Diplomacy & Negotiation

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Women in Diplomacy & Negotiation

A Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Liberal Studies

By

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Preface:

“Most men think “me”, but women think “we”.

Tupperware CEO, Rick Goings

Over the course of history when women have been involved in the diplomatic, political, social, and economic structure of a country it has been found they are one of the key ingredients to building an effective and stable democracy. Investing in women strengthens the back bone of any society. Top CEO’s, such as Tupperware’s Rick Goings and Warren Buffett, have also publically supported this assumption.

I argue that women in different societies have traits that have been instilled in them culturally which in turn translate directly to their ability to handle diplomatic situations and business negotiations. Societies, however intentionally or unintentionally, teach gender roles that directly affect how women perform diplomatically and in negotiation settings. In a 2014 Orlando Business Journal interview CEO, Rick Goings was asked, “Why does Tupperware stress entrepreneurial opportunities for women?”1 Rick Goings stated, “In emerging markets, less than thirty percent of women work outside of their homes, but women are driving the middle class growth. Once they start working with Tupperware and owning their own business they are more educated and empowered to influence the economy. Men tend to think ‘me’, but women think ‘we’. 2”

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2 Ibid.
Thesis Statement:

This thesis will explore key examples in history that gave women access to the field of diplomacy and negotiation. The historical and sociological background of how women learn specific behaviors, which affects their negotiation skills, will also be explored. Some reference will be given to how women have survived and adjusted during conditions of oppression, which in turn enabled them to hone their skills in negotiation rather than utilize violence to convince others of their views. It will be observed that some cultural traits women learn in society can empower them to be effective diplomats.

Finally, my thesis will cover recent politics to examine how women successfully fare in the world of diplomacy and business negotiation. I will examine how important it is for women to be involved at the leadership level in both the diplomatic discussions and peacekeeping efforts in conflict and post-conflict affected communities in order for peace to sustain. Dr. Susan Banki from the University of Sydney, states that incorporating women into the talks of peace after a war is paramount to communities flourishing and rebuilding after conflict. It is imperative that gender norms and social structures that suppress women are changed by both men and women working together. Dr. Banki explains, “The cultural norms which continue to subordinate and exclude women around the world can only be challenged through inspiring new generations of girls and boys and educating communities to believe in the important role women and girls can play in society.”

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“Only engaged, vigorous political action by both women and men can bring organized peace based on social justice.”

First female Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bertha Von Suttner
Time and time again it has been found that having women involved in the political, social, and economic structure of a community is the key to building an effective and stable democracy.\(^4\) Investing and growing women leaders strengthens the back bone of any society. There are a number of tactics that women utilize to engage in the male-dominated world of diplomatic negotiations: by taking on the male role of the aggressor, utilizing attractiveness and warmth, or pursuing unique and subtle approaches to defuse intense situations. The focus will be on the last tactic.

The U.S. State Department has found that investing in women is one of fastest ways to, “achieve the highest positive economic, financial and social turnaround of a country.”\(^5\) This states how important it is to have women involved in all facets of diplomatic, peacekeeping and even financial decisions that affect change on a global scale.

Women’s diplomatic skills are honed and sharpened due to having to learn ways to compromise and adapt when societal pressures try to squelch their opinions. Female political styles have evolved slowly through time and studies have shown that some of the development of their diplomatic styles is linked to the particular timing of the stages of the suffrage movement and the class origins of women activists.\(^6\) Women were excluded from political electoral campaigns for centuries, so they learned to adapt which developed their distinctive styles of negotiation. They turned to their skills of influencing others through non-threatening methods to “educate and put pressure

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\(^5\) Ibid.

on public officials.” This early leadership style actually follows the same pattern today with most non-profit organizations being led by females. These same voluntary organizations are the ones that initiate change through social and diplomatic grassroots community efforts. Something else women did early on in their political efforts was to unite the classes and ethnic diversity of women to initiate changes to laws that in turn bettered the lives of women for years to come. For example, as early as 1915, in the battle for women’s suffrage, observers stated that, “people were impressed with one thing above all else, the extraordinary diversity between the women….They represented every grade of society and walk of life; the rich, poor, white, colored, fashionable and factory girls were united with one cause – the right to vote.”

In close examination of the differences between male and female top diplomats, historian Michael McGerr argues that each used certain techniques differently than the other regarding specifically “traits of dominance, intimidation, attractiveness and affection.” Interestingly, men did better and were viewed in a positive light when they used dominance and intimidation as forces to manage relations. For women it was found, in most cases, that when they incorporated these same qualities it was not as effective or obtain the same results. The female diplomats did better and were viewed as effective managers and leaders when they utilized warmth and affection. Women were expected to exude these traits.

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7 Ibid, 867.
8 Ibid, 878.
9 Ibid, 27.
10 Ibid.
Touching on a unique style that some women have tried to utilize in diplomatic settings there is the example of a female diplomat who was known to use attractiveness as a diplomatic tool to get what she wanted in negotiations. The woman was the controversial Doris Stevens, who headed up the Inter-American Commission of Women. Stevens stressed in 1931 that the real work of feminists is involved with changing men’s views of the strong woman in the 19th century.\textsuperscript{11} Stevens developed a diplomatic strategy that, “emphasized cooperation and collaboration with men”\textsuperscript{12} and went on to state, “the only fun in life is where men and women play together, and men and women work together.”\textsuperscript{13} Stevens enjoyed using her sexuality to represent women in the “world of men.”\textsuperscript{14} Conversely, some argue that this method is not as effective because in most cases when women use their bodies to further their political interests it can carry with it a stigma that is not easily removed.

However, in most Western societies, top women leaders, politicians and diplomats who adapted and actually shared traits and behavioral styles of their male counterparts did much better than their middle-level sex-equivalents.\textsuperscript{15} This shows that women have had to adapt and become almost male-like to get to the glass-ceiling. They have had to embrace more masculine traits of aggression and avoid their feminine styles of leadership. Men, however, were not found in the study to have adopted feminine styles of governance.\textsuperscript{16} When women go this route it is a delicate slope, as research from the 1990’s found that women have to limit their aggressive tactics and behaviors in leadership roles or they suffer being labeled as being too

\begin{footnotes}
\item[11] Ibid, 293.
\item[12] Ibid.
\item[13] Ibid.
\item[14] Ibid, 294.
\item[15] Ibid, 28.
\item[16] Ibid, 27.
\end{footnotes}
aggressive, whereas on the other hand if men are not aggressive enough they are viewed as odd or weak. Men are rewarded for behaving aggressively whereas women are punished when they cross the line as being too self-asserting or uncompromising in their stance.\textsuperscript{17} Thankfully, with the 20\textsuperscript{th} century we saw more freedom and women taking on leadership roles, which in itself helps to start the process of freeing the general public from stereotypical thinking of women being one type of leader.\textsuperscript{18}

Even in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century women and men are not evaluated on the same grounds for their diplomatic or leadership abilities. A women’s role as a mother and wife seems to continually follow women through their political career whereas this is not the case for male politicians or diplomats. Researcher Susan Carroll found that when surveying both men and women regarding their opinions of women in politics the majority of both sexes referenced women’s feelings and experiences as mothers to explain some of women politicians’ behaviors and leadership styles, whereas never once was a man’s effective political leadership style related back to his ability to be a good father.\textsuperscript{19}

Women in higher leadership roles also have been found to have a proving period that generally spans a year to show all those surrounding them that they can accomplish their tasks while also serving as mothers or wives.\textsuperscript{20} The study states that women have to continually prove their competency with each new group of peers they encounter whereas male leaders, even those who are consistently incompetent, do

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, 159.
\textsuperscript{20} McGerr, Michael, 29.
not face this same scrutiny or have their leadership ability questioned. In short, in the business world today men and women give male leaders more leeway when they fail.

Authors Meredith Sarkees and Nancy McGlen actually found a U.S. government department where women in high-ranking leadership roles were at an advantage and were obeyed without question. Shockingly enough it was the U.S. Defense Department in which “subordinates, apparently, will follow woman when ordered to do so but are less likely to credit leadership potential in a situation that operates more by negotiation.” This was also found to be true in the UN’s research on women’s effectiveness in mediation and peace negotiations. Females were held in high regard and commended that their practical competence and accommodation in the negotiating arena made them effective but these skills also worked against them as they were then not viewed as “leaders” but rather more willing to compromise and give up their position – even though it bought peace.

There are those who argue that women tend to get the diplomatic job done while handling sensitive social issues more dexterously than men as they create strong foundations for collaboration and team working in the communities they support. An example of one of the first woman diplomats who won over a population’s trust was Vira Boarman Whitehouse. In 1915 she was appointed by President Wilson’s advisor, George Creel, to Switzerland to lead propaganda for the U.S during the war. Due to this role predominately being occupied by males in the past, Creel was repeatedly criticized for making such a selection as Congress felt only a man could handle the stress of the job. The U.S. State Department actually initially refused

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21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Gender Politics, 50.
to grant Whitehouse a diplomatic passport for her travels.\textsuperscript{24} Whitehouse would not give up. She also had a background based on her fight for women to be given the right to vote, which Whitehouse carried over to her belief that women played a key role in influencing the diplomatic circles of the world, which had predominately been led by men. This was an excellent example of a male influential figure supporting a strong female and recognizing the important role women could play in furthering the initiatives of state and influence on a global scale.\textsuperscript{25} Whitehouse worked hard to show she was worthy of the appointment and Creel continued to praise her and show public support of his decision. This proved to be a very successful decision.

The Swiss, who at the time were notorious for their rejection of women’s issues, ended up congratulating Whitehouse\textsuperscript{26} on a job well done, “She changed the whole attitude of Switzerland…[W]e did not know America. This was the knowledge she gave us, openly, honestly, and with rare intelligence [,] reaching the hearts and minds of Switzerland in a manner never approached by the agent of another country.”\textsuperscript{27} This was a perfect example of how a country appreciated a woman’s approach to the diplomatic scene with a fresh perspective and welcoming demeanor that eventually won over the people.

I don't believe this same appreciation would have been expressed for a male diplomat, especially when it was noted that Whitehouse’s diplomatic style was something the Swiss had never encountered before. This sends a strong message that women have the ability to defuse and relax tense situations which was just what

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid. Whitehouse almost single-handedly won the case for woman suffrage in her state of New York
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid,37. Note: they only granted women suffrage in 1971.
\textsuperscript{27} Against all Odds, 39.
Whitehouse did when she engaged the Swiss public during a World War when the US needed the Swiss as a strong ally. Whitehouse accomplished this task and set the stage for future female diplomats to follow.

Opening women up to the world of politics, diplomacy and negotiation has been a long hard road. This process has led to transformation of public policies to reflect the concerns of women more than any other time in world history.28

As John Stuart Mill in the 1800’s stated, “The inclusion of women in the political world ennobles them (women) and society, doubling the resources available for human progress.”29 Much of this relates back to how women view themselves in diplomatic or political roles. According to research by Susan Carroll, women look at themselves more as “public servants” which could indirectly link to women’s traditional “caring role”.30 In the 1970’s research found that women officeholders were considered more willing to listen and work tirelessly for their constituents, were available at all hours and were trusted and viewed as harder working than their male politicians.31

Additional research, done in the 1980’s in Chicago, found that women public officials, “derived more satisfaction from achieving concrete end products, the logical consequence of their focus on reform and political action—in contrast to men, who expressed more satisfaction with the processes of government, such as negotiating.”32

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29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid, 50.
According to this study, it is interesting to note that women perceived politics in a different reality compared to their male counterparts. Men viewed women’s listening to citizens as, "soft-hearted" but women saw it as responsiveness.\textsuperscript{33} Men viewed these decisions as emotional responses rather than practical.

Susan Carroll reports that, "women saw themselves as delegates to follow the direction of their constituents, whereas men more often saw themselves as trustees, independent of citizen demands."\textsuperscript{34} In 1995, Lyn Kathlene researched the descriptions of women and men at state levels in committee and senate meetings. Lyn observed that, "men were dominant and autocratic in committee hearings but women acted as facilitators and were more democratic. Men think instrumentally and women think contextually. Men treat the individual autonomously...whereas women see the individual connected to others, emphasizing response to people’s needs."\textsuperscript{35}

An example of this type of leadership, serving the constituents’ every need and being close to them, was exemplified by the first female to earn a seat in both the United States House of Representatives and United States Senate, Senator Margaret Chase Smith.\textsuperscript{36} The Senator had to work on rewiring people’s perceptions of women in office. The Senator commonly referred to women in public life as “human beings”, not women, as she felt that women are people so they should be on the same level as men.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid, 58.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, 58.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, 64.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 89 – 95.
However, Senator Smith found that in order to be successful she still had to show the world she was a traditional female and worked with the media to photograph her doing laundry, sweeping, typing, and ironing. The Senator had the arduous task of “juxtaposing” herself against being viewed as a weak domesticated woman and one who fights “like a man” for what she believes in.

Later on in the century, however, there were women who took on a totally different approach and did away with any perceptions of women utilizing “soft” tactics as a means to an end in the world of politics and diplomacy. Former Prime Minister and Baroness, Margaret Thatcher, was one such example of a strong woman who navigated the masculine world of diplomats. According to research by Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Baroness Thatcher was actually understood as being viewed as having a “masculine” style of leadership, more-so than some men, even though she was a female. During the Falkland Islands War she became a hero for her “ruthless military command” refusing to back down. The Baroness embodied “masculinity,” in her actions and leadership style. Ambassador Arystanbekova, a woman herself, felt that more strong women were needed as the “example of putting into practice the principles of democracy and freedom of the individual.” Stronger women, like these dynamic examples, are needed in top diplomatic positions in order to enact change on a global scale. Slowly the world is realizing how important a woman’s input is regarding peace and keeping the threads of a community together.

37 Ibid, 99.
38 Ibid, 100.
The European Parliament (EU) also agrees with this argument that women and their expertise are strategically important. In 2001 the EU passed a resolution “to promote equal participation of women in diplomatic conflict resolution; to ensure women fill at least 40 percent of all reconciliation and peacekeeping operations.”

It is obvious that allowing men to run all aspects of peace negotiation when they are the ones, “who plan wars to plan peace” is a non-effective technique. According to authors Swanee Hunt and Cristina Posa, men tend to come to the negotiation arena directly from war whereas women tend to come from the perspective of families and civil activism, bringing a fresh and practical approach to the formation of peace.

The UN researched the effectiveness of women vs. men in peacekeeping operations. The UN went on to find that having women engaged on the ground in the operations and execution of plans and tactics actually bought a number of positive results such as less interpersonal tension, better communication with the female population and more appropriate sexual conduct by male peacekeeping co-workers. It is interesting to note that the UN observed that women were very “practical and accommodating” in the field which was a value in those settings. However, exhibiting those skills also worked against women as then individuals did not look at them as powerful leaders to follow but rather viewed those women leaders as accommodating individuals, which is mostly viewed as a weaker trait.

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42 Hunt, Swanee and Cristina Posa. Women Waging Peace. Foreign Policy, No. 124 (May 2001), 39
Accessed 04/10/2013
43 Ibid, 38.
44 Ibid.
46 Ibid, 50.
In March 2014, researcher Jessica Burns reported that, “More women on peacekeeping and security missions increase the effectiveness of such missions. When the gendered perspective is infused, women are able to help deescalate violence and keep the wellbeing of the population as a whole.” However, even though these studies show the key contributions of women in peacekeeping situations the UN’s peacekeeping forces are only 4% women in all operations globally.47

Nevertheless, women’s efforts are slowly being recognized on a global scale. In 2011, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, and Tawakkul Karman were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their amazing work and nonviolent stance to infuse women and their rights into full participation in peacebuilding activities.48

Author Berns also found that women as peace leaders significantly contribute to passing laws that benefit children and families which directly affects a community being stable and promotes economic growth, “Women leaders are more often collaborative and dialogue-minded. Parliaments with strong female representation show a track record of passing more legislation on key social issues such as health, education, anti-discrimination and child support. Rwanda is the first country to date where women outnumber men in parliamentary representation (52% to 48%). Currently in Senegal, Seychelles, and South Africa, women hold more than 40% of parliamentary seats.”49

48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
Women have been integrally involved in diplomatic measures to bring about peace in a number of formal and informal ways. The efforts specifically began to gain momentum in the early 19th century. In 1915, Dutch suffragist, Aletta Jacobs, was responsible for gathering and hosting the first Women’s International Peace Congress, which brought together activists from the world’s leading countries to challenge the war and decide on a permanent peace settlement. Rather than point blame on who started the war, the women focused on passing resolutions “condemning war and urging for cease fires, peace negotiations and permanent peace based on principles of justice.” These women then broke up into active delegations of peace and visited with fourteen “belligerent and neutral governments” to start talks between the nations. These peace talks were birthed and led by women, not men. Sweden offered to host a mediation conference for all the countries involved in the war. When President Wilson received the suggested resolutions he stated that they were, “the best formulation put out by anybody to end the war.” It is worth nothing this same statement was not shared by the President of the U.S. on any other proposal submitted by his generals or top male advisors, which is quite a testament to the power of women putting their heads together to come up with the ideal solutions to peace; especially in war times. However, after all these efforts and the meeting of the minds of these incredible women, their recommendations were not adopted to end the war.

52 Ibid.
53 Ibid, 110. Sweden was very forward thinking and has now gained the world wide title as the country with the best mediators and negotiators. Supporting women has paid off for them.
54 Ibid.
Women continued to promote their ideas and strategies for peace, but even with these extensive efforts it took longer until key governments changed their views and gave women the chance to prove their skills in the diplomatic field. The first U.S President’s Commission on the Status of Women in government agencies was in 1961, not long ago.55 Women at the time only consisted of 4.1 percent of those requesting diplomatic training and only 5.9 percent were actually given positions.56 However, those women who were given entrance excelled almost immediately and were noted for their skills. In 1966, Carol Laise was appointed as the Ambassador to Nepal and Secretary of State Rogers gave her a glowing report, saying that “her dedicated and perceptive stewardship as Ambassador to Nepal for the past 6 years serves as a striking example of the use to which exceptional abilities and personal wisdom have been combined in furtherance of national objectives.”57

However, women are still not equally represented in powerful decision making groups. Just this year, U.S. Secretary John Kerry attended the G-8 Foreign Ministers Meeting that focused on endorsing the Declaration on the Prevention of Sexual Violence in Conflict. All the ministers united and agreed to call for urgent action to address the culture of impunity and to hold perpetrators accountable for acts of sexual violence committed in armed conflict.58 Although these efforts are noteworthy, it was surprising to observe only one female minister involved in these pivotal talks that affect women in every conflict on the globe.

56 Ibid.
57 Ibid, 170.
I believe it is important for women to be in key political positions regarding peace talks as they bring an alternative approach. The male approach to diplomacy and war has typically been in line with the “theorizing of Machiavelli” and the “Clausewitz’s assumption of inevitable war.”\textsuperscript{59} By contrast; the women who approached the peace arena came as “first’s” from their families: lawyers, doctors, philanthropists and social workers with hands-on peace activist experience and skills.\textsuperscript{60} In the 20\textsuperscript{th} century the female diplomat’s focus was to avoid war, almost at all costs, and dive into the minutiae of potential social misery costs and peace agreements.\textsuperscript{61} Women peace leaders were viewed as pragmatic in the world of diplomacy.\textsuperscript{62}

Although it was a fight all the way to the top for women to gain the right to be accepted into diplomatic service, there were male supporters who saw the power of women as diplomats and negotiators to initiate change on a global scale with their unique skills, “Women bring the world of international diplomacy into wholesome relation with the standards and social practices of the world of politics and economics, from which the past has been disastrously remote.”\textsuperscript{63} Women leaders also have the ability to link governments with women’s organizations who play a pivotal role in developing communities and universal civil rights.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid, 16.
\textsuperscript{61} Cooper, 18.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid, 19.
\textsuperscript{63} Petticoat, 297.
In a 2012 study by Harvard University, men use negotiation to further their own interests, and are praised for it, whereas for women to be successful in negotiation they must, “connect their individual interests with the good of their organizations to avoid appearing aggressive.”64 Women seem to do best when advocating and negotiating for others. This makes them some of the best diplomatic leaders as they are deeply concerned about their nation’s issues and fight for their constituents, even to their own detriment. This stems in part from society’s views that women should be less self-serving than their male counterparts.

Ambassador Akmaral Arystanbekova shared similar views: “I am convinced that women diplomats have a surprising combination of toughness in defending the interests of their countries and resourcefulness in achieving compromises that suit everyone. Many of my male colleagues stress that in talks it is indeed the women diplomats who stand out for their particular persistence in defending their countries’ interests.”65 Women care and want to reach an agreement. That is why they are better skilled diplomats.

The UN has researched whether women involved in peacekeeping situations improves or hinders efforts. The research actually found that women diplomats or peacekeepers bring a large range of unique benefits to the table such as,

1) High profile roles in decision making assists with halting discrimination against women – their absence shows just the opposite is in place;

2) Sexual conduct of peacekeepers is of paramount importance on the ground;

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3) Woman have more sympathy to positively affect reconciliation efforts;
4) Women are given more access to high profile women in countries;
5) Women peacekeepers help other women be part of the election process
6) Women tend to relax difficult situations instead of force control
7) Women peacekeepers who are unarmed reinforces peaceful mindsets.”

The League of Nations is an excellent example of a case where women were not allowed to be included in the inner sanctum of arms reduction. The League ended up failing miserably and thus the United Nations was created. It was shocking to read that when women tried to plead with the League to include women in these discussions Mr. McKinnon Wood, a British officer in the Legal Department wrote that both he and the Secretary General felt that, “the question of the political and civil rights of women is unsuitable for international action.” Women had to fight hard to get heard in the world of global politics. Peace activist, Sylvia Flammarion, stated eloquently to a large audience in 1905, “Due to the arms race our taxes are higher than $3 billion and the ministers of army and navy devour a third themselves [,] your household with six francs a day for expenses, for example starts each day throwing away two francs in the name of war.”

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68 Ibid, 12.
69 Ibid, 18.
Organized peace was now becoming the “new era of civilization” as so wisely stated by the first female Nobel Prize winner, Bertha von Suttner in 1905, “However, the vigorous new spirit of civilization is supplanting and threatening the old.” Women pushed the focus on diplomacy as the means to solve social conflict issues instead of war and were adamant to change tactics and infuse themselves into negotiation on a global scale in order to negate the chances of war and sustain peace.

Moving on to studying the gender specific style differences in diplomatic leadership. Research has been conducted that shows that the female gender style of leadership is almost invisible due to masculine assumptions. The political world is infused with an extensive “vocabulary of power, reason, morality, justice, history and progress.” These attitudes are embedded with masculine meanings and values. Due to this masculinity, much of the political world is still male dominated. In understanding women’s leadership styles in politics it is imperative to note that most of their styles are demarcated from men’s styles of handling politics.

Women have the ability to quickly change tactics and read the needs of the other party. In Mozambique the UN found that the turning point in settling the region was when each party met face-to-face to mediate their differences and agree to an electoral code of conduct. This took a huge amount of time, cajolery, and compromise, of which women possessed the best traits to make this happen. It was noted that the UN peacekeeping women were key to making this happen.

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71 Ibid.
73 Gender Politics, 51.
74 Ibid.
Even back in our own nation, police forces have discovered that sending in women officers to domestic disputes generated a, “higher potential for calming rather then inflaming a volatile situation with both men and women.”75

In a 1990 UN study it was found that women are overrepresented in lower administrative duties and the women who do rise in the ranks serve in more “economic & social fields rather than leadership roles.”76 Women in general hold the lowest numbers of positions of highest-ranking diplomats and delegates to the UN. Recently this practice is changing but still has a long ways to go. Not one of the UN Secretary-Generals has been a woman.77 Back in 2002 there were only seven women out of 185 ambassadors to the United Nations.78

All in all there is a silver lining, women are generally viewed as more adaptive and open to compromise in mediation situations. Many attest this is due to the fact that they have had to adjust and evolve according to their surroundings so have the ability to reach an agreement faster, especially when negotiating on behalf of someone else or a nation’s interests. Women have the ability to influence from below in “unofficial diplomatic circles”79 since they generally tend to lack much of the pride and desire to grab the limelight that men in power tend to crave. Women need more opportunities to play greater roles in the world of politics and diplomacy as their work history proves they are able to successfully negotiate for peace when given the chance.

75 Ibid.
76 Ibid,19.
77 Ibid,27.
It is best stated by Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bertha Von Suttner, “Only engaged, vigorous political action by both women and men could bring organized peace based on social justice.”\textsuperscript{80} We cannot believe that only women will bring about change and peace. It has to be a united effort of the sexes. However, women are needed in these fields and change is happening slowly.

In 2008, 16 of the 129 Heads of U.S. missions were female.\textsuperscript{81} That is up from 2002 numbers.\textsuperscript{82} Women must continually fight the urge to be masculinized into the male dominated arena of the political and diplomatic world. Women need to instead capitalize on their negotiation abilities and strive to feminize the diplomatic profession.\textsuperscript{83} Women need to explore more ways to create equitable relationships in the political realm by helping each other and continuing to unite their efforts. This is a constant struggle as according to research by Susan Carroll, to this day women’s attitudes towards other women in politics are not always as favorable as men’s show of support for women in political office.\textsuperscript{84} Women tend to be more critical of each other, and this only hurts the efforts to integrate women into the diplomatic world and the negotiation arena. Women need to resist jealousy and fighting amongst each other and show a strong united front of supporting each other in these important roles where women can make change on a global scale.

\textsuperscript{80} Cooper, Sandi. Peace as a Human Right: The Invasion of Women into the World of High international Politics. Indiana University Press, Vol. 14 No. 2 (Summer 2002), 22.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid. Less than half of these women were mothers even though 80 percent of the male diplomats were fathers.
\textsuperscript{83} Petticoat, 321. Author Helen McCarthy does not believe that the diplomatic profession has been feminized just yet.
By uniting as a group, women will further their cause in the field of diplomacy and take on higher leadership roles. This is the key to success.
“I hate hearing it can’t be done. Find a solution. As a leader I am solution focused. Women in leadership positions seek more opinions from their teams rather than men who typically don't ask others opinions as much.”

Helen Clark, Former Prime Minister of New Zealand and first female administrator of the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP)
It is important to reference the historical and cultural background on how
difficult it has been for women in the fields of diplomacy and negotiation. It is
interesting to note that masculinity, as a style, dominates the world of politics and
power and that both females and males try to emulate this model due to society
creating this perception.\textsuperscript{85} Gender is learned due to “socialization of our sex roles”
that we are taught to believe men and women need to fit into.\textsuperscript{86} According to Georgia
Duehust-Lahti, the by-product of this is that men have been able to dominate the
majority of institutional power over the years as masculinity, in society, has been
linked to aggressiveness, and the ability to get one’s way over the weaker sex, “Men’s
position atop social institutions has enabled them to create laws, legitimate particular
knowledge, establish moral codes, and shape culture in ways that perpetuate their
power over women.” \textsuperscript{87} This has directly stifled women’s growth in the world of
diplomacy and negotiation, as females have had to struggle to break down centuries
of these culturally defined roles.

Much of the opposition to women being diplomats in leadership roles pre-dates
any Western society and comes from thousands of years of ingrained notions that
patriarchal societies are the most powerful and efficient. Significantly, until the advent
of settled agriculture about ten thousand years ago, men and women lived in much
more egalitarian communities, due to their shared work in foraging for food.

\textsuperscript{85} Duerst-Lahti, Georgia & Mae Kelly, Rita. Gender Power, Leadership and Governance. Michigan:
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid, 13.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid, 20.
Anthropologists have been researching foraging societies and found that women almost always played an important role in the economic and social arena of these tribes.\(^{88}\)

For example, in the Pilipino tribe, Agta, the men normally hunt large animals alone as their arms are strong and they can kill in one shot.\(^{89}\) However, the women hunt in groups with men and women working together and tend to more successful which links directly back to research in this thesis stating that in business leadership roles women tend to utilize group decision making instead of ego-centric tactics.\(^{90}\)

Women in the tribes also have important roles outside the household as they tend to create networks to gain information and provide social functions that promote influence and self-esteem.\(^{91}\) Research shows that women actually had more power and influence in the egalitarian foraging societies then they do in modern times.

The Tlingit off the coast of North America actually base their society on kin relationships and individual ability to achieve prestige.\(^{92}\) This enables both men and women to equally be raised to higher status only based on kinship and has nothing to do with gender. Husbands actually encouraged daughters to go into the community’s public life, “Tlingit are best described not as a matriarchy…but rather a society in which roles are structured more on the basis of the individual ability, training and personality rather than gender.”\(^{93}\)

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89 Ibid, 245.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid, 245.
93 Ibid, 247.
Margaret Mead also conducted extensive research in 1946 with a number of tribes in the South Seas and found that masculine and feminine characteristics are primarily based on cultural conditioning. In some tribes men and women were considered equal. Each tribe exhibited different traits according to the characteristics that tribe promoted socially. In same tribes regular life rituals involved both men and women dressing up like each other with no distinction between genders and celebrating each other’s sexuality without the man or woman being held in higher regard over the other. Rather an individual’s qualities of being aggressive or possessing leadership qualities defined if they served in a leadership role or not. Other tribes had the women as the aggressors and males as emotionally needy and more domesticated.94

Mead’s research gave us direct insight into our own societies and proved that human nature is, “unbelievably malleable, responding accurately and contrastingly to contrasting cultural conditions almost entirely laid out from birth.”95

This relates directly back to the Western world and the limits society creates by inflicting perceptions of women’s roles onto children, which in turn stifles their future ability to take on leadership roles in diplomacy and the business world. It is an extremely difficult cycle to break. Ideally if one could be given the opportunity to lead, due to personality traits instead of sex type, the world would be a fairer place.

95 Ibid, 39.
Research continues to show that culture plays a powerful role in how gender differences are perceived. For example, according to Williams Ceci’s research, Eskimo men and women hunt and there is no difference in skill set observed, as from birth this is expected of both sexes.\textsuperscript{96}

Also research done on 250,000 students from countries around the world testing both girls and boys on math skills found that countries that had cultures that valued egalitarianism had very little difference in math skills.\textsuperscript{97} In the early 1900’s women in Western societies started to break away from what was considered the norm for women. The new woman of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century pushed the limits set by male-dominated society and opened the door for women.

According to Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly, society needs to strive towards the goal, “for a social and political system that leadership and governance actions and behaviors are infused equally with male and females.”\textsuperscript{98} This means that in the world of politics, diplomacy and negotiation we need to move towards behaviors being exhibited by leaders that are good for the social and cultural situation at the time and are not linked to that particular leader’s biological sex. An ungendered society would be the ultimate utopia and solution to this issue. However, we all must realize this is still not the case.

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid, 165.
Georgia Duerst-Lahti, wisely states, “At this moment in time, we must seek to promote gender awareness and gender balance in leadership roles to re-conceptualize and incorporate notions from women and feminism into the political arena.”

An important point to explore in history, which should not be overlooked, is when women started to pursue education. This in turn empowered them to enter the world of diplomacy and hone their skills in the arena of business negotiation. Once women began to pursue an education the cultural perception of them only staying home and caring for children slowly began to change. Women started their education and broke out of the bonds that society had placed on them. Women started to be just as qualified as men to enter the world of diplomacy and business negotiation. Education was power. Since many women had focused on cultural welfare and the wellbeing of family and community it was not surprising that women gravitated towards these issues in the political and business world once they gained an education.

In the last 100 years women have been given more access to education then in the past 2,000 years; however, the world still has a long way to go. Giving young girls an education is the first step. Research proves that those countries that refuse to educate their young girls to the same degree as their male children lose over $1 billion a year.

The second step is to give women the ability to work in society and earn positions in government and senior management in order to assist with the development of their nations. We will explore how some countries think in regards to

99 Ibid.
100 Plan International. "Paying the price. The economic cost of failing to educate girls"
giving girls access to a higher education but then restrict them from participating in the marketplace and assisting a country’s economic growth. This act directly cripples and stifles a nation’s strength.

Education utilized as a means to empower women is in itself a very liberating act and gives girls the means to then choose if they wish to continue adhering to their cultural practices or break away. Women tend to be exposed to these options through the eyes of education. It is still difficult though for many countries to embrace widespread education for women as it is seen as an ominous threat to their cultural being as a nation. Recent reports have found that when countries do not focus on educating their women or giving them access to economic opportunities it is normally a warning sign of deeper underlying issues.101 When women’s lives are improved due to, “teaching them skills, providing employment, and teaching women to value themselves[,]”102 they start to gain economic power which in turn gives them social power. However, gaining access to education in a developing country, when one is a woman—even in a nation like India that is known for promoting education, where discriminative laws still exists—makes it very difficult to rise above and stop the cycle of poverty and abuse.103

101 March 11, 2013 BBC News report “What if Women ruled the World”. Condoleezza Rice in her interview stated that in her years as secretary of state she found that countries who did not value their women and promote giving them access to education actually had larger underlying issues regarding conflict with other nations and internal unrest. They also reported that according to World Bank countries who do not address domestic violence against women can experience 2% in additional costs to their economy per year. Mrs. Rice shared examples of key leaders who had issues with women in leadership roles such as, Gadhafi who originally requested to meet her in a tent instead of their state department (of which she declined).

102 McLaren, Margaret A. George D. & Harriet W. Cornell Professor: Forum on Public Policy: Gender Equality & the Economic Empowerment of Women, 3. Rollins College

103 Ibid, 9. Dowry and inheritance laws influence this the most.
Withholding access to education for young girls tends to perpetuate the cycle of skewed earning potential amongst women and maintain the view of them as economic burdens. Thus the cycle of violence against women continues. Giving women the ability to earn honest wages empowers them with economic status along with a means of escape, if need be.\textsuperscript{104}

When a culture puts women in a box and requires them to be the sole domestic family servant at home, then women are cut off from the opportunity to excel in areas of economic equality. This control of women takes on a cultural nature and ends up prolonging the suppression of women. At this point, there is little room for the promotion of young girls’ education as this could enlighten them to their own plight as a minority group, thus causing rebellion against cultural laws put in place by patriarchal societies.

There are some societies that contradict themselves and promote women’s independent thinking and assertiveness, by giving them access to an education, but then only providing a place for women in society to serve at home without the ability to access high positions of power in government or business but rather exist without questioning male authority – even though they attained high levels of education.\textsuperscript{105} Iran is one such nation which we will explore further on in the thesis.

India is an example of a country where the middle and upper class promotes higher equal education for both their girls and boys. Author Narayan states, “both my mother and many others . . . saw education as a good thing for daughters, encouraged us to do well in our studies, saw it as prudent to have the qualifications

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid, 10.
necessary to support ourselves economically.”106 However, in the same token some circles of the old patriarchally focused Indian society frowned on the educational opportunities they had encouraged for young girls, “they were nervous about our intoxication with ideas and insistence on using ideas acquired from books to question social rule and norms of life.”107 This change seemed like a “Western” mind set overtaking Indian women rather then looked at as an alternative life style of their own choosing.108

Nevertheless, it is important to note that now the majority of Indians endorse their women pursuing education proclaiming its benefits to having women doctors and bringing back gender equality that was prevalent in the “golden age of Hinduism”.109 Thus education was promoted as culturally beneficial and the new “way of life” for the bhadramahila [respectable woman].

I personally relate to the enlightenment period of choice that women tend to go through and which I experienced after completing my education and starting my own career in government in the Western world. Having being raised as a poor missionary child in Asia, I remember thinking up until the age of twenty-two that I would not need a college education as the only thing that I was created for was to be a missionary overseas. This was my culture and heritage, promoted and encouraged by all those around me. Only after starting college and getting a job did I start to think differently and explore options I never dreamed of. Education and economic independence did this for me. It gave me a choice that many Indian women realized they also had after

106 Dislocating cultures, 8.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
completing their education. However, the main difference is that the Indian women’s society frowned on their new found choice, while my society in the U.S. encouraged me to pursue my dreams and even had social programs and scholarships at my disposal to help me on to the path of economic independence.

With multiculturalism expanding across the ocean, societies and traditions are co-mingling more than ever. The United Nations human rights goals directly link the social growth of families and communities with the “education, and health of women”. Once economic structures are balanced for women their personal lives are enriched and their value as a contributing individual to the family and community increases. Education is one of the key investments a country makes in its people. It is critical to sustaining economic viability and contributes to the success of a nation. There is a direct co-relation to a country’s economic growth and development when its people have an education, especially women as they are the ones who want their children to have a stable environment and tend to spend their hard earned money on food, clothing and household items instead of guns, tobacco or alcohol. Girls given an opportunity to pursue education early in life contribute to more peace and stability in a nation.

Education is power and key to strengthening women's rights, self-expression and civic engagement. World Bank found that investing in women directly affects annual per capita economic growth. Just increasing the number of girls who receive a secondary education by only 1% can increase the annual per capita economic

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110 Gender Equality, 8.
111 World Bank Policy Paper, 4833
112 Ibid.
Girls who receive an education can then be infused into the workforce and directly affect a nation’s growth and development.

A recent Harvard study showed that more women in the workplace and in management positions could raise the U.S. GDP by 5%. However, women are the ones consistently charged with caring for the elderly and children due to societal pressures. This discourages women from pursuing their own education or career paths. This needs to change if developing markets wish to improve and sustain economic growth.

Powerful women have been paving the way for young women to gain a foothold in both the academic world and marketplace. Anna Julia Cooper cleared a path for women to be given the opportunity to pursue a higher education and set the example by doing so herself. Dr. Cooper was a slave who became one of the first African American women to receive a Ph.D. Dr. Cooper held a strong belief that how women were viewed at different status levels in a society directly measured “the capacity of a society to improve itself”. Dr. Cooper wisely stated that, “The position of women in society determines the vital elements of its (societies) regeneration and progress.”

113 Ibid.
115 Educational Aims in Historical Perspective, Chapter One, 144.
116 Ibid, 144.
117 Ibid.
Strides have been made since Dr. Cooper. However, the situation is not ideal as over 60 million girls in the world still have zero access to primary schooling.\textsuperscript{118} The problem is not only giving girls access to school, and later on higher education, but also embracing and infusing them into the workplace and government institutions so they can be an integral part of setting policy and shaping a nation.

In Iran women are readily accepted into the higher education institutes and they tend to excel in math and science. Iranian women also have the highest rate of literacy in the Middle-East. However, Iranian women are not assimilated into working society and senior government positions where they would be able to initiate lasting change and affect the country’s economy.\textsuperscript{119} Over ten years ago 61% of women passed the national Iranian college exam compared to only 38% of male applicants. Nevertheless, only 15% of Iranian women work outside their homes.\textsuperscript{120} Iranian women are some of the most educated in the world but are unable to participate in the paid marketplace and therefore contribute to the country’s GDP and make a global difference. It is contradicting when Iran gives their women the ability to pursue an educated only to return home and adopt the role of housewife and never be given the opportunity to assist in the development of their nation.\textsuperscript{121} Young Iranian women are taught that pursuing a higher education only increases their chances to become better “marriage material” for their male counterparts rather than earn them an executive position in the labor market.\textsuperscript{122}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{119} Teachers College Record: Volume 108, Number 10, October 2006, pp. 1960. Columbia University
\bibitem{120} Ibid, 1961.
\bibitem{121} Ibid.
\bibitem{122} Ibid, 1971.
\end{thebibliography}
The World Bank has been attacking this issue. In 2007, the World Bank convened with the OECD and a number of European governments. It was concluded that restricting women from the workplace is not just “unfair” but directly hinders the economic growth of a country.\textsuperscript{123} The problem is deep rooted as they traced it back to disparity in schooling of boys and girls which was found to still be very prevalent in developing countries. The World Bank discovered that when women are given more financial power to run small businesses and have access to credit there is more equal distribute of goods in households, “Giving women economic power can significantly alter decision-making in ways that improve general welfare.”\textsuperscript{124}

Private companies have discovered the secret weapon of hiring women, which in turn diversifies companies and engages a huge portion of the population. This gives the company the ability to appeal to their client base and directly affect the bottom line. Women in leadership positions also equate to better decisions being made as they tend to think of the group as a whole in a very non-threatening manner, which is a skill that is difficult for most businessmen. Take Mellody Hobson, the African American women president of Chicago based Ariel Investments company, who as Dreamworks Animation executive, Jeffrey Katzenberg stated, “Is a valued advisor because she simplifies complex problems, always thinks long term and asks questions in an unthreatening way – if Mellody was a boxer she would have a knockout punch that would make you feel like you got hit by a feather.”\textsuperscript{125} Hobson serves on the boards of DreamWorks, Starbucks, Estee Lauder and Groupon due to her talent at laying out all

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Twomey, Robyn. Fortune Magazine, \textit{The Best Advice I Ever Got}. November 18, 2013, 118.
the potential problems for CEO’s in a question format instead of telling them what to do. Her approach is non-threatening and lets the other person feel like they solved their own problems.

A study by the University of British Columbia’s Sauder School of Business found that female leaders create less debt and save more in the takeover of companies.\textsuperscript{126} Research found that women on boards tend to avoid costly high bonus payouts to CEO’s. This is the main reason why Norway implemented a law requiring public boards to all have at least 40% female representatives.\textsuperscript{127}

Deutsche Telecom’s\textsuperscript{128} CEO said in a public statement, “Taking on more women in management positions is not about the enforcement of egalitarianism; the bottom line is that having more women at the top will simply help us operate better.”\textsuperscript{129} A World Bank report stated, “Diversity is often correlated with profitability, efficiency, and innovation. To build the most effective and diverse leadership, an institution must develop women’s skills.”\textsuperscript{130} Research went on to discover that women’s voluntary attrition rates were 10 points lower than men's. Women tend to have higher productivity and lower attrition when given the opportunity in the workplace.\textsuperscript{131}

Usha Rao-Monari, of International Finance Corporation, sings the praises of women in the workplace and stresses how this diversity is vital to a company’s growth and development in emerging markets, “Investing in women’s employment is a win-win strategy for all, strengthening companies and changing the face of the global

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid, 58.
\textsuperscript{128} A European telecommunications company.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid, 58.
\textsuperscript{130} World Bank Report: Women’s World Banking, Gender Performance Indicators, 18.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid, 19.
economy.” Smart companies are realizing that having more women on staff actually assists in their relations with customers and enables the company to carry on their business activities with the community’s support.

For example, in Chile a mining company, Anglo American, had a skills shortage in the region so started to train and hire women. The company found that the handful of women they hired started to spread the word in the community that the company was good to work for. Senior managers of the company now swear that the gender diversity has bought on higher performance levels and better team collaboration.

In evaluating the impact of education on young girls in society, it is clear that those who end up pursuing higher education, instead of only birthing children, have more of a chance to infiltrate politics and implement policies that evaluate women instead of keep them as second class citizens. Wages and productivity, all critical for reducing poverty, are higher where women receive a better education. Women affect the economics of a country and can directly impact the GDP positively.

In a 2012 Booz & Company report, it was found that matching female to male employment rates would increase the GDP’s in Egypt, India, UAE, Argentina, South Africa, Japan, U.K and the U.S. Emerging economies had the greatest potential with the ability to experience gains of 12% to 34% if they were to utilize more women in the workforce. Nevertheless, even when women possess the skills and have the educational background they still have difficulty achieving seniority.

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133 Ibid, 5
For example, in Germany female participation in the workforce is 71%, higher than the rest of the world, but women account for less than 20% of the business owners and are not encouraged to pursue senior management roles.\textsuperscript{136}

Another interesting example is the powerful country of Saudi Arabia with 57% of its University graduates being female, however only 12% of the workforce are women.\textsuperscript{137} The women in Saudi Arabia face extreme legal and cultural challenges that hold them back in the work place and suppress their ability to grow in the private sector.\textsuperscript{138} When countries refuse to acknowledge the abilities of the other “half” of the population they stunt their nation’s economic growth and development. Global private companies strongly believe in harnessing the power of women and are willing to finance their position on this subject. Dell recently decided to initiate the Women’s Entrepreneur Network to women the ability to network and promote technology directly supporting women’s businesses.\textsuperscript{139} Coca-Cola followed suit with announcing internally that women were the primary buyers of their products so established a Women’s Leadership Council to retain female talent and promote within.\textsuperscript{140} It is clear that women given the ability to work tend to look out for a nation’s “greater good”.

However, according to one World Bank study the question was posed, “Does freeing women promote growth or does economic growth spur women’s liberation?”\textsuperscript{141} According to history it shows that economic growth tends to correlate to liberation for women especially with the introduction of contraceptives and simple appliances like

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid, 19.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid, 20.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid, 24.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, 24. Coca-Cola is taking it a step further and created 5x20 Initiative to empower 5 million female businesses by 2020. They have launched in South Africa, India, Philippines and Brazil.
dishwashers and washing machines that enabled women to be freed from the mundane tasks society had dumped on them.\textsuperscript{142}

On the other hand, certain research conducted in 2007 found that despite women been given an education and access to power, society still places on them gender restrictions that tends to hinder women’s performance at the negotiation table.\textsuperscript{143} The authors state that when women are put into situations where they must actually initiate the discussion regarding negotiation for themselves they do not perform as well as men.

However, if the framing of the negotiation is changed to reflect the opportunity to more of an “asking” situation then women feel this is more “polite” and do not have as much of an issue with negotiating in this framed context.\textsuperscript{144} The reason this research is so important is that even though women have made great leaps in the past century, relating to women’s rights, there are still huge wage gaps. Only 16.6 percent of Fortune 500 company CEO’s are women and women still trail behind men in the advancement of their careers.\textsuperscript{145}

All in all women have come a long way and excelled when given access to education. Countries have found that they can benefit directly when women are given access to the marketplace as they are then empowered to change the economies of

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid.
their nations.\textsuperscript{146} Norway was a great example of this as they put into law that women are required on their public boards.\textsuperscript{147}

Private companies, Dell and Coca-Cola, are also success stories of harnessing and capitalizing on the power of women being engaged. Other nation states would be wise to take a closer look at Norway, along with the mentioned private companies, and adopt the same techniques of involving women to change the world’s economy as they are the third billion with the power to shape the next century.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{148} Booz & Company, 2.
Chapter 3: Current Opinions and Trends

“If you want something said, ask a man; If you want something done, ask a woman.”

Baroness Margaret Thatcher
Women have come a long way in the world of politics and leadership. In the 21st century one can observe women in more roles of leadership across the global than any other time in history. However, they are still not represented fairly in government. On March 2014, the UNDP’s new Global Goodwill Ambassador, Connie Britton, stated, “Women in the world perform 66% of the world’s work. They produce 50% of the food. Yet they earn only 10% of the world’s money and own only 1% of the property.”

According to Women in the World Foundation, “Parliamentarians are only 18.4% female and 10% of heads of state are women. The U.S. trails behind the global average when it comes to women in leadership roles as Congress is 83% male.”149 A 2012 study found that only 16.6% of all Fortune 500 company CEO’s are women.150 This is not for lack of educated women as now over half of all college graduates are women.151 Research found that women don’t promote themselves and their abilities as adamantly as men do so tend be overlooked.152

The U.S. needs to take aggressive measures to push more women into roles of diplomacy and business in order to change the percentage of women leaders in the world. Former UK trade minister, Lord Davies, pushes companies of the FSTE 100 to have 25% female representation on the board by 2015.153

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150 Fortune magazine, October 28, 2013.

151 Ernst & Young, 2013.

152 Ibid.

diversity to add women to roles in leadership is a powerful tool to initiate change and should be capitalized on and embraced by women.

Even for the world’s super power, in order for the U.S. to progress it will require that women no longer be ignored in higher levels of governance.\textsuperscript{154} Hillary Rodham Clinton has been a pivotal example of a woman as a symbiotic center of power who still has to manage attacks of gender biases when exhibiting a strong stance on issues instead of being admired for her steadfastness and aggressive ability to push forward.\textsuperscript{155} These attitudes need to change.

More and more studies are suggesting that once women’s representation in public office reaches 30% that the majority of policies and national budgets will become more fair and equitable.\textsuperscript{156} Women in the World Foundation reported that, “Half of all nations have adopted some form of quota system that demands that a certain percentage of the legislature be made up of women. In the past 5 years Rwanda has outdone former leader Sweden on this topic—it’s parliament is now 56.3 percent female.”\textsuperscript{157} It is interesting to note that as stated earlier, the Western world’s richest country, the U.S., trails behind Rwanda with only 17% of Congress being female. This is a difficult system to change as the financial, social, and cultural obstacles to women’s participation in the public office must be tackled before women can help rule the world.

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid, 270.
\textsuperscript{156} Women in the World Foundation.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid.
Women still get paid less than men even though they have the same education and work experience. Men and women’s economic disparity is among the leading factors keeping women out of politics and diplomacy worldwide.\textsuperscript{158}

On a positive note, research proves that huge progress has been made in the area of women’s role in the workplace and the benefits to the economy that women bring. According to a 2014 report by the International Economic Development Council, perceptions are slowly changing, “76% of women aged 25 – 54 are in the workplace and if there is an increase in this total participation rate this would in turn increase the size of the US economy by 3-4%.”\textsuperscript{159} The study found that women bring collaborative models of behavior that actually makes a better leader, “the top four most important leadership attributes – intellectual stimulation, inspiration, participatory decision-making and setting expectations/rewards-were most commonly found among women leaders.”\textsuperscript{160}

The Harvard Barnard College of Business President, Debora Spar, shared in an interview with the Harvard business journal her perspective as a woman leader in the typically male dominated world of business.\textsuperscript{161} Spar stressed to not sweat the “straight” line when it comes to a career path, “Life doesn't work linearly. Most girls at 18 don't know what they want to be doing at 58 or 68 or 78. And people who think they do generally find themselves doing something very different as their life evolves."

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid, 8.
\textsuperscript{161} 5 Super-Smart Strategies from Barnard President Debora Spar: Barnard School of Business Journal interview. August 12, 2013.
\end{flushleft}
In a personal interview with the Central Florida Health Alliance President, Don Henderson, he also stressed this exact point that one should not limit themselves with one career path but rather stay open to opportunity.\textsuperscript{162} This is a brave and risk-taking tactic that women need to adopt. Spar goes on to promote hard work as the key to success for young women in their 20's, "In talking to my own kids, more and more I fall back on the classic American middleclass values: Work hard. Don't be lazy. Don't take yourself too seriously, but take your work seriously. And just don't give up." \textsuperscript{163}

The first step to change is influencing the thoughts and minds of the general population in order to initiate social and cultural change - what better way to do this than by gathering and sharing the perspectives of male and female leaders alike and learn how they incorporated and strengthen the role of women in diplomacy and the world of negotiation.

The following interviews are from original research and interviews I conducted from April 2011 – March, 2014. They cover views from both men and women on how women are perceived in business negotiation and diplomatic settings. These perspectives state opinions that reflect the business and political world of government as seen today through the eyes of both male and female business and government leaders. These are their words, thoughts and opinions.

\textsuperscript{162} Interview with CFHA President, Don Henderson, March 10, 2014. Liefke Cox
\textsuperscript{163} 5 Super-Smart Strategies from Barnard President Debora Spar: Barnard School of Business Journal interview. August 12, 2013.
Interview June 2013 - Helen Clark, the first female UNDP Administrator

In 2001, Hunt and Posa found that social science research supports the stereotype that women are generally more collaborative than men and more likely to come to an agreement or compromise in the name of peace.\footnote{Hunt, Swanee and Cristina Posa. Women Waging Peace. Foreign Policy, No. 124 (May 2001). Published by Washington News Week Interactive, LLC. Accessed 04/10/2013} It would be much more powerful to capitalize on this concept that women have the power to, “bridge the divide between groups in conflict, influence local groups on a larger scale and collaborate with international organizations to affect peace instead of war.”\footnote{Ibid.} Past U.N. Secretary- General, Kofi Annan stated in 2000 to the Security Council, “Women have served as peace educators, both to their families and societies for generations. They have proven instrumental in building bridges rather than walls.”\footnote{Ibid.} Hunt and Posa share an example of this with reference to the Sudan crisis destroyed by years of civil war. In South Sudan women organized a tribal summit and were able to result with a covenant between two tribes with equal access to fishing, water and grazing land in order to sustain life and peace.

One such female leader initiating this type of change on a global scale is Helen Clark, former Prime Minister of New Zealand and the first female UNDP Administrator. On my trip to New York as a UN intern I was able to interview her on this subject.

I asked, do you feel women are adequately represented in the UN and in diplomatic positions for countries? Helen’s response, “The OCHA Profile states that diplomatic positions are 80% male in developed countries. 60% of women who come to the UNDP are from resident coordinator positions. Only 40% of UN employees are

\footnote{Ibid.}
women. The Sec General is now focused on this issue. I, Helen Clark, am the first UNDP women administrator. Looks at UN resident coordinators & diplomatic core very small % are women who are on the UN perm mission - 93 members of the UNDP and only 30 are women. Hate hearing it can't be done – find a solution. As a leader I am solution focused.”

When asked if she felt if women negotiated better than men or does gender have zero effect in the equation? Helen stated, “This is a generalization and you can find an exception to any rule. Women in leadership positions seek more opinions from their team’s rather than men who don’t ask others opinions as much. The exception was Margaret Thatcher as she didn’t ask anyone for advice. In principle women can be more inclusive but then Susan Rice doesn’t think this way. Women tend to think more for others than for themselves.”

When asked what are the top three reasons she was so successful in her life as the Prime Minister of New Zealand and now head of the UNDP Helen replied, “Single minded focus early on is the key. Daily work and you have to be good at what you choose to do in life. Communicate what you want. I had a political background from university being involved in student body government. Strongly supported the Mahi culture & expression on TV – for the social side to keep their culture alive. Important to be professional & not flirty as a woman. Do not use your body to get ahead. Show that you can do the job as a person. Put in the hours – have balance though with time & work off. Take time off -less successful managers can’t let go of things. Take time off to re-charge. Be part of cutting off & relaxing. See people in their context & take them for who they are. Tell your people to go home. Have things to do outside of work.”
Helen stated, “The woman I most admire was the Prime Minister of Norway who grew up in Brooklyn Harlem. She is head of WHO now and is a strong woman in politics.” When asked which country embraced women into politics, Helen shared, “I felt that New Zealand did promote cultures and languages to survive and to keep a nation strong – this supports the minorities so women also thrive. Australia still has a hard time accepting women in leadership positions (TV showed in 2013 senator disrespecting a woman anchor regarding her period etc.). Scandinavia and the Netherlands have been very accepting of women. Denmark had the highest rates due to their social solidarity and inclusiveness. They had women integrated into politics for the last 30 years. Rwanda now has 56% women in their national congress – after years of war the country has finally added women to lead the country.”

When asked why she feels the corporate world still penalizes women and labels them as “aggressive and self-centered” when asking for position changes or raises, according to 2012 Harvard Business Negotiation report, Helen responded, “Unfortunately gender stereotypically accepts men who are aggressive and women should not be. It is a liability if a woman is aggressive. But women have to learn how to have strength without aggression. One word of advice – Strength & Conviction. Gender battle is to get women in leadership and the words “strength & ability” need to be redefined – so that self-centered focused leadership is not the way to led but rather sympathy, & empathy led the way and are not viewed as “soft or weak”. This is changing slowly in culture. The corporate world is still not geared towards family life. Women are criticized for working and then for taking off work. The lifestyle of the West is not family friendly. In Myanmar 6% of the leadership are women and the rest are individuals with a military background. The women have a vested interest to have
peace in order to keep their family safe and in school. Led by military means they want to find a way to have war. Women in more leadership positions can equate to more peace as they naturally want to see their families at peace and thrive."

Her advice to young women trying to get ahead in the corporate and government world, “Do not micro-manage. Keep the talent you see around you. See things to fix and act on them. Be strategic in what you focus on. Absorb a ton of information at one time. I had to change my style from being a minister in the details of leading a country to being a leader. Step up to strategic oversight position and put confidence in people. Leave the details alone. You can still see what needs to be done and have people you trust carry out your plans. As women we need to move away from the weeds of details and go on to more strategic leadership positions.”
When asked if he felt if the gender type of the negotiator is important at times, Jocelyn replied, “It makes a difference but not sure exactly to what extent. Not so much that women are different but rather the social structures on how women should behave affects them. Men need to listen to women’s perspectives as leaders & be sensitive to adjust accordingly. The ability of women to get pass the testosterone in the room makes them less confrontation as men. Women are more willing to compromise & avoid going to war. The pre-judgment of women is embedded in all minds & very hard to push these thoughts out of society. For example, a deeper voice is considered “strong” in general society. There is toleration of demonstrations of strength from men but it is negative if a woman does it.”
Harvard Research and interviews: June, 2012

In 2012 I attended a Harvard negotiation course. I conducted on the ground research and interviews with classmates from over 100 countries in regards to women in negotiation. I confirmed that to this day it is still a cultural fact that men negotiate 4 times more than women in the world of business and diplomacy. In our classwork and test experiments we found that the trick for woman, when negotiating for themselves, was to negotiate with an angle that the “ask” will benefit the company as a whole.

The female lawyers in the class from Jordan, Scotland, Switzerland and other countries around the world shared that they still have issues with being viewed as “pushy or bitchy” when they negotiate for higher salaries in the workplace. As was touched on earlier in this thesis, our Harvard workshops confirmed that culture plays a pivotal role in the tactics that both males and females utilize to negotiate. During our workshops the two women in the group right away wanted to focus on relationship building rather than figuring out how to make profit on the other group. However, our New York male stock brokers downplayed and scoffed that tactic and instead wanted the group to have a primary focus on profit. Our Harvard professor ended up stating that the more “feminine” approach of playing as team and working on relationship building has been shown to be more profitable in the long-term and seeking instant profit, without regard for the other party, only works in the short-term and does not have longevity or sustainability.

Another interesting topic relating to gender was shared by a state barrister from Scotland who found a trick to capitalize on her “soft” demeanor. She said she would “play dumb” at the negotiation table and ask lots of questions for the man to answer. Men would then “give up” key information due to their pride in trying to educate this “simple woman” and she would end up using this information to build her case and win the negotiation as she would figure out what was or was not important to his company.

Our Harvard professor shared that women are most successful in negotiation when:

a. Issues matter to them (e.g. family flexible schedule for women because social norm)

b. When on behalf of others (e.g. females acted more aggressive as someone’s agent)

c. When they have good market/industry info to back up their argument

The professor also shared that women do not enjoy negotiating on behalf of themselves due to the following:

d. Being taught early on to promote the needs of others and not yourself

e. Company cultures penalize women when they do ask aggressively and both females and males view them as “pushy or bitchy”
Harvard Classmates Interview questions: June 14, 2012

Direct comments and feedback on women in diplomacy and negotiation from my Harvard classmates, which included presidents of companies from around the world. These are their words as the give some additional perspectives of how women are viewed in negotiation settings.

Adam Streg: President of American IT Company
Matt Normandy: Lawyer from Switzerland
Zina Hassan, CFO (female): Amexn Freight Mail Company from Jordan (Middle East)
Arlene McBeth: Lawyer in Scotland
Adam Bener: American Lawyer

**Zina (Jordan):** Culture has a big effect on woman and how they can negotiation. In Jordan you cannot cross your boundaries as a woman in business as you are not treated with respect if you are a lawyer or business woman. I have a masters from London school of business and serve as the CFO but are still told by men in negotiation “Zina, you are stepping over your boundaries. Be quiet now.”

**Arlene (Scotland):** I have to use a softer approach as a woman. This can be used to your advantage with men. Aggressive pretty females put males more on-guard then a “helpless’ female. Non-verbal clues – posture and facial expressions can be used etc.. If a woman is not aggressive in dealings with men they try to take advantage of you & through their arrogance they start to disclose info to “help” you since you are a
“woman and so stupid”. Use this to your advantage and gain the upper ground with info… ask timid but revealing questions.

Adam (American): If I have a choice between negotiating with a tall woman vs. a man I will pick the man. I have noticed that woman over compensate for being a woman so try to be tough to make a point. They push instead of being rational to show they can win.

Matt (Switzerland): I prefer to negotiate with the tall “bitchy woman” as that would be more relaxed. Men against men try to compete more with each other and can start to trash talk. Maybe because I have more European views that woman are equal. If you want to enter an elevator in the US vs. Europe it is dangerous being in an elevator with an American woman as they have the mentality to accuse you of anything to prove a point. European woman are more confident within themselves and believe they have hard working ethics. In Europe the woman tend to want to be nice and build a long-term relationship. More open then American woman. Also, I noticed that age in women now is an issue in business. The older ones are more bitchy as needed to fight harder for their position vs. the younger ones who did not have to push through the “glass ceiling” as hard and maybe did not have to work it more and be forced to “get coffee” for the boss when they were new lawyers etc…
Joint 2012 Harvard Interview with both Bjorn Streseon (Norwegian Purchasing Manager for EuroTrain Company) and Patricia Stressler (West Point Lt. Colonel, US Army).

**What are the natural strengths for a man in negotiation?**

Bjorn: Our brains are organized to focus more on one goal and less diverted. Very driven to complete the goal and attached less to emotion in negotiation situations.

Pat: I agree 100%. Woman get distracted. Woman are gatherers from cave time (e.g. pulling herbs, looking for the enemy and multi-tasking). In my personal observations, men tend to be hunters that are focused on one task at a time. In the past to kill an animal or now to watch the football and block out everything else.

**What are the natural strengths for a woman in negotiation?**

Pat: Motherly instincts to see the benefit for all in the negotiation final deal. Whereas men will want what is best for them or the company they represent.

Bjorn: Woman more inclined to see the extra value in relationships that men overlook or are inclined not to consider. When it comes to men they will walk away faster when a woman will stay and explore other possibilities to come to an agreement.
New Zealand, Otago University Interviews, June 2011:

In order to get a perspective on the peace and negotiation tactics and views of men and women in society when studying in New Zealand Dr. Kevin Clements shared his thoughts on gender equality in Scandinavia and how it works.\(^{168}\) To give some background on the topic, Dr. Clements first shared the differences in culture that the five Scandinavian nations had compared to the rest of the world, “These countries focus on community safety and promote broadly harmonious societies, which tends to free them from civil conflict and the first structure of this is gender equality.”\(^{169}\)

Dr. Clements went on to state that the key structures of social peace in the top three most peaceful nations was the following:

- Gender equality
- Economic liberal capitalism & ease of business
- Democratic
- Education

From my observations, once a nation has fully embraced gender equality, then economically all people have access to work, diplomatic roles and position in business/negotiation, free from any gender barriers. This directly strengthens a country’s economy, the democratic foundation is fortified and education is given freely to both females and males without prejudice. All this starts with gender equality and

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\(^{168}\) Dr. Clements is the Director of the Peace and Conflict Center at Otago University. He was previously the Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies and Foundation Director of the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia. Professor Clements has been a regular consultant to a variety of non-governmental and intergovernmental organisations on disarmament, arms control, conflict resolution, development and regional security issues including the United Nations.”

\(^{169}\) These five nations are also ranked in the top 10 countries in the Global Peace Index Report.
women given access to education, diplomatic roles and positions of negotiation to initiate change and equality on a higher scale.

**Interview Dr. Svensson, Otago University New Zealand**

As a professor from Scandinavia who specializes in peace and conflict resolution, Dr. Svensson shares the key part of Scandinavian culture that makes them successful peace negotiators is that, “Our culture has effective pragmatic solutions. You can politicize but be pragmatic. Nordic experiences in the past were strong Vikings and wanting to gain more land and send out armies. We had a violent history but evolved into peaceful development. The experience of regulating through negotiation and dialogue shifted with gradual change to peacefulness. The separation between Norway and Sweden in the 1900’s was a difficult time – but people wanted a peaceful solution. Strong and structured institutions created this control and it flowed from global power dynamics. Smaller countries had to find ways to work together. The UN mission supports smaller counties and they in turn support the UN.”

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170 According to Otago University: " Dr. Svensson is currently Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Otago and Associate Professor at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University. His area of expertise ranges from religion in conflict resolution, unarmed insurrections, to international mediation. His dissertation, ‘Elusive Peacemakers: A Bargaining Perspective on Mediation in Internal Armed Conflicts’, focused on the conditions for international mediation in civil wars. His main focus has been on how mediation can help to overcome bargaining problems, including the role of bias mediation in civil wars, issues of power and trust mediators, and third-party security guarantees. He has published works in several high-ranking journals, such as Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Negotiation Journal and International Negotiations. In addition, he has written several book-chapters with prestigious publishers.”
Dr. Svensson went on to explain why he feels that all five Scandinavian nations are ranked in the GPI’s top ten with high levels of safety and security traced back to broadly harmonious societies free from civil conflict, “Political institutions that were built were able to bring order and security. This created egalitarian societies. There was a high emphasis on pragmatic problem solving. Violent solutions were not seen as reasonable or sensible – they wanted the masses to use intelligence to solve issues. For example, Sweden is extremely modern with family and gender equality. In our university in Stockholm we have a Professor who tells everyone he leaves his woman at home with the kids. He is looked down on as the norm has shifted to both sexes sharing the family life. I have found in my research over the years that countries with more peace have a link to acceptance of family and gender equality. Gender equality has changed Sweden.”

Many of the top diplomat’s tactics for success are feminine in their qualities with a more “soft” approach rather than hard and uncompromising stances. Dr. Svenesson and Sweden’s famous negotiating Ambassador, Jan Eliasson, researched together and stated that the key components for successful diplomacy are:

A) Personal relationships (Friendship)
B) Cultural understanding
C) Issue-based approached (stay on topic)
D) Use international principles
E) Division of labor amongst actors (organize coalitions for peace agreements)
F) Mobilization of the public
G) Open and welcoming policy towards media

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171 Reference: Svensson wrote The Go-Between: Jan Eliasson and the Styles of Mediation referencing a successful Swedish mediator with the preface written by Kofi Annan (UN Secretary General 1997 – 2006)
Interview: July 2013 COO, Griff Salmon – State of Florida’s economic development organization (Enterprise Florida)

COO, Griff Salmon stated that the top person he admires in his life is Margaret Thatcher because, “Mrs. Thatcher shaped a country not just leading as a woman but a strong person. She overcame so much. She fought against England being part of the EU which now proves to be a right choice. She was smart and could see ahead. She avoided using emotion in negotiation and understood her subject matter. She showed respect and appreciation but had the have ability to walk away from a negotiation table and stand her ground.”

When asked if he felt that gender type plays a role in negotiation Griff shared, “I have seen different strengths. Culturally around the world it is different with the genders. The advantage of a woman is their patience. However, men are generally less emotional then the women. Both have tactics that seem to come naturally that are key to a deal and necessary.”
Conclusion:

In conclusion, this thesis explored times in history that empowered women and gave them access to the fields of diplomacy and negotiation. Research was examined that stated that fact that how women are culturally raised and indoctrinated directly affects their negotiation styles and skills. The cultural traits women are taught can either harm or arm women with effective diplomatic skills. Exploring the historical and sociological background of how women were taught specific behaviors that influenced their negotiation skills was intriguing. Some cultures suppressed women’s advancement while others, even primitive ones, empowered their women to develop effective diplomatic skills and become leaders and pillars in both government and business.

Recent politics were also examined to review how women are currently faring in the world of diplomacy and business negotiation. It was found that it is important for women to be involved at the leadership level in both diplomatic discussions and in peacekeeping efforts in order for peace to subsist on a long-term basis.

Women deserve a seat at the table as research proves that they tend to look out for the benefit of the group more than men do.172 It is of paramount importance that women be integrated, at a higher percentage rate, in both leadership roles and diplomatic discussions in order to maintain peace, create equality and shatter the glass ceiling of male leaders in the business world.

“On my honor, I have not given, nor received, nor witnessed any unauthorized assistance on this work.” Liefke Cox

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