• GENDER IN POWER
• GENDER IN WAR AND PEACE
• GENDER IN FOREIGN POLICY
Gender in Power

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FUNCTIONAL PARTICULARITIES OF THE PRESENT GENDER POLICY WITHIN
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The idea of equal rights and opportunities for people regardless of ethnic, racial, age, religious, and other indications is a part of universal human values. In this context, gender equality is considered a fundamental principle of human rights. Despite that, the questions of gender policy have been worked out for a long time; even now, there are many discussions the ways it could be realised. The most developed democratic countries used to practice gender policy in diplomacy because of the stereotypes about women and limited career opportunities for them. Ukraine is trying to develop according to the pro-European paradigm and it has a lot of tendencies that play a negative role in the formation of gender balance in the government. There are some of the most effective world practices that could be useful for Ukrainian diplomacy.

For now, the policy of most democratic countries is based on the legislative and normative acts that are intended to guarantee gender equality in all areas of social life. Some countries applied them successfully. But there are some areas that are traditionally considered to be “male areas”. It also applies to Ukraine and in particular to its public administration and diplomacy. The context of the pro-European paradigm and modern requirements oblige our country to make reforms in some areas to guarantee gender equality. The responsibility for development and implementation of public policy rests with the government. Nevertheless, there is no gender balance in the career opportunities in the government. Representation of women in public authority posts remains on the principle of vertical segregation: the higher level of power means the less number of women there.

World Experience in Gender Policy in the Foreign Affairs Sphere

Not every European country has a better situation than Ukraine, but Sweden had the biggest number of female in charge of the foreign policy throughout its history – seven. Also, in Georgia and Bulgaria this number is three; in Croatia, Italy, Liechtenstein, and Latvia – two; in the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, San Marino, Hungary, and France – one. In other
countries, including Ukraine, foreign policy belongs to men, such a men’s club.¹

A successful implementation of gender policy in the diplomatic sphere in other countries can help Ukraine to reform its diplomatic service. As International Centre for Policy Studies (ICPS) experts note in their research², the greatest number of women in the higher diplomatic posts is in the Nordic countries: Norway, Sweden, and Finland. In 2010, the Nordic Gender Institute conducted research on the number of women diplomats occupying the higher posts and it tells that there are 30% of women among the ambassadors of Norway, which is the largest number in Europe, whereas in 1995 it was only 8.5%. The second place belongs to Finland and Sweden – they have 27% of women who head the embassies, but in 1997, it was 6.9%. In Great Britain, there are about 21% of women ambassadors, 19% of women who take posts of high representatives, and about 22% of the highest diplomatic posts at the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom are occupied by women. About 22% of leadership positions in the European Union missions are filled by women, and their number has risen since Catherine Ashton became the High Representative of the European Union for foreign affairs. Some countries in Central Europe, which have formed their ministries of foreign affairs after the fall of the USSR, also have successful results. There are 26% of ambassadors’ posts that are occupied by women in Estonia and 25% in Romania.

Nowadays there are 31% of women ambassadors in the USA, while it was only 18% in 2004. In Latin America and Caribbean countries, there is also a positive tendency. The best result belongs to Panama, where women take every fourth ambassadorial post. In African countries, in particular in South African Republic and Rwanda, females are about a quarter of the heads of their diplomatic missions. This number is higher than the average in the world. Countries of the Asian-Pacific region belong to the second part of the list of gender equality in the area of diplomatic service, but there are 40% of women who head diplomatic missions abroad in the Philippines and about 29% in Australia. The Middle East countries have the lowest number of women who take diplomatic posts, but Egypt and Tunisia break this tendency by appointing a number of women to ambassadorial posts from time to time. The Gulf countries have a low number of women who take ambassadorial posts, but there was no woman in those posts 10 years ago, so it is a great progress. Kuwait was the first country that broke traditional rules by appointing a woman as an ambassador in 1993. After that, Bahrain did the same and it had four women ambassadors by 2012, which means 15% of all its diplomatic missions abroad².

Today, the USA has one of the largest numbers of women in diplomatic posts. Back in 1922, women were allowed to join the United States Foreign Service. After that, they have been slowly but confidently moving to the highest posts in the government. In 1933, Ruth Bryan Owen became the first woman to head a mission in the rank of a minister and she soon headed the embassy of the US to Denmark and Iceland. For the first 43 years after Ruth Bryan Owen became the head of the mission, there was a small number of women who took posts of the heads of missions or assistants of the secretary of


state. President Ford’s administration broke this barrier by appointing seven women to ambassadors’ positions and three women to other leadership posts. During the presidency of J. Carter, 18 women were appointed as ambassadors. Presidents R. Reagan and George Bush continued this tendency by appointing 33 and 37 women, accordingly. The administration of B. Clinton already appointed 116 women to higher posts. However, G.W. Bush appointed only 69 women during his first presidency.

The United States Foreign Service was reformed and developed enough for the last century. There were a lot of improvements in the attitude to women and minorities. In the past, the Department of State was characterised as “male, pale, and Yale”. Women who worked in the United States Foreign Service in the 1950-60s often experienced discrimination against them despite their education and erudition. They were forced to resign if they planned a marriage, even though there were no official documents requiring them to do so. Only lawsuits and judicial complaints made the system to develop in the 1970s. The first woman who became the US State Secretary was M. Albright in 1997. She overcame the prejudice against women in policy by her professional activity.

Since H. Clinton took the post of State Secretary in 2009, the number of women ambassadors of other countries to the USA rose significantly, which was called a “Hillary effect”. As of December 2015, there was the greatest number of women ambassadors of the USA in all its history. There were 124 women among the 367 ambassadors – 31.6%.

The United Kingdom also has successful results in the implementation of gender policy. For a long time women had to fight for their rights and chance to work in the diplomatic sphere. They struggled against a great number of stereotypes. Senior lecturer of history in the Queen Mary University of London H. McCarthy said in her article that the possibility of women working in the diplomatic field was a controversial theme in the United Kingdom for the first half of the 20th century. Feminists fought for equal rights but the Foreign Office warned that appointing women to ambassadorial posts could damage the credibility of the country. In 1934, one British official commented on this situation: “Diplomats would perceive it such a bad joke” and another his colleague said: “They could think that we don’t receive their ambassadors seriously”. It was common to think that British interests could be damaged. The author thinks that the World War II destroyed this stereotype about women in the area of foreign affairs of the UK, because of the insufficiency of men. The Foreign Office had no choice but to appoint educated women such as F. Stark and M. MacGeachy to ambassadors’ posts to Iraq and Washington. Therefore, it was not possible until 1946 when the government allowed women to work in the UK embassies and women were allowed to take an exam on diplomatic service. As McCarthy noted, the fight with

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4 Moments in U.S. Diplomatic History, [http://adst.org/2015/03/this-is-not-a-womans-issue-this-is-a-management-concern/ access: 26 April 2016].
7 Snapshot: Obama’s Female Ambassadors, Highest Percentage Appointments at 31.6%, [https://diplopundit.net/?s=Highest+Percentage+Appointments+at+31.6%25&submit=Search access: 8 May 2016].
conservative officials had ended but the war for quality had only started.

Because of stereotypes about women and the fear of a lightweight attitude to women ambassadors in resolving serious problems, "soft" policy became the most prominent "women's" area in diplomacy. It means the spheres of peace, equal rights, development. Today "soft" policy means prevention and resolution of conflicts based on ethnic differences and in the hotspots but in the last century, it was nonsense in some countries. For example, in the USA in 1957, the State Department edited the directive on the Married Women's Status Act, which said that the main role of women is to support their husbands. Until 1972, every married couple that had one person working in the United States Foreign Service was considered to count both wife and husband as government employees. That is why all information was included into their certifications. In 1972 also, the Declaration on Spouses was adopted, which changed this situation. This document also cancelled the inhibition of marriage for women diplomats.

One of the problems is how to guarantee friendly working surroundings to the ambassador’s family, because there is a need for education for the children and employment for the husband and so on. According to the research of the British Embassy Magazine, in 2002 more than half of women who headed diplomatic missions of their countries in London were either not married or divorced, and even if they were married, their husbands did not accompany them to their missions. This means that more than half of women ambassadors worked abroad without the support of their partners. In return, in 2012 (although the number of women ambassadors increased about 40%), 75% of them were not married, divorced, or their husbands were at home. That means that women who take the highest posts in diplomatic service need to choose between career and family. However, this does not apply to men diplomats.

The abovementioned research also found another tendency among women in middle

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8 С. Хабибулина, Женщины в политике и дипломатии: психологический и исторический аспекты (Women in Policy and Diplomacy: Psychological and Historical Aspects), [http://globkazan.narod.ru/9.htm access: 12 April 2016].
9 Т. Зонова, Гендерный фактор в политике и дипломатии (The Gender Factor in Policy and Diplomacy), "Журнал теории международных отношений и мировой политики «Международные процессы»" [http://www.intrends.ru/twenty/009.htm access: 20 March 2016].
10 This Is Not a Woman’s Issue. This Is a Management Concern, "Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training", [http://adst.org/2015/03/this-is-not-a-womans-issue-this-is-a-management-concern/ access: 8 May 2016].
and senior diplomatic positions: about 61.5% are married or have a partner and only 70% of married women are accompanied by their partner. So, we can see that only in 43% of cases women diplomats at middle and highest levels are married and accompanied by their partners.

The United Kingdom was the first country that started to practice appointing a husband and wife as ambassadors at the same time. This unique practice allowed to share the ambassador's post between two people and soon became a traditional practice. Tom Carter and Caroline Davidson were the first married couple who took the post of the ambassador of the United Kingdom to Zambia in 2008-2012. Before this, they shared the post of the deputy head of the UK embassy to Slovakia in 2003-2008. Instead of a classical system, when each partner worked for few days a week, they decided to divide a year to three parts, so both of them worked for four months. Another married couple of British diplomats worked in Armenia. Jonathan and Catherine Leach introduced some rules for each other to work effectively, because it was important for them to have continuity in decision-making. Therefore, they discussed every important decision, but other, less important decisions were made by the current ambassador without discussing. The diplomats confessed that they had a lot of difficulties because of scepticism (especially from other ambassadors who would rather be indispensable instead of dividing their post with someone). They are convinced that this format of work could be implemented in all areas because of its effectiveness.

However, some conservative countries still do not support those practices. For example, the appointment of the married couple as the UK ambassadors to Armenia was criticised a lot. Some Armenians thought that the United Kingdom tried to show its lightweight attitude to Armenia. But the UK minister of foreign affairs emphasised that it is a modern way to work more effectively in the countries diplomats should go to. Nowadays every fifth post of the UK ambassadors is occupied by a woman and a quarter of posts in the Foreign Office belongs to women.

The Ukrainian Case

Ukraine has a lot of problems with gender balance in the government. Since Ukraine became an independent country, there was once when a woman headed the government – it was Yulia Tymoshenko. Only 23 women headed ministerial posts in 20 governments. Also, the post of the minister of foreign affairs has never been occupied by a woman. There are only three women in the current Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The Article 8 of the Eighth Report on the implementation of the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) states that the correlation between men and women at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is 70% to 30%. Only 38 women took leadership positions within the MFA in 2015.15 This situation tells about a vertical gender segregation that leads to an

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13 The Ambassadorial Job Share, [https://civilservice.blog.gov.uk/2014/03/03/the-ambassadorial-job-share/ access: 8 May 2016].
uneven distribution of men and women on different levels.

It is common to think that the first woman ambassador in the world was the famous Soviet politician Aleksandra Kolontai, who described diplomacy as "an art to make relations with people and develop them". The first woman who became a Ukrainian ambassador was Nina Kovalsky, heading missions to Sweden, Liechtenstein, and Vatican (at the same time) from 1998 to 2003. In addition, we should remember Susanna Stanic, who was the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the Council of Europe from 2001 to 200316, and Natalia Zarudna, who took the post of the vice-secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and in 2012, headed the OSCE centre in Astana.

The law of Ukraine On Implementation of Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men defines gender equality as "the equal legal status of women and men and the equal opportunities of both sexes to take part in all areas of social life". But there is no gender equality in Ukrainian diplomacy about what we will talk about. The sphere of foreign policy is guided by the Law of Ukraine On Public Service, which also guarantees "... an implementation of equal admission to the public service". Since the mid of the 20th century, there have been some women who headed diplomatic missions to European countries. However, in Ukraine it continues to belong to men as it was before. It should be noted that Ukraine also has recent positive trends in the appointment of women to foreign service. In particular, there have been three women (Natalia Zarudna, Natalia Galibarenko, and Olena Zerkal) at the level of deputy ministers. Eight women have been appointed to the posts of ambassadors and heads of representations to international organisations; seven women have taken the posts of general consuls. Considering that they took several posts at the same time (concealed work) or changed diplomatic missions, we can count only 19 posts of ambassadors and other representatives that were headed by women2.

The European vector in Ukrainian policy requires that our country make reform of the Ministry of foreign affairs, equally to other ministers. Realisation of gender policy in this sphere is only the first step. We can make more opportunities for women only by reforming and implementing a favourable policy in Ukraine, which would be encouraging women to build their career. One of the first steps in those reforms should be special agreements between countries, which would guarantee employment of members of diplomats’ families in the country they work, like in other countries whose experience we talked about. Nowadays Ukraine has such agreements with the USA18, United Kingdom, Poland19, Argentina20, and Israel. Also, there is a possibility of joint appointments of

17 Постійне представництво України при відділенні ООН та інших міжнародних організаціях у Женеві (Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the UN and Other International Organizations in Geneva), MFA, [http://geneva.mfa.gov.ua/ua/about-mission/diplomats].
diplomatic couples to diplomatic missions to foreign countries. In this case, both of them could work in the same embassy but in different sections or for different kinds of missions. In addition, it is possible to appoint a wife and a husband to embassies in neighbouring countries.

In July 2014, the President of Ukraine emphasised increasing the number of women diplomats in member states of the European Union. There it should be noted that the first president of Ukraine, L. Kravchuk, did not appoint any women to diplomatic posts to foreign countries. President P. Poroshenko appointed only four women: Natalia Galibarinko to the United Kingdom, Tetiana Izjevska to Vatican, Liubov Nepop to Hungary and Inna Ohnivets to Portugal.

As of May 2016, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, women have the following posts: one deputy minister of foreign affairs; among 84 posts of ambassadors, only four are filled by women; among 25 posts of Ukrainian consuls general, only four are women. The Trade representative of Ukraine (Deputy Minister Ministry of Economic Development and Trade), Nataliya Mykol’ska is in charge of the Ukrainian delegation to the World Trade Organisation.

As a conclusion, we can say that diplomacy in most countries is not gender-balanced. This is also true about Ukraine. However, there are some mechanisms of gender policy in the world practice that have good results and help women to get more opportunities in diplomacy. Such countries as the USA, the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, and Finland have a successful experience in gender policy. Ukraine, whose diplomatic service needs to be reformed, should take those examples for its own benefit. There is some positive tendency in Ukrainian diplomacy and gender policy, but it is not enough in order for our country to develop in the European vector, which means democratic values and equal rights for everyone.

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