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Its Reigning Men: Hegemonic Masculinity, Ideal Types and The Impact on Woman Diplomats

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Thesis: Adv. MSc International Relations
and Diplomacy

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Introduction

(On working as a woman diplomat) *We worked our way gently into this environment, making allowances for the egos of our workmates, many times swallowing both intended and unintended slights or sexist remarks and trying not to 'frighten the horses' unnecessarily.*¹

Diplomacy an institutional practice (acted from the ministry of foreign affairs in the traditional sense), has been deeply marked by the presence of men. When an institution is so profoundly marked, behavioural norms are disseminated based on the marking. In the case of diplomacy, the heavy male constitution of the field has made the masculinity dominance of the whole institution seem natural. In this case, natural can mean a sense of acceptance to certain leadership roles, it may often seem natural that senior roles of leadership in diplomacy are hosted by men. Being natural does not mean the appointment is holistically correct or appropriate. A person can tell if there is a male dominated institution based on a mute response to male leadership appointment. If the gender of an appointment appointments doesn't relay an immediate 'incorrectness' or feeling incongruency with the institutional norms, it is natural.

In the early 1900's the proposition of female inclusion into official diplomatic service a was met with widespread negativity². This was largely based on the belief that women were not capable of meeting the requirements of foreign service based on their gender. A component of that claim being they would not be given access to the public sphere in the same way as their male counterparts. Additionally, they would not have access to informal male-only spaces where networking was largely made.

However, when women became wives of diplomats, there was an expectation set by their husband's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) to implement diplomatic practice for their husband. They were expected to assist and gather intelligence from other wives and build

¹ Sue Boyd. *Not Always Diplomatic: An Australian Woman's Journey through international affairs*, UWA Publishing, 2020. 188.

² Niklasson, Birgitta. "The gendered networking of diplomats." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 15, no. 1-2 (2020): 13-42.

relationships through their charisma, appearance and personality.³ On top of that, women often had more access to the local community where they were stationed, compared to their husbands, meaning they could connect with a greater range of people.⁴ This local knowledge was relied on by their husbands, so they were able to gain insights into both official and societal circles.⁵

Though nor men or women are able to access every social space or societal circle, there was still an argument made that women should not practice official diplomacy because of their lack of access. Men were not encouraged to design ways for themselves to access spaces where women had easier access, instead they were encouraged to marry so they had a partner accessing spaces they could not. When women were eventually allowed to enter diplomatic service, and further in time when they were allowed to be diplomats and to be married, their partners were not expected to be involved in their work to the same extent.⁶

Based on the exploration of this field of research and the history of woman diplomats the proposed research question is the following:

To what extent are woman diplomats impacted by the hegemonic masculine model of the ideal diplomat?

This research looks to the extent of such an impact to highlight the varying degrees a model of hegemonic masculinity in diplomatic practice and have on woman diplomats. The impact is extensive and the extensivity will be relayed in this thesis. Multiple works encourage looking at the way gender is practiced in diplomacy and exploring this through comparative examples of female experiences in the profession.⁷ Diplomacy in a significant percentage of

³ Wood, Molly M. "'Commanding beauty' and 'gentle charm': American women and gender in the early twentieth-century foreign service." *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 3 (2007): 505-530.; Cynthia Enloe, "Bananas, beaches and bases." In *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. University of California Press, 2014.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Biltekin, Nevra. "The Diplomatic Partnership: Gender, Materiality and Performance in the Case of Sweden c. 1960s-1980s." *The Diplomatic Partnership: Gender, Materiality and Performance in the Case of Sweden c. 1960s-1980s* (2012): 253-265.

⁶ Wood, "'Commanding beauty'," : 505-530.

⁷ Niklasson, "The gendered," 13-42.; Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.; Kanter, *Men and women.*; Lenine and Sanca, "Gender, Feminism," 98-122.

contexts has moved away from being practiced in male-only spaces and excluding women in diplomatic programs, being altered for female inclusivity. As this area is still under-researched and new in diplomatic scholarship, the goal of this thesis is to add more insight into understanding gendered structures in diplomacy. Memoirs are able to reveal much about social habits in the diplomatic practice, as well what type of social capital matters in the profession.

The structure of this thesis will be as follows. To be able to comprehend the research question and goals of this thesis there is a theoretical framework, which is inclusive of a group of theoretical definitions that need to be provided. These will be provided in the first section, beginning with foundational gender topics such as gender, patriarchy, patriarchal institutions and patriarchal durability. It is crucial to engage with these first because they are intrinsically linked to the way women are impacted by the model. This is because patriarchy reinforces, replicates and celebrates masculinity. From these foundational definitions the key ingredients in the research question will be provided. Starting with definitions of hegemony, explaining that a hegemonic model is a supreme model and one that is relational to subordinate models (in this thesis's case femininity). From there is an inspection of diplomatic masculinities and then the hegemonic masculine ideal model of the diplomat.

Succeeding the theoretical framework is the literature review, displaying that feminist and gender analysis of woman diplomats is still a field with little study. This then leads to the description of the methodology being used, which is a feminist critical discourse analysis used to analyse the above-mentioned memoirs. The methodology is elaborated on before the analysis, relaying the severity of the model's impact on woman diplomats. What is discovered is that as a consequence of the model, women have been, firstly, in the consistent minority in operational locations of traditional state diplomacy (government, embassies and such). Being the minority has resulted in being made to feel on the outside of the practice because of their gender, relaying that they don't 'fit' the model. Due to this it was noted that woman diplomats have had to adapt their behaviour to attempt to mould into an ideal model that does not include them. This is elaborated on under the section surrounding gender performance, leading to the section where it is told that the impact of

the model has led to woman diplomats to having to prove themselves in their role. The final, and arguably most impactful, is the explicit examples of discrimination the woman diplomats faced in their careers. Post-analysis will be a discussion as to additional themes that presented themselves through analysis, as well as limitations of this study, before conclusive comments are finally made.

Theoretical Framework

There is a requirement for this thesis to provide key definitions of theories and constructs for the purpose of analysis. This is because when addressing gender and gender related concepts there can be slight diversions in understanding, based on theoretical underpinnings. This thesis will be analysing the impact of the hegemonic masculine model of the ideal diplomat, which encompasses theories of hegemony, diplomatic masculinities and idealised models. These theories will all be addressed in this section, so that when the analysis takes place the reader can share the same understanding of these foundational areas. To arrive at understanding these theories, definitions of areas such as gender socialisation and patriarchy and its durability will also be provided.

Gender

Gender is the socialised exacerbation of biological differences in human bodies.⁸ The socialisation of gender is a key theme that reappears throughout literature in this field and across gender approaches in general. Starting at birth, gender socialisation is the process in which people develop and learn 'to do' or perform gender by internalising gender roles and norms.⁹ This process is taught or instilled by agents of socialisation such as social networks and institutions, families and peer groups. In general, gender is an arbitrary division, which has been said to be societies collective labour to make a socialised construct seem to be

⁸ Bourdieu, *Masculine domination*. (Stanford University Press, 2001).

⁹ John Neetu, et al. *Gender Socialization during Adolescence in Low- and Middle-income Countries*. UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti: International Center for Research on Women, 2019. https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/IRB_20-17_19_GENDER%20SOCIALIZATION.pdf; Judith Butler, *Gender trouble*. (Routledge, 2002).

inherent and grounded in nature.¹⁰ From socialisation, these gendered constructs are then expressed through dress, speech, and use of space.¹¹ Using these symbols, amongst others, is a clear method of performing a gender role that society recognises, based on socialised attachments to biological difference.¹² As stated, this starts very young, an example being the way that young girls are more often described as pretty and are gifted accessories to elevate their appearance (jewellery and clothing), whilst boys are told they are strong and are comparatively more celebrated for their athletic abilities. What has then occurred from socialisation is a pervasive binary model of gender, male and female. Though this model sees challenges and rejection by groups and individuals (such as transgender, non-binary and gender fluid individuals for example), paradigmatically, society still functions according to this binary. This, mostly binary, system has become foundational to the labour force. This becomes a presentation of the structural dimension of gender.¹³

Patriarchy and Institutions

When discussing the structural dimension of gender and the labour force what is then often presented is patriarchy. This is because gender inequality is implemented from multiple positions and patriarchy can account for the specific inequality of women as a gender and a sex in society. Patriarchy, at definition, is the structural hierarchy where masculinity is privileged over femininity.¹⁴ It then establishes divisions between the public sphere and the private, the reasonable and the emotional, the man and the woman.¹⁵ A claim that sees a consensus across literature in this area, is that the field of diplomacy is heavily patriarchal.¹⁶ This is to the extent that masculinity has been perceived to be omnipresent throughout the profession internationally.¹⁷ This can be found further in the historical context of the practice, where women have only recently been offered inclusion professionally. What

¹⁰ Bourdieu, *Masculine domination*.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

¹³ Bourdieu, *Masculine domination*.

¹⁴ True, Jacqueline Marie. "Bringing back gendered states: Feminist second image theorizing of international states." In *Revisiting gendered states: Feminist imaginings of the state in international relations*, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 33-48.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Gendering*, 14-16; Lenine and Sanca, "Gender, Feminism," 98-122.; Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.

¹⁷ Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.

patriarchy has instilled and regulated consequently, is a model of male superiority and female subordination. This binary has not just affected the personal sphere but the institutional (as just stated regarding diplomacy). The durability of patriarchy is lasting and strong based on masculine domination.¹⁸ Patriarchal institutions and structures continue their prevalence and stagnancy because society continues to replicate a binary model where masculine dominance is extensively reproduced.¹⁹

To continue to relay key insights into gendered structures, it has been stated that because gender constitutes the building blocks of social order (through socialisation and assigned roles based on the such) when institutionalised gender is able to define and sanction the actions of individuals.²⁰ This is because institutions dynamically organise and bring-into-being gender discourses.²¹ Thus, institutions simultaneously enable and restrict individuals according to such gender discourses, which limits involvement in institutional activities.²² This transpired to the diplomatic field and diplomacy being a social based profession, these gendered constructs are even more visible.²³ This is because as part of a diplomatic role social interactions are measured and analysed, with gender assumptions being commonplace.

Hegemonic Masculinity

When a researcher operates a gendered inspection of institutions it is common that what will be highlighted is hegemonic masculinity, a topic explored by key theorists inside and outside of diplomatic practice.²⁴ This directs this thesis to providing an exploration around

¹⁸ *Masculine domination.*

¹⁹ *Masculine domination.*; Standfield, *Gendering*, 14-165.

²⁰ Enzo Lenine and Manuel Pereira Puga. "Paridad de género en las organizaciones internacionales: discurso vs. números." *Relaciones internacionales: Revista académica cuatrimestral de publicación electrónica*, no. 48 (2021): 101-121.

²¹ Kronsell, A. (2006). Methods for studying silences: gender analysis in institutions of hegemonic masculinity. In *Feminist methodologies for international relations*, eds. B. A. Ackerly, M. Stern, & J. True (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 108-128.

²² Ibid.

²³ Lenin & Puga, "*Paridad*," 101-121.

²⁴ Lenin & Puga, "*Paridad*," 101-121.; Marysia Zalewski & Jane Parpart, "Introduction: rethinking the 'man' question." In *Rethinking the 'man' question: sex, gender and violence in international relations*, eds J. L. Parpart, & M. Zalewski (London: Zed, 2008), 1-20.; Spike Peterson and Jacqui True, "'New Times' and new conversations." In *The "man" question in international relations* (Routledge, 2019), 14-27.

what is meant by hegemonic masculinity, in both its theoretical conception and its existence in a diplomatic context. Originally postulated by Raewyn Connell, hegemonic masculinity is the theory of supremacy regarding a particularly dominant type of masculinity.²⁵ It is a relational concept that relies on there being subordinate masculinities and femininities, these lesser categories constructing the hegemonic strength. To instil confidence in understanding hegemonic masculinity there is more to be said. On top of being a relational model, there is requirement that for a masculinity to be hegemonic it needs to be validated.²⁶ This validation comes from the relation to subordinate femininity, and non-hegemonic masculinities, which accommodate and act in compliance with the model. To elaborate, hypothetically in the case where femininity and masculinity are perceived to be both inherently and structurally equal (perhaps in a society or organisation) masculinity loses hegemonic status. To be validated it requires supremacy over another model without that it is not supreme or hegemonic. Hegemonic masculinity can be instilled even if it is not wanted or is not accepted by subordinate groups. This is often the case when institutions and societal conceptions do not work to dismantle hegemonic status by empowering the subordinate if hegemonic masculinity is not dismantled or challenged it will not dissipate. There is no hegemonic masculinity without inferior femininity, nor would there be hegemonic masculinity with gender equality. Therefore, it is the dynamics and validation of hegemonic masculinity to its lesser masculinities (and femininity) that produces gender inequality in society.

Since hegemonic masculinity is not only superior to femininities, but also to subordinate masculinities, it is key to draw up these non-hegemonic masculinities so a reader can identify when masculinity is not hegemonic. This thesis supports Connell's work, stating that there are four non-hegemonic masculinities, these are complicit, subordinate, marginalised and protest masculinities.²⁷ Complicit masculinity does not entirely embody the hegemonic masculine model but is able to meet the components with sufficient partiality. What this then results in is a masculinity that is subordinate but at the same time able to benefit from the hegemonic model, due its proxy to the model. This model is then named complicit as it

²⁵ Connell, *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*, (John Wiley & Sons, 2013).

²⁶ Connell, *Gender and Power*.

²⁷ Ibid.

benefits enough from the hegemony that it does not reject or challenge it, therefore being complicit in its supremacy. The second masculinity is the subordinate masculinity, which is when a masculinity is in direct divergence to the hegemonic model. This type of masculinity is seen as explicitly lesser and an example of this would be effeminate acting men.

Marginalised masculinities is inferior to the hegemonic model because of external factors outside of simply masculine performance. The factors that result in the marginalisation do not even need to be gender related, often they are factors like ethnicity, class and age (for example). The final non-hegemonic masculinity is the protest. A protest masculinity is when an individual lacks high social or economic status and they overperform masculinity to make up for their self-perceived inadequacies. In this case the individual acts with hypermasculinity in an attempt to access privileged status in society, which is where the hegemonic masculine model resides.

Hegemonic masculinity can now be understood as part of the hierarchy of gender configurations in society.²⁸ These hierarchies are international and operate in the same relational way as previously mentioned. The relational dynamic that instils hegemonic masculinity continues to be integral when operating in the international gender order. In the order the model privileges men who are heterosexual, rational, white, militarist and such, with the subordinate being the groups not meeting the criterion. Hegemonic masculinity is so salient that it operates multidimensionally in gendered social structures; international politics is not absolved from this saliency. As femininity is perceived to be lesser in relation to hegemonic masculinity, when women enter the world of foreign policy, they are entering an already constructed masculine sphere.²⁹ Within the sphere there is already a set of role expectations that are designed in accordance with masculine attributes.³⁰ This gendered underpinning continues into diplomatic practice, negatively impacting the trajectory of woman diplomats, as femininity is not revered.

²⁸ D. Durie-Smith. "Manly states and feminist foreign policy: revisiting the liberal state as an agent of change." In *Revisiting gendered states*, S. Parashar, J. A. Tickner, & J. True (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 51-68.

²⁹ A. Tickner, "Feminism meets international relations: some methodological issues." In *Feminist Methodologies for international relations*, B. A. Ackerly, M. Stern, & J. True (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 19-41.

³⁰ Ibid.

When a woman's appointment does not feel subversive, illogical or an exception to the rule is when one can see an institution that's masculinity is not hegemonic. In the case when a woman's gender is not a critique, a short coming or a variable of debate is when equality is represented. In the case of political institutions this is not the case.³¹ Women's presence in diplomatic practice, in a professional and senior capacity, is increasingly common. However, the presence of both masculinity and femininity does not produce equality when masculinity is still privileged.³²

Diplomatic Masculinities

This thesis finds that the foundational outline of diplomatic masculinity (as a modern concept) has its orientation in the prior century to WWII, a conception originated and postulated by Neumann.³³ This model trickled down from the status of nobility, where diplomatic practices were mostly acted from. This type of diplomatic masculinity was described as the standard European bourgeois 'manliness' of the time, which was structurally superior to other lesser masculinities and femininity. In this pre-WWII period, this type of masculinity aspired to reach levels of noble masculinity, which was the only masculine model it was truly subordinate to.³⁴ Bourgeois masculinity as a model enforced, morality, physicality, as well as virility.³⁵ The level of subordination to nobility was dependant on how instilled nobility was in the society where the diplomat operated from.³⁶ In the case of Neumann's Norway, the aristocracy was quite weak, so this diplomatic bourgeois masculinity strategically had more strength. The strength and prominence of this model was then proliferated when in 1821 in Norway, noble privileges were abolished. Though this was the case in Norway in the early 1800's, it took a lot more time for other states to minimise the prevalence of their nobility, to the extent where this civil servant masculine model could dominate. In the post 1820's civil servants became of higher societal status, as well as the business world. Neumann then coined the term civil servant

³¹ Krook & Mackay. "Introduction: gender, politics, and institutions". In *Gender, politics and institutions: towards a feminist institutionalism*, Edited by M. L. Krook, & F. Mackay (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.) 1-20.

³² Ibid.

³³ Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Whitehead, *Men and Masculinities: Key Themes and New Directions*. (Cambridge: Polity, 2001).

³⁶ Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.

masculinity because he felt Bourgeois as a term was redundant and the civil servant label was more reflective of a rising middle class. It also took until the WWII period for a lot of Europe to reach the stage that Norway achieved slightly earlier.

In regard to the conduct of the civil servant masculine model, the model came with specificities where the men were to be relaxed but authoritative, with short hair, no facial hair, white shirts (made of the highest quality fabric), a tie or bow tie needed to be worn with black shined shoes and a dark suit must be also worn.³⁷ Though these details were written in alignment with the Scandinavian context, across Europe the differences were not substantial. These details should also not sound representative of a time long-gone-by because these key components are still relevant in contemporary diplomatic practice (for males more relevantly). An additional specificity, regarding diplomatic practice in this model, was operationalised in the social life of the diplomat; integral to navigate appropriately as part of the role. The social aspect of diplomacy remains of the upmost importance, diplomatic life remains formulated as a largely social practice. Requirements of behaviour in social contexts are still like that of the civil servant model, where a diplomat is required to use their body with measure at meals and introductions, show appropriate interest in topics under discussion, as well have an ease of flow when it comes to navigating conversation.³⁸

The Hegemonic Masculine Model of The Ideal Diplomat

From a comprehension of all the previously mentioned theoretical underpinnings to this research, it is now possible to outline what would be defined as the hegemonic masculine model of the ideal diplomat.³⁹ Firstly, just because a model is masculine does not necessarily mean it needs to be tied to a man, women can perform masculinity.⁴⁰ However, in this case the hegemonic model is both masculine and male. In the case of diplomacy, it is not just masculinity that is supreme but also men. Though, returning to Connell's work, not all men

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Niklasson, "The gendered," 13-42.; Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.; Kanter, *Men and women.*; Lenine and Sanca, "Gender, Feminism," 98-122.; Ruane, "'Real Men'," 342-359.

⁴⁰ Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

in diplomacy meet the masculine hegemonic model just because they identify as male.⁴¹ Therefore the model is hegemonic because a hegemony requires subordinate masculinities and femininities for validity, as it is a relational concept.⁴² It is additionally key to note that this model is based on Western European conceptions, and even then it is not a model that is not impacted by the intricacies of cultural contexts within the Western world, it still carry's across context.⁴³ The model is a blueprint that can be identified quickly and clearly for the purpose of this research and the study of gender and diplomacy.

When attempting to construct a definition or outline of the hegemonic masculine ideal in the context of diplomacy it must be said this produced outline is the consequence of research and amalgamation. Though there are descriptions across history, an ideal model is not so much dictated in a handbook, it is rather constructed by; professional profiles, the practice of the role, historiography and cultural and societal norms.⁴⁴ In regard to the ideal or ideal types, these are constructed frameworks that culturally vary, relaying the archetype or supreme model of a particular institution.⁴⁵

In earlier historical periods there were ambassadors that spoke of this ideal model. Ambassador from the US in the 80's stated a diplomat should be "pale, male and Yale".⁴⁶ This meaning that a diplomat should be a highly educated white man. Though the way this was said can almost seem laughable in its delivery, the components hold truth. In 1998 a commissioner for the United States stated,

"[t]he State Department wants to hire what I call the mythical American, the 5'10," 160 pound WASP (white Anglo-Saxon protestant) man in perfect physical and mental health."⁴⁷

⁴¹ Connell, *Gender and Power*.

⁴² Ruane, "'Real Men'," 342-359.

⁴³ Joan Acker, "Gendering organizational theory." *Classics of organizational theory* 6 (1992): 450-459.; Tickner. *world politics: Issues and approaches in the post-Cold War era*. (Columbia University Press, 2011)

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ruane, "'Real Men'," 342-359.

⁴⁶ Andrew Mark Dorman, and Matthew Richard Hinchliffe Uttley. "International Affairs and the British Defence and Security Policy Debate: The Bibliometric Context (Updated)." *International Affairs* (2017): 36.

⁴⁷ Ruane, "'Real Men'," 348.

What could be a potential response to these two statements is that this was a different time and things have changed. Yes, there has been a steady incline in the Western world of women's inclusion, however, in regard to appointment of woman diplomats the more senior you climb the less women are present.⁴⁸ The role of this thesis is not to address the glass ceiling in this case, but to continue to formulate the model.

This thesis finds the hegemonic masculine model of the ideal diplomat to be that of a man, a politically inclined man, in the Western context a white man, that is masculine, dominant, a rational actor and autonomous.⁴⁹ This thesis additionally concurs that the civil servant masculine diplomat model is largely able to be included in this definition.⁵⁰ It is also to be included that the ideal model is also a diplomat that thrives with fluency in homosocial interactions, a one-of-the-boys type man. This is because as a highly social, and very much homosocial, practice there is a requirement that social capabilities are at high heights. The ideal model has also gained career success through institutions that replicated hegemonic masculinity and is therefore also shaped by attitudes that privilege men over women. To reiterate, these defining features of the model are not to be challenged in this thesis. On top of that, the model is not to be taken as 'perfect' nor in every way transposable. A definition is a necessity for this work, without it the interpretation of phenomena will not be coherent. A key takeaway from this definition is to be able to conceive an outline when authors in this field relate to such a masculine model in their diplomatic profession. Even further, and like what was previously stated by the 'state diplomat', ideal models are mythical. They are mythical in the sense that the vast majority of men likely will not be capable of fitting such a model, nor its requirements, and for women meeting its requirements are impossible.⁵¹ The model is to be worked towards by all, it is aspirational, continuous and it motivates career choices in an attempt reach the apex of the profession. This thesis will interpret the impact of such a male and masculine supreme model on the women of which it shares a profession.

⁴⁸ Towns, Ann, and Birgitta Niklasson. "Gender, international status, and ambassador appointments." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 13, no. 3 (2017): 521-540.

⁴⁹ Ruane, "'Real Men'," 342-359.; Tickner, "Feminism meets international." 19-41.; Hans Joachim Morgenthau, Kenneth W. Thompson, and W. David Clinton. "Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace." (1985).

⁵⁰ Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.

⁵¹ Ibid

Literature Review

There is no short of 'calls to arms' in this academic area, this reflecting the general lack of extensive study in this field.⁵² The 'calls to arms' being directed towards academics and practitioners to inspect the neglected phenomenon of the woman diplomat. The amount of academic inspection of the phenomena of woman diplomats is extremely limited and warrants wider study. The advocational nature of this field of study is partially the reasoning as to why authors request further research. Woman diplomats are in the minority in every case, the challenges that they face are extensive and permeate extensively in both their work and upward career mobility.

A key observation into this area is the general lack of intra-critique.⁵³ This can be a consequence of different phenomena, though, what is clear is that there is a general acceptance within this small academic community that contemporary authors are 'getting it right'.⁵⁴ Key area where authors find each other to be 'getting right' is, firstly, engaging with the phenomenon of woman diplomats with a feminist lens. Addressing constructs of male supremacy in institutions with a critical eye is also key when studying gender experiences, especially as feminist enquiry is widely considered a critical approach. A good example of being critical to the experiences is not just celebrating female inclusion in diplomacy, but rather questioning key components of professional experience such as appointment.⁵⁵ This leads to questions like, where are women appointed? and what does that mean for the status and seniority of women as diplomats is a question looked upon? What was found in this circumstance is that women are still being placed more frequently at postings that have higher rates of gender equality.⁵⁶ What was relayed in this case is that even in countries

⁵² Wendy Andhika Prajuli, Richa Vidya Yustikaningrum, and Dayu Nirma Amurwanti. "How gender socialization is improving women's representation in Indonesia's Foreign affairs: breaking the ceiling." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 75, no. 5 (2021): 527-545.; Standfield, *Gendering*, 14-165.; Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.

⁵³ Standfield, *Gendering*, 14-165.; Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.; Lenine and Sanca, "Gender, Feminism," 98-122.; Birgitta Niklasson, "The gendered networking of diplomats." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 15, no. 1-2 (2020): 13-42.

⁵⁴ Silvia De Simone et al., "The hegemonic gender order in politics." *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* (2018).; Prajuli et al., "How gender socialization," 527-545.; Lenine and Sanca, "Gender, Feminism," 98-122.

⁵⁵ Towns "Gender, international status," and ambassador appointments." 521-540.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

with high rates of woman diplomats (Sweden is almost 50/50) and gender equality, it was still found that when sending woman diplomats abroad there was a gendered 'issue' to be considered, which effected posting. This is reflective of the global perception of women's inequality. It was also found that though Swedish diplomats found that gender was irrelevant in diplomacy, women are statistically less likely to hold higher positions when compared to their male co-workers.⁵⁷ In the world only 15% of top diplomatic appointments are held by women. Even in the Swedish context, women are less likely to hold senior positions. This particular study addressed 7000 diplomatic appointments in 2014 as its analysis, inclusive only of countries in the top 50 GDP rankings.⁵⁸

This type of research into the situation of woman diplomats is very much celebrated within the field, as it continues to diversify the angles from which analysis takes place. To elaborate, many studies into woman diplomats and their practice revolve around interviews and qualitative analysis. The above-mentioned appointment study was quantitative. However, though much of the inspection is interview based, interviews are astutely able to gather insight into personal experiences. Extremely valuable when studying an extremely social practice. This is because in diplomacy, as previously stated, social interactions and relationship building is often attempted to be measured. Measured at least to the extent of knowing whether it 'worked or not'. Working to mean being a fruitful negotiation/conversation/relation-building-exercise, for example.

Though there is a general sharing amongst key theorist that this field is going in the right direction, this does not indicate a situation where critique should not or cannot arise.⁵⁹ Within such a small and developing field of study there is likely going to be developments that could provide critiques. Especially in the case that more non-Western, or even non-Scandinavian, approaches are presented. The surface has been scratched with countries like Indonesia, China, Turkey and Brazil.⁶⁰ In the case of Indonesia there has been work on

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Prajuli et al., "How gender socialization," 527-545.; Abigail E Ruane, "'Real Men' and Diplomats: Intercultural Diplomatic Negotiation and Masculinities in China and the United States." *International Studies Perspectives* 7, no. 4 (2006): 342-359.; Rahime Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm, and Bahar Rumelili. "From Female Masculinity to

gender socialisation and the experience of woman diplomats, a similar case was also studied in Turkey.⁶¹ What was quite like the analysis of diplomatic appointments, was that in the case of Indonesia and Turkey the woman diplomats attempted to downplay the significance of their gender. However, both studies noted that gender was a significant factor in how the woman diplomats navigated their role. They found that they had to work harder than their male counterparts to be seen to be successful, as well as negating stereotypes by having to act more masculine to be seen to 'fit the role'.⁶² In the case of China woman diplomats was not studied but rather negotiator and diplomatic masculinities, which directed this thesis to be make clear that the hegemonic model designed for this thesis is a Western model. This is due to the fact that masculinity is culturally and socially constructed. Further meaning that this thesis' designed model would not be fitting of the Chinese case, as China has a richly different cultural and society to that of the West, which produces differing gender socialisation.

In every case, where works were in the realm of interpretation of Western or European investigations there were recommendations for further studies internationally.⁶³ This consistent desire for more extensive research is a necessity to be able to explore this phenomenon in its entirety. Women are not just diplomats in the Western European context, to ignore that would be to limit the scope of inspection. Feminist approaches fundamentally are advocational for women, not some women or Western European women. This is the interpretation this thesis takes and from this stance there is a reiteration; without an international inspection into the woman diplomat phenomenon knowledge is incomplete.

What is missing from the literature in this field is a direct inspection of masculinity on woman diplomats. The negative impact of hegemonic masculinity on woman diplomat was written about In some cases, partially directing this thesis's research to take place.⁶⁴

Hegemonic Femininity: Evolving Gender Performances of Turkish Women Diplomats." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 1, no. aop (2022): 1-30.; Lenine and Sanca, "Gender, Feminism," 98-122.

⁶¹ Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm. "From Female Masculinity," 1-30.; Prajuli et al., "How gender socialization," 527-545.

⁶² Abigail "'Real Men'," 342-359.

⁶³ Standfield, *Gendering*, 14-165.; Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.; Towns "Gender, international status," 521-540. Niklasson, "The gendered," 13-42.

⁶⁴ De Simone et al., "The hegemonic gender,".; Ruane, "'Real Men'," 348.

However, instead of addressing the phenomena directly there was another area of interest that was often studied, gender socialisation and practice theory for example.⁶⁵ In other cases, male masculine attitudes towards women and hegemonic masculinity have been presented as the result of issues in the practice of woman diplomats.⁶⁶ An example would be that of work on networking, which identified a tradition of homosociality in networking that made the process of access for woman diplomats challenging.⁶⁷ This was the case when they were the only woman in the room and felt they were intrusive, or in a more explicit setting where women were not allowed in the space.⁶⁸ Literature on gender and diplomacy has explicated that masculinity, and male dominance in diplomacy has an impact on woman. What is missing is the specific focus on the extent of this impact, directing this thesis to its analysis.

Methodology

Data

The data for this thesis are female diplomatic memoirs. The memoirs of choice are the following:

*Sue Boyd (Australia) - Not Always Diplomatic: An Australian Woman's Journey through international affairs*⁶⁹

Sue Boyd as a woman diplomat has been the Australian High Commissioner to Bangladesh and later in her career to Fiji also, Ambassador to Vietnam and Consul general in Hong Kong. These are but a short list of her diplomatic achievements.

*Susan Rice (U.S.A) - Tough Love: My Story of the Things Worth Fighting For*⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Prajuli et al., "How gender socialization," 527-545.; Aggestam, "The gender turn" 9-28.

⁶⁶ Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.; Niklasson, "The gendered," 13-42.

⁶⁷ Niklasson, "The gendered," 13-42.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Sue Boyd. UWA Publishing, 2020.

⁷⁰ Susan Rice. Simon & Schuster, 2019.

Susan rice as a woman diplomat for the United States, amongst other titles, has held posts such as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, United States Ambassador to the United Nations and United States National Security Advisor.

These 2 memoirs represent an American and Australian woman's experiences as a diplomat for their country. They best reflect the goals of this research as they encompass extensive career narratives, involving their own individual reflections on their work and the profession. Narratives, of an autobiographical nature, are able to present the sensemaking behind processes of action.⁷¹ This is because in the majority, with some academic circles partly contesting an absolute in this case⁷², sensemaking is perceived to be inherently retrospective.⁷³ Human cognition is a forever forward moving process, with the inability to pause or travel backwards. Therefore, the way that humans make sense of phenomena in a significant way is through reflecting on the past, in other words retrospectively sensemaking.⁷⁴ Memoirs, like the two above, are physical comprehensible narrations of phenomena and experience as a well as the intentions, inspirations and reasoning behind the authors actions. These books are always containing what has occurred in the past, so when published and read they are direct tools to make retrospective sense of the subject matter. How one chooses to make sense of these works is a separate question. In the case of this thesis a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) will be used to 'make sense' answer the research goal.

Before elaborating on that method, it is additionally key to further enforce the utility of memoirs. There is a likelihood that when female authors write about their diplomatic careers there will be reflections presented with the inclusion of a gendered lens. Accounts noted in memoirs are information-rich with reflections that give important details of experience. They do have limitations because the accounts of the events are subjective. In the instance where the choice of data or source material requires questioning, it is key to

⁷¹ Lisa Harrison and Nicholas Startin. *Political research: An introduction*. Routledge, 2013.; Smith and Watson Reading Autobiography. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. 2001.

⁷² Sally Maitlis and Marlys Christianson. "Sensemaking in organizations: Taking stock and moving forward." *Academy of Management Annals* 8, no. 1 (2014): 57-125.

⁷³ Karl E Weick. *Sensemaking in organizations*. Vol. 3. Sage, 1995.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

note that this research is not taking these autobiographical accounts as historical fact. They are not being used to provide objectivity regarding state actions in international relations. They are being looked towards for insight into the experiences of woman diplomats.

Research Method: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA)

This thesis will utilise Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA). FCDA is often used to regard the gendered structure of language with high importance. This is a key reason as to its appropriate application when investigating gender in memoirs. Especially as language itself can be seen to be consistent of differing gender signs.⁷⁵ These gendered dichotomies in language are more extensive and complex than simply accounting for male-female relations, they shape the way we consider all things, including international relations.⁷⁶ Some terms are linked as 'positive', and masculine (exp. Strong = Man) and the juxtaposition is then linked negatively with feminine (exp. Weak = Woman). Masculine terms like; strong, tough, hard man are juxtaposed with; soft, weak, tender woman.⁷⁷ Discourse analysis can highlight when gendered language is used, which in turn speaks volumes for gendered structures in diplomatic practice. Why an analytical approach is required is because the above examples are not the only case of gendered language. It is not as easy to simply identify gendered simple adjectives. FCDA is the process of understanding more holistically the underpinnings of language. The way this is done will be further elaborated on in the next section.

In part, FCDA is a political addition to critical discourse analysis.⁷⁸ It studies the divergent and complex ways gender ideologies become tightly linked to unequal distributions of power. Due to the fact this thesis is investigating a dominant group (men) on a societally and institutionally subordinate group (women) this method is appropriate. FCDA looks at a variety of ways gender ideologies become 'common sense', which are inclusive of both

⁷⁵ Lene Hansen, *Security as practice: discourse analysis and the Bosnian war*. Routledge, 2013.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Duncanson, "Forces for good," 67.; Hansen, *Security as practice*, 2013.

⁷⁸ Michelle Lazar, "Feminist critical discourse analysis." *The handbook of language, gender, and sexuality* (2014): 372-387.; Walsh, C., 2001. *Gender and Discourse in Politics, The Church and Organizations*. Harlow, England/New York.

overt examples of sexism and more subtle examples.⁷⁹ The goal of both FCDA and this proposed thesis is to work to demystify the underpinnings of certain discourses, in this case diplomatic practice, from that demystification and analysis it is possible to draw the impact of the hegemonic model on woman diplomats.⁸⁰ The details of this process elaborated in this coming section.

There are 5 key principles of FCDA, but this thesis will select key components to highlight for the purpose of this research. Firstly, FCDA's understanding of feminism and gender acknowledges that, though not in every single case, men as a social group and individual men are largely the most vested holders of power in society.⁸¹ Secondly, the signs that are linked to language contribute to social identities, orders and relations by maintaining and reproducing them, as well as in some cases contesting and transforming them. Finally, FCDA is considered a type of analytical activism, it strives for a socially equal society. It strives to be an instrument in producing a society where an individual's gender does not precede their relationships with others nor their sense of self.

[FCDA: In Practice](#)

The question now begs, how will this thesis use FCDA in practice. Lazar uses an illustrative example of FCDA in her work, which can be summarised here to provide an example of how this thesis will utilise the method.⁸²

The example refers to the FCDA of statements and public response of people involved in the 2012 case of Jyoti Singh in India. Jyoti Singh was a 23 year old woman, who on her way back home at 8:30pm was gang raped by 6 men on a moving bus. She tragically died weeks later from the injuries she sustained from the attack and the case was taken to court.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Lazar, "Feminist critical," 372-387.

⁸² Ibid.

Lazar discusses victim blaming in her FCDA and displays how that is represented in the discourse. What was found is that the respectability of an Indian woman is largely dependent on her access to public spaces. What was evident, is that there is a curfew (not a legal curfew but a symbolic one) for which women go from a 'Madonna' to a 'whore'.⁸³ An example (one of many) that shows this is:

"In our society we never allow our girls to come out from the house after 6:30 or 7:30 or 8:30 in the evening with any unknown person (M.L. Sharma, defence lawyer for the rapists)."⁸⁴

This above statement relays the curfew, where women become unwelcome (or become devalued) relating to a certain time in the evening. If a woman is out past a certain time, she is out of bounds and she becomes vulnerable. What FCDA does in this case is it presents an understanding that space has become gendered. At night, there are only a certain selection of extenuating circumstances where it is appropriate for a woman to be outside. The outside becomes a male space, where a "decent girl" would know not to be in without a chaperone.⁸⁵ This is the gendered discourse that is pulled from the statement by the defence lawyer using FCDA. What is relayed is that the female sphere is indoors, and men have the outside. For that reason, when violence occurs, victims are blamed for not acknowledging this subliminal gendering. The way that this gendered context of discourse and language was derived is the same method that will be utilised in the analysis of the diplomatic memoirs.

What has been presented in the above FCDA practice example is how FCDA operates, and how it acts completely differently to a 'normal reading'. There are certain ideas that are replicated through language that have gendered underpinnings, which are taken-for-granted. In the above case it was the idea of space, time and gender. When a researcher applies this lens, it is to stop, explore and then provide an analysis of such gendered discourses in language. The frequency of such occurrences in the written expression of an

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Lazar, "Feminist critical," 380.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

individual can relay just how deeply entrenched a gender hierarchy is in their experience. A high frequency relaying high likelihood of gender inequality. On the other hand, regularly gender-neutral language can display the opposite. In the case of this research the method will be able to source the impact of gender hierarchy, based on the language and discourses that are being used in the memoirs.

Analysis

From the study, comprehension and analysis of the two memoirs, key gendered themes were able to be drawn. Within these themes certain quotations will be taken from the memoirs to illustrate these themes. These themes are able to provide experiences that relay the impact of the hegemonic model of the ideal diplomat on the working lives of both these women, and in some cases their co-workers. These themes are tokenism, gender performance, validating their role, higher performance pressure, the impact of sport and explicit discrimination.

Tokenism

Tokenism describes the occurrence when there is a small minority of a group (in this case women) in organisations. Tokens is the label for the minority group, in this case the small portion of women compared to the vast majority of men in institutions of diplomatic practice (MFA's and the such).⁸⁶ This theory is readily applied to the experience of women in diplomacy, firstly, because tokens stand out. This is not simply because of the limited number of women in diplomacy but because they are perceived to not fit in the context. This links back to the idea of an appointment feeling natural vs. unnatural in a masculine institution.⁸⁷ In diplomacy, women's presence is at opposition to the stereotypes of diplomatic practice, they are not men. In diplomacy Boyd noted her isolation as a woman in the field,

⁸⁶ Rosabeth Moss Kanter. *Men and women of the corporation: New edition*. Basic books, 2008.

⁸⁷ Peterson & True, "New Times," 14-27.

“I was often the only woman at many boardroom business lunches outside the office. At first it was hard to break into the groups of men, who seemed uncomfortable when I joined them and introduced myself. I wondered why that was. Were they just not used to women peers? Or maybe they assumed I must be a junior staffer? Or, worse, somebody else’s wife?”⁸⁸

Firstly, in an explicit visualisation of tokenism Boyd states that she was often the only woman in boardroom lunches. This immediately relays that woman at the time of this section of her work were in an extreme minority. Moving forward from that explicit example, when Boyd states that she may have been confused for a wife or junior staffer what is being relayed is her unnatural fit in the organisation at the time. It is more fitting that women would be a wife or junior staffer opposed to a diplomat, which was the case for Boyd. When placing the hegemonic masculine model at the centre of this analysis, what is presented here is exactly Boyd’s question, “I wonder why this was”. What may be confusing, in careers with supreme models of masculinity, is why women would *want* to be in such a field or how they would even be competent enough to do so. The male discomfort in this brief anecdote can be read as a discomfort in response to the inorganic placement of Boyd in the male space. This thesis encourages the reader to remember the case of FCDA and the Indian attack case. That was an example of the dangerous results of women entering a man’s domain. In the case of Boyd, what it is presented is a much milder representation of the consequences of entering such a gendered space.

Moving further to explain such impacts of having the hegemonic model concerning tokenism more direct results are presented here,

“I suffered the same as most women when I was the sole woman in a workplace meeting. The men talk over you: their ears are attuned only to male voices, and the gentler, higher pitched women’s voices often fail to penetrate and sometimes irritate.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Kanter. *Men and women*, 2008.

⁸⁹ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 182.

Here what is seen is that not only have male diplomats been uncomfortable about having women co-workers at the same level, they do not even receive them with the equality they show their male counterparts. “I suffered the same as most women” relays that this is habitual across the profession and even outside of diplomatic practice (this can be understood as she did not specify what workplace).⁹⁰ When using an FCD of the language what can be derived is that in this profession women’s knowledge is not considered equal to male. If the case was that, regardless of the numbers of women in the room, women’s knowledge was still equally valued then Boyd would have not “suffered as most women”, she would have been heard. Her non-regular existence in the space impacts her experience because the ideal diplomat (male) was never expected to manage relations with female co-workers. In the page where the excerpt is located, she goes on to discuss the eventual training that was given on this phenomenon regarding women not being heard in meetings.

“All the women I have worked with have had the same infuriating experience of making a contribution in such a meeting only to have the idea ignored but then voiced a little later by one of the men – and the idea being praised and taken up seriously... In DFAT (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade) leadership course participants, men and women, were all warned of this phenomenon... To make the most of women’s potential input to a team, the training courses encouraged the chairs of workplace meetings specifically to ask the women participants to voice their ideas.”⁹¹

Again, this quotation relays how impactful male diplomats holding supremacy over women is on the experience of woman diplomats. What is taken in the reading of this particular excerpt is that the impacts of women’s subordination in the profession of diplomacy was so epistemic that additional training needed to take place. Male diplomats were required to be trained to understand their own impacts, impacts that are disseminated from the hegemonic model that subordinates women. Having training as to mediate the issues the model has caused, as narrated by Boyd, does not mean that the model itself has been

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 189-190.

dismantled. In this case and at this stage, all that can be taken using FCDA is the severity of the impact in the profession.

Tokenism Continued: 'Diplomat-First Femininity'

Another component of the theory is assimilation, where women find themselves at a crossroads.⁹² Being at a difference to the dominant group requires a choice to be made as to how to fit, often for the sake of working well in the profession. It has been found that in these male dominant environments often female assimilation can be categorised in a binary, the emphasis of femininity or the choice to subdue it.⁹³ Models of feminism are also key to understand, as their existence is a building block to evaluating women's participation in diplomacy. In the case of diplomacy, femininities can be categorised often as 'diplomat-first femininity' or 'designer-femininity'.⁹⁴

'Diplomat-first femininity' is where female diplomats insist on being the same as the 'boys'.⁹⁵ This can be perceived to be part of the category of minimising feminine qualities, where women intentionally make men their primary circle of interaction. In these cases what results is an almost imitation of masculinity, which is perceived to be disingenuous. Even if it is not perceived that way it is still a very unlikely conclusion that women in diplomacy, based on this model of feminine suppression, will result in the holistic acceptance as 'one of the boys'.

An example of diplomat-first femininity comes from Susan Rice,

"In response, I was forceful and perhaps even profane, countering, "This is the dumbest war I can imagine. It can and must be resolved peacefully." I told Isaias he needed to pull his forces back and work with us to address the underlying conflict.

The meeting ended in an impasse, but I had demonstrated that neither I nor the USA

⁹² Kanter. *Men and women*, 2008.

⁹³ Neumann, "The body of the diplomat." 671-695.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

would be cowed by him. Both buoyant and exhausted, I reported to my team that Isaias had challenged my “manhood,” but I stood my ground and gave it all back to him.”⁹⁶

Why this paragraph is representative of diplomat-first femininity is the use of the term ‘manhood’ and its foundations. To begin, manhood traditionally is not perceived to be something that a man just achieves spontaneously through maturation, it is to be earned.⁹⁷ Cross-culturally, there are many instances where the earning of manhood has ritualistic components, without the same rituals available for women.⁹⁸ In a modern interpretation of the phrase manhood, it can be understood as male virility and the way a man is judged and valued by others in society.⁹⁹ To have strong manhood is to be perceived as masculine and respected, which can be a consequence of earning these attributes through (in the diplomatic case) career success, dominant leadership method and a strong-hand direct communication style. The process of achieving manhood in this sense is not ritualistic but a continuous act of doing and collecting masculine experiences. Manhood has been described as very precarious, meaning it can be challenged and dismantled quite easily.¹⁰⁰ This can occur when a man is publicly challenged or criticised, resulting in him seeming not to be able to produce certain ‘manly’ attributes.

Returning to Rice, her use of the term is very telling as to hegemonic masculinity being impactful in diplomatic practice. She does not say womanhood, which has been used to appropriate the same phrase but from the position of a woman, with a similar masculine undertone. Due to the fact that manhood is perceived to be earned, as a very senior diplomat Rice may perceive her pinnacles in her career as having earned her ‘manhood’. She uses inverted commas to relay, likely, that she knows this term is masculine and linked to the male gender. However, she still uses it, displaying that it is a fit for the masculine context in which she finds herself.

⁹⁶ Rice, *Tough Love*, 180.

⁹⁷ David Gilmore. *Manhood in the making: Cultural concepts of masculinity*. Yale University Press, 1990.

⁹⁸ Vandello et al. "Precarious manhood." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 95, no. 6 (2008).

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Why it was key to discuss manhood in this thesis was to elaborate on why this is not simply an example of tokenism, nor simply the impact of hegemonic masculinity, but diplomat-first femininity. When men have their masculinity challenged, they respond aggressively, this has been a finding of work in the field of manhood and masculinity.¹⁰¹ When Susan Rice had her 'manhood' challenged she "stood her ground and gave it all back to him", she "was forceful and perhaps even profane" and "I (she) nor the USA would be cowed by him (the one who threatened her 'manhood')." ¹⁰² This thesis finds this response to be aggressive, fitting to what research has ascribed to that of a man having his manhood threatened. This, therefore, becomes an instance where a woman diplomat relayed her diplomat-first femininity where male-like behaviour was appropriated. The analysis that brings this conclusion is through the critical approach to such gendered language. The impact of hegemonic masculinity and ideal types has brought about this response because it was perceived to be the most fitting in the context. The behaviour was a likely response to having been impacted by such a masculine dominated environment, where aggressive response is commonplace. However, the choice of the term 'manhood' has poignancy, this is Rice's memoir, and she has control. It relays the absence of femininity in this example of diplomatic practice. This thesis finds the absence to be that of a consequence of the hegemonic masculine ideal model, a model replicated by the instance and the language that narrated it.

Tokenism Continued: 'Designer Femininity'

Diplomat-first femininity replicates norms of masculinity, on the other hand, 'designer-femininity' is a method that can challenge norms of masculinity in diplomacy.¹⁰³ In this case women have their primary circle of recognition made up of all genders but when engaging with women they relate and engage as women. They don't subdue what they perceive to be their womanlike qualities, instead, they relate with the inclusion of their gender. This often

¹⁰¹ Frederick et al. "Precarious manhood and muscularity: Effects of threatening men's masculinity on reported strength and muscle dissatisfaction." *Body Image* 22 (2017): 156-165.

¹⁰² Rice, *Tough Love*, 180.

¹⁰³ Neumann, "The body of the diplomat." 671-695.

results in more fruitful symbiotic relationships with other women. This method has been relayed Boyd,

“The hardworking, effective, creative, blokey yet feminine strategy worked, then, for me.”¹⁰⁴

For clarification ‘blokey’ is Australian slang, a bloke is a masculine man and the suffix ‘y’ turning the word into an adjective. In this sentence a clear example is made where Boyd operated a strategy where she attempted to play all parts. She didn’t get rid of her femininity but instead attempted a balancing act where she played many parts to be successful in her role. Boyd relayed this as a strategy in her experience, expressing also that,

“Like many women, I spent a bit of energy in ensuring the men around me felt comfortable. But I was firm in standing up to male colleagues when required.”¹⁰⁵

The motivation to have to play multiple parts or make male colleagues feel comfortable is very much a tactic where women have to, again, negotiate their presence in a male supreme space. The forced agility that is required by women is another impact of working in field with the hegemonic masculine ideal model. Boyd found that her model allowed her to continue to have femininity, but she also made it clear that what worked was the inclusion of masculinity, a requirement of the work place culture.

Proving Herself

Proving herself is a two-pronged theme in this analysis. On one side female diplomats must prove themselves in the sense that they need to explain their title or make sure their role is known. On the other side, women must work extremely hard and often harder than their male cohorts so that they can prove their validity in their diplomatic role.

Proof of Role

¹⁰⁴ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 70.

¹⁰⁵ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 69.

Due to fact that diplomacy has been relayed to be in the majority a masculine field, especial outside of the Western context, it is sometimes surprising that a woman would be in such a role. There are examples of this in an explicit sense,

“People often assumed that the ambassador would be a man. I had to learn how to deal with that. At one reception I was introduced as the new Australian high commissioner to one rather pompous fellow who clearly did not listen carefully and proceeded as if I was the wife of the new high commissioner. ‘Oh yes’, he started. ‘I met the new high commissioner just a little while ago. Nice fellow’.

Wickedly, I asked, ‘Oh yes? And what did you think of him? What did you talk about?’

After letting him talk himself into a hole, I reiterated clearly that I was actually the high commissioner, then left him to his own discomfort.”¹⁰⁶

From the perspective of FCDA there isn’t too much to analyse here that hasn’t been said. Women are not expected to be in this role and impact of hegemonic masculinity that subordinates women, making them seem incapable of holding seniority in this profession. In this case it is very obvious, and Boyd had to ‘learn to deal with that’, meaning it is habitual and reflective of the profession. She also dealt with this in a more professional capacity,

“My first deputy in Bangladesh, a man, originally travelled with me to some functions. He got out of the car before me and proceeded to shake hands with our hosts while leaving me trailing, as the hosts invariably assumed he was the ambassador. He was not helpful in disabusing them. So I stopped taking him with me.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 186.

¹⁰⁷ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 186.

This example is extremely demeaning with outright disrespect being shown from her deputy and is another example of women having to prove themselves. The taking for granted that she would be a man relaying the strong masculine preconceived notions of her role.

It has the potential to be drawn that if women were not tokens, in the sense that they were almost fifty percent represented to men in diplomatic practice, that they would not have to validate or prove themselves in their role. In the case of Sweden, the ministry of foreign affairs is almost composed of fifty percent woman diplomats.¹⁰⁸ However, research found that woman diplomats still need to defend their presence and right to be in the position they are in; their presence needs to be legitimised.¹⁰⁹ The peculiar aspect in this reflection is that when women are almost equally represented, there shouldn't be a need to perform highly for the sake of validation. The fact that this aspect still persists relays that it is both the institution and gender norms that are impacting women's diplomatic experiences. Until men do not perceive women unequally believe women will continue to have to prove themselves in their role as diplomat. Consequently, the required legitimisation produces disproportionate performance pressure for women.

Working Harder

This disproportionate performance pressure has been relayed in research.¹¹⁰ In an interview-based study, a male respondent found that woman diplomats do have to reach a higher threshold of professional excellence to be taken as seriously or equally seriously to that of her male counterparts. He stated that this is especially the case for women that work in societies where women in public office is a rarity. A female respondent stated that, "As a female diplomat you may have to find other ways sometimes," which is reflective of managing a role as a woman diplomat.¹¹¹ To reiterate, when an ideal model is masculine and male it can disseminate questions as to how women can achieve success. Men in the field already have notions of women's subordination, due to societal factors. As hegemonic

¹⁰⁸ Niklasson, "The gendered,".

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Niklasson, "The gendered,". 30.

masculinity has permeated diplomatic practice, women must fight preconceived notions of inferiority. Doing the same work is not enough to relay their capability, it would go unnoticed, to truly relay their capabilities they must do better. To do better, is to exceed masculine conceptions and expectations of woman's inferiority. This exact conception was directly relayed in Boyd's memoir,

"Throughout our careers, however, we always felt we were being judged not as officers of the department but as women officers, and we felt some pressure that the reputation and future of all professional women sat heavily upon our shoulders. We were mindful of and appreciated the saying 'To get half as far as a man, a woman has to be twice as good. And luckily that's not difficult'."¹¹²

The idea of being twice as good to go twice as far, even when relayed with a humorous delivery, represents unnecessary and exceeding performance pressure for women in this role. When Boyd says she was being judged as a woman officer and not an officer she states the demarcation of gender in diplomatic practice with clarity. Additionally, from this quote there are two aspects. The first, is what has already been said and that is that women need to perform better to dismantle masculine perceptions of women's inferiority. The other part is that they couldn't perform with mediocrity, or they would affirm a stereotype that they were not good enough for the role, which would lead to negative consequences for future woman officers. Due to their visibility as tokens, they were under scrutiny, had they performed averagely or worse they send a message on behalf of their gender, not just themselves. This is a direct impact of the hegemonic model forcing women to push harder against such a framework that subordinates them professionally. If the model was to become gender equal then they had to use their professional successes to dismantle the notion that they were incapable of reaching an archetype of a successful diplomat, regardless of gender.

[Sport](#)

¹¹² Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 61-62.

What both women in their memoirs drew attention to, that was both outside of the theoretical framework and literature review, was that of the importance of sport knowledge in diplomatic practice. Rice stated,

“My years playing sport served me well throughout my career in a predominantly male world.”¹¹³

In the statement by Rice what is told is that sport plays a major part in the male sphere, both inside and outside of diplomacy. Her sport knowledge helped in her career in diplomacy for the reason that diplomacy is a male world, within that world sport holds a prominent place. The acknowledgement of sport in multiple examples in both memoirs is particularly key. This is because research has found that sport is a location where hegemonic masculinity is both constructed and replicated.¹¹⁴ In the orientation feminist critique of the sport, it has been relayed that the way (for boys) sports is organised and encouraged is the most impressionable way girls learn that boys are to be active, whilst girls are not.¹¹⁵ Though in more recent times women participating in sport activities is more celebrated than at the time of this original postulation, there is still a lot that remains the same way. Fundamentally, there are two dimensions that reproduce hegemonic masculinity in sport. The first, is that it makes a connection between masculinity and visible and highly valued skills. What this means is that certain athletic feats are masculinised, an example would be having high levels of physical strength or strong endurance capabilities. The second is that sport links masculinity with positively sanctioned aggression, as well as in some cases force and violence. In sport aggression is to an extent widely sanctioned as perfectly appropriate to feelings of competitiveness and manliness. If aggression is displayed what is perceived is a sense of drive and desire to win. What then comes from co-opting sport for men is often the subordination of women and activities where women participate. Due to the fact that women are not privileged in a gender binary society, women’s activities are then also

¹¹³ Rice, *Tough Love*, 260.

¹¹⁴ Lois Bryson. "Sport and the maintenance of masculine hegemony." In *Women's studies international forum*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 349-360. Pergamon, 1987.

¹¹⁵ Stephanie, L. Twin. *"Out of the Bleachers." Writings on Women and Sport.* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1979).

perceived to be weaker. In sport men highly value certain athletic, and therefore masculine, virtuosity. When women are perceived not to be able to do things that are valued by men, these activities are then seen as inferior. In sport, sports that have a predominant woman make-up are often considered inferior to the 'real sports'.¹¹⁶ These sports can be inclusive of ice skating, gymnastics and Ballet. Especially in the case of Ballet there is an inferiority implemented on its practice. Seen as an artistic practice, Ballet practitioners are required to be at the pinnacle of strength, endurance, fitness and skill to be able to perform successfully. Regardless of this fact, the way that the sport is presented does not align with masculine values. Even when women do participate in male positively sanctioned sports, they are perceived to be less than. This often relayed in language. Rice stated the following regarding sport,

“Since my early tomboy years, throwing a football was one of my favorite things to do, and I prided myself on having a strong arm, good spiral, and never throwing “like a girl”.”¹¹⁷

Throwing 'like a girl' here is meaning throwing less well than a man. This is a common insult used against women and less masculine men who are not able to throw with a certain strength or accuracy. The fact that Rice uses this phrase in her work relays the masculine context from where she writes. She prides herself on her athletic ability and being on par with men in her ability, as she doesn't throw 'like a girl'. She puts 'like a girl' in inverted commas to let the reader know that she is being facetious. Rice is obviously aware that this is a loaded term but still participates in its proliferation by using it, facetious or not.

At this stage it can be relayed that the sporting sphere does subordinate women to a lesser status and is a sphere where masculine domination is upheld and replicated. Sport being mentioned so many times by both women in their memoirs is able to tell the reader of its cultural importance in the diplomatic field. Additionally to that, it is also able to express just how masculinised the field is by both women finding that being involved in sport and knowing terminology was an asset. Boyd went as far to state,

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Rice, *Tough Love*, 304.

“It was often helpful, when working with men, to be able to talk about sport, which is on the whole men’s safe topic of conversation.”¹¹⁸

A safe topic, can be analysed as to being a place where men receive the topic without discomfort. Boyd has already said that as a woman she worked not to ‘scare the horses’ in her work.¹¹⁹ Pandering to male comfort needs, when it is when who are the minority, is just another example of how woman diplomats are impacted by this thesis’ proposed model. They are in a sense required to speak cultural languages of men, sport, so that they can blend and fit.¹²⁰ As written prior, fitting is needed to perform successfully in a role and in a sense by engaging in sport for the sake of the profession they are pandering to the hegemonic model. Learning sport for the sake of the role was very much the case for Boyd, who learnt to play golf not out of interest but because it was where casual negotiations took place.

Outright Discrimination

Up to this point in the analysis there has been a focus more on the side on how the two women navigate their role and succeed in it, whilst being impacted by the hegemonic model of the ideal diplomat. What hasn’t been provided is the discrimination women face as an impact of the model. Discrimination is often the consequence of subordination of a minority group, and this is no difference in the case of these two women in their role. When there is a hegemonic model, to remain hegemonic it must continue to be relational. Since men (pining to be the ideal in diplomacy) are the gate keepers of such a model, they are often the ones that subordinate minorities through discrimination. This is the impact of a model that does not relay the value of women extensively and institutionally, it allows for discrimination to exist as it does not work to dismantle the norms of inferiority that women face.

¹¹⁸ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 189.

¹¹⁹ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 188.

¹²⁰ Kanter. *Men and women*, 2008.

The first example comes from Boyd in an earlier posting in her career,

“I was housed on the Larrakia air force base, next to the office of the air force commander. Things went smoothly for a couple of days, until the commander returned from leave and proceeded to belittle, bully and harass me as he sought to undermine me and my mission. There were lewd comments, attempts to look down the front of my dress and disparaging observations about the stupidity of posting a girl to do a man’s job.”¹²¹

Girl to do a man’s job is particularly clear use of language that relays the feelings of the commander. It also relays the perception of the role in which Boyd was participating as role in which a woman was not suitable. In relation to implementing the subordination of women, this was also narrated by Boyd,

“One particularly odious senior colleague to whom I presented a piece of work with which he could find no fault invaded my personal space egregiously, looked me over from very close range and said, ‘You’re really quite an attractive woman, if you just lost a little weight’”.¹²²

In this case Boyd was degraded for her appearance in an attempt to belittle and insult her. This is the impact of model that does not relay equality, reducing women to the perception that their appearance is relevant to their professional performance, or that it is at all appropriate to be discussed. In the case of Rice an anecdote from her experience relays the discrimination that she received,

“Clyburn took serious offense that a fellow South Carolinian, Lindsey Graham, was leading the attack on me and noted, as did Congressional Black Caucus incoming chair Marcia Fudge from Ohio, that by calling me “incompetent” and “not qualified,” despite my evident academic and professional qualifications, they infused racial and sexist “code words” in their attacks. Clyburn said:

¹²¹ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 9.

¹²² Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 68-69.

‘This had nothing to do with Susan Rice. Now we know from testimony of [former CIA director David] Petraeus... that the talking points she was given, she absolutely read from the talking points.... Now, if she had deviated in some way from the talking points, then they would have some issue with her... You know these are code words.... These kind of terms that those of us, especially those of us who were born and raised in the South, we’ve been hearing these little words and phrases all our lives, and we get insulted by them. Susan Rice is as competent as anyone you will find.... Say she was wrong for doing it, but don’t call her incompetent. That is something totally different.’¹²³

This is a particularly layered narration of the experience that Rice faced as a consequence of statements she made in the direct aftermath of a significant terrorist incident. In a way, the words from Lindsey Graham (calling Rice both incompetent and not qualified) were critically analysed by Clyburn, who was noted to have taken great offense. In this paragraph what was discussed is how these statements (incompetent and not qualified) are understood to relay undertones of another meaning, meaning that relates to both gender and race.

Pertaining to qualifications, Rice has a PHD and at this point in her career she had decades of experience. This negates both of the critiques that were made. What is said, however, is that when these words are used in this context it doesn’t relay incompetent and not qualified, rather it says that Rice should not be in the position because she is a black woman. The link is made that she was perceived to be inefficient in her role not because of the words actually used, but rather her gender and ethnicity. It is then taken for granted that Graham believes that both people of colour and women would be inefficient in the role that Rice holds. For that reason, Clyburn and Fudge took offense to these ‘code words’.

Now at the end of this analysis, it has been repeatedly stated that an impact of the hegemonic masculine model of the ideal diplomat on women is often subordination and rejection of the validity in the role. The above paragraph is a replica of this exact statement. This case relayed that because of her gender Graham did not believe that Rice was qualified

¹²³ Rice, *Tough Love*, 321.

or competent in her role. This has been a pattern where because diplomatic practice is so heavily masculinised woman diplomats are perceived to be inefficient. To return to the sports example, woman diplomats are seen to not possess the level of skill or ability (because of their gender) to be able to reach success in their role. The extent of this impact has been relayed as quite severe in this section, regarding instances of gender-based discrimination that both authors faced as woman diplomats at the hands of men.

Discussion

The analysis according to the research question has presented that the impact of the model is extensive, as well as multifaceted. Hegemonic masculinity has been noted as highly pervasive after analysing the two memoirs. This thesis can claim this pervasiveness due to the highly frequent instances of gender influenced language relayed by the authors about their experience. It has not just been instances of direct retelling of their gendered experiences about discrimination. Rather, through FCDA it has been told how these women have engaged with the model by addressing its prevalence, by calling the sphere of diplomatic practice predominantly male, and expressing their memoirs with specifically gendered language (manhood, throw like a girl).¹²⁴

What was drawn from the analysis was that not only are woman diplomats impacted by the model, but they also participate and replicate it. The way that both women negotiated their presence as women in the field in a way to fit, through adopting differing versions of femininity, prevents change in the model. In an ideal and gender equal world women would not have to negotiate their femininity to fit, or even have to think about adjusting the way they perform their gender.¹²⁵ Unfortunately, in the case with such a hegemonic masculine ideal, it is key for purpose of change to not participate or engage with it so directly. This thesis does not in any way criticise or judge the women for their choices in how they worked in this profession. The only reason this point is noted is to draw attention to the way that hegemonic models retain their supremacy, and it is through not being challenged. In the

¹²⁴ Rice, *Tough Love*, 117, 180, 304.

¹²⁵ Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

practice of diplomacy, with extensive protocol, it is also not the ideal career choice to simply disengage with sport (for example) because of lack of interest. Boyd made a strategic choice to learn golf, it was in her career and Australia's best interest that she could be a part of these relation building opportunities. However, if every woman makes the choice to 'play the man's game', again, structures of masculine supremacy will remain strong.

What can also be derived from implementing the analysis is looking as to whether the inclusion of women in diplomatic practice has impacted masculinities. It was noted that a training course was given to the DFAT workers regarding hearing women and elevating their voices in meetings, which were often dominated by men. This can be reflective of structural change regarding the inclusion of women and the steps towards gender equality. However, it is key to note, this study found no explicit reasoning to claim that as time progresses institutions become increasingly gender equal. Though it may seem that hegemonic masculinity driven gender-based may have occurred more frequently in earlier time periods, it does not absolve certain facts. In the case of Rice, her experience being discriminated against as women after the terrorist incident was when she was more senior in her career, 2012. This would be a recommendation for further study, a study as to whether the inclusion of women in MFA diplomatic practice has in fact made the practice more gender equal, or perhaps instead has just seen women adjusting themselves to fit the model to the best of their ability.

Furthermore, what is key to discuss is the source material that was analysed. Boyd and Rice both relayed their experiences with very different extents of detail regarding gender. In the case of Boyd, she had an entire chapter (*Being a Woman, and some ideas of Career Progression*) dedicated to her experience of being a woman diplomat.¹²⁶ This section was filled to the brim with examples of her experience and expressed a seemingly endless group on instances that represented the impacts of hegemonic masculinity. Whilst on the other hand, Rice's gendered experience were written few and far between. This can be discussed from a few different angles. It could be said, based on the frequency, that Boyd was more impacted by masculinity than Rice. This thesis does not believe that that can be drawn from

¹²⁶ Boyd, *Not Always Diplomatic*, 185-200.

this interpretation, but it might be an assumption made. The second could be related to the way that the women wanted to be portrayed and what they wanted to deliver in their memoirs.

Though Boyd and Rice both have and had monumental careers, Rice has had more senior roles and international fame. These factors impact a few different aspects concerning memoir content. There may have been differing publishing pressure on Rice to produce a certain type of memoir that reflected what the potential reader might want to know. As she was a big component in the security response for many serious U.S. security instances, readers may have preferred to hear insights about that. Another reading of this could say that Rice did not want her memoir to be speak so frequently about her gendered experience because she did not want to reduce her memoir to that of a woman's experience. In the analysis the thesis found that Rice did show instances of using diplomat-first femininity and did use language that replicated masculine structure. This may relay that she is more interested in fitting the masculine model and communicating her experience just as a diplomat that is also a woman, rather than focusing on her gender. This as a query is an impact of this thesis' designed model, impacting how women want to public present themselves in their memoirs in relation to the model. This discussion has been highly speculative, including a discussion about both the limitations and benefits of using this data source. There is a lot to be analysed when reading personal narratives. What can be said, however, is regardless of the extent to which the women wrote directly about their experiences as woman diplomats, they were both impacted by the hegemonic masculine model of the ideal diplomat. This was relayed in both works.

Limitations

Though this discussion has briefly discussed some limitation of the data used the below is a further exploration. Duncanson states the following:

“Of course, autobiographical accounts fail to provide representative cases from which we can generalize.”¹²⁷

This thesis questions this statement. In the case of female diplomats, they represent a group of women in a field that shares practice similarities globally. Both the women have been able to present not only their own individual experiences but the ways in which the structure of the profession negatively impacts women as a gender. Whilst there may be just one person writing of their personal observations, that is not a reason to negate that this experience is not habitual. This is especially the case when all diplomats in their country of origin are subjected to the same protocols and regulations. Though it is important to not homogenise cases, it remains key to note that such seniority and experience in the field can be (at least) partially representative of a group and is not limited to an individual. For this reason, this thesis does find value in the analysis of memoirs.

Relating to this thesis's research, and Duncanson's critique, it is key to move away in general from the term generalisability. Generalisability in research is the case when research can produce replicable conditions that can be applied to other situations. Duncanson's critique is based on the comprehension that autobiographies (in this research's case the two memoirs) are incapable of providing generalisable inferences because the content is too contextually specific and subjective.¹²⁸ The flaw that has been stated to be a component of generalisability is that it is too deterministic, assuming that actors (inclusive of singular, multiple or collective actors) will act in a likewise fashion under equivalent structural conditions.¹²⁹ This assumption then removes the need to take into account actor agency.¹³⁰ Ignoring such a phenomenon is to limit the scope of complexity for which research attempts to comprehend. Regarding this thesis's contribution, there is an assumption throughout that the hegemonic masculine model of the ideal diplomat impacts more than just Sue Boyd and Susan Rice. This assumption was built throughout the literature review and theoretical

¹²⁷ Duncanson. "Forces for good..." (2009) 67.

¹²⁸ Duncanson. "Forces for good..." (2009) 67.

¹²⁹ Meegdenburg, H van. *Forthcoming*. "Process Tracing: An Analyticist Approach." In *The Routledge Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis Methods*. Routledge, eds. Mello, Patrick A. and Falk Ostermann (Abingdon and New York: Routledge). 12.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

framework that presented this phenomenon to be reoccurring in multiple instances in diplomacy. To claim that both the analysis and the underpinnings of this research are not able to provide any replicability highlights the limitations of generalisability. It doesn't consider that for instances to reoccur it doesn't require a high rate of documented frequency in research under identical conditions. Instead, what has been stated is that instead of using the term generalisability, the validity of this thesis's processes can be rephrased and adapted to *portability*.¹³¹ Portability relays that the analysis, and what was presented through analysis, are in reality more frequently likely to occur.¹³² Portability states that what this thesis has been able to produce is not widespread inferences for which generalisations can come about. Rather, portability states that because this thesis's mechanisms (hegemonic masculinity in global diplomatic practice, ideal masculine model of the male diplomat and its impact on woman diplomats) show high similarity across the diplomatic profession the analysis is portable. This analysis and method of analysis can be taken as relevant in the case of this research because it is mobile and can be applied and utilised in other works in this field. Stating that analysis and mechanisms are portable then allows for further research to allow for differing idiosyncrasies. Generalisation limits the scope to identical conditions, whilst portability allows (and almost expects) difference and deviation within the same research field.¹³³

The final note as to limitations is the acknowledgement of non-Western approaches. The literature review of this work stated that there was a general request for more non-Western approaches to study woman diplomats. This thesis did not provide that and this a limitation to this study. What is key to note about the difference between Sue Boyd and Susan Rice is that while Sue Boyd is white, Susan Rice is African American. The experience of a woman of colour is not equal to that of a white woman and this thesis does not wish to be perceived to have homogenised these two women's experience. To not acknowledge ethnicity in feminist analysis is to only provide a white feminist analysis, which is not feminism. This thesis investigated the gendered experience of these two women in relation to the model, in a thesis with a wider scope a comparison of ethnicity, gender and the relation to the

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Meegdenburg "Process Tracing..." 12-18.

¹³³ Ibid.

model would have been provided. Therefore, a recommendation for further study echoes that of theorists in this field to again pioneer for more non-Western approaches and an inspection of 'whiteness' and its pervasiveness in diplomatic practice.¹³⁴ Gender and diplomacy is a field in the infancy of its interpretation, though not providing a non-Western approach this work has still been an attempt to advocate for women through the analysis of gendered structures.

Conclusion

This thesis has found that the hegemonic masculine model of the ideal diplomat has an extensive and negative impact on woman diplomats. The impact is multifaceted, it is direct and indirect. Directly this thesis has provided examples of the discrimination woman diplomats face, whilst indirectly it has been displayed how women perform their femininity in accordance with the dominant masculine model. Woman diplomats find themselves in the minority in a profession with omnipresent masculinity. They are impacted by the model because gendered structures are continually societally replicated. These replicated gender structures continue to subordinate women, hence empowering the hegemonic status of masculinity. It can be noted that women's presence in the practice of diplomacy has increased. More women are appointed as diplomats for their country, which is an ingredient for change and the dismantlement of hegemonic structures. As more women are included, if there is change implemented in the gendered structures within the organisation from which they work, then incrementally the model of hegemonic masculinity can be dissolved. It is not enough to have women in the space, as was noted by the consequences of tokenism. Diplomacy as a profession requires active work towards the breakdown of harmful categorisations of women that sanction women as inferior, incapable or unqualified to practice in fields marked by masculinity. A recommendation of this thesis would be to engage more intentionally with the male population, investigating the contemporary attitudes of men in diplomacy towards their woman peers. Woman diplomats are navigating their professional life in relation to an ideal model that was designed pre their inclusion in

¹³⁴ Standfield, *Gendering*, 14-165.; Neumann, *At Home*, 129-168.; Towns "Gender, international status," 521-540. Niklasson, "The gendered," 13-42.

official diplomatic practice. In fact, they are navigating a profession of which the outlines of success were drawn prior to their legal right to employment, property and to vote in a democracy. It is therefore integral that the international community continues to empower women, which involves men criticising the structures that they themselves benefit from. This thesis joins authors in relaying a 'call to arms' for research in this field and to research widely and extensively. The goal of this call is for the continued advocacy against oppressive models that proliferate negative impacts, like that of hegemonic masculinity.

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