

# The representation of women in international organisms: a study on the protagonism of women in Angela Merkel and Dilma Rousseff foreign policy projects

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**Abstract—** *The sociological logic of the study of international relations is based on the recognition of asymmetrical power relations, based on their performance, as realism and neorealism arise from there, and this tradition coincides with the development of views in the study of gender and feminism. , where the epistemological principle is similarly asymmetrical relationships between men and women in their social, cultural, economic, political, etc. roles. Indeed, feminist approaches to International Relations have introduced gender as an essential tool for analyzing interactions between states in the international framework. However, despite these efforts to build a better International Relations Theory, feminist analysis has had little impact on international politics. The objective of this work is to analyze the role of women in international organizations from the agendas of female representation in the foreign policy projects of Angela Merkel and Dilma Rousseff. The analysis shows that feminist research has demonstrated the value of taking women's experiences and contributions seriously and used this as a basis to demonstrate how IR builds on and perpetuates gendered ideas about who does what, who experiences what - and why - in global politics. Furthermore, there is also recognition that women are important agents in political, economic and social processes. Despite its designation, feminism does more than focus on women, or what are considered women's issues, by highlighting inequality and power relations, feminism reveals the power of gender and what it does in global politics. Concerned with the subordination of women to men, gender inequality and the construction of gender identities, feminism challenged a homogeneous concept of 'women' in IR and exposed gender logics as powerful organizational structures. It is concluded that transcending this debate that we have exposed is more than a political academic in nature, it is the first step to propose a relationship between the two disciplines that allows us to give a new meaning to the analysis of the international situation, and for that, it is necessary leaving behind the theoretical analytical debates, and moving on to selecting, designing or adapting practical methodologies that can be formalized and standardized to achieve the goal of the graduation.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Until recently, women were excluded from diplomatic service and international relations on the grounds that they would not be taken seriously by foreign governments and would create insurmountable administrative difficulties, especially in relation to their marital status.

Today, women in leadership positions are still an unpopular concept in many parts of the world, but countries are increasingly inclined to embrace trends in modern diplomacy where men and women are represented equally on the basis of merit and position. The state of international affairs must reflect an entire society, rather than limiting it to the status and opinions of men.

The 21st century is the century of social, political and economic empowerment of women around the world, and this will manifest itself in international relations. The exclusion of women's views and perspectives from foreign policy will gradually become more unacceptable, and the movement initiated by Foreign Minister Wallström will spread across the globe in this century because of its morality and pragmatism.

Gender diversity is important for several reasons. First, a more diverse workforce means that the international relations industry better reflects society as a whole. Second, it expands the population coverage of the industry and therefore increases its talent pool. Third, gender balance in a workforce has other very noticeable benefits: it yields a broader range of ideas and experiences, leads to greater productivity, more innovation and better decision-making, and provides a more positive and healthy (ENLOE, 2017).

The sociological logic of the study of international relations is based on the recognition of asymmetrical power relations, from its performance, as realism and the theories of neorealism arise from there, and this tradition coincides with the development of views on the study of gender and the feminism, where epistemological principles are equally asymmetrical relations between men and women in their social, cultural, economic, political roles, etc., and it is from this recognition of inequalities that we can locate the philosophical point of union between feminist theories and international relations.

This argument may seem very strange for the beginning of a process of theoretical reflection, however, the idea is very simple, both theories, international relations are part of the academic status with greater emphasis on a more pragmatic logic, understanding the debate more in terms of diplomatic processes than developing a theoretical-methodological that generates a sense of science and, in the same way, gender theories or the feminist debate were reduced to a marginal field of

discussion in the field of social sciences, since it reduces to a very closed and very focused academic group.

However, it must be said that the potential of gender analysis and feminist approaches would be of great use in the scientific and academic analysis of different areas, and especially in the field of international relations, so far, the fundamental contributions of feminism although welcome from different criticisms have been virtually ignored by the mainstream or conventional core of international relations studies.

The growth of feminist movements within political and social theory has produced analyzes with clear implications for International Relations Theory. This includes discussions of gender-specific definitions of security, power, authority and others. Feminist argued that the theoretical foundations of International Relations are based on traditional dichotomies between men and women.

The inclusion of women at all levels of international relations will spread as a far-reaching, efficient and representative element of our modern societies. In that way, we will be highly equipped to serve the national interests of security and prosperity – the essence of foreign policy objectives. Post-conflict reconstruction is one of many areas that will benefit from this inclusion, enabling world leaders to address current gaps in the transitions from conflict to stability. These include the lack of involvement of victims (mainly women) and the lack of trust caused by the absence of women.

Women have been calling for more gender equality for more than a century. By putting more women in politics and ensuring that all of society is represented at all levels of decision-making, we will move faster towards equality, inclusive development and peace.

Given this, the following issue arises: What are the effects of female representation in international organizations from the activism of the foreign policies of Angela Merkel and Dilma Rousseff?

The aim of this paper is to analyze the role of women in international organizations from the agendas of female representation in the foreign policy projects of Angela Merkel and Dilma Rousseff. The specific objectives are: To characterize the actions that constitute female political activism in international organizations; Analyze whether there has been a change in female representation in international organizations; Analyze the Brazilian and German programs for the inclusion of women in diplomacy.

For a long time, women were seen as victims - of discrimination and illiteracy, of violence, and confined to

positions of deference in society because of once unbroken cultural and religious traditions.

But as democracy advances, women are becoming a growing force on the world stage. We are seeing a new voice of activism emerge that speaks for freedom and the advancement of civil liberties and human rights.

This movement seeks to dismantle repressive regimes in Asia and the Middle East, while working to build more just, progressive and prosperous nations. This revolution is taking place all over the world – from Asia and the Middle East to America.

Despite the strident clamor for democracy, the role of women in democratization is dramatically less clear and powerful than it should be. Unfortunately, this is precisely when their voices are needed most.

The global shift towards democracy is more than a feminist movement calling for women's rights and gender equality above and beyond democratic progress. Instead, women in states across Asia, the Middle East and elsewhere are demanding the rule of law, strong institutions, social justice and economic opportunity for all citizens – not just women. Critically, they defend the broader cause of democratization, freedom and autonomy.

In recent years there have been several political and social changes, especially considering South Korea's first woman president, the public condemnation of rape in India and the "democratic constitution" of Egypt.

Some observers might assume that states, which once treated women as second-class citizens, are becoming fairer. Perhaps women are being treated more equally before the law, gaining more respect in society and gaining greater power to shape political, economic and social change.

Women in government, including prominent examples such as Hillary Clinton, Christine Lagarde, Angela Merkel, Michelle Bachelet of Chile and Dilma Rousseff, accelerate the modern women's movement. In 2010, the United Nations took the historic step of defending women's rights when the General Assembly created the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, better known as UN Women.

Women's empowerment is a pervasive theme in policy discussions in government and civil society around the world. Today, thousands of nonprofit organizations support women's educational, reproductive, political, and economic rights and opportunities. Policy makers must understand that the role of women in democratic reform is a central element of development and stability.

Being a little more exact, with a view to considering gender studies in International Relations, the literature

shows a great advance in the last decades. The contributions are diverse, ranging from the insertion of feminism in the debate on international security to the contribution of gender International Relations. However, studies of this nature are still incipient in Brazil and, therefore, one of the main reasons for carrying out this study, which serves as a source for new debates between the academics of the course and society in general.

The methodology adopted was, first, the bibliographical research. It was an exploratory research that was carried out with the intention of going deeper into issues related to the representation of women in international organizations. Regarding the treatment of data, we opted for the analysis of content available on the Internet, such as interviews and speeches by Dilma Rousseff and Angela Merkel and document analysis, as we believe they are suitable methods when the phenomenon under observation is to analyze the role of women in organisms. from the agendas of female representation in foreign policy projects.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Feminist perspectives in international relations (IR) seek to understand existing gender relations - the dominance of masculinities over femininities - in order to transform the way they function at all levels of global social, economic and political life. Within International Relations, feminist theorists drew on the experiences of marginalized and oppressed peoples, including women, in order to challenge and revise the epistemological and ontological foundations of the field. They interrogated the gender bias inherent in rationalist forms of knowledge and embedded in the core concepts and concerns of International Relations, such as states, sovereignty, power, security, international conflict and global governance. More recently, feminists have given an explicit explanation of their alternative methodologies for researching international relations.

International relations feminists share a praxis-oriented normative theory, consciously building theory out of practice and to guide political practice, but their normative theoretical and political positions are plural. They differ in the philosophical foundations of their knowledge of the international reality of gender, the theoretical location and centrality of gender as an analytical category in the study of international relations, and, on this basis, its prescriptions for ethical conduct. Here, the similarities and differences between feminist theories of international relations are explored.

## 2.1 Historical approach

Feminist theories of international relations have developed along with some impressive shifts and significant power shifts in contemporary international relations. Like all feminist scholarship, Feminist International Relations is indebted to and closely related to the second wave feminist movements that flourished around the world in the 1960s and 1970s. These movements were the harbingers of feminist theories that analyzed sex and gender as social constructions to be transformed rather than facts of nature to be taken for granted. Feminist theory itself was seen as an essential form of feminist practice that could challenge the male dominance of academic knowledge. Feminist scholars shaped by their activist experiences have seen it as a moral imperative to include women's voices and change both the subjects and objects of study. Many feminist theorists attribute their interest in international relations as an area of study to their involvement in Cold War peace movements and feminist peace politics dating back to World War I and efforts to broker international peace and security in the League of Nations. (TICKNER, 2006).

Not surprisingly, in the late 1980s, the first feminist contributions to the IR field were highly politicized and controversial, as the field was, at the time, one of the most male-dominated and centered on interstate diplomacy and war, in the face of dealing with almost exclusively male matters. Feminist scholars have used gender analysis to deconstruct the theoretical framework of International Relations and reveal the male bias that permeates key concepts such as power, security and sovereignty (TRUE, 2009).

They argued that these concepts were specifically identified with masculinity and men's experiences and knowledge derived from an exclusive and male-dominated public sphere. For example, Tickner (2006) explored the realist concept of power through his analysis of Hans Morgenthau's six principles of power politics, showing how it is based on male norms of rational and autonomous agency. Likewise, Sylvester (1992) has argued that the assumption of self-help as the essential feature of world politics masks the many "international relations" in other institutions, including families, trade regimes and diplomacy. In turn, Enloe (1996) argued that studying the activities of women in world politics, those marginalized and/or excluded from the official accounts of international relations, exposed how much "power" is needed to keep the international political system centered on the state.

Paying attention to the experiences of women and men in peace and war, feminist scholars such as Enloe and Tickner insisted that international security must be

redefined. In her book *Gender in International Relations*, Tickner noted in particular that what is called "national security" is profoundly threatening human survival and sustainable communities and does not take into account women's experiences of insecurity (TICKNER 1992).

Two decades later, several leading disciplinary journals have published entire issues on the issues of women, gender and feminism in international relations, and in 1999, the *International Feminist Journal of Politics* was established to promote dialogue among scholars of feminism, politics and international relations. The sudden collapse of communism and with it the bipolar international system that seemed so intransigent had far-reaching implications for the IR field as a whole and for IR feminism in particular. The dominant realist theories of international relations, singularly focused on power politics between states and to a large extent on the Cold War between the two superpowers, did not foresee this transformation. Nor could they explain it. Failing to look beyond elites and the systemic level, the main flaws of realistic explanations have been exposed (TRUE, 2009).

The end of the Cold War also had a profound impact on the political opportunities available for principled non-state actors to participate in global politics and include non-traditional issues on global political agendas. As feminist perspectives began to challenge IR norms, women's movements gained a foothold at the United Nations and began to use this international institution to mobilize global alliances of Western and non-Western women activists, academics and policymakers (ANTROBUS, 2005; HARCOURT, 2006).

An epistemic feminist network that included International Relations feminists emerged through the UN and other international conferences in the 1990s. The 1990s also ushered in two successful global campaigns for women's rights to be recognized as rights in international law and to address a range of egregious practices, often state- and culturally sanctioned, as forms of "violence against women" (Weldon, 2006). Transnational feminist networks have used their substantive expertise in gender relations – both through critical argumentation and evidence-based research – to engage institutional power (TRUE; MINTROM, 2013).

By the end of the millennium, it seemed that feminists were more successful in engaging international institutions than in influencing the discipline of IR. Anti-war feminists helped the United Nations Security Council pass Resolution 1325 guaranteeing women's rights to participate in international peace negotiations and operations, while feminists criticized neoliberal globalization and the disproportionate impact of structural

adjustment policies on women. poor women have made significant inroads at the World Bank and other international development agencies. At the same time, the European Union formally adopted gender mainstreaming as a methodology to pay attention to gender inequalities and differences in all policy domains and areas of competence.

Feminist perspectives in international relations mirrored the focus of global women's movements, rather than the statist theoretical concerns of the dominant field of International Relations, developing gender analyzes of nationalism and ethnic conflict, democratization and economic globalization. Tickner (2006) noted that major American international relations, in particular, were narrowly focused on their own paradigmatic research questions, marginalizing the most popular issues that dominated the global public sphere in the 1990s. She and other international relations feminists lamented the lack of engagement of the mainstream of International Relations with feminist theories, but they noted the intellectual gap between their different epistemological approaches.

While the post-Cold War era allowed many political opportunities for feminists and other critical IR perspectives to shape the IR research agenda, the events of September 11, 2001 changed this relatively conducive environment for innovative and radical approaches to international relations. Tickner (2006) observed that feminist International Relations in the 1990s was mainly dedicated in one way or another to the analysis of the international political economy, in particular the gender dimensions and the effects of economic globalization. But like other International Relations theories responding to the changed global political context, the emphasis of feminist analysis shifted after 9/11 to focus more on international security. Unlike other IR theories, however, feminist analyzes have sought to understand the gendered roots of terrorism in underlying political and economic inequalities and in the constructions of masculinity in Western and non-Western contexts that contribute to global insecurities (KAUFMAN-OSBORN, 2005).

## 2.2 Philosophical, anthropological and sociological approach

The literature on gender covers a wide field and consists of contributions from many disciplines with a variety of interests and methodologies. The emphasis is on the complexity of the concept. Hopper (2001) points out that there is no consensus on the nature or meaning of gender identities, how they are produced or whether they should be reinforced, modified or abolished, even among feminists, who by no means have a monopoly on gender theory.

Despite the divergences on the specifics of the concept, an attempt is made to explain what the term gender generally means and how it relates to the study of international relations. As mentioned by Tickner and Sjoberg (2007), feminists propose that gender is a set of socially constructed characteristics that describe what men and women should be, as opposed to sex, which is biologically determined. It is said to have a cultural form and vary over time and place. Young (2004) says that the concept of gender keeps in the foreground the relational nature of the masculine and feminine categorizations, and indicates the importance of not taking it as a given or necessarily natural. Ann Oakley (1972) propagated the analytical distinction between biological sex and socially constructed gender that is essential to the study of gender. Beauvoir (2001) recognizes the diversity of opinions surrounding the concept of gender and proposes that gender theory revolves (or should) revolve around three dimensions of analysis: first, physical incorporation, including the body and the role of biology reproductive. then, gender institutions and social processes that encompass, including the family, the economy, the state. And, finally, the discursive dimension of the gender construction of language and its constitutive role in the gender order.

According to Sheperd (2010), conventional IR theories do not consider the individual, but focus on the interaction between states. Classical realism, for example, makes assumptions about human nature by referring to the nature of man; this is related to the essentialist understanding of the body as natural as opposed to social or political. Enloe (2004) considers the problems of incorporating gender into political discourse, stating that many people do not take gender seriously. She says the general attitude is to dismiss this as irrelevant, and concludes that the difficulty many IR scholars have in taking feminist analysis seriously may be due to their being male, and would have to consider carefully when and how their own relations with the masculinity are affecting what they have chosen to consider a serious topic of investigation. Tickner (1992) notes that the central concern of realism, the dominant paradigm in international relations since 1945, has been with issues of war and national security in the post-World War II international system.

For Young (2004), the emphasis of realism is on power, autonomy and rationality; it is closely linked to traditionally masculine characteristics. Thus, in Colgan's terms (2017), these assumptions, in turn, shape the global policy process and the impacts they have on the lives of men and women. Rather than suggesting that traditional IR was gender neutral – that is, that gender and IR were two separate spheres that had no impact on each other –

feminist theory has shown that traditional IR is, in fact, blind to the gender problem.

From the beginning, feminist theory challenged the almost complete absence of women from traditional IR theory and practice. This absence is visible both in the marginalization of women from decision-making and in the assumption that the reality of women's daily lives is not affected or important to international relations. Furthermore, feminist contributions to IR can also be understood through their deconstruction of gender – both as socially constructed identities and as a powerful organizational logic. This means recognizing and then challenging the assumptions about male and female gender roles that dictate what women and men should or can do in global politics and what matters in IR considerations.

As Tickner (2008) highlights, feminists have divergent approaches to the study of gender that relate to different goals. The goal of liberal feminists, for example, is to eliminate legal obstacles to overcoming women's subordination. Marxist and socialist feminists seek explanations for women's subordination in the labor market, which offers greater rewards and prestige for paid work in the public sphere than for unpaid domestic work. Furthermore, postcolonial (decolonial) and poststructuralist understandings of feminism assert that one cannot generalize about women because they may have different experiences of subordination when we bring up other categories of analysis such as race, class and gender. However, feminism embraces the idea that international politics has been a male-dominated discipline and that this has resulted from a combination of social processes and structures that have been created and sustained over generations, sometimes in a coercive way.

Feminist studies therefore takes women and the gender issue seriously and, in so doing, challenges the canonical assumptions and concepts of IR.

What is common among the work of feminists in International Relations is, on the one hand, using gender as a category of analysis in conducting their investigations, and, on the other, the centrality they give to methodological issues, which can be an explanatory reason for the marginality of feminism in the discipline, as the field tends to judge researchers in terms of how well they operationalize and test existing theories rather than valuing the theoretical and methodological innovations they present (TICKNER, 2005, p. 217).

If we start with the first contributions of feminism – making women visible – one of the first contributions of feminist theorists is revealing that women have been and are routinely exposed to gender-based violence. By making violence against women visible, an international

system that has tacitly accepted a great deal of violence against women as a normal situation has also been exposed.

Mendes (2011) and Mendonça (2015) point out that traditional perspectives that ignore gender not only neglect the contributions of women and the impact that global politics has on them, but also perpetually justify this exclusion. If women are outside these realms of power, their experiences and contributions are not relevant. Feminist theorists have worked to demonstrate that this distinction between private and public is false. In doing so, they show that previously excluded areas are central to the functioning of IR, even if they are not recognised, and that the exclusion and inclusion of certain areas in traditional IR thinking is based on gender ideas about what counts and what doesn't count.

According to Matuella (2017), these socially and politically produced gender identities shape and influence global interactions, and IR as theory – and global politics as practice – also produce these gender identities by perpetuating assumptions about who should do what, what and why. These gender identities are also empowered, in particular patriarchal power, which subordinates women and female gender identities to men and male gender identities. What this means is that socially constructed gender identities also determine power distributions, which impact where women are in global politics. Considering that men can be feminine and women masculine, masculinity is expected for men and femininity for women.

### 2.3 Specialized approach in International Relations

Enloe (2017) asked the question: where are the women? Encouraging IR scholars to see the spaces that women occupy in global politics and demonstrating that women are essential actors in the international system. She focused on deconstructing the distinctions between what is considered international and what is considered personal, showing how global politics impacts and is shaped by the daily activities of men and women, and, in turn, how these activities are based on identities of gender.

Traditionally, militarism and warfare have been seen as masculine endeavors, linked to the idea that men are warriors and protectors, that they are legitimate armed actors who fight to protect those who need protection – women, children and men who do not fight. In practice, this means that the many ways in which women contribute to conflict and experience conflict were considered peripheral, outside the scope of IR considerations. For example, according to Matuella (2017), the issue of sexual and gender violence in conflicts only recently entered the international agenda.

By comparison, the mass rape of women during and after World War II was not prosecuted, as the occurrence was considered an unfortunate by-product of the war or simply ignored. That has since changed, with the 2002 Rome Statute recognizing rape as a war crime. However, this recognition has not led to a reduction in conflict-related sexual violence and this form of violence remains endemic in many conflicts around the world, as does impunity for its occurrence outside the realm of IR considerations.

These questions highlight the importance of intersectionality – the understanding that IR is shaped not just by gender, but also by other identities such as class, race or ethnicity. Intersectionality refers to where these identities intersect and, in turn, how different groups of people are marginalized, suggesting that we should consider each together rather than in isolation. When examining rape during war, Bastick (2017) showed the intersection of gender and ethnic identities, where the enemy's women are constructed as others and violence against them, consequently, comes to represent the expansion of ethnic territory by the male conqueror. This relies on constructions of gender, which occur at the intersections with other forms of identity, such as ethnicity or race. Gender constructions that see women characterized as protected mean that conquering them – through rape or sexual violence – is representative of power and domination over the enemy. Applying feminist theory to the issue of male rape during war also shows the gender logic that informs its occurrence, in particular that the rape of male opponents is seen as a way of feminizing (ie humiliating, defeating) opponents. This again highlights the contribution of feminism in understanding how gender influences IR and how the female is underestimated or undervalued.

As discussed above, Ventura and Kritsch (2016) show that feminism has exposed gender violence and the marginalization of women in global politics. However, it also challenges women's gender constructions as inherently peaceful, in need of protection or as victims. Feminists see these constructions as further evidence of gender inequality and also as a contribution to the exclusion of women from traditional IR perspectives in the first instance. If women are seen as victims rather than actors or as peaceful rather than aggressive or as existing only in the domestic or private sphere (rather than the public sphere), then their experiences and perspectives in global politics are more easily ignored and justified as marginal. Accounts of women who broke these gender identities, as agents of political violence, for example, challenged these assumptions. This is an important contribution of feminism and one that challenges the

construction of gender identities that do not reflect the diversity of women's commitments to IR and, in practice, perpetuate women's limited access to power. Therefore, taking feminism seriously is not only about overturning the historical marginalization of women, it also provides a more complete picture of global politics, taking into account a broader range of actors and actions.

The inclusion of gender as an IR methodological and pedagogical source has been discussed for some decades. Particularly in IR, some authors have engaged in the debate about possible ways to teach gender in this discipline. Souza (2014) explored four approaches to doing this: 1) not seeing evil, not reading evil, not teaching evil, where gender is irrelevant; 2) add and incorporate women, not gender, into the IR debate, exploring only a few selected issues related to feminist theory, where appropriate; 3) multiple paradigms, which recognizes the multiplicity of possible approaches to IR considering the interrelationship between them and, therefore, recognizing different forms of feminism and varied approaches to gender in the discipline; 4) Gender IR, in which concepts such as politics, power, autonomy and cooperation are redefined to reflect gender relations, which are intrinsic to criteria such as race, religion, social class and geographic location; This involves enormous analytical complexity, requiring that IR methods and resources be rethought.

In a similar vein, Mertus (2007) identified three variants of feminism in IR. A first approach, which she calls equality feminism, seeks to identify situations in which women are invisible in IR, except when playing typically male roles. Similar to Souza's (2014) approach to adding and incorporating women, this emphasis argues that including more women in all areas of representation would be sufficient to satisfy the demands of feminism. The second approach, on the other hand, recognizes the existence of gender asymmetries at the very base of the international political system, as the definition of problems and groups relevant to IR reflects male interests at the expense of female ones. Finally, the third approach recognizes epistemological problems at the root of knowledge generated in IR, which adopts a typically top-down perspective with a focus on state, sovereignty and power and neglects bottom-up analyzes of individuals, social movements and groups, and human relationships, therefore generally ignoring or obscuring female subordination.

In this way, it is understood that feminist reformulations of the definition of security are necessary to draw attention to the extent to which gender hierarchies themselves are a source of domination and, therefore, an obstacle to a truly comprehensive definition of security.

Feminist research has demonstrated the value of taking women's experiences and contributions seriously and used this as a basis to demonstrate how IR builds on and perpetuates gendered ideas about who does what, who experiences what - and why - in global policy. Furthermore, there is also recognition that women are important agents in political, economic and social processes. Despite its designation, feminism does more than focus on women, or what are considered women's issues. By highlighting inequality and power relations, feminism reveals gender power and what it does in global politics. Concerned with the subordination of women to men, gender inequality and the construction of gender identities, feminism challenged a homogeneous concept of 'women' in IR and exposed gender logics as powerful organizational structures.

Given the above, this chapter sought to show the normative commitments that infuse not only feminist issues, interpretations and claims to know international relations, but also how feminists do their work. There are many differences and variations among International Relations feminisms, but ethical commitments to inclusiveness and self-reflexivity and attention to relationships and power in relationships distinguish most feminist theories of international relations. These norms implicitly guide feminists to put into practice their own critical theories, epistemologies, and explicit normative commitments. Thus, rather than a source of division, contestations between International Relations feminisms about the epistemological foundations of feminist knowledge, gender ontology and the appropriate ethical stance in a globalized, albeit grossly unequal world, are a source of their strength.

### III. METHODOLOGY

For the development of the present work, a methodological procedure was adopted referring to the path followed by the author to reach the general and specific objectives. In this section, the procedures and instruments used in carrying out the research will be explained.

According to Rea and Parker (2012, p.138) "Method is a regular, explicit and repeatable procedure to achieve something, whether material or conceptual".

Thus, it is understood that the primary characteristic of the method is the objective, didactic and organized investigation, with a meticulous control of the information obtained together with the theoretical contributions.

The applicability of this work is classified as basic, generating as a result the amount of representation that

women obtained during the period from 2010 to 2020 as participants in international organizations, in particular, Dilma Rousseff and Angela Merkel. In this way, it is highlighted that basic applicability research has great relevance through the generation of knowledge that, in different ways, can be applied to society (NASCIMENTO, 2018).

The approach is characterized as qualitative due to its relationship with the social sciences when it is concerned with presenting themes that will enrich the discussion of international relations with emphasis on the role of international organizations, gender equality and public policies, being a dependent subjective research the researcher's interpretation (GIL, 2012).

Regarding the objectives, this research is characterized as explanatory, as it shows women's protagonism in international organizations from the agendas of female representation in the foreign policy projects of Angela Merkel and Dilma Rousseff and which factors prevent them from acting as necessary, resembling Vergara's (2010, p. 8) idea of explanatory research "research whose main objective is to make it intelligible, is to justify the reason for some. Therefore, it aims to clarify which factors contribute, in some way, to the occurrence of a certain phenomenon".

As for the procedures, this research is identified as bibliographical, being carried out from materials already published and made available. It is noteworthy that documents resulting from the United Nations conferences, documents provided by the Brazilian and German government and legislation will be analyzed, as well as books and scientific articles focused on the topic proposed herein.

According to Nascimento (2018, p. 65), "the bibliographic research constitutes a secondary source. It is the one that seeks to survey books and magazines of relevant interest for the research that will be carried out". Also according to the author, its "objective is to place the author of the new research in front of information on the subject of interest". Thus, it is understood that it is a decisive step in any scientific research, as it aims to eliminate the possibility of carrying out a work in vain, spending time with what has already been shown.

For data collection, it used the method of document analysis, through reports provided by international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations International Emergency Fund for Children (UNICEF), International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations Development Program, Organization for Cooperation and Development,

World Economic Forum, World Health Organization, Office of United Nations.

Some of the main data were made available about the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, Munich Conference, UN Climate Conference, at the United Nations Security Council, at the G20 Leaders Summit meetings, reports from the National Confederation of Industry (CNI) and the Federation of German Industries (BDI, its acronym in German) on priorities to facilitate trade between Brazil and Germany legal security, trade agreements, internet security that guarantees greater privacy on the internet after accusations that international leaders, like Dilma and Merkel, they had been the target of US government espionage.

Also analyzed were UN documents on the World Women's Conferences in which Dilma Rousseff and Angela Merkel participated and reports from the scope of International Security.

As the research progresses, a second stage will be to explore, through debates and international meetings transcribed on the internet and in the news, the relationship between Dilma Rousseff and Angela Merkel as the agenda of the aforementioned international organizations and how they contributed to an entity of the United Nations for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, the "UN Women".

According to Nascimento (2018, p. 56), data collection for research is the "process of collecting data for secondary use through specific techniques". The author goes on to state that "these data are used for research, planning, study, development and experimentation tasks". Thus, for the results to be satisfactory, it is essential to plan for the implementation of the data collection methodology.

#### IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

##### 4.1 Actions that constituted female political activism in international organizations

For a long time, women were seen as victims - of discrimination and illiteracy, of violence, and confined to positions of deference in society because of once unbroken cultural and religious traditions. However, as democracy evolves across the globe, women are becoming a growing force on the world stage. We are seeing a new voice of activism emerge, speaking in defense of freedom and advancing civil liberties and human rights.

This movement seeks to dismantle repressive regimes while working to build more just, progressive and prosperous nations. This revolution is taking place all over the world - from Asia and the Middle East to America. Despite the clamor for democracy, the role of women in

democratization is less clear and powerful than it should be. Unfortunately, this is precisely when their voices are needed most.

The global shift towards democracy is more than a feminist movement calling for women's rights and gender equality above and beyond democratic progress. Instead, women are demanding the rule of law, strong institutions, social justice and economic opportunity for all citizens – not just women. Critically, they defend the broader cause of democratization, freedom and autonomy.

Angela Merkel has made more than 80 government statements during her 16-year tenure. In her first address to the German Parliament, on November 30, 2005, she spoke of what it was like to be the first woman to hold the position of the country's federal chancellor. "Who would have thought that the highest office in government would be given to a woman already this year? Who would have thought, ladies and gentlemen?" she questioned.

In a Speech by Dilma Rousseff at the LXVI Ordinary Session of the UN General Assembly (New York, September 2011), the representation of the international context is highlighted. The statement would reflect on the international context the importance given to the world economic crisis as an element of conditioning the action of States. Therefore, in the words of the then president, "The world is facing a crisis that is, at the same time, economic, of governance and of political coordination" (Rousseff, 2011). Added to this, in a new passage, she declares that "We are facing an economic crisis that, if not resolved, could turn into a serious political and social rupture. An unprecedented rupture, capable of causing serious imbalances in the coexistence between people and nations" (idem).

To support the achievement of substantive equality, economic and social policies must work in unison. In general, it is considered that the function of economic policies is to promote economic growth and that social policies, in turn, seek to correct the failures of this growth; in other words, fighting poverty and reducing inequality. However, macroeconomic policies can aim to achieve a broader set of goals, including gender equality and social justice. On the other hand, well-designed social policies can boost macroeconomic growth and post-crisis recovery through redistributive measures that increase employment, productivity and aggregate demand.

Ultimately, the objective is to create a virtuous circle through the generation of decent work and social services and social protection mechanisms with a gender perspective, together with favorable macroeconomic policies that prioritize investment in people and the achievement of social objectives. Transforming economies

and realizing women's economic and social rights require action in the three priority areas described below: decent work for women, gender-sensitive social policies, and rights-based macroeconomic policies.

In the first section of her speech, the president tried to highlight the historic moment that the General Assembly was experiencing due to the fact that the debate was inaugurated by a woman. Thus, she somehow addresses gender issues through the statement "For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a female voice opens the General Debate. She is the voice of democracy and equality expanding from this rostrum, which is committed to being the most representative in the world." (ROUSSEF, 2011).

Undoubtedly, IR is a male sphere, not only in its constitution, but in the way it addresses issues that concern it. Feminist scholars such as Tickner (2011) recognize the masculinity of strategic discourse, which is related to the hegemonic masculinity of states. State security is perceived as a fundamental value by citizens. National security and the maintenance of their interests remains an almost exclusively male domain.

Thus, the male construction of IR is also evident in the discourse used to justify the need to prioritize State security in its relations with other States. Not to mention that, as the author points out, it is not surprising that feminist International Relations remains largely outside conventional International Relations, because the concerns of the former, gender and women, continue to appear to be subsidiary to high politics and diplomacy.

In this way, IR actors prioritize issues related to masculinity before gender or femininity, either as an approach or in practice. Feminists, on the other hand, ask questions that are different from traditional IR theorists, now that they build their knowledge of international relations not so much from the perspective of 'insiders' but from the voices of disempowered and marginalized people not previously heard.

The sounds of these unfamiliar voices and the questions they raise sometimes lead conventional scholars to question whether feminists belong to the same discipline. So on, such arguments are used to dismiss gender analysis and highlight the reluctance of IR leaders to embrace it.

Already in the speech of the XVII Ordinary Session of the UN General Assembly (New York, September 2012). Dilma Rousseff begins her speech dealing with gender issues as she did the previous year. In the voice of the statesman "Once again a female voice opens the debate at the United Nations General Assembly." The statement will also delegate a singular importance to the South American

region. According to this concept, the president states that "Our region is a good example for the world. The rule of law that we achieved by overcoming the authoritarian regimes that marked our continent is being preserved and is being strengthened." (ROUSSEF, 2012) In addition, she adds, "For us, democracy is not a heritage immune to assault, we have been firm, - Mercosur and Unasur - when necessary, to avoid setbacks because we consider integration and democracy inseparable principles." (idem).

Indeed, the masculinity of IR is perceptible in the mere way it defines femininity, masculinity and the issues associated with them. Meanwhile, "feminists define gender, in the symbolic sense, as a set of variable but socially and culturally constructed characteristics - such as power, autonomy, rationality and public - that are stereotyped, associated with masculinity. Its opposites - weakness, dependency, emotion and privacy - are associated with femininity. It is in this sense that men and women are related to different roles within IR: security is to men what domesticity is to women.

Thus, in the IR sphere, while men are associated with defending the state, interpreted as the highest form of patriotism, women are excluded from this, instead engaged in the domestic sphere in 'organizing' and comforting roles as mothers. or providers of basic needs and care professions such as teachers and nurses. This broadly portrays what it means to be a man or woman in international politics and what is expected of a person according to their gender. It is then that women and their association with the private sphere of domesticity, morality, subjectivity and passion represent everything that the IR field is not, especially in terms of its disciplinary boundaries. These restrictions shape the assumption that women belong to a private domain and have no place in IR because it is speculated that they are inherently contrary to the nature of the domain. However, it should be noted that this is the only way for gender to be considered in IR: as a coercive tool.

German Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel told the 2019 United Nations Climate Conference that "there is no doubt" that global warming is caused by humans and that the international community needs to act together to contain the climate crisis . "We have only one Earth," said the chancellor in New York. "That's why we, as representatives of industrialized countries, have a duty to use innovation, technology and money to build a path to stop global warming."

The United Nations Environment Program is the world's leading environmental authority. It sets the environmental agenda at the global level, promotes the coherent implementation of the environmental dimension

of sustainable development in the United Nations system, and acts as a strong advocate for the environment. The mission is to lead and encourage joint work in caring for the environment, inspiring, informing and enabling nations and peoples to improve their quality of life without compromising that of future generations.

In September 2020, German Chancellor Angela Merkel criticized the UN Security Council's blockade in the face of several of the main current conflicts and demanded reforms, making clear Germany's willingness to occupy a seat in this body. "Germany is ready to continue to assume responsibility," Merkel said in a video message on the occasion of the organization's 75th anniversary celebration.

It is important to note that Berlin has been calling for years, together with Brazil, that the Security Council be expanded with new permanent members, a status that is currently only granted to the USA, China, Russia, France and the United Kingdom, since the victory of the allies in World War II.

#### 4.2 Changes in female representation in international organizations

By making women visible, feminism also highlighted the absence of women in institutional and decision-making structures. For example, in 2015, the World Bank estimated that, globally, women represented only 22.9% of national parliaments. One of the central premises of the traditional perspectives that feminism has challenged is the exclusionary focus on areas that are considered "high" politics - for example, sovereignty, state and military security. The traditional focus on states and the relations between them ignores the fact that men are predominantly responsible for state institutions, dominating power and decision-making structures. It also ignores other areas that impact global policy and are impacted by it.

This is a gender exclusion, as women contribute in essential ways to global politics, although they are more likely to occupy areas not considered important politics and their daily lives can be considered peripheral. Traditional perspectives that ignore gender not only neglect the contributions of women and the impact that global politics has on them, but also perpetually justify this exclusion. If women are outside these realms of power, their experiences and contributions are not relevant. Feminist theorists have worked to demonstrate that this distinction between private and public is false. In doing so, they show that previously excluded areas are central to the functioning of RI, even if they are not recognized, and that the exclusion and inclusion of certain areas in traditional RI thinking is based on gender ideas about what counts, and what doesn't count.

The participation and leadership of women in politics and public life on an equal footing is essential to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. However, data show that women's representation is insufficient at all levels of decision-making in the world. Therefore, achieving gender parity in politics is still a long way off.

Only 22 countries have women heads of state or government and 119 countries have never been chaired by women. At the current pace, gender equality at the highest levels of decision-making will not be achieved for another 130 years (ONU, 2021).

Only 10 countries are chaired by a Head of State and 13 countries have Heads of Government. Only 21% of those holding ministries were women, and only in 14 countries did government offices reach 50% or more in female representation. With an annual increase of just 0.52 percent, gender parity in ministerial-level posts will not be achieved until 2077 (ONU, 2021).

The five ministerial portfolios most held by women are: Family / Children / Youth / Elderly / Disability, followed by Social Affairs; Environment / Natural Resources / Energy; Employment / Work / Vocational Training and Women's Affairs / Gender Equality (UN, 2021).

Only 25% of national parliamentary seats are held by women, a percentage which increased from 11% in 1995. Only four countries have 50% representation of women in the lower or single chambers of parliament. Rwanda, with 61%; Cuba, with 53%; Bolivia, with 53%; and the United Arab Emirates, with 50 percent. Another 19 countries have reached or surpassed 40%, including nine European countries, five from the Latin America and Caribbean region, four from Africa and one from the Pacific area. More than two-thirds of these countries have implemented gender quotas —whether legislated quotas for candidates or reserved positions— which have created space for women's political participation in national parliaments (ONU, 2021).

Worldwide, there are 27 states in which women occupy less than 10% of the available parliamentary seats in lower or single houses, including four countries with no women in their low / lonely houses. With the current level of progress, gender parity in national legislative bodies will not be achieved until 2063 . In Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and North America, women occupy more than 30% of parliamentary seats. In North Africa, West Asia and Oceania, women represent less than 17% of parliamentary seats. Pacific island states have the lowest representation of women: they occupy only 6% of the positions and three countries do not have women in their parliaments (UN, 2021).

Data from 133 countries show that women constitute 2.18 million (36%) of the members of local decision-making bodies. Only two countries have achieved 50%, and in another 18 countries more than 40% of the local public service are women. Since January 2020, there have also been regional variations in the representation of women in local decision-making bodies: Central and South Asia, 41%; Europe and North America, 35%; Oceania, 32%; Sub-Saharan Africa, 29%, East Asia and Southeast Asia, 25%; Latin America and the Caribbean, 25%; West Asia and North Africa, 18% (UN, 2021).

The common goal adopted internationally in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action is to achieve political participation and the balanced distribution of power between men and women in decision-making. Most countries in the world have not achieved gender balance and few have set or met ambitious targets for gender parity (50-50).

Alluding to the 70th anniversary of the UN, President Dilma Rousseff reaffirmed her belief in the organization's reform as a means of "resolving the current deficit in the Council's representativeness and legitimacy". As an example, the speaker cites the cases of Syria and the Arab-Israeli issue as moments in which the Security Council found it difficult to deal with "the new challenges of the 21st century". In this context, the organization's reform returns to the center of the debate in a direction that seeks to "endow the Council with voices that are both independent and constructive" (Rousseff 2013, s/p). However, the expansion of actors on the decision-making stage tends to focus on "the expansion of the number of permanent and non-permanent members, and the inclusion of developing countries in both categories" (idem, s/p.).

A United Nations study by Radhika Coomaraswamy (2015) found that gender in peacekeeping remains politically and financially under-resourced, and gender elements of post-conflict reconstruction are still marginalized in missions. Women still experience high rates of post-conflict violence, are still excluded from peace processes and are still ignored in peacebuilding policy. This is demonstrated, for example, in national and international attempts to disarm post-conflict ex-combatants and reintegrate them into post-conflict society. This is an area of post-conflict politics that feminist scholars have routinely exposed as being highly gendered and exclusionary from women who were former combatants. Megan Mackenzie (2010) attributed this to constructed gender identities that downplay the idea that women are agents in conflict or involved in wars, rather than constructing them as victims with limited agency. In other words, they are subject to war rather than its actors.

there is strong and growing evidence that the presence of women leaders in political decision-making processes improves these processes. Women demonstrate political leadership by working across party divisions in women's parliamentary groups - even in the most aggressive political environments - and advocating for gender equality issues such as eliminating gender violence, enforcing parental leave and daycare services, retirement issues, gender equality laws, and electoral reform.

Importantly, the 52 UN Special Procedures were never conducted by a woman. Furthermore, never before has a female secretary general been in charge of the UN.

The numbers are compiled by Gqual, a campaign that nearly a dozen NGOs like the Center for Justice and International Law (Cejil) launched in 2015 at UN headquarters in New York, on the eve of the General Assembly of the Nations under the principle of that equality in international organizations must be considered "a right, not an aspiration". Its objective: to promote gender parity in international organizations, where the lack of equity "affects virtually all international courts and bodies charged with developing international law and human rights".

All this when these organizations have a very significant impact on people's daily lives, on relations between countries and even on the fate of future generations. The female presence, diversity, gender balance are important for the impact and legitimacy of international justice (ARBIX et al., 2017).

It's not that no one is doing women a favor by letting them participate, it's about women being a valuable voice for these entities. They are not alone. The campaign already has almost 700 signatures in support. Among them are Swedish Foreign Minister Margot Wallström, Costa Rican Vice President Ana Helena Chacón, Iranian Nobel Peace Prize winner Shirin Ebadi, Mexican journalist Carmen Arístegui, Turkish jurist Basak Cali, from Kenyan Musimbi Kanyoro, director of the Global Fund for Women, or Indonesian Kamala Chandrakirana, from the UN Working Group on Discrimination against Women.

A basic justification for concluding that this lack of parity is wrong and must be corrected is the fundamental right of all people to non-discrimination and equality of opportunity. Specifically, the Charter of the United Nations, the Convention against the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the commitment to the participation of women in peace processes, among others, refer to the right of women to access these spaces under equal conditions and without discrimination of any kind.

But this lack of parity must be corrected because the presence of a critical mass of women in these bodies

makes a positive difference. The female presence, adding diversity, experiences and points of view, improves justice, deepens debates, enriches decisions and transforms the capacity of these institutions to make decisions that represent everyone. Indeed, the absence of women erodes the legitimacy and impact of these institutions, something the private sector noted when arguing for the need to increase the number of women on boards of directors (ENLOE, 2017).

Since the approval of Resolution 1325 (2000) by the UNSC, the participation of women diplomats in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in building peace, including in leadership positions, has become an integral part of the realization of the MPS agenda. Brazil's National Action Plan includes, among its objectives, increasing the participation of women diplomats in processes related to peace and international security, based on statistical data such as those contained in the 2015 Global Study, which highlights the presence of women in peace negotiations increase the probability that peace agreements will last at least two years by 20%, and the probability that they will last longer than 15 years by 35%.

In Germany, 37.1% of seats in the German Parliament belong to women: they remain under-represented. In an international ranking of female participation, Germany is in 22nd place out of 190 countries. The number of women in leadership positions at Germany's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has risen sharply in the last year, but they are still, as in Brazil, underrepresented in diplomatic missions abroad. The ministry will shortly name a new secretary of state, the second woman to hold that position, and has made a conscious effort to promote diversity, Maas said. The percentage of women in the second highest level of leadership is now 45%, down from 27% a year ago (REUTERS, 2021).

## V. CONCLUSION

This work analyzed the role of women in international organizations from the agendas of female representation in the foreign policy projects of Angela Merkel and Dilma Rousseff and found that feminist perspectives on international relations, not just the way in which feminists built new epistemologies to rebuild the theory of international relations, but also its limitations, were essential to demonstrate that there is a possibility of making international bodies a parity.

Transcending this debate that we have exposed is more than a political academic in nature, it is the first step towards proposing a relationship between the two disciplines that will allow us to give a new meaning to the analysis of the international situation, and for that, it is

necessary to leave the analytical theoretical debates, and starting to select, design or adapt practical methodologies that can be formalized and standardized to achieve the goal of the grading.

These methodologies aim to achieve better and effective conditions for the construction of a social, cultural, economic and institutional environment that contributes to the promotion of social gender equality. These strategies, often implemented by multinational organizations, and applied in the most diverse areas of economy, society and politics, can inspire and allow us to go beyond doctrinal debates. They can also allow us to identify opportunities to combine, collect and adapt other policy instruments and practical strategies for the promotion and advancement of equality, perfectly applicable to the disciplines of international relations; understood them not only as discussion communities, but as true social institutions that are characterized by male resistance to adopt innovations that favor equality.

The idea of building a framework for the generation of public policies is very efficient, as it would allow better possibilities of implementation in international relations for the construction of a common, flexible framework, allowing the construction of an epistemology with a transversal approach to international relations. However, so far, it is necessary to break the unavoidable commitment of institutions and people who are involved in the fields of decision-making in the field of international relations. For this, it would be necessary to start from a series of very specific requirements, such as: a) Political will; b) A specific gender equality policy in the State, articulating the idea that the personal is political and the State is international; c) Statistics that give a diagnosis to the base; whether old statistics explored with a gender methodology or new proposals elaborated with such methodology; d) An in-depth knowledge of gender relations and how they affect the International area; e) The involvement of the administration; f) Financial and human resources; and g) The participation of women in decision-making processes.

And based on these conditions, build public policies aimed at and designed specifically to solve the problem of the absence of a female vision in the field of international relations.

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