

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

Madam Ambassador – Participation of Women in Slovak Diplomacy

BACHELOR THESIS

Alexander Trštanský

Bratislava, 2022

Madam Ambassador – Participation of Women in Slovak Diplomacy

BACHELOR THESIS

Undergraduate Study Program: Liberal Arts

Study Field: 3.1.6 Political Science

Bachelor Thesis Advisor: Mgr. Clarissa do Nascimento Tabosa, PhD.

Qualification: Bachelor of Arts (BA)

Date of Submission: January 15, 2022

Date of Defense: May 17, 2022

Alexander Trščanský

Bratislava, 2022

Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that this bachelor thesis is the work of my own and has not been published in whole or in part elsewhere. All literature sources used in this thesis are attributed and cited in references.

In Bratislava, January 15, 2022

Alexander Trščanský

Trščanský: Madam Ambassador – Participation of Women in Slovak Diplomacy

Author: Alexander Trščanský

Title: Madam Ambassador – Participation of Women in Slovak Diplomacy

University: Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts

Thesis Advisor: Mgr. Clarissa do Nascimento Tabosa, PhD.

Thesis Defence Committee: Prof. PhDr. František Novosád, CSc. Doc. Samuel Abrahám, PhD., prof. PhDr. Iveta Radičová, PhD., Mgr. Dagmar Kusá, PhD., prof. Silvia Miháliková

Head of Defence Committee: Prof. PhDr. František Novosád, CSc.

Place, year, scope of the thesis: Bratislava, 2022, 37 pages, 77 849 characters

Qualification: Bachelor of Arts (BA)

Keywords: diplomacy, gender balance, feminism, hidden barriers, leadership,
Slovak Republic

Abstract

Slovak women can formally become diplomats without a hindrance, there is no ban or laws that keep them out. But their low representation in the diplomatic structures suggests that they face certain hidden barriers. The purpose of this thesis is to identify the challenges that women face when working overseas in diplomatic positions, a professional environment that historically has been male-dominated. The paper identifies some of the significant issues from the perspective of women who are serving or have served countries' foreign missions on leader's position.

Tršťanský: Madam Ambassador – Participation of Women in Slovak Diplomacy

Autor: Alexander Tršťanský

Názov práce: Madam Ambassador – Participácia žien v slovenskej diplomacii

Univerzita: Bratislavská medzinárodná škola liberálnych štúdií

Školiteľka: Mgr. Clarissa do Nascimento Tabosa, PhD.

Komisia pre obhajoby záverečných prác: Prof. PhDr. František Novosád, CSc. Doc.

Samuel Abrahám, PhD., prof. PhDr. Iveta Radičová, PhD., Mgr. Dagmar Kusá, PhD.,

prof. Silvia Miháliková

Predseda komisie: Prof. PhDr. František Novosád, CSc.

Miesto, rok, rozsah bakalárskej práce: Bratislava, 2022, 37 strán, 77 849 znakov

Stupeň odbornej kvalifikácie: Bakalár (Bc.)

Kľúčové slová: diplomácia, rodová rovnosť, feminizmus, skryté bariéry, leadership, Slovenská Republika

Abstrakt

Slovenské ženy sa formálne môžu stať diplomatkami, neexistuje žiaden zákaz ani zákon, ktorých by im to zakazoval. Avšak ich nízke zastúpenie v diplomatických štruktúrach však naznačuje, že čelia určitým skrytým bariéram, vďaka ktorým je ich zastúpenie výrazne nižšie než v prípade mužov. Cieľom tejto práce je identifikovať výzvy, ktorým ženy čelia pri vykonávaní práce v diplomatických kruhoch, v ktorom historicky dominovali muži. Tento výskum identifikuje niektoré dôležité prekážky z pohľadu žien, ktoré sú alebo boli v aktívnej pozícii ako vedúca diplomatickej misie.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to my helpful and supportive advisor Mgr. Clarissa do Nascimento Tabosa, Phd. for her invaluable insight while helping me with this thesis and excellent guide throughout my writing process.

Secondly, I want to thank to all the respondents who contributed to this study for their willingness to share their experiences and for the time they spent with me.

Last but not least, I would like to thank the academic faculty at the Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts, to my family, my classmates, and my friends, who have supported me during my studie

Table of Content

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY	III
ABSTRACT	IV
ABSTRAKT	V
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	VI
INTRODUCTION	8
1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.....	11
1.1 GENDER ROLES	11
1.2 WHAT IS DIPLOMACY?.....	12
1.3 PERSONAL PREREQUISITES AND SELECTION OF DIPLOMATS	14
1.4 WOMEN AND DIPLOMACY.....	15
1.5 FEMALE DIPLOMATS NOW	17
1.6 SLOVAK DIPLOMACY.....	19
1.7 SLOVAKIA VS. EUROPE	21
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH: FEMINISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	25
2.1 THE “SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION” OF WOMEN IN DIPLOMACY	26
3. METHODOLOGY.....	29
4. LOW REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN DIPLOMACY: THE SLOVAK CASE	32
4.1 ENTRY TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS	32
4.2 FIRST SIGNS OF BARRIERS	33
4.3 MARRIAGE AND PARENTHOOD	34
4.4 SENIOR POSITIONS	35
4.5 SOCIAL STEREOTYPES.....	37
4.6 TOOLS TO IMPROVE THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN DIPLOMACY	39
4.7 THE COORDINATOR FOR ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION AT MFA	41
CONCLUSION	43
RESUMÉ	45
BIBLIOGRAPHY	47
ATTACHMENT.....	50

Introduction

Nowadays, there is a general consensus that equality between men and women is a basic human right, but there are still numerous career positions, which are thought by many to be reserved mainly for men. Diplomacy is considered as one of them and although half of the world's population are women, they are barely represented in this area, therefore we can consider them as a minority. According to the *Index of Women in Diplomacy* (2021), which compares the numbers of ambassadors from 39 countries and the EU, the Index notes that only 20,7 percent of all ambassadors are women and currently in the countries of the European Union, there are only four women, who have a position as the Minister of Foreign Affairs – in Belgium, Bulgaria, Spain, and Sweden (Tomová & Demeš, 2021). This data represents only half of the target, which the European External Action Service has set for itself as the goal of achieving a 40% representation of women as ambassadors in the EU representations abroad and also for senior positions in Brussels (Tomová & Demeš, 2021).

Karin Aggestam & Ann Towns (2019, p. 10) note “The gradual opening up for women in diplomacy paralleled the widespread mobilization of women’s international movements for gender equality”. We register these movements mainly under the term of feminist movements, which have positively helped women to achieve various changes in gender or social equality, and also had an impact on Slovakia.

“Czechoslovakia was progressive about women’s voting rights and in 1919 determined the general right to vote – all citizens had the right to vote and to be elected regardless of gender”. (Francelová, 2018). However, this development did not automatically mean the shift of women to their full integration into political life. According to Andrea Hajdúchová (2020) “In 1920, 14 women were elected to the Chamber of Deputies and three to the Senate.” More recently, there are 29 women out of 150 seats in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, which represent less than 20 percent and we can therefore say that as a country we have not moved much in one century in terms of women’s representation in high politics and we are only slowly moving to the magical number of 40 percent.

Over the last century, the term feminism has become more and more common in the field of international relations (IR) where it deals with the issues of position and obstacles of women not only in politics but also in diplomatic corps or any other higher political positions.

As Dunne, Kurki & Smith (2013) note “IR feminists have also sought to draw attention to women’s invisibility and gender subordination in international politics and the global economy.” Feminists scholars suggest that if we put on gendered lenses we get quite a different view of international politics (Peterson & Runyan, 1999, p. 21). As in any IR theory, feminist theory has a wide range of perspectives such as liberalism, constructivism, critical theory, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism. What unites them is the fact they are trying to understand the subordination of women but each from their perspective.

The presence of women in the diplomatic corps has changed significantly over the last century from the position of the wife of a diplomat to the position itself, being a diplomat. Therefore, it is necessary to reformulate diplomacy as a field. At present, there is still only a very small part of studies focused on gender and the diplomatic corps, or research on the analysis of women and their position in foreign services (Aggestam & Towns, 2019).

Liberal feminists in IR believe that it is important to remove legal and structural barriers for the participation of women in diplomacy. In my thesis, I part from the hypothesis that Slovakia has historically either overcome or did not formally impose barriers for the participation of women in diplomacy. On the other hand, I also part from a post-positivist assumption that to fully comprehend the barriers for the participation of women in Slovak diplomacy we must go further than simply analysing legal and common structural barriers; we need to identify and understand hidden, not commonly seen or discussed, barriers. In this way, my hypothesis is that what explains the low level of participation of women in diplomacy goes beyond formal structural barriers and is based on gendered interpretations of the role of diplomats, especially in the position of ambassadors.

My work follows on from the work of my colleague Alexandra Telepčáková with her bachelor’s thesis, which she handed over in 2020 and in which she focused on obstacles of female diplomats in Slovakia. The aim of my bachelor thesis is therefore

to find out how these barriers work and how they affect the representation or activities of women diplomats. Firstly, I look into quantitative data regarding women's representation to find out how unequal representation between men and women in diplomacy is in the year 2021. Next, a description of some of the possible explanations for the low representation of women in diplomacy will follow. An important part of the work will be the analysis of secondary sources and qualitative research, which was based on semi-structured interviews that seek to understand the specific experiences of women diplomats, whether in active or former service. The goal is to try to find out more about how barriers work, how they can shape women's diplomatic careers and what is represented as the possible causes of the absence of female diplomats in Slovak Republic?

1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

1.1 Gender roles

Through rapid modernization in the developing world, not excluding the political and diplomatic environment, general progress, and the spread of the feminist mind, gender is becoming a highly visible and important theme not only in our daily lives but also in academia in almost every field. Therefore, nowadays gender is becoming a more important topic of discussion and research in diplomacy as well. Gender plays a crucial role in people's lives therefore a new scientific and study discipline has been developed - this discipline is entitled as *gender studies*.

Based on the definition from the World Health Organization (2002), which describes the term *gender* as the characteristics of women and men, which are socially constructed, on the other hand, when we use the term *sex*, this term refers to describe a biologically conditioned attributes. It is essential to note that learned characteristic and behavior form gender identity and thus determine gender roles (WHO, 2002).

The concept of gender equality is generally referred to as providing a social environment in which individuals are not limited by their gender, age, race, nationality, religion, and similar other factors. The European Institute for Gender Equality states that gender equality does not only mean rights but also refers to “responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. (...) Gender equality implies that the interests, needs, and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. (...) Gender equality is not a women’s issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women” (EIGE, 2021).

In a narrow sense, we can think of gender equality and equal opportunities as something that applies to equality between women and men. At the organizational level, this also means treating and respecting all employees, regardless of gender or other factors, and ensuring justice at all levels of work activity – from a job interview, appointments to various jobs, job allocation, communication, and so on. We can also consider diplomacy as such an organization, to what extent its activities consist to some extent of foreseeable practices, relationships and patterns of behaviour, even if

they are not formalized in the form of an organization. In diplomacy, however, not only are the institutions themselves, but also people working as diplomats, bearers of gender (Aggestam & Towns, 2018, p. 10-14).

Subconsciously, therefore, gender shapes us into the expected roles, and these predictable patterns shape us. Aggestam and Tows (2018) also note that gender is drawn by power in defining and dividing roles between men and women, as well as in distributing potency and capacity between different gender roles (Aggestam & Towns, 2018, p. 11). In general, the roles of men and women in different public institutions are different. Men tend to associate in areas that are considered "hard" areas such as the military or finance. Conversely, women tend to associate traditionally in "feminine" or "soft" areas, which are predominantly associated with the private sphere or with women as a group. And the area of diplomacy is no exception (Aggestam & Towns, 2018, p. 10-14).

Diplomacy is considered to be mainly a male environment, but the women in it have also played their part in the history of diplomacy, although in the history of diplomacy it is less written about the roles of gender, if at all. In order to understand gender balance in the field of diplomacy, we must know what role the individual sexes played in diplomacy and how diplomacy developed as a field.

[1.2 What is diplomacy?](#)

Maintaining peaceful contacts between independent groups has always required a kind of representative activity since the beginning of civilization; this ability later became known as diplomacy. Although it is difficult to define exactly what the field of diplomacy includes, the *Cambridge Dictionary* defines diplomacy as "The profession, activity, or skill of managing international relations, typically by a country's representatives abroad" (2021). Norwegian political scientist Iver B. Neumann describes the role of a diplomat as "a permanently employed civil servant in the foreign service with a duty to take up any post at home or abroad to which he (not she) was ordered" (Neumann, 2008, p. 672).

Based on this definition, we can consider diplomacy as a tool that serves to achieve and maintain peace between two or more countries. A diplomat is a person who is highly educated, has excellent communication skills, and is able to handle words perfectly in negotiations when they convey the message of the state they represent. “A key thing about the diplomats as negotiators is that they do not experience negotiation as taking place on behalf of themselves. They see their role as being that of incorporating their Minister, their Ministry, their government, their state” (Neumann, 2005, p. 85). Zdenek Veselý also notes other important roles of a diplomat, in addition to representing their state: also to protect the rights and interests of the state, citizens or legal entities and regularly inform the government about the political and economic situation in the receiving state (2018, p. 146).

In addition to the diplomatic duties I have mentioned above, diplomats also have many privileges and immunities “which are the basis for the undisturbed operation of the mission” (Veselý, 2018, p. 134). These privileges serve not only the diplomat but also the family of a diplomat. Diplomatic privileges include, for example, exemption from taxes, exemption from customs duties on items imported for the needs of the diplomatic mission, personal inviolability, not subject to arrest. Diplomatic immunity is governed by the international law, which is codified in the International Treaty the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations from April 18, 1961.

From the above-mentioned tasks and qualities of a diplomat, we can say that diplomacy is the coexistence of different professions in one person, who must be able to adapt and quickly respond to many different events and situations, know the culture, history, protocol or traditions of the recipient country and at the same time a large amount of general knowledge, starting with language, communication and ending with negotiation skills. Diplomacy, therefore, requires time, a lot of experience, and great ambition for a person to master all these skills at such a level that he can be successful. At the same time, they should have strong support in his/her family so that they can live such a lifestyle.

1.3 Personal prerequisites and selection of diplomats

From the above mentioned tasks, a personal precondition also emerges, that a diplomat should have proper communication skills needed for the performance of his profession. The appropriate level of communication has long been considered a basic prerequisite for the successful activities of a diplomat. “The Athens orator Démosthenés considers the diplomat’s main weapons to be, in addition to his education, reputation, observational skills, ingenuity, also proper handling of words, which he ranks in the first place as a diplomat’s ability” (Veselý, 2018, p. 149). A diplomat is often a negotiator who has to be creative and convincing when arguing and know how to structure sentences to persuade the other party to agree to the terms (Blackwill, 2013).

Veselý (2018, p. 150) notes that for centuries, there has been a discussion whether diplomacy has an ethical dimension and whether a diplomat should always tell the truth? As I mentioned above, the diplomat represents the state to which they should presumably be loyal. Uthmann, in his book *Diplomaté (1985)* looks at this dilemma from a historical point of view and notes that “One cannot tell the whole truth, but a bold lie destroys fundamental international relations and robs a diplomat of what he needs like a fish in water: trust” (p. 133). In its own way, it is important in diplomacy, to tell the truth, because it may touch the credibility of the information, which is sent by the head of the mission to the central (President, Minister of Foreign Affairs, etc.).

Although it is not written anywhere that a diplomat can only be a male person, “diplomacy has traditionally and formally been a domain reserved for men only” (Aggestam & Towns, 20019, p. 9). This statement is also supported by many authors in the past, who even outright refuse women in diplomacy, for example, a Hungarian professional handbook from 1928 strongly denies women’s ability for diplomacy. According to this manual, women have many properties such as rational thinking but they lack the ability of cold blooded mooring, indifference and objectivity (Veselý, 2018, p. 167). Diplomacy, therefore, has long been a domain of man, much like politics

in general. However, in the past, women have managed to intervene in diplomacy and thus in the history of politics, and now women are increasingly interfering.

1.4 Women and diplomacy

The famous women, from a historical perspective, which we can certainly consider as important personalities in the history of diplomacy like Cleopatra VII., Isabella I., and Elizabeth I., are some of the most famous women who were political leaders. However, these women are rare cases, and when there is something written about them, they are mostly biographical books, following individual women and their lives, or examining the development of certain historical events.

However, most women still played a secondary role in politics in the case of diplomats, the role of the diplomat's wife. This is a special category, which in the present we can consider as a necessity on the basis of diplomatic protocol, but sometimes it was the other way around. In 1268, a council was even issued in the Republic of Venice, which forbade envoys from being accompanied by their wives. They feared that information about state secrets could be leaked. This council was later abolished and "a woman became a regular escort for diplomats in the 17th century" (Veselý, p. 168).

Aggestam & Towns (2019) notes that in addition to the wives of diplomats, other women have also found a way to informally influence diplomacy. They were mainly members of the royal courts, who stopped to perform the roles of only wives, mistresses, girlfriends, or mothers. "Although elite women with access to people in power were not official state officials, they still had several ways to engage in diplomacy for example, provide advice, collect and pass on information or disseminate misinformation" (p. 16).

This was the case until the 20th century when we can only see male names in the official positions of heads of diplomatic missions. However, over the past century, things for women have begun to change significantly for the better and for example in 1922, for the first time in the history, the Soviet Union appointed a woman as the head of a diplomatic mission – Alexandra Kollontaj was sent to Norway to establish

mutual diplomatic relations, which she succeeded in after two years (Veselý, p. 170). Several other countries later joined this trend, such as the USA, Denmark or France, however “France permitted a woman to enter its diplomatic service by examination in 1930, though at the time it still did not appoint women as heads of missions” (Marks, 2018).

It is known that the Second World War changed the course of the world, and this also applies to international relations and diplomacy. “After World War II, increasing numbers of women were making a career of diplomacy, and more women became ambassadors, both by political appointment and by career progression” (Marks, 2018). This statement is also supported by the authors Dopita, Kočí & Cozlová (2020), who note that the stronger rise of women in diplomacy did not begin until after the Second World War “especially in left-wing governments, which brought about a balance between men and women” (p. 9).

Despite these changes, some countries, especially in the developing world, continued to refuse to employ women as diplomats, and sending female ambassadors was considered unwise. “In 1970, for example, the Vatican rejected a proposed minister from West Germany because she was female” (Marks, 2018).

Finally, when women acquired official positions and were able to represent the state, they also entered an environment full of men, their rules and customs “As diplomacy has been exclusively male for a long time, this has nurtured homosocial environments with particular forms of ingrained masculinity norms, scripts, and practises. In such contexts, there are informal barriers at play which both exclude and prevent others to act efficiently as diplomats” (Aggestam & Towns, 2019, p. 21).

The increasing share of women in diplomacy represents a trend in the diplomacy of most countries, but the effort to set women's quotas in politics or diplomacy encounters significant barriers that women face. Although research on gender representation in diplomacy has grown in recent years, many issues and areas still need to be re-examined. Why are men much more represented in some

diplomatic institutions than women? Does it have anything to do with the different quality of democracy or any other political regime?

1.5 Female diplomats now

Throughout diplomatic history, women have been virtually invisible. The previous chapter briefly described the development of diplomacy and the role played by women who, after a long period of time, successfully managed to enter the world of diplomacy. However, there were some exceptional women who bravely exceeded social restrictions. However, the persistent discrepancy between the possibilities and the actual conditions suggests that the issue of gender equality is still reflected in the position of women in current social activity, which diplomacy can certainly be considered (Rusiňák & Rusiňáková, 2007, p. 85). Among the many problems faced by women in diplomacy during the second half of the 20th century are, for example, the conditions for terminating their diplomatic activities in the event of marriage or the fact that all staff recruited to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could not exceed 10 percent of women (McCarthy, 2014). In order for women not to stop their diplomatic positions, it was obligatory for them not to get married, otherwise, it was considered something socially unacceptable and they would no longer be able to do the work of a diplomat. This "ban" on marriages was officially abolished in 1966 in most states, but in real practice, the combination of the life of an officer in foreign service and marriage, especially with children, is still problematic for women (Towns & Niklasson, 2017, p. 538). Undoubtedly, private life is one of the main factors in a diplomat's life and has a major impact on his/her life, regardless of gender.

However, modern diplomacy developed in the 19th and 20th centuries, thus reflecting the social norms of the time, meaning that men represented the post of diplomat and women supported their husbands and took care of the family (Mildorf, 2020, p.2). However, Europe has changed significantly in the meantime, and with its social norms (for example, the aforementioned ban on marriages for female diplomats, which was later lifted). Dual-career or dual-income families have become the norm of society, where both sexes, men and women, work and bring both money into the household. However, foreign services have adapted to these societal changes only to a very limited extent (Mildorf, 2020, p. 2).

Other examples mentioned in the literature are cases where a diplomat came together with his wife, who also represented the government, but with the difference that in her case, it was not paid, so in fact, the government paid for only one of the two representatives. These are one of many other reasons that have discouraged women from entering the foreign service, creating a gender gap in which women make up a small percentage of diplomatic compared to men. Not because women are not talented, but because they held women in lower or middle positions. As Linse (2004, p. 253) describes, women simply did not get the opportunity to gain the necessary experience to be promoted.

"In 1979, a decisive Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was adopted at the UN in New York /.../ Articles 7 and 8 of this Convention also deal with the position of women in politics. It obliges the Member States to adopt legislation that would eliminate discrimination against women in the public sphere and give them equal access to the political office" (Rusiňák & Rusiňáková, 2007, p. 87).

Despite similar innovations that states are trying to integrate into their structures, diplomacy still remains a predominantly masculine patriarchal environment. In 2014, Professors Towns and Niklasson set up the research comparing ambassadors from 50 countries to the highest GDP and finding that 85 percent of ambassadors worldwide are men (Aggestam & Towns, 2018, p. 29). The authors further note that the hierarchical difference between the sexes and the posts they occupy is also visible. "Any ambassadorship is a position of prestige and esteem and it embodies the peak of a diplomatic career" (Aggestam & Towns, 2018, p. 25). Not all embassies have the same value, for example, embassies with high military or economic power are considered more prestigious than any other. This is where the hierarchy between embassies manifests itself, and thus the aforementioned prestige of who occupies the given embassy. The conclusion of the research was that it is more likely that such an embassy will be occupied by a man rather than a woman. At the same time, research has shown that women are oftentimes less appointed to countries with higher military power (Towns & Niklasson, 2017, pp. 532-538).

According to this conclusion, therefore, men have a greater tendency to be placed in more prestigious positions in diplomacy, while women hold less prestigious positions. However, it is important to emphasize that this does not mean that women cannot be placed in such positions. Of course, some women reach higher positions, but their representation is relatively lower compared to men's representation. This is mainly due to the challenges they have faced since entering the diplomatic scene. We can therefore say that diplomacy is still a male gender-based institution in which “a woman diplomat - let alone ambassador - is still a rarity” (Towns & Niklasson, 2017, p. 526).

1.6 Slovak diplomacy

If a new state is about to emerge, foreign policy has a key role in this process, because a new subject will be added to the international system. Although we attribute the establishment of the Slovak Republic to the date of January 1, 1993, its separation of international relations and diplomatic missions began to be addressed relatively earlier. "The beginnings of Slovak diplomacy begin with the creation of the Department of International Relations of the Office of the Government of the Slovak Republic in December 1989" (Mojžita, 2019, p. 7). As the author further notes, the country's diplomacy cannot consist only of the institution of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the formation of the wider foreign policy and professional community is important. At this point, however, Slovakia was in a difficult start at that time, because the previous diplomats who were abroad had to decide which state to join Slovakia or the Czech Republic.

Milan Kňazko became the first Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, who, in addition to many other duties, had the task of "appointing new ambassadors of the Slovak Republic, requesting *agrément* in individual states and completing the process by handing over credentials" (Moses, 2019, p. 117). The important role of the appointed diplomats was not only "to promote national and state interests, but also to promote national and state identity" (Weiss, p. 121).

At the same time, the new state must adhere in its domestic as well as foreign policy to the principles of application by democratic states, and unconditionally apply human rights and the principles of pluralist democracy and legal norms (Moses, p. 125). Of the 57 countries in which they were sent as mission leaders in 1993, only 3 diplomats were female out of the total - Klára Novotná: Bonn, Oľga Bakossová: Helsinki, Eva Mitrová: Permanent Mission to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (Mojžita, 2019, pp. 187 - 190).

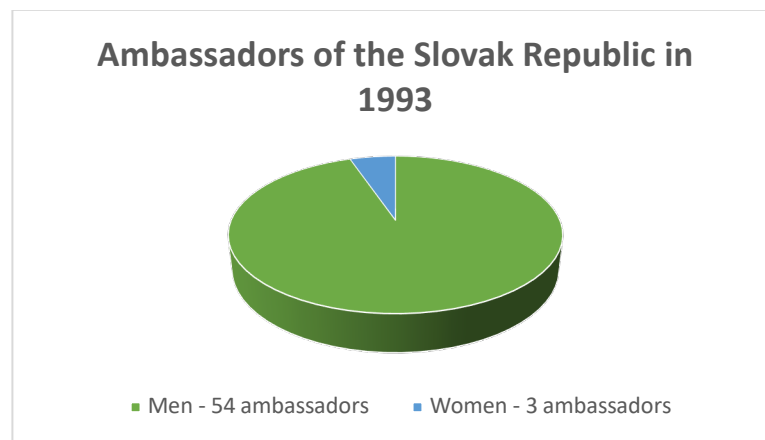
Magda Vášaryová also received an offer to represent Slovakia in diplomatic services, but the fact is that the Czech side offered her the same offer, but with the difference that it was supposed to represent their state (Mojžita, p. 118). She rejected both offers and left the diplomatic career for a while to stand in the development of Slovak foreign policy thinking and public debate as a co-founder of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association where she chaired its board of directors. In 1998, she returned to diplomatic circles.

Mojžita (2019) states that Minister M. Kňažko paid great attention to the selection of the first ambassadors of the new state, however, as we can see from the information above, it was not from a gender perspective. Several university teachers with knowledge of languages and the environment were entrusted with diplomatic tasks. The selection of ambassadors was also challenging in that "people who were suitable candidates from a professional point of view also had to be accepted politically" (Moses, p. 122).

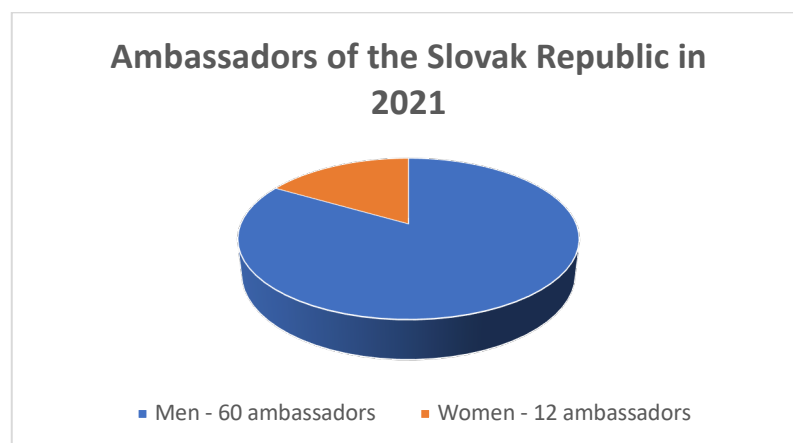
During the 15 governments of the Slovak Republic, on the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Affairs in terms of gender balance, there were 14 men and only 1 woman - Zdenka Kramplová, who was in the office from June 11, 1997, to October 6, 1998 (TASR).

As for the overall gender ratio of employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic, there are currently two women (Ingrid Brocková, Karla Wursterová) and 13 men at the senior management level. Of the total number of 185 managers, 133 are men and 51 are women." (Tomová & Demeš, 2021).

The authors further note that Slovakia currently works in 72 host countries and there are only 12 women working as ambassadors or consuls general.



Graph 1: Ambassadors of the Slovak Republic in 1993 based on gender (Mojžita, 2019, amended by the author)



Graph 2: Ambassadors of the Slovak Republic in 2021 based on gender (Tomová & Demeš, 2021, amended by the author)

As we can see from the above-mentioned numbers and two graphs I have created for this bachelor work, the low representation of women has long persisted in diplomatic management positions abroad.

1.7 Slovakia Vs. Europe

"The quality of democracy is also used to be measured by equality of opportunity for all" (Gyárfášová, 2018, p. 23). By this statement, the author means the rights and opportunities of minorities, but it is a paradox that women are included in the column of minorities, even though they make up for half of society, but in terms

of their representation in senior management positions in work, no matter in which industry, it is so. If we focus more closely on the participation of women in Slovak politics, "the participation of women in the political decision-making of Slovakia after 1989 can be assessed as weak, gender unbalanced" (Gyárfašová, 2018, p. 23). So far, Slovakia has only had one female prime minister - Iveta Radičová and one female president - Zuzana Čaputová.

Elections	Number of elected female members of Parliament	% of the number of elected female members
1990	18	12,0
1992	23	15,3
1994	22	14,7
1998	19	12,7
2002	29	19,3
2006	24	16,0
2010	23	15,3
2012	24	16,0
2016	29	19,3

Graph 3: Number of elected female member of Slovak Parliament (Gyarfašová, Bútorová, Filadelfiová,2018)

Gyarfašová (2018, p. 10), however, claims that this gender discrimination mainly concerns national and regional politics. At the municipal level, women have a higher representation - the share of mayors is rising. In 2004, 15.2 percent of women filled in these positions, but in the 2014-2018 election period, it was already 23.3 percent (Gyarfašová, 2018, p. 10). It is surprising to notice the difference between "small" and "big" politics and the chances of women in it.

From the above data, we can therefore say that women in politics in Slovakia have low representation, therefore gender discrimination is a long-standing problem

on the Slovak political scene. How gender issues are reflected in Slovak diplomacy will be addressed within the scope of this bachelor thesis.

We are seeing similar results in most countries of the European Union, and despite the fact that the European Commission has set the goal of occupying at least 40 percent of the women in the middle and upper management (Dopita, Kočí & Cozlová, 2020, p. 8), we can conclude that it works very minimally. Even today, there are some countries, which do not employ any women as heads of diplomatic missions (Council of Europe, 2017, p. 10). In March 2021, the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy compiled a statistic called the *Women in Diplomacy Index 2021*, which compares countries and the number of women represented in diplomatic services. The mentioned minimum target of 40 percent was met by countries such as Sweden, Canada, Norway, and Australia. On the other hand, countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Russia, which only have one woman in diplomatic services to date, ranked last (Women in Diplomacy Index 2021, 2021).

The space for improvement is noted also by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) “that measures the complex concept of gender equality and, based on the EU policy framework, assists in monitoring progress of gender equality across the EU over time and it gives more visibility to areas that need improvement and ultimately supports policy makers to design more effective gender equality measures” (EIGE, 2021). In its 2021 index, EIGE notes that Slovakia is currently ranked 24th in the EU in the Gender Equality Index (EIGE, 2021). Based on this index, Slovakia achieved 56.0 points out of 100. Slovakia has 12.0 points less than the EU score. The index further notes “Since 2010, Slovakia’s score has increased by 3.0 points but its ranking has dropped by two places. Since 2018, Slovakia’s score has increased by 0.5 points, driven by improvements in the domain of power. However, its ranking has remained the same” (EIGE, 2021). To clarify what is meant by the term domain of power and how it is measured, EIGE notes “The domain of power measures gender equality in decision-making positions across the political, economic and social spheres. The sub-domain of political power examines the representation of women and men in national parliaments, government and regional/local assemblies” (EIGE, 2021).

Slovakia is doing best in the field of knowledge, where it currently ranked 12th with a gain of 61.6 points, and this gender segregation in education has improved by +2.5 points compared to the previous survey (EIGE, 2021). The field of knowledge "measures gender inequalities in educational attainment, participation in education and training over the life course and gender segregation" (EIGE, 2021). For the biggest improvement since 2012, the index indicates the area of money, where Slovakia improved by up to +4.9 points and thus moved from 20th place to 18th place. "This change has been driven by an increase in gender equality in both of the sub-domains of financial resources (+ 5.6 points) and economic situation (+ 3.1 points)" (EIGE, 2021).

Given the nature of the topic of my bachelor thesis, I mainly focus on the result in the area of power, where Slovakia is in 23rd place with 30.7 points and EIGE cites this area as the area with the greatest room for improvement.

It is interesting to follow the fact that Slovakia has improved in the field of women's education when they have also improved financially, but from the point of view of their career attitude and thus the attitude of power, there is still a lot of room for improvement. This is also supported by my statement, which I mentioned in the text above, that although women are educated and can work in foreign services, they do not have room for career advancement.

Therefore, in my research, I focus on the statements of women who are or have been part of the diplomatic field and what they perceive to be their main factors of (under-) representation. Therefore, this will be a case study where I conduct semi-structured interviews with female diplomats, whether in the former or active service, in addition to an analysis of secondary sources, including academic articles, books and an analysis of two public discussions, which dealt with the topic of women in Slovak diplomacy.

2. Theoretical framework of the research: Feminism in International Relations

The role and position of women and gender in the social sciences have been themed since the 1960s. This was mostly done in fields such as sociology, anthropology, political science, or economics. However, the growing reach of gender issues has long avoided the discipline of international relations, into which feminism has penetrated as one of the last scientific disciplines (Halliday, 1988, p. 419). Certain changes in the world of global politics have helped to create feminist theories and “entered the discipline of IR in the late 1980s and early 1990s” (Tickner & Sjoberg as cited in Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2013, p. 205).

Feminist theories have brought the concept of gender into international relations as one of the categories that can clarify the world order and offer new possibilities for changing the order (True, 2005, p. 213). Three ground-breaking works can be considered the cornerstones of feminism from this period in international relations: *Women and War* by Jean Bethke Elshtain (1987), *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* by Vyntia Enloe (1989) and *Gender in International Relation: Feminist perspectives on achieving global security* by J. A. Tickner (1992) (Sylvester, 2002, p. 18). Three professional conferences, which took place at the turn of the eighties and nineties, certainly also helped significantly to start feminist thinking in international relations - the Millennium: Journal of International Studies conference in 1988 at the London School of Economics, the conference in 1989 at the University of Southern California and a conference in 1990 at Wellesley College (Wibben 2004, p. 98).

Gender as a research category thus brings a completely different view to international relations, to the extent that this discipline has long been significantly formulated by men. Therefore, we can argue that the concepts of international relations are mostly understood by masculine understanding. Helen Kinsella (2017) defines feminism as “Fundamentally rooted in the analysis of the global subordination of women, which manifests itself at the level of economic, political, physical and social, and aimed at eliminating this subordination. Feminism promotes equality and justice for all women so that their opportunities and expectations are not unfairly limited by

the fact that they are women. Feminism is an analysis of power and its effects” (p. 190).

The existence of a number of theories in feminism like liberalism, constructivism, critical theory, poststructuralism etc. also results in the fact that individuals can identify with several of these directions at the same time, or change their point of view on this topic during their lifetime. In my work I will look at the issue from the post-positivist perspective, mainly constructivist theory because in my opinion, it looks at this issue more comprehensively.

2.1 The “Social Construction” of Women in Diplomacy

Post-positivist IR feminists “see problems with measuring gender inequality using statistical indicators” (Tickner & Sjoberg as cited in Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2013, p. 209). They think it is necessary to go deeper into the problem of gender inequality and accept women, not in order to fulfil numerical expectations, but to actually create channels through which women can assume high positions that correspond to their qualifications but which seem not to be taken by them. Therefore, it is necessary to create a place for women where they can develop from junior positions to senior positions and get first and foremost room for career growth based on their qualities.

In the between positivist and post-positivist spectrum, constructivist feminism in IR deals with the study of how thoughts about gender affect global politics, as well as the ways in which global politics shapes notions of gender (Tickner & Sjoberg as cited in Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2013, p. 210). We can consider this theory as the theory of knowledge that delves deeper into the idea that people create knowledge and meaning through world interactions and thoughts. That is, people influence the society in which they live.

Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) in their article entitled *International norm dynamics and political change* focus on norms and theorise how social structures, standards, and stability in international politics are formed. The authors define international norms as “set of standards for the appropriate behavior of states” (p. 893). According to the authors, standards develop in the so-called three stage “life cycle”, where authors claim that each phase is influenced by different motives,

mechanisms and has its own logic of behaviour. “The Processes of social construction and strategic bargaining are deeply intertwined” (Finnemore and Sikkink, p. 911). Women representation in diplomacy can also be observed through the idea of “life cycle” norms. It first emerged as a practice at the center, in countries where democratization occurred earlier, it was then promoted by the norms entrepreneurs, especially in the United Nations (e.g. UN Women), and it then had to become taken for granted (institutionalized) internationally as the standard – that diplomacy is also a place for women.

The Socialization of the fact that diplomacy is also a space for women has to take place also within states. We can consider the statement of Theresa May, who was a role model for her colleague. Theresa May, who is the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, only the second woman in the history to stand this position, praised the shoe of her female colleague, to which her colleague answered “your shoes got me into politics” (Gilliard and Okonjo-Iweala, 2020, p. 2). A similar experience was described by the former Slovak diplomat Magda Vášáryová, who ran for the position of President of Slovakia in 1999 as the first woman ever. She described this experience as something that she was 99 percent sure that she was going to lose, but with the knowledge that she can open the door for other women who can continue in her footsteps (V ženskom rode, 2019). It finally succeeded when Zuzana Čaputová won the presidential election in 2019, becoming the first woman in this position. These are clear examples of the fact that the society we live in must be a clear example, so that things become a natural part of the already mentioned “life cycle”.

The previous chapter of this work described the role of women in diplomacy throughout history and the role of women in the present diplomacy. Women have managed to enter diplomatic circles and politics in general, but their representation is still very low. Runyan and Peterson (2014) notes “Member state performance with respect to women’s representation of their countries as permanent representatives at the UN has been particularly poor considering that in 2004, only 3 percent of those serving as such in New York were women” (p. 108). The number of women’s representation has increased in recent years, but we can still consider it a low number and authors also note “women’s numbers still remain comparatively small in diplomatic and foreign policy circles” (p. 8). In recent years, many lobbying and

political groups have emerged from the parties, such as *Associates of the American Foreign Service World* or *Women in International Security*, which deal with the identified cause and seek to influence gender dynamics in ministries or other committees dealing with foreign affairs (p. 8). For example, in 2009, the administration of US President Barack Obama created an office called the *Office of the Global Women's Issues* in the US State Department.

However, these are very small successes for women in politics and leadership itself, which were largely due to the institutionalization of specific gender equality measures (p. 111). These measures, such as gender quotas, are among the advocated ways of dealing with the persistent absence of women at almost all levels, but especially at the highest positions, for which we can also consider the position of diplomat. Therefore, I also look at this issue from a post-positivist perspective. Women need to be given equal opportunities as men, not on the basis of some quotas, which are a good solution for the beginning of solving a gender problem, but they need to be given space to show their abilities and given the opportunity for career growth through gaining experience.

Runyan and Peterson (2014) note that the conclusion from extensive research on women's political participation and progress in this area make two claims. The first statement is "women do not lack interest in or motivation for political action" (p. 111). The second argument is closely related to the first claim that the under-representation of women in leadership positions is related to gender-differentiated patterns, which are prevalent in every labor sector, politically not excluded (p. 111). We can consider this as a structural barrier, when a man is the preferred choice and a woman is therefore discriminated against because of her gender.

3. Methodology

In accordance with the theoretical framework of my bachelor's thesis, I decided to find out the empirical part of the work in which I deal with the question – Where are the female diplomats? How is the absence of female diplomats represented as a problem and what is represented as the possible causes of that problem?

In the previous chapter, I described what position women had in diplomacy in the past and what possible barriers they faced. For a deeper understanding of these barriers in the present and an explanation of their low number of representations in Slovak diplomacy, I consider it useful to get acquainted with the views, attitudes, and real experiences of diplomats. Based on their experience as key actors, they can give us a better view of the issue of women's representation in Slovak diplomacy and clarify the current obstacles they face. This topic is still insufficiently explored in our country and therefore finding out the attitude of female diplomats makes sense. The results of the research may be useful for other possible research, but they can also be significant as an indication of how our society is developing and how it looks at gender culture and equality in Slovak diplomacy in a given period.

As the main strategy in obtaining data for the assessment of issues related to this bachelor's thesis, I decided to use qualitative research, specifically semi-structured interviews, which are good a research method to answer questions because "The Method allows the researcher to collect open-ended data, to explore participants thoughts, feelings and beliefs about a particular topic and to delve deeply into personal and sometimes sensitive issue" (Dejonckheere & Vaughn, 2018).

The title of the bachelor's thesis suggests that the research sample, in this case, are women who still serve or served in the diplomatic service, while they represented the Slovak Republic. Respondents were contacted via email communication, when I addressed all embassies in which women are an ambassador in active service. From the addressed ambassadors, Terézia Šajgalíková, who is the current Slovak ambassador in Mexico and Denisa Frelichová, who was the Slovak ambassador in Norway and from November 2021 holds a new position at MFA as the coordinator for advancement of women, diversity, and inclusion answered me positively to conduct

the semi-structure interviews. One female ambassador, who is in active service, wants to stay anonymous, therefore I will identify her for this work as Ambassador I. Jana Kótová, who served in the diplomatic service as economic diplomat in Paris and Brussels, also agreed to participate the interview.

I also processed an interview with Prof. PhDr. Iveta Radičová, PhD. who was the only woman to hold the post of prime minister of the Slovak Republic from 2010 to 2012 in order to find out more possible obstacles that women may face before and during entry into politics.

Following the establishment of the contact and the agreement, an interview took place via the Zoom video-call application, which enabled faster communication with the respondents also due to the time constraints of the respondents and their location, which was mostly outside Slovakia. Personal meetings were held with Jana Kótová and Iveta Radičová.

The questions were open and asked in such a way that I could learn as much as possible about the position of women in Slovak diplomacy – from their career beginnings to their current situation and their views on the aforementioned 40% of European Union quota. The interviews took place in a pleasant atmosphere, where each interview lasted an average of one hour. All respondents expressed to be pleased that someone is dedicated to this topic and especially that a young man is dedicated to this topic.

An important part of the work was also the analysis of secondary sources, already existing discussions, from online discussion, which was provided through Zoom on November 11, 2021, with the title *Prospects of Feminist Diplomacy for CEE and Slovakia* and from tv sessions entitled *Silná zostava*, which was aired on RTVS on November 4, 2021, and the main topic for this episode was *Women in diplomacy*. The Tv session lasted 40 minutes and 40 seconds and the discussion lasted about one hour and 30 minutes. The Online discussion was provided by website *Euroactiv* and the panelists were Ingrid Brocková (State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic), Ulrika Grandin (Deputy Director, Coordination Team of the Feminist Foreign Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden), and Míla O'Sullivan (Researcher, Institute of International Relations Prague). The TV Sessions *Silná zostava* was moderated by Veronika Cifrová Ostrihoňová and

her guests were Simona Salátová, comedian, Magdaléna Vášaryová, who is former ambassador, who served in Austria and Poland, and Denisa Koterec Frelichová, who is a former ambassador, who served in Norway and the UN. Even though they did not answer all the above questions, they were an added value to the analytical part.

The output data from the interviews and from secondary sources were subsequently thoroughly analyzed, and I chose appropriate interpretations that were able to bring us closer to the answers to the research questions. All data was analyzed in an effort to find the connection and were subsequently included in the analytical chapter.

As an example of limitations in this research, I note the fact that a small number of samples were examined, which can also be described as an unrepresentative sample. When researching a larger sample, we could better penetrate the issue of gender balance in Slovak diplomacy and the results could differ from those I have gained at the moment.

Another fact limiting research can be considered the length of the interview and the generalization of the answer, but it is understandable that diplomats, especially in the active service, cannot speak openly about everything. This statement is also indicated by the fact that one diplomat (respondent) with whom the interview was conducted remained anonymous, at her request.

4. Low Representation of Women in Diplomacy: the Slovak case

Women in diplomacy have become an integral part of modern diplomacy. Despite the European External Action Service's goal of having women in diplomacy and in senior position 40% in EU countries, this goal is still not met in most countries and the percentage of women varies from country to country. In the case of each country, then, the question arises, where are the female diplomats, and why is there such a low presentation of female diplomats? In my analysis, I will look closer on the case of Slovakia.

4.1 Entry to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

In Slovakia, there is no ban on women entering the diplomatic service, but their current low representation of 16,66 percent compared to men's representation of 83,33 percent on ambassadors positions(2021), indicates some hidden obstacles. Therefore, my first question in the semi-structured interview was focused on how the respondents generally got to work in the Slovak diplomatic service.

Terézia Šajgalíková, who is currently serving as Slovak ambassador in Mexico claimed that she *„was in the right place at the right time. It was 1992 and we already knew that the Czechoslovak Republic would be divided and it was found that most of the diplomatic representatives were Czechs and some, on the contrary, could not remain in the diplomatic service, due to various findings. The Slovak Republic began to build its institutions in advance and opened a 2-year postgraduate study of international relations, better known as Rybárikov Institute, and invited all Slovaks who know more than one foreign language to apply. I was the second generation of this Institute. The First generation includes for example Ivan Korčok or Ingrid Brocková“*.

Denisa Frelichová, has the same experience, who mentions this period as a period when a group of young enthusiastic people who could speak foreign languages met and wanted to show the World that Slovakia can also rank among other equal countries. However, Jana Kótová, who studied foreign trade and tourism in 1969 – 1974, had the opposite experience and as she mentions *„At that time, diplomacy was not studied in Slovakia or in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the diplomacy*

staff were either graduates of the Moscow Diplomatic Academy or, like me, students of the University of Economics – Department of Foreign Trade. Workers in the field of economic diplomacy were exclusively graduates of the University of Economics.“

These experiences of the respondents confirm the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic was open to women, whether in the past during the 1980s or in the present, but they encounter the first barriers at the beginning of their careers.

4.2 First signs of barriers

First barriers come from the first moment when the respondents started entering the diplomatic service. Firstly, official documents do not use gender sensitive language. The basic definition of their position according to the legislation, it is marked in the Slovak language as *veľvyslanec* (in English language as male ambassador), not as *veľvyslankyňa* (in English language as female ambassador). Frelichová adds that this gender sensitive language is not used even in other highest state positions “even *prezidentka* (in English language female president) does not have her office written as *prezidentka*, but *prezident* (in English language male president), because it is a function, it is the name of that function.“

Iveta Radičová for example mentioned her experience that there were certain errors in the protocol and that it was not assumed that these positions could be held by women. „*For example among security guards who should protect the prime minister, there are no women. This is a serious matter, Just such a visit of toilets, it is necessary to think about such details. This protocol structure is unprepared to protect women in the role of prime minister.*“ Frelichová further notes that we will not do much without changing the legislation, as our legislation is still very masculine. It is, therefore, necessary to redefine and update this area and update the protocol at the same time.

From the point of view of feminist theory in IR - constructivism, which explain the theory that global politics may also shape notions of gender (Tickner & Sjoberg as cited in Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2013, p. 210) we can explain this barrier by the fact that the long-lasting influence of masculinity in the political environment is still deeply

rooted in society and manifested in basic details, such as the name of the position in the Slovak language and the fact that in the past, men in politics did not assume that women would also join this environment.

4.3 Marriage and parenthood

Another barrier occurs in an attempt to downplay their private and working life – marriage and parenthood. *“The diplomatic service is not very favourable to the role that the women have in its life, which is the family”* notes Magda Vášaryová in *Silná zostava*. Not all spouses are willing to give up their jobs and travel with their wife, who works as a diplomat, on a mission abroad. This experience is also described by Denisa Frelichová, who followed up the discussion on this topic with Magda Vášaryová in *Silná zostava*, and mentioned her own experience when her husband stayed in Slovakia and she left with her 3-year-old son to Norway. This experience was challenging, because the child sees his father, for example, once a month.

However, it must be said that this barrier affects not only women but also men. *“Today we must forget about the concept of a traditional family”* Frelichová notes in the personal interview and also describes the experiences of her male colleagues who travelled alone with a child or their child will stay in Slovakia with his wife. Here, however, we encounter a difference in accepting the role of a man being away from his family and women doing the same. Frelichová recalls that in the past, when one of her female colleagues travelled alone with a child, her male colleagues commented *“but she cannot go on the mission, who will take care of her child, she is a single mother!”*. She reacted to these remarks of her male colleagues very aptly when she defended her female colleague that they had nothing to say about how anyone manages their own personal or family life. When this female colleague is at work till midnight in Bratislava, they also do not think about where and with whom her child is. They do not know if she is paying for a babysitter, so why should they discuss such things when this female colleague is sent on a diplomatic mission abroad?

At the same time, Frelichová remembers the rules of the past, when women, for example, could not apply for a diplomatic mission immediately after the birth of a child and were thus discriminated against compared to their male colleagues. Another

rule which no longer applies, was that the ambassador's pregnant wife had to return to give birth to Slovakia and could not give birth in the country where her husband had a diplomatic mission. In this way, the family was divided. These are clear examples of barriers that are not often mentioned, but that made it difficult for women to take roles in the diplomatic sphere.

Jana Kotová mentions that in 1994 she was a unique case at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. She was sent to Brussels that year and was the first woman who was a divorced mother with two children and was sent on the diplomatic mission. As a result, she faced many disadvantages due to administrative hurdles and, as she says *"I had male fellow diplomats, who were sent with their wives, and who received an extra 50% in pay only because the wives were to provide them with working conditions and take care of their children and family. I was deprived of this financial bonus and I had to pay for all running and domestic help myself."* We are therefore encountering another obstacle that women in diplomacy have to deal with.

Several women have encountered a similar situation in which Jana Kotová has found herself over the years, but Ingrid Brocková, in an online discussion, says that at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they are trying to build a better community, atmosphere, and working conditions. MFA's current activities also include participation in various discussions about what they can improve *"There are many challenges, but we are at the beginning and not everything could happen from one day to another"* Brocková notes.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is trying in small steps to remove and improve these barriers, but it is going slowly, mainly because MFA only works with it if they face a given barrier and a woman reports some issue. Women's experiences help to institutionalize practices that improve the environment for women in diplomacy in the future.

[4.4 Senior positions](#)

As one of the other obstacles for women in diplomacy, respondents often described the fact that they had to prove their abilities more and work much harder than their male colleagues.

"I have been the director of various departments three times, together for almost eight years, and I have worked together on five trips before I became an ambassador. Many of my male colleagues got this post after the first management position, or some were sent to the post of ambassador without it. Here, as in other parts of society, women have to work harder than their male counterparts to achieve the same career advancement." claims Ambassador I.

Terézia Šajgalíková had a similar experience and notes *"Women have to prove much more to get the XY position. For example, I was the director of diplomatic protocol for three years. I was not the first woman to take up this position, there were other women there before, but there was also an opinion that it must be a man and it must be an ambassador. Of course, the ones who claimed this statement were men, but in the end, I convinced these men and my superiors with my work and tenacity that I was the right person for this position, but it was difficult."*

Jana Kotová was even alerted to possible obstacles by the former minister of foreign affairs Eduard Kukan (1998 – 2006), who introduced her to the position with the words *"I know that they will put logs under your feet just to make you uncomfortable working as an ambassador, but you can do it."* These obstacles came very quickly in the form of small things, for example, Jana Kotová received the oldest company car, which no longer suited any of her male colleagues with the words *"it is enough for a woman, she will destroy the car anyway"*. Today, she only smiles at this fact, because unlike her male colleagues, who crashed their expensive cars and caused considerable financial damage, her car did not have a single scratch. Also during her mission in Paris, she was assigned a chef who had very little knowledge of his profession, so that Jana Kotová would be humiliated in front of her foreign colleagues, so they could talk at home that the women diplomats already had worked here but they couldn't handle their position to represent their country.

Ambassador I. even mentions political protectionism in the selection of candidates for the post, as well as sexual harassment, which took place mainly in the nineties during the Vladimir Mečiar era. The topic of sexual harassment was also sketched by Denisa Frelichová, who always advised her younger colleagues that they had to stand up for themselves. *"It used to be common for a male colleague to clap women's ass. You have to be very tough when someone flirts with you, so you have to*

stop. As soon as you have will accept it, they will stop taking you seriously, so a woman must be a bit harder” says Frelichová.

These claims suggest that women need to work far more and prove their abilities than their male counterparts. At the same time, they need to be more careful in order to gain the respect of their male colleagues.

Ambassador I. further mentions *“during the selection procedure for the post of director of the Department for Security Policy - OBEP, one ambassador (by the way still working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic) told me that - women should stay in culture and should not interfere in political issues policy. The other members of the commission (ambassadors who still function today) stared in silence. It also often happened to me that my superior gave me a lower personal financial reward than a male colleague who performed worse than I did, arguing that men was the head of the family and is the one, who is earning money. As if women could not be the head of the family, and the one who earns money in the family” she thought.*

During the online discussion, Ingrid Brocková also commented on this topic, claiming *„Before summer we adopted new strategy for recruiting a new employees which was a bit old-school before. We are working on career development of our women and from that internal discussion we are trying to build step by step.“* This new strategy will be very important in the future, because as Lucia Yar notes *„If we only deal with the education of men, then we automatically create a gap between women and men, and their opportunities.“*

[4.5 Social stereotypes](#)

In addition to greater work commitment, women are also, often indirectly, required to pay more attention to their appearance. You will not find male politicians in the articles dedicated to the evaluation of outfits and fashion police, while many of them deal with women. *“Women in politics are still given features and elements taken from show business. That is, how she is groomed, combed, and what she has dressed”* Radičová claims.

There is a very strict protocol in diplomacy, so diplomats do not have much to choose what to wear. *“I can't be too creative in dressing and if I were, it would be*

harder to gain respect. I want them to hear what I'm saying and not look at me, so I've always dressed in dark costumes. Of course, every woman wants to hear that she looks good, but in our work, we prefer to hear that I negotiate well and that I have good opinions” Frelichová said.

The clothes are to serve as work clothes and, for example, *“in the role of prime minister, you will change several environments per day, from the visiting of the mine to the ceremonial reception, and during that day there are at least 5-6 different environments. So you have to choose clothes that are quickly replaceable and it is no coincidence that German Chancellor Angela Merkel wears a blazer with trousers. That blazer she always could change quickly”* Radičová said.

These stereotypical elements received from show business, as Radičová claims, are also shifted to the general view of whether a woman should belong to politics. Radičová recalls her experience when, during an ongoing campaign in 2006, she was stopped in eastern Slovakia by a gentleman and, as the then Minister of Labor, Social Affairs and Family, was asked for her advice on retirement for this gentleman. They spent about 20 minutes together while Radičová tried to help him, and when she thought for a second that she possibly had one more supporter, this gentleman asked her the question *“Mrs. Radičová, and you really have nothing to do at home in the kitchen?”*

This story represents a certain group of the public who is really convinced that the role of women is primarily focused on caring for the household, family, and children. Radičová continues and notes *“When a man is upset, he is justifiably outraged. When a woman gets upset, she is hysterical. When a man changes his mind, he is dynamic, when a woman changes his mind, she is moody.”*

Politics and diplomacy are historically classical male environments and it does not matter whether, in democratic or non-democratic regimes, the role of a ruler was almost always formed by male role models. *“Women have the right to vote in Slovakia for about 102 years. This is a short period. It took another decade to not only vote but also to be voted. The entry of women into top politics was very dynamic and fast, in terms of history and development”* Radičová said.

A study by professors Towns and Niklasson (2014), which focused on where male diplomats and female diplomats are placed, proved that countries with stronger

and more important economic or military cooperation are represented by more men than women. Ingrid Brocková notes *"the military industry also has a history of male dominance, as well as diplomacy."* In the case of Slovakia, Ambassador I. claims *"Women themselves sometimes have less faith in their abilities, and without trying it, they seem to be convinced by the social environment that this is a task for men."*

When I asked Frelichová according to what circumstances are Slovak diplomats placed, she replies *"Now we really choose according to who applies where and look at the wider framework, but still sometimes in crisis areas it is like... it would be better to sent some guy there...but it's changing now. It's all in our minds, so we have to change those stereotypes and we have to change those obstacles so that these people don't feel that when there are 5 people in the team and we all want to have a coffee, then these 4 guys will look at that one woman with the expectation that she will bring it because she is a woman."*

4.6 Tools to improve the position of women in diplomacy

Ingrid Brocková evaluates the current situation by saying that we are approaching women in diplomacy slowly, but the situation is improving. The MFA has begun implementing several steps to increase the number of women in diplomacy and is hoping to introduce a new female diplomat in March of next year (Euractiv, 2021). At the same time, she considers the EU framework and quotas as a very good tool for increasing the number of women in senior positions.

Jana Kotová has the same opinion as Ingrid Brocková, and claims *„We see a positive impact of the use of quotas in the developed European countries in which they have acceded and today have equal representation of women in all important social positions.“*

Ambassador I. takes a different view, stating *"I am in favour of the free market principle and as little intervention in the economy as possible. In my opinion, quotas are an artificial intervention in free competition, which is why I do not support them. And not only quotas for gender, but also age, race, or religion. Ultimately, they lead to discrimination and weaken society."*

Iveta Radičová looks at the question of quotas from the realistic point of view of positive discrimination when she claims that *"You can choose positive*

discrimination in a society when public opinion is in favour of it, and this is not our case. If the public opinion is not in favour of the need to open the space in this way because it would be fair, as women have been weaned in certain positions for many years, it will come back to you like a boomerang, so they can hear the sentences -and you should be quiet. Don't be a quota, so you're not sitting here."

Her argument is supported by Ulrika Grandin, who said that Swedish society had fought for women's equality over the past century and that women can now be represented in various positions. Without the support of the society and without having a leader who wants and supports women in diplomacy, it would bear. *"People will follow you if you have the right leader and in Slovakia, you have him,"* says Ulrika Grandin.

She is referring to the current Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ivan Korčok, who, together with the state secretary Ingrid Brocková and other ministry staff, has implemented several tools to increase the number of women in diplomacy. Together they launched a "week of women in Slovak diplomacy", through social networks they bring to attention the successful female diplomats, who have represented Slovakia and since November of 2021 created a new position that will deal with advancement of women, diversity, and inclusion. This position is held by the mentioned Denisa Frelichová.

Even though we must welcome the steps taken by the ministry, they need a more holistic approach. In the year 2021, the ministry organized a summer school on diplomacy for young people up to the age 30. One of the selected participants among the great number of people who applied was a young female scholar who was 29 year old and, at that time, had a one year old child. When the woman explained to the organizers that she could take part in all the official lectures, and events, but would not be able to sleep at the hotel with the rest of the group because she needed to spend the night with her child, she was told that they prefer to give the opportunity to someone who can be 100% devoted to the summer school. In this case, we can see a clear example of hidden barrier. If Slovakia wants to really advance and ensure genuine female representation, more holistic approach should be taken.

4.7 The Coordinator for advancement of women, diversity and inclusion at MFA

"My function is a response to the efforts of our political leadership, our minister, and state secretaries to start doing something with this agenda in our country as well. We need more women diplomats, ambassadors, we need to create the conditions for them" Frelichová describes her new position at the beginning. In a deep examination of her position, I learned that this will not be the only agenda she will pursue.

She is really taking her position seriously and she wants to take care of all the marginalised groups in their department, regardless of who they like, who they love, their health problems, and so on. At the same time, she does not want to discriminate against men. She claims that *"basically, it is a matter of us setting fair conditions for everyone in our department, regardless of whether it is a woman, a man, or for example people with disabilities"* and adds that *"I see no reason why a person who is visually impaired could not work here, let's say, they speaks, for example, 6 languages and masters international relations. It would be a shame not to have such a person here, so my job is to create adequate working conditions for them"* and continue *"sure, we have to promote women, but the point is to get the best possible person out of all the candidates and to create good conditions to do the job. It is mainly in our interest to create an adequate background for this person. The system must be flexible and we must forget all the paradigms we have been on so far."*

So far, this mandate only concerns the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but Frelichová would like to be an example and inspiration for other ministries and the private sphere. When this position opened up, based on her abilities and previous experiences, she was recommended for this position by her colleagues. Upon taking up this mandate, she wrote a formal e-mail to her colleagues, in which she thanked them for their trust and described how she imagined her position. *"I want to be their mouth, let them tell me what is on their mind and I will try to enforce it. I see it as the great honour they chose me, and I also see it as an opportunity. I want it all underway so that it is an unstoppable train"* says Frelichová. To her surprise, she got more replies from her male counterparts than women. Men have even responded with questions, how can they help?

Frelichová herself claims that she also wants to see a man's view of this thing because without that we will not move on. We can't just talk about women all the time with other women, we have to include men in this conversation. Frelichová argues that it is all about mindset, if we talk about these topics more and more, she thinks that people change opinions very quickly today, so they change their minds about this as well.

She is a supporter of quotas and uses examples from Scandinavian countries such as Sweden and Norway. Both countries started with quotas and "*changed the mental attitudes of society*" Frelichová argues and continues "*The UN had for example one survey, when women are sitting at the table, there is a 65 percent hope that the peace which women negotiated will be more permanent, because when a woman is sitting at that table, she has thought about longer-term things like social aspects and so on, not only that we will put down the weapons. They make sure we build society so that we do not need another war because we do not want to lose what we have built. It's a sustainable aspect that women have closer to.*"

Conclusion

Women are directly or indirectly discriminated against in various areas of life, which in turn leads to phenomena such as unequal pay or poorer access for women to education (UN Women 2019). This work aimed to map the current representation of women in Slovak diplomacy, its adaptation, and development.

The theoretical part of this work is based on the premise that diplomacy has masculine elements and women face barriers and certain prejudices when entering, but also while working in it. These prejudices are partly due to the gender stereotypes of women's and men's roles, which are based on a historical context.

Currently, in the field of women's representation as diplomats representing the Slovak Republic, women are still significantly less represented than their male counterparts. The empirical part of this bachelor's thesis revealed that women face the first barriers right after taking office, when they are marked in the Slovak language as *diplomát* (in English male diplomat) and not as *diplomátka* (in English female diplomat). Therefore, we could claim the official documents do not use gender sensitive language.

From other answers that took place during the semi-structured interview with Slovak female diplomats, I can assess that stereotypes continue to be part of Slovak diplomacy as for example diplomatic protocol had a problem with a single mother or there are prejudices about who is suitable for a position based on their gender. This setting is weakening and sets a shift in this area. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is currently working to change its structures and eliminate shortcomings that discriminate not only women but also other disadvantaged groups. These changes require that norms become internalized and institutionalized by Slovak organs. In the case of the Slovak Republic, this is a relatively new phenomenon, when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the leadership of Minister Ivan Korčok, began to strive with its activities to increase the percentage of women in Slovak diplomacy. In November 2021, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs created a new position that will deal with gender balance. Denisa Frelichová, who will hold this position at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has set herself the goal of wanting to be an example and be an inspiration for other departments as well as private sectors, and she hopes that they will be followed.

The European External Action Service has set itself the goal of achieving at least 40 percent representation of women in senior positions and as ambassadors. This quota is to be an auxiliary barrel, which is to help women close the gaps in career advances when a woman was not able to get from middle position to senior.

Although I realize that my bachelor's thesis is only a small breakthrough, it reflects certain experiences of Slovak female diplomats and I hope that this thesis can provide a general view of what is one of the many problems which women in diplomacy face in Slovakia.

Despite low representation of women in the Slovak diplomatic service, they are now on the right track and creating tools to improve conditions for women and attract the young generation of women to diplomacy. They must, however, pay attention to small barriers, such as it was shown in the case of the female participant selected to the diplomatic school, and to adopt a holistic approach to women representation in diplomacy. On the other hand, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic currently has the first person to deal with gender balance and remains an open question for the future as to how the position of women in diplomacy will be formulated in the coming period.

Resumé

Kvalita demokracie sa dá merať aj možnosťou príležitostí pre všetkých. Napriek tomu, že ženy tvoria väčšiu časť populácie, ich zastúpenie na riadiacich postoch je stále nižšie v porovnaní s mužmi. Táto bakalárska práca sa zaoberá ženami v slovenskej diplomacii a ich pozíciou v nej. Je dôležité pozrieť sa na túto spoločenskú priepasť a na to, aký mala historický vývoj.

Prvá kapitola skúma rodové role a objasňuje historickú pozíciu žien v diplomacii. Ako sa vyvíjala a akú v nej mala žena úlohu. Vysvetľuje, čo za disciplínu diplomacia vlastne je, akými vlastnosťami by mal diplomat disponovať a odhaľuje, že z historického hľadiska sa jedná o odbor, ktorý bol dlho dominovaný výhradne mužmi. Napriek tomu si v nej ženy našli svoje miesto a kapitola opisuje ich vývoj, aby sme vedeli lepšie pochopiť ich súčasnú pozíciu. Kapitola zároveň upriamuje pozornosť na situáciu žien v slovenskej diplomacii a porovnáva ju s ďalšími Európskymi krajinami.

Druhá kapitola je teoretická a vysvetľuje vstup a význam slova feminizmus v medzinárodných vzťahoch. Objasňuje, že v porovnaní s inými teóriami medzinárodných vzťahov, feminizmus v nich je stále relatívne mladá teória, na ktorú sa dá pozeráť z rôznych uhlov a každá z nich sa snaží odstrániť prekážky na dosiahnutia spoločného cieľa, čo je rodová rovnosť.

Tretia kapitola predstavuje metodologickú časť, ktorou bol výskum zrealizovaný - kvalitatívnou metódou, konkrétne semi-štrukturovanými rozhovormi s piatimi respondentkami. Štyri respondentky sú členkami diplomatického zboru Slovenskej republiky, tri sú v aktívnej službe a jedna na dôchodku. Zároveň som do výskumu oslovil aj Ivetu Radičovú, ktorá ako jediná Slovenka zastávala pozíciu premiérky Slovenskej republiky, pre lepšie pochopenie žien v politike a politickom leadership-e. Pre výskum som vytvoril desať otvorených otázok, ktoré boli rozdelené podľa toho, aby ich odpovede na seba nadväzovali a mohli nám poskytnúť čo najväčšie pochopenie situácie a hĺbky problému. Rozhovory s diplomatkami v aktívnej službe prebehli cez video hovor aplikácie ZOOM. Rozhovory s Janou Kótovou a Ivetou Radičovou prebehli osobne. Za sekundárne zdroje, ktoré pomohli tejto bakalárskej práci boli využité relácia *Silná zostava*, ktorá bola odvysielaná na RTVS s témou ženy v diplomacii, a online diskusia na tému perspektívy feministickkej diplomacie,

v spolupráci s portálom *Euractiv*. Vďaka analýze výskumu môžeme tvrdiť, že ženy v slovenskom diplomatickom zbore, sa podľa skúseností respondentiek stretli so stereotypným správaním svojich kolegov a čelili tak neformálnym prekážkam. V súčasnosti avšak ministerstvo zahraničných vecí pracuje na zlepšení pracovných podmienok.

Napriek rodovej diskriminácii na ministerstve zahraničných vecí sú teraz na dobrej ceste a vytvárajú nástroje na zlepšenie podmienok pre ženy a prilákanie mladej generácie žien do diplomacie. Ministerstvo zahraničných vecí SR zamestnalo v súčasnosti prvého človeka, ktorý sa zaoberá postavením žien, diverzitou a inklúziou na MZV. Zostáva otvorenou otázkou do budúcnosti, ako bude formulované postavenie žien v diplomacii v nasledujúcom období.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aggestam, K. & Towns, A. (2018). *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan*. ISBN 978-3-319-58682-3.
- Aggestam, K., & Towns, A. (2019). *The Gender turn in diplomacy: a new research agenda. International Feminist Journal of Politics*
- Ambassador I. (2020, december 13). Personal Communication [Personal interview]
- Blackwill, R. D. (2013, October 17). *Ideal qualities of a successful diplomat*. Paper, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. *Harvard Kennedy School*. Retrieved from <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/ideal-qualities-successful-diplomat>
- Bútorová, Z., Gyárfášová, O. & Velšic, M. (2018). *Politická participácia žien na Slovensku. Inštitút pre verejné otázky*. pp. 5 – 44
- Council of Europe*. (2017). *Balanced participation of women and men in decision-making*. Retrieved from <http://edoc.coe.int/en/gender-equality/7659-balanced-participation-of-women-and-men-in-decision-making-analytical-report-2016-data.html>
- Dopita, T., Kočí, K. & Cozlová, K. Č. (2020). *Uvnitř diplomacie: Jak na genderovou nerovnost v diplomatické službě*. Grada Publishing
- Dunne, T., Kurki, M., & Smith, S. (2013). *International relations theory: Discipline and diversity*. Third Edition. *Oxford University Press*. pp. 205 – 222
- Euractiv*. (November 11, 2021). *Prospects of Feminist Diplomacy for CEE and Slovakia*.
- European Institute for Gender Equality*. (2021). *Concepts and definitions*. Retrieved from <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/concepts-and-definitions>
- European Institute for Gender Equality*. (2021). *Gender Equality Index: Slovakia*. Retrieved from <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2021/country/SK>
- Finnemore, M. & Sikkink, K. (1998). *International Norm Dynamics and Political Change*. The MIT Press. *International Organization*. Vol. 52., No. 4. Pp. 887 – 917. Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361>
- Francelová, N., H. (2018). *Czechoslovakia was progressive about women's voting rights. Slovak Spectator*. Retrieved from: <https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20950280/was-czechoslovakia-progressive-about-womens-rights.html>
- Frelichová, D. (2020, december 7). Personal Communication [Personal interview]
- Gillard, J. & Okonjo-Iweala, N. (2020). *Women and leadership*. Transworld Publisher Ltd.
- Hajdúchová, A. (2020, February 22). *Ženy ujdú od detí a národ utrpí, strašili noviny. Pripomíname si sté výročie volebného práva pre ženy. Denník N*. Retrieved from: <https://dennikn.sk/blog/1768261/zeny-ujdu-od-deti-a-narod-utрпи-strasili-noviny-pripominame-si-ste-vyrocie-volebneho-prava-pre-zeny/>
- Halliday, F. (1988). *Hidden from International Relations: Women and the International*

Tršćanský: Madam Ambassador – Participation of Women in Slovak Diplomacy

Arena. *Millenium* 17. No. 3. Pp. 419-428. Retrieved from
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F03058298880170030701>

- Kinsella, H. (2017). Chapter: Feminism. In *The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations*. Pp. 189-203. New York: Oxford University Press
- Kotová, J. (2020, december 20). Personal Communication [Personal interview]
- Linse, C. (2004). Challenges Facing Women in Overseas Diplomatic Positions. *Intercultural Communication and Diplomacy*, pp. 253 - 263
- Mojžita, M. (2019). *Formovanie slovenskej diplomacie v rokoch 1990 až 1993*. 2.vydanie. Bratislava: SAV
- Marks, C. W. (2018). *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy>
- McCarthy, H. (2014). *Women of the world: the rise of the female diplomat*. Bloomsbury publishing.
- Mildorf, D. J. (2020). The Issues Facing Partners and Spouses of European Diplomats: A Gender Perspective. Institute of International Relations Prague. Retrieved from https://www.dokumenty-iir.cz/Projekty/The_Issues_FINAL.pdf
- Neumann, I. B. (2005). To be a Diplomat. *International Studies Perspectives*, p. 72-93
- Neumann, I. B. (2008). The Body of the Diplomat. *European Journal of International relations*. Pp. 672 - 695
- Peterson, V., S., & Runyan, A., S. (1999). *Global gender issues*. Westview Press.
- Radičová, I. (2020, november 30). Personal Communication [Personal interview]
- Rusiňák, P. & Rusiňáková, J. (2007). Genderové aspekty diplomatickej služby. Zborník z vedeckej konferencie. Ekonomická Univerzita v Bratislave. Pp. 85 – 100. Retrieved from https://fmv.euba.sk/www_write/files/dokumenty/veda-vyskum/konferencie/zborniky/Zbornik_2007_Zahranicna_politika_a_diplomacia_SR.pdf
- Runyan, A. S. & Peterson, V. S. (2014). *Global gender issues in the new millennium*. Westview Press
- Silná zostava*. (November 4, 2021). RTVS. Retrieved from <https://www.rtv.sk/televizia/archiv/15242#0>
- Sylvester, Ch. (2002). *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Šajgalíková, T. (2020, december 12). Personal Communication [Personal interview]
- TASR. (2020). Prezidentka Z. Čaputová prijala demisiu Pellegriniho vlády.
- Tomová, O., & Demeš, P. (2021). Aké bolo zastúpenie žien na vysokých diplomatických postoch v SR?. Teraz.sk. TASR. Retrieved from: <https://www.teraz.sk/publicistika/ake-bolo-zastupenie-zien-na-vysokych/533297-clanok.html>
- Towns, A. & Niklasson, B. (2017). Gender, International Status, and Ambassador Appointments. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 07, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 521 – 540. Retrieved from <https://academic.oup.com/fpa/article/13/3/521/2625550>
- True, J. (2005). Feminism. In *Theories of International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 213 - 234
- Veselý, Z. (2018). *Diplomacie – teorie, praxe, dejiny*. 3.vyd. Plzeň: Aleš Čeněk, p. 7-290

Tršćanský: Madam Ambassador – Participation of Women in Slovak Diplomacy

V ženskom rode. (2019). Magda Vášáryová: Potrebujeme viac kompetentných žien v politike. [podcast]

Women in Diplomacy Index 2021. (2021). Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy. Retrieved

From <https://www.agda.ac.ae/docs/default-source/Publications/agda-women-in-diplomacy-mar-2021.pdf?sfvrsn=4>

UN Women. (2019). Infographics: Human Rights of Women. Retrieved from

<https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/multime->

Uthmann, J. (1985). *Diplomaté*. Publisher: Bonus Memorabilia

Weiss, P. (2007). Formovanie slovenskej diplomácie a jej inštitucionálnych základov.

Zahraničná politika a diplomacia Slovenskej republiky v kontexte európskej

integrácie. Pp. 117-136. Retrieved from: https://fmv.euba.sk/www_

[write/files/dokumenty/veda-vyskum/konferencie/zborniky/Zbornik_2007_](https://fmv.euba.sk/www_write/files/dokumenty/veda-vyskum/konferencie/zborniky/Zbornik_2007_)

[Zahranicna_politika_a_diplomacia_SR.pdf](https://fmv.euba.sk/www_write/files/dokumenty/veda-vyskum/konferencie/zborniky/Zbornik_2007_Zahranicna_politika_a_diplomacia_SR.pdf)

WHO. (2002). Gender: definitions. Retrieved from: <https://www.euro.who.int/en/health>

[-topics/health-determinants/gender/gender-definitions](https://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/health-determinants/gender/gender-definitions)

Wibben, A. T. R. (2004). Feminist International Relations: Old debates and new directions.

The Brown Journal of International Affairs 10. No. 2. P. 97-114.

Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24590524>

Attachment

Questions used during interviews with ambassadors

- 1.) What were your beginnings in diplomatic services and what motivated you to work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
- 2.) When you look at the beginning of your career, what were your best experiences that motivated you and vice versa, what were the possible obstacles you faced?
- 3.) During your career, have you ever felt that you have been disadvantaged in any way by reason of your gender?
- 4.) Do you think that you have always had the same opportunities as your other colleagues at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
- 5.) A study focusing on where diplomats and diplomats are placed has shown that countries with stronger and more important economic or military cooperation are more often represented by men than women. Can we say that about Slovakia? Why do you think that is so?
- 6.) From your experience, do people working in foreign services have a harder time to combine their private and working lives?
- 7.) Did you have any difficulties or obstacles to integration into the society in the country to which you were posted due to cultural differences or gender?
- 8.) Would you recommend young women to have the dream of becoming a diplomat? If so, what advice would you give them?
- 9.) What is your opinion on quotas for women to occupy a certain percentage in the institution/company?
- 10.) How do you perceive the activities of Minister Ivan Korčok to support women in Slovak diplomacy?

An additional question for the Coordinator for Women's Status, Diversity and Inclusion at MFA

- 11.) How do you take on your new position as coordinator for women's status, diversity and inclusion at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Questions used during the interview with Iveta Radičová

- 1.) Do you think that as a woman you had a more difficult start in politics than a man?
In your opinion, what are the main barriers to women's entry into high politics?
- 2.) In your opinion, is society more inclined to men in politics than women?
- 3.) Did you encounter gender disadvantage during your tenure as a prime minister or in any other political position, or did you face prejudice?
- 4.) During your time as prime minister, were you interested in the position of women in politics in society?
- 5.) Did you feel that the media was paying more attention to you because you were a woman?
- 6.) I remember that the media often addressed your wardrobe and your appearance. For men, such articles are very rare. How did you feel? Has it affected you in any way?
- 7.) What is your opinion on quotas for women to occupy a certain percentage in the institution/company?