of gender sees women as peaceful and apolitical, a liberal view understands women as a pacifying influence on politics, and feminists who study global politics often critique the masculine violence of interstate relations (Sjoberg and Gentry 2007: 2).

This stereotype of the woman as a peaceful, apolitical being is shown to be changing by scholars who state that this is not true and who show that there are cases where women express political dissatisfaction by violence. Sjoberg and Gentry (2007) are presenting a different view of this assumed female-behavior in their book “Mothers, Monsters, Whores.” They demonstrate that women can be very creative and deliberate in the way they engage in violent undertakings in International Relations and thus “put violent women on the record instead of putting them in the category of impossible, silent, subsumed, deviant or mad people” (Sylvester 2010: 32). Women too, are suicide bombers and women too, have been caught on pictures sexually molesting dead war prisoners (Sjoberg and Gentry 2007).

As recently explained, there is scholarship which points to a norm-breaking view of women’s behavior in politics and warfare and shows that also women can be violent. Thus, the motivation for UNITAR’s choice of framing the problem this way can be questioned. As proved in the literature

review, many scholars have chosen to frame the lack of women in foreign policy as unfair. Like them, UNITAR could have chosen to frame the problem of absence of women in diplomacy as a matter of justice for women to be equally represented. Why did UNITAR not choose this approach as well? When there is scholarship pointing to the opposite of the, as proven, common view that women by nature are peaceful, what is the motivation for UNITAR to frame women's participation as complementary and needed in order to achieve peace? Is this approach more effective for letting women participate than pointing out the injustice in excluding women from the field of foreign policy? Can this be built on this complimentary peace-enhancing view and a strategic way to put women on the diplomatic map and change the negative view on women's natural traits? Towns (2010) has shown that inefficiency framing has previously been used in order to justify quotas for women, showing that women and men possess different qualities and that the women's qualities are useful for democracy and peace. One could discuss whether this is also the motivation and tactic from the UN.

## **6.2 The Causes: Organizational, Individual and Societal Barriers**

Moving further to the causes for the problem of underrepresentation of women in diplomacy. It is difficult to point out exactly what UNITAR represents as the causes of this problem. This type of framing was, in comparison to the identification of the problem and the representation of the solution to the absence, implicit in their outward-focused documents. The cause of the absence is less frequently pointed out, and not at all as explicitly mentioned in the documents as the other parts of the frames this thesis aimed to identify. It seems that UNITAR is more focused on explaining why women's participation in foreign policy is important and how one should act in order to achieve an increased representation of women in this field. We will however, discuss these causes and explain how all three of them overlap.

UNITAR (UNITAR D, N.D.) points out what they believe to be the main contributing factors of the absence of women in diplomacy. This was discussed during one of the workshops they arranged and "summarized the obstacles to women political leadership: culture, child care, cash and confidence, - the four 'C's" (UNITAR D, N.D.). This clearly implies that there is far more than one cause of the problem. "Cash" points to the class question of who can be a diplomat, however, since this applies as much to men as to women (Neumann 2008) it does not say much about the cause for the underrepresentation of specifically women and will thus not be considered. "Culture" and "childcare" on the other hand, are surely societal barriers for the participation of women in diplomacy. Confidence is more likely to be an individual barrier, since the individual woman herself

can lack confidence. However, this lack of confidence could, of course, be based on the societal view on women's abilities.

In order to analyze this main point of UNITAR's framing of the cause of the absence as societal, these points will first be strengthened and supported by one of the guiding documents referred to by UNITAR: the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Both of the following quotations are taken from the part of the declaration that emphasizes the necessity of women's participation in diplomacy:

Inequality in the public arena can often start with discriminatory attitudes and practices and unequal power relations between women and men within the family (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995: 80).

and

The unequal division of labour and responsibilities within households based on unequal power relations also limits women's potential to find the time and develop the skills required for participation in decision-making in wider public forums (Beijing Declaration and Platform and Action, 1995: 80).

The cause, then, is represented as a matter of unequal power-distribution in families/households or as a barrier, which will lead to women still taking the main responsibility for child-care. By having spent most time on these things, women get less time to make, or hold, a career and are thus limited in their possibility to advance to a high-power position. There is apparently a connection between the lack of women in leadership positions in general and the lack of women in diplomacy. By looking at all of these causes one can see that they are correlating in the way they represent the absence of women in diplomacy. Women are hindered to seek higher office labor due to unequal power relations within the family sphere. Since women traditionally have more responsibilities than men in household duties, women are limited due to lack of time to develop skills required for a career within decision-making. The outcome of this is that women are likely to spend more time on household duties instead of pursuing career and advance to diplomacy. The norms of the society contribute to the exclusion of women. Family institutions where the woman is seen as the primary care taker of children and household leads to that women do not have time to educate themselves enough to be able to reach a high-power career, or enough time to keep time consuming careers. This could partly be represented as an individual cause since the women, as individuals, are not qualified enough for the diplomatic positions. However, since the reasons for these individuals not being educated enough is due to society's norms, it is thus also a societal cause.

So what more points to the problem as an individual one, even if ultimately a societal one?

The workshop also gave the women the opportunity to apply the newly acquired knowledge about negotiation techniques and styles in practice in several simulations.... (UNITAR C, N.D.).

This quote is surely applicable for the “solution” of the problem, considering that it point more to a solution: a skill-enhancing workshop, but in this chapter we are trying to identify the causes. Despite the angle of this quotation, it witness about a representation of the cause of the problem as women lacking negotiation skills. It is not mentioned in the same document exactly what the reasons are for women lacking these skills, but together with this UNITAR statement:

We need to ensure that women have the knowledge, skills and confidence to bring their most valuable contribution to the table (UNITAR B, N.D.).

This also points to the cause of the problem as individual since it needs to be ensured that women have enough skills and that their knowledge is in need of training. Yet, also in this case, the reasons for the individual lacking these skills could be due to societal norms. However, in another UNITAR document one can find something that will bring us further to the organizational cause:

Ambassadors DiCarlo and Ogwu reminded the participants that the task of recruiting more women to the negotiating table requires the support of the whole diplomatic community: ‘It is important to transform the political agenda as a whole in order to integrate so-called women’s issues into the general agenda instead of treating them as separate topics’, stated Ambassador Ogwu (UNITAR C, N.D.).

Even though this is more explicitly called for as a “solution”, the quote clearly implies that a cause of the problem is that “women’s issues” are not yet seen as a mainstreamed problem within the UN. It is rather treated as a “special” problem that is dealt with in an exclusive way, and therefore possibly holds a different priority in the urgency of the solving of it. If women’s issues continue to get treated as a special problem in a separate agenda, these issues will not be taken into account to the same extent, as they would be otherwise. The need of a change, which includes a new agenda, and the stressed necessity of the whole diplomatic community to participate indicate that the cause of the problem reaches further than the “lack of skills” of women. This also implies that by not understanding or addressing these issues as equally important, this will contribute to the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy. Actually, this cause of the lack of women points to an organizational culture in need of change. This brings us to the next cause: the lack of women in

diplomacy is caused by the lack of women in decision-making positions in other spheres. UNITAR stresses the importance of:

Addressing the cultural and institutional challenges facing women in aspiring to senior level responsibility in the multilateral context (UNITAR A, N.D.).

and states that:

significant challenges remain with regard to bringing this agenda into practice. Despite the number of female Permanent Representatives having increased significantly during the last decades, women are still under-represented in leadership positions (UNITAR C, N.D.).

This suggests that the lack of women in other decision-making spheres influence the lack of women also in diplomacy. For women to be able to reach decision-making positions in diplomacy and other key institutions, they first need to solve the barriers in the mentioned areas to be able to have a significant impact in other key institutions. Since women lack equality in other areas concerning decision-making, women do not, or are not seen to, hold these negotiation- and leadership skills to the same extent as men do. Also this is supported by the Beijing Declaration, which has acknowledged the problem in the same way:

Likewise, the underrepresentation of women in decision-making positions in the areas of art, culture, sports, the media, education, religion and the law have prevented women from having a significant impact on many key institutions. (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995: 80)

and

Owing to their limited access to the traditional avenues to power, such as the decision-making bodies of political parties, employer organizations and trade unions, women have gained access to power through alternative structures, particularly in the non-governmental organization sector (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995: 80).

As these quotations point to the cause of few women in diplomacy due to the underrepresentation of female leaders in all spheres, there are more that points to the cause as an organizational one: lack of knowledge. There is currently not enough knowledge of women's issues or of what women can contribute with within this field. Also this quotation implies that awareness of women's roles and the importance of gender equality it not yet fully recognized:

By establishing an online-platform for discussion, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research [...] aimed to enhance awareness of the roles of women and the importance of gender equality in diplomacy today (UNITAR B, N.D.).

As shown, UNITAR does not explicitly point to the causes of the problem, but by reading and analyzing their documents, one can see a pattern in the way these different barriers overlap. Instead of pointing out one main one, these three sets of causes can be seen as a circle, or something which all have influence over each other. For example, due to the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions in all spheres, women have, or are likely to have, less-developed skills required for diplomacy than when compared to men within this sphere. This will, in turn, lead to women being less suitable for holding a decision making position, since this has led to them lacking these required skills. And when women are not being equally represented in other leadership positions, they will not have the same opportunity as men to develop these skills in leadership or negotiation techniques, which contributes to an organizational culture dominated by men. It is implied that this organizational culture does not understand or even acknowledge enough the importance of having a more equal gender distribution in decision-making positions. The societal factors, in turn, create further barriers for women to enter into these organizations positions. If the woman's main responsibility lays on childcare and household duties, women will not have enough time to develop these needed skills. The societal factors thus contribute to the exclusion on the organizational level and all these affect each other.

### **6.3 Training as the Solution**

Already in the name of this UN body: United Nations Institute for Training and Research, we are provided with a clue on how the issue will be addressed. Clearly, training for women is in some way represented as an effective way to increase women's participation in diplomacy. While further investigating the documents, it becomes clear that indeed training is represented as the most effective solution to solve the problem of the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy. As stated in the beginning of the analysis, basically all of the UNITAR documents that are focused outwards argue that with more women in diplomacy, an increased number of problems are likely to be solved. Problems, which are currently categorized as "women's issues" will thus be taken into consideration. In order to solve this, UNITAR offers repeated skill-building workshops for women in order to promote and enhance the representation of women in leadership positions and have had a follow up workshop to discuss the outcome of the first one. In the latter one, diplomats met to discuss the issue of how to increase the number of women in diplomacy. An Online-Discussion

forum was created during this workshop to enhance awareness of the roles of women and the importance of gender equality in diplomacy.

The Online Discussion Platform is the first step in a series of initiatives led by UNITAR to empower women in diplomacy through capacity building (UNITAR B, N.D.).

UNITAR says,

Recruiting more women to the negotiating table requires the support of the whole diplomatic community” (UNITAR C, N.D.).

And emphasizes that

It is important to transform the political agenda as a whole in order to integrate so-called women’s issues into the general agenda instead of treating them as separate topics. (UNITAR C, N.D.).

It is necessary to change the political agenda and integrate “women’s issues” into it. This is supposed to be done by the increased participation of women, and implies that this political agenda is most likely to be changed through an increased number of women. It is clear that UNITAR’s vision of the best way to address this problem seems to focus mainly on increased training for women by improving their skills. As was already mentioned in the Cause of the problem: women lack leadership skills due to their underrepresentation in all professional fields concerning leadership. Further, it also emphasizes the importance of women being equal in all spheres in order to achieve equal representation in diplomacy. This was however more thoroughly discussed under the Causes for the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy. But since UNITAR focuses on the promotion of women into diplomacy and therefore leaves the “underrepresentation of women in all fields” more to the cause of lack of women in diplomacy, not as a direct solution to the problem. UNITAR identifies negotiation skills as an important factor for women’s participation in diplomacy, which is why their focus in on this issue.

Negotiation skills matter for women’s advancement both externally- in multilateral negotiations-, as well as internally within their own hierarchies (UNITAR A, N.D.).

And

Enhance the negotiations skills of female delegates to assume leadership positions and to play an active role in multilateral diplomacy (UNITAR A, N.D.).

It is clearly mentioned by UNITAR that negotiation skills are addressed in their solutions in order to involve more women in diplomacy. The solution is therefore change in the characteristics and skills of individual women, because women need this negotiation training to achieve good negotiation skills, thus it is individual characteristics that need to be improved. UNITAR's priority is to help women into the diplomatic sphere through the use of training by i.e. workshops. Without good negotiation skills women are hindered to enter high positions in decision-making, which, as previously mentioned, could be one of the reasons why women are underrepresented, while men keep dominating the diplomatic sphere. Men presumably are better negotiators than women, so the belief seem to be that when women become equally skilled after their training and workshops they will be able to compete at the same level as men. "We need to ensure that women have the knowledge, skills and confidence to bring their most valuable contribution to the table" (UNITAR B, N.D.). This further implies that if women are to contribute, they need to have the right skills and knowledge to do so.

The dismal participation of women in diplomacy coupled with the effectiveness of policy outcomes where they participate highlights the importance and relevance of UNITAR's upcoming 'Workshop on Women in Diplomacy (UNITAR A, N.D.).

One could argue that UNITAR, by this quotation, represent the solution as an organizational one: women need to be equal with men also in other positions in society and in the labor sphere in order to become "skilled" enough to successfully participate in foreign policy, and indeed, this is something which UNITAR, to some extent, represent as a solution to the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy. However, UNITAR's own focus on the solution seem to be more short-term focused: to by training improve women's diplomatic skills, and their talents as decision-makers. This is an individual solution, narrowed to the diplomatic field already.

The suggested solution does not stop with this. Also organizations seem to be in need of changing their patriarchic behavior and UNITAR suggest this to be done by implementing gender mainstreaming programs for whole organizations. Workshops on the skill-improvement mentioned in the two previous research questions are arranged in order for everyone, men and women, to achieve this knowledge. This seem to be in order for the organization to get increasingly aware of the problem of the absence of women in diplomacy and the causes of that, in order to prevent this. However, for women to be given a fair chance to compete with men on the same level, even after having improved their skills, the organizational structure will have had to change as well.

Considering the mentioned causes of the problem of absence of women in diplomacy one could ask oneself why UNITAR has focused so much on the solution to be specifically training. Clearly,

UNITAR is a UN body meant to focus primarily on training in different ways, but what is the motivation for putting the emphasis on the solution to the underrepresentation of women in diplomacy so hard on training, and why especially on training for individual women? Since UNITAR frames that the causes of this absence is due to lack of women in all spheres and other organizations, why is not more focus put on increasing the female representation on all decision-making areas? Previous scholarship, as mentioned in the literature review and the theory chapter, points to alternative solutions, such as gender mainstreaming, why have these not been taken into consideration? That way, women could obtain these skills naturally already from the beginning. UNITAR is explicitly focusing on the sphere of diplomacy and also the skill training reaches only within this field for individuals and organizations. Also the choice of training could be discussed, why is the training focused so hard on skill building for the individual woman? UNITAR's solution seems to be short-termed. Another way of framing the solution to the problem could have been to implement quotas, why is so much emphasis put on the training of the individual? And how come the societal causes are not even considered? Consciousness-raising campaigns could be a way to solve the problem, especially since the societal causes were represented as a main barrier to women's participation.

## 7. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to analyze contemporary advocacy for more women in diplomacy by the United Nations, or more specifically UNITAR, with the help of framing theory. The research questions were: (1) How is the absence of female diplomats represented as a problem? (2) what is represented as the causes of this problem? And (3) what is represented as the solution to that problem?

Through analysis of the data collected from webpages and documents from UNITAR, it can be concluded that they mainly represent the absence of female diplomats as a problem of inefficiency, in terms of producing suboptimal outcomes for e.g. peace and security. UNITAR indicates that women are needed in the diplomatic sphere because they have a different perspective and approach to foreign policy compared to men. These two perspectives are complementary to each other and thus provide a more efficient way of approaching and solving issues concerning diplomacy. Thus, it is evident that greater gender equality results in higher productivity and also economic growth. UNITAR identifies the causes as individual, organizational and societal. All of these three causes are represented to be correlating.

UNITAR represents the main solutions to this problem to be training and workshops. Most of this training is aimed at the individual and they offer women training to help them improve negotiation techniques, which will be important for the women to be able to perform on the same level as men. Without this training women will have difficulties participating in the diplomatic sphere, because as the problem is now, the individual women are lacking valuable skills. Further, UNITAR offer organizational training. This is meant to be, for example, to introduce gender mainstreaming and improve organizations knowledge about the positive contributions women can bring about.

Prior scholarship, identified in the literature review, has acknowledged that there is research on women's participation in domestic politics and campaigns of quotas and suffrage. As stated by previous scholars, these campaigns for quotas and suffrage are framed as inefficiency and injustice. Clearly there was a lack of scholarship on the campaign of promotion of women in diplomacy. This thesis has now helped filling this gap by identifying the frames used by the UN.

This research has recognized what UN as an international actor is doing to promote women in foreign policy and to identify more specifically how they represent the absence of female diplomats as a problem and possible causes and solutions to that problem. Framing women as complimentary to men, due to women's peaceful influence, have as shown in the analysis, been criticized by some scholars who strongly argue that this is not entirely true. Is it really

reasonable to include women in diplomacy on the basis of their assumed peace-enhancing influence on foreign policy? If this is not true, what effects will this have on the outcome of diplomacy? The UN could have framed women's participation as a matter of justice, what are the reasons to leave out this approach? Conclusively, the result of this thesis raises further possibilities of a comparative study of how different international actors are representing the problem of absence of female diplomats and the cause and solutions of that problem. By looking at different actors, it is possible to do a comparison of similarities and differences they have to promote women in foreign policy. It is interesting to see what frames these actors use and if they then are similar to the ones used by the UN.

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