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Women are simply people

A Study of the gendered hierarchy of UN organs

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Abstract

In this study the intent is to integrate the two factors of gender dichotomy and women's positions in a large organization such as the United Nations (UN), and therefor analyze the difference of gender and the relation to women with the intake of feminist theories. The study will also consider why an international organization that advocates gender equality across the World - in different ways and on different levels - is shaped as it is today. The UN is a famous peacekeeping organization that has been active for several decades and consists of over 200 membered countries, but it is still a large organization that needs to be maintained. I will attempt to reveal the gender perspective within the organization and explaining its outlines with the help of feminist theories of stereotyping, organizational hierarchy, aspects of enforcing masculinity etc. In this effort I will foremost glance at the UN as a whole organization and thereafter at the gendered separation in its organs; divisions such as UN-Women, as it is a "women related" UN branch that explicitly deals with feminist questions such as women's rights, equality etc.

Keywords:

Gender dichotomy, Stereotyping, UN, Organizational hierarchy, Segregation, Structure, UN-Women, Equality, Gendered hierarchy

Words: 9 801

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1   Introduction

1.1 Context

Policy, activism and the result of analysis carried out by the UN leads to the advocating of peace, equality and human rights around the globe. It is a large international organization that strives for reciprocal, liberal and modern equal rights and empowerment of the world's population, as done so foremost through Security Council Resolutions (SCR) implementing "rules" and norms each membered country can - and should - follow. The cooperation compelled by the Resolutions binds each country to pursue and implement the common agreement and notion of each Resolution. The UN makes these Resolutions for a commonly well-intentioned purpose, as the organization works in subsidiary organs and filial committees etc. that pursue and analyzes different questions. It is issues such as peace, human rights, human smuggling, education and so forth that are managed, but he UN also cover issues concerning women's rights, -empowerment and -representation. As this international organization is an enormous institution with several organs, subsidiaries etc. and has the power to influence and take the lead for international common significance, it implicates over 200 of the world's countries. But how does the organization itself work and tackle issues they advocate? Questions raised are such of the UN system itself, does the organization implement and attain the same "women's-issues" advocated outwards onto the world and its membered countries? Organizational theory is of its own opinion of gender and women's representation on the matter, as the UN – despite its intentions – still is a large international organization divided in numerous smaller organs spread around the world. It is interesting to analyze why the UN has the shape, the organizational setting, it has today and to reveal what is actually happening behind the curtains within the walls of this international organization.

1.2 Purpose & issue

The purpose of the study is to explain how the United Nations relates to gender and women within the organization, in comparison with what they represent outwards as an international organization. This implied point of view was adopted considering that

the UN advocates peace and gender equality internationally, among other issues as well. The purpose will be fulfilled by the help of existing data about the work of the UN and the involvement of women in its work. The highlighted and essential material analyzed is a report made by the General Assembly of the UN covering the status of women within the UN. The material is later presented in *1.6 Empirical material* in more detail. This will be explained with the help of gender theories about organizational hierarchy, masculinity within organizations, gender dichotomy etc. to create a better understanding of the shape of UN's organizational setting. To accomplish this, the following question has been asked, but even a subordinate question has been formulated for a more specific limitation.

Why do women lack representation and power in large hierarchical organizations, such as the UN?

   How can we explain the gender dichotomy and representation of women on the different levels of the UN?

1.3 Problem

The UN has acted as a wellbeing venue, as well as a target, for many activists interested in justice and equality for women. The international organization has acted out this setting for at least 25 years internationally, but is yet a guarded institution.[1] The UN has committed to the increase of women in its professional staff, and they achieved a major goal of having 30 percent of its working staff consisting of women in 1991.[2] Yet, many people presume that organizational structures in general are gender neutral, but are in fact considered partly masked by obscuring the embodied nature of work. It, in other words, conceals the social arrangements as gender neutral.[3] The work is often divided in what is commonly known as "masculine" and "feminine".[4] This same configuration is seen in the UN as the numbers vary between the UN organs and the UN secretariat, whereas some subsidiaries have almost no

[1] Porter, *Transnational Feminism in a Globalized World: Challenges, Analysis and Resistance.* 2007:45
[2] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:111
  True, *Counting Women and Balancing Gender: Increasing Women's Participation in Governance.* 2013-352
[3] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:115
[4] Porter, *Transnational Feminism in a Globalized World: Challenges, Analysis and Resistance.* 2007:45
  Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:76 & 86
  Porter, *Transnational Feminism in a Globalized World: Challenges, Analysis and Resistance.* 2007:45

women involved at all.[5] Yet the organization attributed to the notion of appointing a female Secretary-General, also, the Security Council mandated to increase women's presence in peace and security issues.[6] It is, in other words, a deeper substructure of gender difference that is embedded in all forms of hierarchical organizational structures. There is often work segregation between divisions and organs within the organization, but it also consists of a gendered segregation of income and working positions, even perceived as status. These factors are all partly created in the organizational processes.[7]

The UN has held several conferences with specific focus on women and issues related to women and their rights, such as in; Mexico 1975, Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985 and Beijing 1995 - which also included an intersectional approach.[8] All these gatherings have produced themes and discussions of development, equality and peace, resulting in the twelve chapters of the "Platform for Action"[9] but it still deals with women's issues outside of the UN system. Despite all the work effort, there is still a dominant masculinity throughout modern international organizations today, as well as in the UN. There are significant factors such as working positions, gender socialization, stereotyping- constraints and structural obstacles that have been identified[10] that will be considered and elaborated throughout the study.

As majority are aware, there are gender differences in organizations, politics and other forms of institutions. It has reached a level where men dominate the majority of the most powerful organizational positions in large institutions.[11] First of all it is important to point out that women do not lack the motivation or interest of participation, as some may presume. Studying women's participation in grass-roots organizations, meaning organizational work, scholars found that they are as fit as any

[5] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:111
[6] True, *Counting Women and Balancing Gender: Increasing Women's Participation in Governance.* 2013:353
 Valenius, *A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.* 2007:512
[7] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:139-140
 Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:85 & 90
[8] Ibid.
 Yuval-Davis, *Intersectionality and Feminist Politics.* 2006:196
[9] Porter, *Transnational Feminism in a Globalized World: Challenges, Analysis and Resistance.* 2007:45
 True, *Counting Women and Balancing Gender: Increasing Women's Participation in Governance.* 2013:352
[10] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:113-117
 Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:87
[11] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:139
 Porter, *Transnational Feminism in a Globalized World: Challenges, Analysis and Resistance.* 2007:45

other man to successfully work in – and for - an organization. The fact is that gender socialization; situational constraints, structural obstacles etc. are hindering the participation of women as it favors men. These are all gender-differentiated factors that exist today as women are underrepresented.[12]

1.4 The UN

The United Nations is a concrete expression of the power relationships of post 1945 international society, whereas different nation's ideologies and values have emerged and grown into a larger common interest. This consists of orientations such as sociological, domestic political change, as well as individualism, international relations- and encourages international cooperation and institutions.[13] Key elements in sociology regard legitimacy, authority, influence, status, socialization, rules, norms etc. As the UN strives for collective results of the self-interested strategic interaction of states, the system incorporates different forms of institutions (as mentioned above) and expresses "world order". This term is in this context defined implicitly as *"political, economic, social, ideological, and cultural structures that define the behavior and power relationships among human groups"*.[14] The UN system is a structure that recognizes and draws upon non-governmental organizations, and is because of this fact functionally designed to strive for the achievement of specific international objectives. These long-term objectives are such as *"maintaining international peace and security, advocating protection of fundamental human rights, ensuring the sovereign equality of nation-states, and facilitating socio-economic progress and advancement"* as they are of the international community's interest and therefor strived to be accomplished.[15]

Despite the outer form of the UN as an international institution, it is still an organization that needs to be maintained. The UN has after several decades become an enormous organization with several subsidiary organs, branches, committees etc. divided in dealing with different questions/issues.[16] For example; the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Monetary Fund

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[12] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:114
Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:85 & 90
[13] Krause & Knight, *State, Society and the UN System: Changing perspectives on multilateralism.* 1995:7-8
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid. 7
[16] Krause & Knight, *State, Society and the UN System: Changing perspectives on multilateralism.* 1995:6-7
Fasulo, *An Insider's Guide to the UN.* 2009:8-9

(IMF), the International Development Associations (IDA) etc. are secondary organs located in different countries around the world.[17]   The immense complexity of the UN system is charted below.
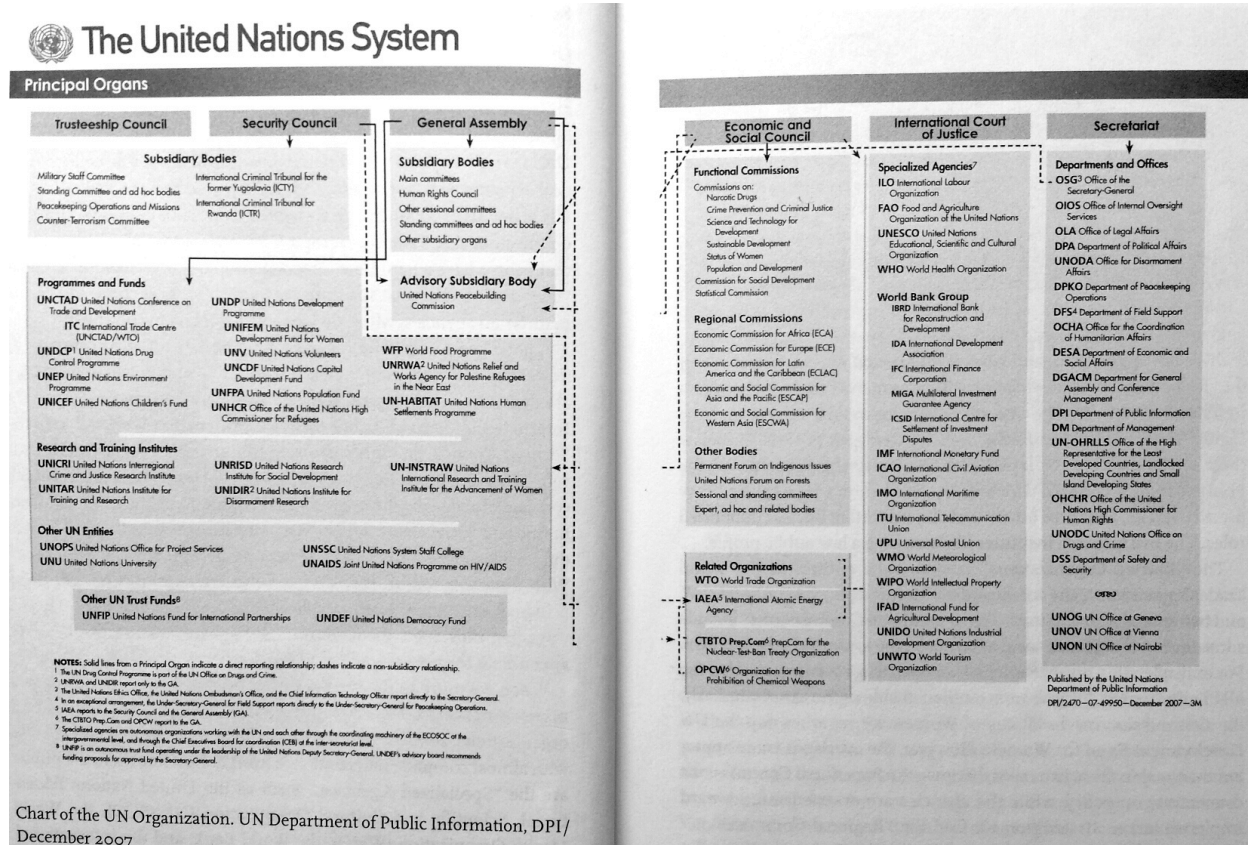

Figure 1 – Shows how the UN organizations is set up, including organs and subsidiary branches etc. (Chart by Fasulo 2009, page 8-9).

The chart specifically shows the complexity of the UN system as a whole, including how each branch operates and to whom it reports. As many other organizations, the feature of the UN system is as a complex bureaucratic structure organized with hierarchical divisions.[18] In other words, as it is apparent, the UN has organs, subsidiary organs, main committees, standing committees, agencies, semi-independent bodies etc.[19] all needing to be maintained like all other large organizations. Because of the charts construction on the figure it is not easy to depict the bureaucratic and hierarchical construction. Yet each subsidiary organ reports to

[17] Krause & Knight, *State, Society and the UN System: Changing perspectives on multilateralism.* 1995:6-7
Fasulo, *An Insider's Guide to the UN.* 2009:8-9
[18] Ibid.
[19] Krause & Knight, *State, Society and the UN System: Changing perspectives on multilateralism.* 1995:6-7

another (as indicated by the arrows in the chart) and in addition, all of the branches are supported by the Secretariat and reports to the "top" of the hierarchy, namely to the Secretary-General.[20]

1.5 Why not mainstream & resolutions

The UN has renewed its commitment to *mainstream* gender repeatedly throughout the years.[21] Mainstreaming is – in accordance with the UN webpage[22] – a kind of equality striving effect of integrating experiences, needs and concerns of both women and men into planning, implementation and evaluation of (parity) procedures, guidelines and representative.[23] At several conferences such as Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985 etc. numerous women attended and participated then ever before. At the official conferences freer discussions of a wider range of issues was allowed, wider than the framework of amending the official documents as these forums enabled for larger input and involvement.[24] This mainstream commitment has been worked out through the Millennium Goals and the Security Council, as the resolutions has acknowledged the importance of integrating women into international peace and security objectives. Unfortunately this has had little fundamental effects on women's lives, regarding women of the outside world[25] and does not reside internally within the organization. Mainstreaming does unfortunately not cover all aspects of gender.[26] It is a well-intended concept, but developed in a context where gender is perceived as a difference between women and men, and not as a system of femininity, masculinity and power hierarchies.[27]

There are six "women related" Security Council resolutions (SCR) in total, including the resolution 1325, with intent to broaden the scope and encouraging the implementation of SCR 1325 for three reasons. Scholars at Santa Clara, Haynes, Cahn

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[20] Krause & Knight, *State, Society and the UN System: Changing perspectives on multilateralism.* 1995:6-7

[21] Haynes et. al, *Women in the Post- Conflict Process: Reviewing the Impact of Recent U.N. Actions in Achieving Gender Centrality.* 2012:191

[22] UN-Women's Internet page 2013b: See bibliography

[23] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:128
Ackerly & True, *Back to the future, Feminist theory, activism, and doing feminist research in an age of globalization.* 2010:467
True, *Counting Women and Balancing Gender: Increasing Women's Participation in Governance.* 2013-352

[24] Porter, *Transnational Feminism in a Globalized World: Challenges, Analysis and Resistance.* 2007:45-46

[25] Haynes et. al, *Women in the Post- Conflict Process: Reviewing the Impact of Recent U.N. Actions in Achieving Gender Centrality.* 2012:191

[26] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:128

[27] Valenius, *A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.* 2007:513

and Ní Aoláin conveys these reasons as: (1) the Security Council felt it needed to be seen as "doing something", (2) desiring to be perceived as "doing something" specifically for women after a human rights crisis, and (3) a response to the concerted campaign by international women's NGOs who insisted that the UN take a normative stand on women. This was intended so as international actors could – with an implicit intent that males are protectors of women – adopt the resolution and "tackle women's issues" [28], yet it is still an inquiry for membered countries and not for the UN system. This mainstream gender intention was to encourage member states to fund gender-sensitive technical development and training, involving women in peace negotiations, policing, peacekeeping and humanitarian operations.[29] All in fact being enactment of, and for, women on the outside world. As all SCR are binding, well intentioned and enforced, they are not conveyed internally in the UN system as the organization sets up its own goals.[30]

1.6 Empirical material

As the United Nations leads a peace- and equality advocating organization with international and global intentions, it is a given fact that this should be shared within the organization. The UN has a particular responsibility to ensure the equal and active participation of women within, and on all levels of the UN organization, as they represent a leading example of such questions that confronts "women-related" issues. As what the UN-Women Internet page states: *"UN Women is mandated to lead, coordinate and promote the accountability of the UN system for women's equal representation."* There are in other words – and should not be – any restrictions on the entitlement of women to participate equally in any UN organ or subsidiary branches. This is in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that there can be no discrimination of dichotomy on the basis of gender. The representation of women goes as far back as 1986, but not until 1995 at the Beijing Platform for Action was a goal established and set up.[31] After the achievement of 30 percent female staff 1991[32] a new objective was to reach a 50/50 percent gender

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[28] Haynes et. al, *Women in the Post- Conflict Process: Reviewing the Impact of Recent U.N. Actions in Achieving Gender Centrality.* 2012:196-197
[29] Ibid.
[30] UN-Women's Internet page 2013: see *Bibliography*
 UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:6-9
[31] UN-Women's Internet page 2013: see *Bibliography*
[32] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:111

balance in the UN's professional staff by the year 2000.[33] This goal has however not yet been achieved as there are still significant differences in the various UN organs and branches throughout the organization.[34] The subsidiary organ of the United Nations - UN-Women - constantly updates the status of women within the UN organization, including to committees as the General Assembly, Commission on the Status of Women, UN Secretary-Generals- Change Management Committee etc. to ensure equal representation throughout the organization. The UN-Women include networks, collect data and to regular reporting and monitoring to scatter and encourage equal gender balance within the UN All this is assessed into a main report on the equal representation of women in the UN, which is Secretary-General's *"Report on the Improvement of Status of Women in the United Nations system"* most recent dating to late 2011.[35] In other words, the UN's SCR are not implemented and used internally within the UN, as it constitutes an international and outer view for the improvement and empowerment of women.

The highlighted material is the report made public September 4:th 2012. The report provides information on the status of women in the United Nations system, including statistics and information on progress made in achieving gender balance. The time span in the report covers the period from December 2007 to December 2011 and divides the UN system into eight different levels. The levels are divided in P-1 to P-5, D-1 to D-2 and "Ungraded". P-1 – P-5 are professional levels with several employees whereas P-1 corresponds as the lowest of the levels. D-1 to D-2, and "Ungraded" are smaller divisions with fewer, and higher working positioned employees (higher levels). All 32 of the UN's organs are included in this report and provided data on staff gender balance. The report was a request foremost by the UN-Women[36] to analyze the status of women within the UN more explicitly.

True, *Counting Women and Balancing Gender: Increasing Women's Participation in Governance.* 2013:352
[33] UN-Women's Internet page 2013: see *Bibliography*
[34] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:6-9
[35] UN-Women's Internet page 2013: see *Bibliography*
[36] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:1-2, 6-7 & 15

2   Literature & theory

Hereunder theories of gender-dichotomy will be presented, as well as possible constraints and obstacles women face in organizations. To better understand the number, and the representation of women in the UN, theory of women in global governance has been applied and explained below. This is because that the UN is a powerful organization with strong of influential power. As the United Nations is a peace- and equality-advocating organization, it is still designed and functions as an organization in which the staff works on different levels in different organs, hence the gender differentiating approach.

2.1 Gender in organizations

Diverse areas of feminist discourses have slowly recognized that social structures and social processes are gendered.[37] Feminist theory is primarily focused on the relations between men and women, including the social construction of gender.[38] Feminists have also expanded gender as a concept to mean more than socially constructed, dual identities and image. It is described as *"The core of the definition rests on an integral connection between two propositions; gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceive differences between the sexes, and gender is primary way of signifying relationship of power".*[39] New approaches of work- and labor processes see organizations as gendered, but also as an intertwined production of gender and class relations.[40] The market labor, relations of organizations, control of work processes etc. are always affected by gender, processes of gender identity and material differences between women and men.[41] To say that an organization is gendered, means with other words that there are advantages and disadvantages, control and exploitation etc. patterned throughout the institution. This meaning that, there is always a distinction of female and male, feminine and masculine as gender is integrated in these latter mentioned processes.[42]

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[37] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:145
[38] Archer, *Re/theorizing "difference" in feminist research.* 2004:459
[39] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:145
[40] Ibid.
 Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:112-114
[41] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:145-146
 Archer, *Re/theorizing "difference" in feminist research.* 2004:459
[42] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:145-146

Early radical feminist critique of sexism denounced bureaucracy and hierarchy as male-created and male-dominated structures.[43] The discourse on organizations, and organizational sociology, is defined as a domain in which is grounded in relations of men. The experience and interests of men rises from the course of, and in relation to, participating in the dominant setting of this society.[44] Critical aspects on organizations have focused on control, power, exploitation and how these might be changed, including the goal of achieving organizational efficiency. What, on the other hand, have been excluded are women. These perspectives have unfortunately been indifferent and failed to implicate gender for their own goals. Scholar Acker means that a "weakness" in the feminist theorizing is that the available discussions conceptualize organizations as gender neutral, which in fact is not the case.[45] There is a scholar by the name of Ferguson that views bureaucracy itself as a construction of male domination. In other words, Ferguson develops a radical feminist critique of bureaucracy as: *"... an organization of oppressive male power, arguing that it is both mystified and constructed through an abstract discourse on rationality, rules, and procedures..."*. [46] This organization of power – bureaucracy – "feminizes" bureaucrats, workers etc. as they find different ways in managing their powerlessness. This lack of power somehow maintains their dependence simultaneously. The argument is in other words that feminist discourse, rooted in women's experience as nurturing and caring, provides a ground for challenging the bureaucracy and develops alternative ways of forming society.[47] In sum, Ferguson sees this aspect as established through discourse and analysis of power. It results in making the bureaucracy the persecutor, as it is a metaphor for bureaucratization. This is on the other hand

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[43] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:141
 Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:113
 Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:89
[44] Ibid:141
[45] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:115
 Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:145-146
 Porter, *Transnational Feminism in a Globalized World: Challenges, Analysis and Resistance.* 2007:45
 Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:76 & 90
 Valenius, *A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.* 2007:512
[46] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990: 144
 Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:85
[47] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:142-144
 Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:109 & 114

somewhat problematic since this aspect still perceives organizations as gender-neutral[48], which has clearly been countered by the arguments above.[49]

2.2 Two approaches

2.2.1 Behavioral

Gender stereotyping can produce behavioral patterns that assign specific gendered responsibilities. Women are overall more associated with domestic responsibility such as the demands of family and home care.[50] These are responsibilities that disproportionately fall on women regardless. Because of the double workload of productive and reproductive labor women appear less committed.[51] Women also lack the control of deciding when they are available in form of time, allocation and energy, as all the demands become constraints and therefor limits women's possibilities. In the meanwhile, men are more "accustomed" to the competition and hierarchical structure according to scholars Ely and Meyerson.[52] Women are often assigned domestic and mothering responsibilities which becomes an interfering factor, as it is a family obligation. Because of this, any work position women take is often considered in combination with the domestic domain as if they are integrated. Men, on the other hand are not forced to such responsibilities as stereotyping separates their domestic relations from their work life completely as two opposite ends. The concept "man" is often seen as "worker" and relatively nothing else.[53] Therefor it is concluded that the structural separation of public and private has gendered consequences because of how it identifies only women to the private sphere, foremost of home, family and as a parent.[54]

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[48] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:142-144
Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:109 & 114
[49] See Porter 2007; Valenius 2007; Acker 1990; Ely & Meyerson 2000; Alvesson & Billing 2002 etc
[50] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:120
Conrad et. al, *Hierarchy as a Barrier to Advancement for Women in Academic Medicine.* 2010:800
[51] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:120
[52] Ibid. 116-117 & 120
Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:115-118
Conrad et. al, *Hierarchy as a Barrier to Advancement for Women in Academic Medicine.* 2010:803-804
Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:85 & 97
[53] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:118
[54] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:115-118

2.2.2 Characteristics

When women eventually do assume leadership roles as a result of prior work in grass-root involvement, their work is often associated with "soft issues". This meaning work as for an example, peace, environment, feminism etc. yet they are identified as especially masculine in comparison to other women. Scholars Petersen and Runyan explain that the reason for this aspect is because of the fear of being perceived as a "soft leader". This fact leads many women to tone down their feminine characteristics to appear more appropriate for the job since femininity is perceived as a "weakness".[55] There are of course those who succeed (partly) through their traditional identities as "feminine" women. But despite this, the overall picture is still one of gender difference, or even called dichotomy. Because of many women toning down feminine characteristics, and because of those who uses the traditional identities as "feminine" women, they hamper their potential.[56] It is a matter of possibilities that associates women to "hard issues" such as national security, economic competition, leadership roles etc. In other words, because women feel that they have to act "like men"[57] - also stated by Margaret Thatcher - somehow becomes obscure in the sense that they do not disrupt the hierarchy of man. This is paradoxical because, women who have achieved higher powerful working positions and act more masculine have, therefore, enforced the gender-stereotypical settings of gender through their behavior.[58] The exercise of power by women also remains invisible, as all outside of an organization still remain unaware of who executes certain power and from which working position. Women also spur men through commitment and sacrifice to greater achievements, thereby strengthening male roles. This concludes the fact that appearing, as a traditional woman, creates no distinction between the established and

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Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:109 & 118

Conrad et. al, *Hierarchy as a Barrier to Advancement for Women in Academic Medicine.* 2010:804

Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:84

Ackerly & True, *Back to the future, Feminist theory, activism, and doing feminist research in an age of globalization.* 2010:467

[55] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:119-122

Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:126

Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:89

[56] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:127, 105-106

Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:139

[57] Ibid.

Ibid.

[58] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:119-122

commonly known settings of feminine and masculine perspective.[59] This is in line with scholar Yuval-Davis stating that this is homogenized as the "right way".[60] Since this does not question the categorical distinction of feminine and masculine, the conformity to traditional gender stereotypes reproduces them rather than questions the dichotomy.[61] Therefor the gender dynamics remain invisible as long as women appear only when adopting masculine treats or embody feminine attributes.[62] This means – yet again – that gender dichotomy is hard to identify when only masculine is present and enforced.[63]

2.3 Could it be Structural?

Peterson and Runyan approach an additional form of segregation that affects women in the organizations, which is horizontal and vertical segregation. Women are found in fewer occupations and in work such as domestic maintenance, clerical, nursing, waitressing work etc. which are all characteristics of horizontal segregation. Because of these "typical" working positions, it becomes more difficult for women to get a "better or/and higher" working position.[64] The work that women are assigned to is an extension of feminine roles and reproduces work according to - gender and heterosexual - norms of mothers and wives.[65] Women are not only clustered and identified with feminine work, but they are also expected to be feminine in all form of work that they assume. Vertically is on the other hand a question of workplace. The higher up you go in an organization, the fewer women you will actually find, hence the term "vertical". Meaning that, women are generally concerted in temporary, part-time, non-organized, less powerful and lower- status and -paying positions, in comparison to men. Women are, put in other words: *"... concentrated in pink-collar jobs (men in blue-collar), in domestic services (men in protective services), and in light industry (men in heavy industry)."*.[66] This results to the fact that women have

[59] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:119-122
[60] Yuval-Davis, *Intersectionality and Feminist Politics.* 2006:195
[61] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:109-110 & 126
[62] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:119-122
[63] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990-141-142
 Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:119-122
[64] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:118-119
 Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:110-111
 Archer, *Re/theorizing "difference" in feminist research.* 2004:468
[65] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:118-119
[66] Ibid.

less secure jobs and have a very difficult opening in climbing to powerful working positions. All latter mentioned are contributing factors to women's structural disadvantages as they have less status, experience of wielding power, fewer resources etc. in competing against men.[67]

Scholar Moss Kanter has a distinctive approach stating that gender differences in organizations are due to structure and not the characteristics of women and men as individuals. She argues that the structural placement in bottom-jobs and exposing women, as tokens positions, are causing problems in large organizations for women in both lower and higher working positions.[68] Kanter identifies these gender differences initial in early models of organizations as a "masculine ethic" of rationality as they promote masculine traits such as tough-minded, entrepreneurial, analytic abilities, the capacity to set aside emotional and personal considerations and superiority in problem solving, decision-making and risk-taking. The central problem is seemingly according to Kanter, that the organizations are perceived as gender-neutral, but the authority structures are in fact masculine dominated.[69] Another theoretical approach similar to that of Kanter, is the argument that organizations have a dual structure. Scholar Ressner argues that organizations have a bureaucratic and patriarchal structure, where in bureaucracy has its own dynamic. Gender enters the organizational structure through patriarchy, autonomously existing alongside the bureaucratic. This division of two hierarchies simplifies and explains the discussion of women's experiences of discrimination, segregation, exclusion and low wages- and working positions.[70]

Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:85 & 91
[67] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:118-119
Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:106
Archer, *Re/theorizing "difference" in feminist research.* 2004:467
[68] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:143
Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:111
[69] Ibid.
Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:74-75 & 85
Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:108-110, 117 & 121
[70] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:143-144
Ely & Myerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:109 & 111
Conrad et. al, *Hierarchy as a Barrier to Advancement for Women in Academic Medicine.* 2010:799
Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:81, 85 & 90-91

3   Method

In this section the methodological approach used to perform the study will be discussed, as well as why it is considered relevant. The theoretical framework will be set and the approach will be presented with a predicted assumption that will be confirmed throughout the study. The highlighted material will also be explained, followed by a finishing methodological discussion.

3.1 To what extent do women lack representation?

Because of the belief of the (re-) occurring gender dichotomy, that the hierarchy of men dominates organizations, and difficulties caused by hierarchy of organizations, the assumption that women lack representation and power in large hierarchies such as the UN is anticipated. This claim will later be discussed with hypothetical explanations that enforce or reject the assumption in form of an analysis of the highlighted empirical data/material, with the gender theories applied in the study. The material underlined and studied is a summary made by the General Assembly of the UN It consists of statistics and information of women's -working positions and – number of female participants on different professional levels within the organization. This will be done in chapter *4. Results & analysis*.

3.2 Relevance

According to the methodological study there are two criteria that determine the relevance of the study. The study should be able to be discussed and argued for on an outer-scientific aspect, meaning that the study should be considered relevant for the outside world.[71] It is of outer-relevance since it confides the management of an international organization and its internal issues. The organization works as an ideology and its "status" legitimizes their right to advocate such issues internationally. The UN has had a starting goal of reaching 30 percent female personal[72] in the international organization's professional staff, which was achieved in 1991.[73] Yet there are still UN organs with far less women involved, if almost any in some. Since

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[71] Teorell & Svensson, *Att fråga och att svara.* 2012:18

[72] True, *Counting Women and Balancing Gender: Increasing Women's Participation in Governance.* 2013:352-353

[73] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:111

that achievement in 1991 there has been a single renewed goal, which was to reach 50/50 percent female workers within the UN's staff by the year 2000.[74] As the UN advocates equality and its membered countries are bound by the cooperation it encompasses, the UN's power and influence can somehow be questioned if they do not "follow" their own norms/intentions internally.

Another aspect is the in-scientific relevance, as there supposedly is a gap in earlier studies.[75] My study corresponds to this relevance, as there is a possible opening in the research specifically on the relations to women and gender internally in the UN system. This includes their goals of achieving parity within the organization. The UN advocates the same specific issue around the world but is not equally perceived and implemented internally. There is no further data regarding the UN's internal relation to women and gender, as well as their goals of parity, in the articles and books used throughout the study (see also Peterson & Runyan 2010; Fasulo 2009; True 2013; Krause & Knight 1995; Porter 2007; Ely & Meyerson 2000; Haynes 2012; UN General Assembly 2012; Acker 1990; Archer 2004) and the goal of having half of the staff being women seems to still be in working progress as it still hasn't been achieved on the majority levels of the UN system.[76]

The study should preferably be independent of my own personal opinions so other scholars can redo the study and come to the same conclusions. This methodological trait is called inter-subjection. The result of the study should intend to answer a specific question and be generalizable as the study is based or/and complements earlier research and studies. My path was looking at the UN as a whole, later digging deeper into the different levels and organs of the organization. Thereafter I found the empirical material highlighting the status of women within the UN. The next step was obvious, finding relevant theories that could appropriately explain the nature of the UN setting and women's representation within the organization. To later answer the question, different methodological tools are used to simplify the attempt of generalization and make the study assessment-free.[77]

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[74] UN-Women's Internet page 2013: see *Bibliography*
[75] Ibid. 31
[76] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:6
[77] Esaiasson & Oscarsson, *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad.* 2011:20, 25-27

3.3 Approach & material

Methodological tools are the different alternatives that one can choose and use to answer the formulated questions in a scientific matter.[78] That is why it is important to convey a question that has a clear purpose. When presenting the study I faced three ways to convey a question, *empirical, normative* and *constructive*.[79] The questions I have formulated in my study is of empirical character since I intend to explain the UN's relation to women and gender, a well as how this can be understood with the help of gender theories of organizational hierarchy, gender dichotomy etc. In the later matter attending my case, I faced the choice of using a *quantitative* or *qualitative* method. Because of the depth of the study and the choice of analyzing a single aspect/case on a deeper and detailed level, qualitative is preferable and more relevant.[80] This is more plausible because of the tenacity of explaining a case – case meaning an event, sequence or other contributing factors in detail – thus giving the study higher credibility.[81]

Because this case is a one-event setting it is necessary to turn it into an explanatory case study. The reason behind the turnover to explanatory is because of the possible other outcome that could have changed the UN scenery and affect the result of the study. Since the study of this one-event setting is a so-called independent variable, the question is therefor conveyed as *Why* rather than *How*. This is done to avoid eventual contextual consequences or effects that can occur in performing a case study.[82]

3.4 Operationalization

Another important aspect is to explain why the conveyed question is fundamentally interesting. That is why it is relevant to motivate how one can use the intended study in a more generalized discussion and reply to what the study is "a case of".[83] I should be able to tie the study to one or several different theories, therefor making it easier to come to theoretical conclusions and contribute to in-scientific explanations.[84] Taking

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[78] Esaiasson & Oscarsson, *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad.* 2011:17
[79] Ibid. 21-22
  Esaiasson & Oscarsson, *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad.* 2011:29
[80] Teorell & Svensson, *Att fråga och att svara.* 2012:98-99
[81] Ibid. 82
  Esaiasson & Oscarsson, *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad.* 2011:64
[82] Ibid. 236-237 & 240-242
[83] Esaiasson & Oscarsson, *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad.* 2011:47
[84] Ibid. 44

the term "conceptual stretching" under consideration and what this case study is "a case of" I can therefore make it more abstract and state that the study is a case of *women's representation* and *-power* within organizations. The context allows me to look at a specific setting or period of time (how it is perceived today). But making it abstract grants a better explanation and understanding of the case by having multiple theoretic approaches. As this is a "case of" the theoretical approach must describe the specific context of the case, which thereafter makes is possible to generalize theoretical depending on the result of the study.[85]

To make the study inter-subjective it is relevant to identify theoretical and operational definitions in the question formulated. In turn, the question would express that there are theories and terms that show relevance to this specific case study I have chosen to do. In addition, these factors also give the study a higher validity and credibility.[86] It is therefore important to define theory and terms in the theories presented, but also finding the balance between the semantic content and concept range. In other words, it is a balance between - the meaning of a term - and - the phenomenon (or attribute) of a term.[87] In turn, this makes it possible to measure something that otherwise is abstract, meaning that you make indicators to criteria.[88]

[85] Esaiasson & Oscarsson, *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad.* 2011:237-238
[86] Teorell & Svensson, *Att fråga och att svara.* 2012:43-44
[87] Ibid. 86-87
[88] Esaiasson & Oscarsson, *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad.* 2011:55-56

4   Results & analysis

In this section the result of the study will be presented considering the written hypothesis and thereafter discussed. The deduction of the result will be merged with a concluding empirical analysis.

4.1 Aspect I – Results

Reflecting on the data collected and statistics summarized in the *"Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System"*, women's representation and working positions are divided in different professional levels. These levels (presented in *1.6*; P-1 to P-5, D-1 to D-2 and "Ungraded") mirror women's success as professional staff in the UN.[89] Analyzing the first aspect of the data, we see an increase in the two lowest-levels, signifying that in P-1, UN reached parity by having 53,9 percent December 2007- to 60,2 percent women by the end of 2011. Similarly, P-2 (the second lowest level) went from 55,5 percent- to 56,9 percent women during the same period.[90]

Level	31 December 2007[d]			31 December 2009[e]			31 December 2010			31 December 2011			Change in percentage points (Dec. 2010-Dec. 2011)	Change in percentage points (Dec. 2009-Dec. 2011)
	Men	Women	Percentage of women	Men	Women	Percentage of women	Men	Women	Percentage of women	Men	Women	Percentage of women		
Ungraded	178	57	24.3	182	70	27.8	187	82	30.5	187	77	29.2	-1.3	1.4
D-2	402	134	25.0	425	149	26.0	422	145	25.6	424	160	27.4	1.8	1.4
D-1	1 250	486	28.0	1 316	543	29.2	1 310	569	30.3	1 275	551	30.2	-0.1	1.0
Subtotal	1 830	677	27.0	1 923	762	28.4	1 919	796	29.3	1 886	788	29.5	0.2	1.1
P-5	3 576	1 597	30.9	3 981	1 900	32.3	4 096	1 910	31.8	4 060	2 007	33.1	1.3	0.8
P-4	4 789	2 745	36.4	5 500	3 344	37.8	5 633	3 592	38.9	5 704	3 711	39.4	0.5	1.6
P-3	3 687	2 841	43.5	4 424	3 484	44.1	4 499	3 664	44.9	4 559	3 764	45.2	0.3	1.2
P-2	1 189	1 481	55.5	1 441	1 944	57.4	1 351	1 818	57.4	1 324	1 746	56.9	-0.5	-0.6
P-1	65	76	53.9	66	80	54.8	50	74	59.7	47	71	60.2	0.5	5.4
Subtotal	13 306	8 740	39.6	15 412	10 752	41.1	15 629	11 058	41.4	15 694	11 299	41.9	0.4	0.8
Total	15 136	9 417	38.4	17 335	11 514	39.9	17 548	11 854	40.3	17 580	12 087	40.7	0.4	0.8

Figure 2 - shows numbers of women's representation within the UN as a whole divided into the eight levels of professional staff over a period of late 2007 to late 2011 (Chart by UN General Assembly 2012, page 9).

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[89] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:1, 6 & 15
[90] Ibid. 9-10

The increase per say is not of great importance, but the percentage indicates that equality of minimum 50/50 has been accomplished in accordance with the UN's goal since year 2000, but only in few of its organs.[91] As anticipated, the higher levels contain fewer women, with little exception of the level "Ungraded". The rest of the numbers keeps decreasing steadily the higher the levels. The difference is a significant minus 30,4 percent by the end of 2007 to a minus 31 percent by 2011, including the years in-between. These numbers are calculated from the lowest level to its highest, P-1 to "Ungraded". If the levels D-1 and "Ungraded" were to be excluded, the number would still differ around minus 23- to minus 27,9 percent just between the levels of P-1 to P-5.[92]

4.1.2 Aspect I - Discussion

The social standards on gender essentially reinforce stereotypical roles and behavior - implicitly and explicitly – as women (and even men) who do not fit the masculine image or manly norm/stereotype, are considered not suitable for an "operative model" of success. This is therefore stereotype confirming and reinforcing, which in turn keeps the cycle ongoing.[93] Equality is on the other hand hardly achieved by one-sided adjustment of the one sex (or gender) to the standards of the other. Top bureaucrats from large organizations admits that legitimacy concerns forces them to attend to the matter of equality and parity leading to having a fair amount of women managers.[94]

Gender has become an integrated part of the structural processes within organizations. This allows gendered structures to a continuum of gendered behavior, expectations, associations' etc. hence organizational practices maintaining gender dichotomy. Gender is in other words, a "constitutive element" that constructs most organizations.[95] When not made complex, gender could function as a tool in solving a concept of change within the UN rather then analyzing the existing system where gendered norms dominate throughout all smaller branches. If gender was to be depoliticized the institutionalized power and inequality in which the UN works will become unaddressed. In its sense, it would probably make the UN setting more

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[91] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:1, 6 & 9
[92] Ibid. 9-12
[93] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:126
[94] Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:80 & 83
[95] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:146-147

effective – foremost through mainstreaming[96] – but it would also make upcoming changes within the organization more artificial than thriving.[97] If depoliticizing masculinity is considered, it will probably limit the possibilities of criticizing masculinity within the UN (and even masculinity in general) since it somehow drains gender of its fundamental potential. Nevertheless, if men are beneficiaries of the gendered inequality - as their power and the complexity of inequality are disregarded - then addressing gender complexity and inequality will consequently become near impossible.[98] In addition to this, if presumably masculinity and men would be depoliticized, there would be a risk of (re-) categorizing women as helpless feminine victims enhancing the portrait of men as saviors and "superior". Thus men will acclaim the role of protector, hence depriving women of their agency.[99]

Yet there is no escaping the organizational hierarchies as gendered cause of the simple fact that women are considered inferior because of their (demanded and expected) division of commitment. If this aspect were to be put aside, there would still remain the aspect of hierarchies being born out of already existing hierarchies, therefore becoming yet again the same – gendered.[100] Un-problematized explicit and/or implicit dichotomies of gender that are discovered in the UN system and UN Women are a possible obstacle in challenging the existing gender inequality. If gender is restricted and limited to a dualistic category of definition, the context will somehow limit gender as something that is difficult to change, challenge or effect.[101] This means in other words, that thoughts, associations etc. to gender will be conventionally set against a limited number of (opposing) positions. As an expression of this example, terms such as *body*, *private* and *women* (also consider terms as *peace* and so forth) will be set against *mind*, *public* and *men* (also *war* etc.). These ongoing contexts and discourses reproduce the gendered hierarchy, resisting the three factors of change,

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[96] Valenius, *A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.* 2007:512
[97] McMahon, *Depoliticization, Essentialization, or Transformation? UN Women's Representations of Men and Masculinity.* 2013:6
Valenius, *A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.* 2007:512-513
Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:87 & 89
[98] McMahon, *Depoliticization, Essentialization, or Transformation? UN Women's Representations of Men and Masculinity.* 2013:16
[99] Ibid.
[100] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:149-150
[101] McMahon, *Depoliticization, Essentialization, or Transformation? UN Women's Representations of Men and Masculinity.* 2013:20

challenge or effect.[102] Whereas if: *"... gender is understood as a difference between men and women and not as a system of femininities and masculinities and power hierarchies,"* gendered organizational and hierarchical change will never be complete and/or transformative. [103] Therefore, gender in itself becomes depoliticized (personalized) similar to that of the depoliticizing of inequality mentioned earlier in the analysis.

4.2 Aspect II – Results

Regarding the considered assumption of there being more women in UN organs with "women-related" issues, the material reveals this trend as quite obvious. UN branches such as UN-women, UNESCO and UNICEF have substantially several women then all other organs of the institution. UN-women consist of a total of 82,6 percent women in the UN-women entity in range at headquarters. Meanwhile, it still has spiking 89,7 percent women in the same organ (UN-women) in range at non-headquarters. Organs UNESCO and UNICEF comes thereafter with less percentage, but still consisting of 55,9- and 54,6 percent women, all above the 50 percent mark (the parity strived after).[104]

Percentage of women in the Professional and higher categories	Entities in range at headquarters	Entities in range at non-headquarters
>50	UN-Women (82.6), WMO (67.4), International Court of Justice (62.5), PAHO (57.1), UNESCO (55.9), UNICEF (54.6), UNDP (52.9), UNFPA (52.6), UNAIDS (51.8)	UN-Women (89.7), UNFPA (50.4)

Figure 3 – is a portion of the complete chart, indicating the number of women within the organs of the UN. This part of the chart shows only branches consisting of at least 50 percent women or more with a contract of one year or longer ((Chart by UN General Assembly 2012, page 12).

These are numbers from December 2011 with employees on contracts of one year or more throughout the levels P-1 to "Ungraded". Similar trend also follows the

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[102] McMahon, *Depoliticization, Essentialization, or Transformation? UN Women's Representations of Men and Masculinity.* 2013:20
Valenius, *A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.* 2007:515
[103] Ibid.
Valenius, *A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.* 2007:513
[104] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:12

professional staff with temporary contracts during the same period; UN-women consisting of 83,3 percent, followed by UNICEF and UNESCO with 70,5- and 55,4 percent.[105]

4.2.1 Aspect II – Discussion

An aspect that cannot be neglected is the "masculine" socialization that makes men more probable to identify themselves with majority of the "better and higher" work positions. This occurs notably since women do, and are not, associated with the same work positions as men. The aspect of this stereotyping encourages men while it also discourages women in different forms from working on certain levels in the UN.[106] Apropos the feminine traits mentioned earlier (in *2.2.1)*, such as caring, nurturing, motherly and so forth, is precisely what women in the UN are associated to according to the number of women in different UN organs.[107] As noted in the result, the gendered traits associated to women and femininity is such characteristics of the work in UN-women, UNICEF and UNESCO. The probability of women's working positions also depends on their characteristics and how they are perceived. It is by definition that women are often associated with passive, dependent and engaged in familial needs, which in turn is considered unfit for working positions of primarily leadership[108] but somewhat "suited" for the UN organs mentioned, consisting mostly of women.[109]

This is consequently a probable aspect of women's discouragement as they struggle against the resistance of feminine "womanly" traits created by the gendered dichotomy (e.g. stereotyping).[110] Women have been rendered as less skillful then men because of the production of individual difference in behavior by sex-role socialization in hierarchies and bureaucracies. Women are therefore not able to compete against men in the same range. This possibility would however only alter when women become better equipped by developing appropriate and similar

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[105] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:12 & 14
[106] Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:115-116
[107] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:12-14
[108] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:105
Petersen & Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium.* 2010:115-116
 Valenius, *A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.* 2007:515 & 520
[109] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:12 & 14
[110] Ibid.
 Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:84

characteristics and skills as men - masculine traits.[111] Women's difference from men, particularly their "relationship orientation", is traditionally marked as badly suited for hard-driving work- and task orientation of the workplace.[112] But in fact, women do not differ much from men, foremost in features for leadership. It is possible for both genders to share common behavior in a similar way significant for leadership roles. Abstract attributes and/or principles are supposed to be capable of characterizing both women and men, as women could perhaps be even more suitable as leaders/managers.[113] These "feminine" traits - listening, collaborating, nurturing and behind-the-scenes peacemaking etc. - compose an effective and required management style that often is overlooked or ignored. These traits go unnoticed because of the value traditionally associated and placed in masculine traits, and therefore devalues women and feminine traits[114] - an additional aspect of discouragement. It is foremost because of the *"failure to recognize that the feminine itself has been partly constituted by its existence within male-dominated social structure it ostensibly seeks to oppose.".[115]* The gender dichotomy - in structures of opportunity and power - block women's access and advancement possibilities while simultaneously legitimizes the existing dichotomy. The gender structure evidently affects women differently apart from the caused effect on men. The dichotomy in organizations seems to be an ongoing cycle as the "for and by men" structure keeps characterize men's work and lives as gender is in fact socially constructed and exerted.[116]

The "feminine" traits and "expected-gendered-behavior" can eventually lead to a decrease in the adoption of masculine traits to achieve some level of success or empowered representation of women.[117] The goal of considered interventions is to

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[111] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:105-106 UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:12
Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:151
[112] Ibid. 109-110
[113] Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:75
[114] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:109-110, 112, 116
Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:84
[115] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:110
Ibid.
[116] Ibid. 112-114, 118, 121 & 142
Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:93
[117] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:109-110 & 117
Alvesson & Billing, *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding.* 2002:84 & 90

create equal opportunities for both men and women in the organization. As a result, an intervention could be achieved by dismantling existing structural barriers of equality and further aiming to increase the proportion of women in working positions traditionally occupied by men, for example women working in other UN organs associated to "masculine" traits. This is more of a so-called transparent promotion and seen (possibly) as a way to ensure parity. As interventions can (strive to) eliminate or compensate existing structural barriers, it can eventually create a more plausible work environment sociable to women.[118]

4.2.2 Alternate aspect

If one was to look passed the hierarchies among men, it could mean that working in the UN system, at a certain level, signifies a definite sphere and/or activity that is a characteristic of a specific gender. This stereotyped form of gender can be crucial as it can encourage or discourage women. In general today, more men than women are associated with public-sphere activities, corporate power etc.[119] and can therefor be an implicit cause. But both traditional and critical approaches to organizations originate in male domain and takes reality from the standing point in which it is seen. This meaning that, gender dichotomy is hard to identify when only masculine is present[120] which is the case on higher levels in the UN system according to the empirical material.[121] Organizational structures are perceived and theorized as gender neutral as men in organizations use their behavior and perspectives to represent human.[122] Then how can this be avoided and seen as gender-neutral if it isn't? Well, only when women and men are affected differently by organizations and become acknowledged, can gender attitudes and behavior be included in the "gender-neutral" structures. It is in other words the view of organizations that separates structures from the people within them.[123]

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[118] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:111
[119] Ibid.
 Ackerly & True, *Back to the future, Feminist theory, activism, and doing feminist research in an age of globalization.* 2010:467
[120] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:141-142
[121] UN General Assembly, *Improvement in the status of women in the United Nations System.* 2012:6-9
[122] Ibid.
[123] Acker, *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations.* 1990:141-142

4.3 Methodological discussion

To properly be able to answer the issue – formulated questions – an explanatory case study was chosen as it was considered most relevant and plausible to give the study both depth and width. The substantial focus was put on the UN as an organization and how it operates with women within the institution. In some ways the study may be debatable as it does not cover every aspect of women in large hierarchical organizations, compares and/or discusses the resolutions (if considered necessary for internal issues). Which is why there was incentive to finding data/material stating equal assertions, making the study more credible and avoid spurious and tendentious material. Because of the extent of the study I have foremost used secondary material, such as scientifically articles, the General Assemblies own internal report of the status of women in the UN and some books with relevant theories. It is therefor important to detailed look for eventual mistakes that can indicate that the material is false or otherwise not reliable.[124] It is also relevant that the used material is independent and free from the scholars' personal opinions. If the material in the gathered data/articles is opinion-free, then it is a good sign of authenticity.[125]

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[124] Esaiasson & Oscarsson, *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad.* 2011:282
[125] Ibid. 283-284

4.4 Conclusion

Thus far has my study sustained the assumption that women lack representation and power in a hierarchy such as the UN. This has been enforced in accordance to the term found in the theory – vertical segregation – stating that the higher up you look in the hierarchical organization, the fewer women you will find. This is been shown fitting for an equal-advocating organization like the United Nations as the hierarchy has various numbers of women throughout because of reasons such as gendered-based traits, norms and gendered hierarchical structures found in large organizations. In addition, it has been verified that the division of women in the different levels of the UN are to some extent affected by the supposedly feminine traits associated to women, thus far resulting in these organs containing more women in comparison to other UN branches that deals with "non-feminine-related" issues. The big problem is still the simplest of its kind: *"... that women and men are simply people, without gender identities, occupying the same cultural, historical, material, and political positions, subject to and participating in the same neutral organizational processes and impartial interpersonal interactions."*.[126]

4.4.1 Suggestions for future studies

It would be interesting to study the traits of women in high working positions on a deeper level. Suggested would be to better understand how women in high working positions got to that position, their journey, adaptation, traits, obstacles and beneficiary characteristics or feminine features that has resulted in their specific position. This would be valuable since it could change or affect the way women think and/or presume that they are perceived by surrounding colleagues and leaders.

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[126] Ely & Meyerson, *Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change.* 2000:129

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