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“Have You Been Recruited Because You Are a Woman or Because You Are Good?” Gendered Humanitarian Diplomats at the United Nations

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Abstract

This article examines gender equality in humanitarian diplomacy. To date, there has been no discussion of gender in relation to humanitarian diplomacy, which stands in contrast to an existing body of literature on gender and diplomacy. Gender is often discussed in relation to the recipients of humanitarian initiatives, but less is known about how gender impacts aid providers. This article argues that alike diplomacy as a masculine field with homosocial tendencies, these characteristics are also found in humanitarian diplomacy. Based on interviews with staff of the United Nations (UN) Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), this exploratory case study of the UN's gendered humanitarian diplomacy finds the following: In contrast to the UN's mission of promoting gender equality, the current practices place men as the norm and women as the exception in the organization's humanitarian diplomacy.

Keywords

exploratory case study – feminist international relations (IR) – gender – humanitarian diplomacy – the United Nations – the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

1 Introduction

Humanitarian diplomacy is a category of diplomatic engagement that seeks to advance humanitarian interests and goals. It is different from diplomacy

practiced by states, even if states and state diplomats also deal with humanitarian issues: this can be conceptualized as humanitarianism as diplomacy.¹ Humanitarian diplomacy involves both official and non-official actors, such as humanitarian organizations and actors, national and international stakeholders in humanitarian crises, and non-state armed groups.² It occurs at different power levels, from frontline negotiation to high-level policy and diplomatic engagement wherever humanitarian issues are at stake.³ Humanitarian diplomacy can be exercised as apolitical action that seeks to alleviate human suffering. However, it can also be political and instrumentalized to advance specific goals in tandem with or under the guise of humanitarianism. What constitutes and shapes humanitarian diplomacy varies as significantly as the actors involved.⁴

While humanitarian diplomacy has gained increasing momentum during the last two decades, it remains a relatively unexplored scholarly field. Research from the 2000s and 2010s has explored: the definitions and *raison d'être* of the concept;⁵ the craft of humanitarian diplomacy and its practices;⁶ state actors' involvement;⁷ and, in particular, the tradition of the

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- 1 O'Hagan, J. "Australia and the Promise and the Perils of Humanitarian Diplomacy." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70 (6) (2016), 657–69.
 - 2 Régnier, P. "The Emerging Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy: Identification of a Community of Practice and Prospects for International Recognition." *International Review of the Red Cross* 93 (884) (2011), 1211–37.
 - 3 Clements, A. *Humanitarian Negotiations with Armed Groups: The Frontlines of Diplomacy*, 1st ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2020); Smith, H.A., and L. Minear. *Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practitioners and Their Craft* (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 2007).
 - 4 Régnier, P. "The Emerging Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy"; Fiott, D. "Humanitarian Diplomacy." In *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*, ed. G. Martel (London and Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2018), 1–10.
 - 5 Fiott, D. "Humanitarian Diplomacy"; Pease, K.-K. *Human Rights and Humanitarian Diplomacy: Negotiating for Human Rights Protection and Humanitarian Access* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Rousseau, E. and A.S. Pende. "Humanitarian Diplomacy." In *Global Diplomacy: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*, eds. T. Balzacq, F. Charillon, and F. Ramel (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 253–66.
 - 6 Smith, H.A., and L. Minear. *Humanitarian Diplomacy*; Egeland, J. "Humanitarian Diplomacy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, eds. A.F. Cooper, J. Heine, and R. Thakur (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 352–68; Turunen, S. "Humanitarian Diplomatic Practices." *Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 15 (4) (2020), 459–87.
 - 7 Davutoğlu, A. "Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy: Objectives, Challenges and Prospects." *Nationalities Papers* 41 (6) (2013), 865–70; Dobrowolska-Polak, J. "Humanitarian Diplomacy of the European Union." *Open Europe Vol. 5: New Diplomacy in Open Europe* (2014), 115–26; O'Hagan, "Australia and the Promise."

Red Cross.⁸ A lacuna in this research, though, is explicit explorations of the humanitarian diplomats themselves. Contributing to this, this article begins the conversation on gender: a foundational element of the fields of humanitarianism and diplomacy. Humanitarian operations, particularly in the context of the United Nations (UN) – on which this article focuses – promote gender equality.⁹ However, gender in humanitarianism often translates into how humanitarianism relates to gender for those in humanitarian need, rather than the humanitarians themselves.

In other words, the previous focus has often led to special measures that ensure protection and support for women when humanitarian action takes place,¹⁰ as women and children are seen to bear the greatest burden within affected populations.¹¹ Another common way of looking at gender in humanitarianism is through the gendered aspects of (hu)man-made humanitarian emergencies. Armed conflicts, which generate the majority of the world's humanitarian needs,¹² remain a male-dominated field,¹³ which indicates that war is a masculine territory. Further, the state and non-state machinery that creates violence (for example, weapons and military forces) is, primarily, in the hands of men.¹⁴ Given the current focuses on humanitarian beneficiaries and

8 Harroff-Tavel, M. "The Humanitarian Diplomacy of the International Committee of the Red Cross" [La diplomatie humanitaire du comité international de la Croix-Rouge], *Relations Internationales* 121 (1) (2005), 73–89; Schweizer, B. "The Spirit of Geneva: Humanitarian Diplomacy and Advocacy." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 26 (4) (2007), 163–65; Slim, H. "Humanitarian Diplomacy: The ICRC's Neutral and Impartial Advocacy in Armed Conflicts." *Ethics & International Affairs* 33 (1) (2019), 67–77.

9 In the context of OCHA, see their publications: OCHA, *Policy Instruction on Gender Equality: A Gender Responsive Approach (2016–2020)*. The United Nations, 2016. <https://www.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/OCHA%20Policy%20Instruction%20on%20Gender%20Equality%202016–2020.pdf>, accessed April 20, 2021; and OCHA, *OCHA on Message: Gender in Humanitarian Action*. The United Nations, 2019. <https://www.unocha.org/publication/ocha-message-gender-humanitarian-action>, accessed April 20, 2021.

10 Olivius, E. "Refugee Men as Perpetrators, Allies or Troublemakers? Emerging Discourses on Men and Masculinities in Humanitarian Aid." *Women's Studies International Forum* 56 (2016), 56–65.

11 Al Gasseer, N., E. Dresden, G.B. Keeney, and N. Warren. "Status of Women and Infants in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies." *Journal of Midwifery & Women's Health* 49 (4) (2004), 7–13.

12 According to data from the World Bank, approximately 80 percent of the world's humanitarian needs are conflict-driven (the World Bank, *Fragility, Conflict and Violence: Overview*, 2020).

13 However, this notion does not translate into male-only domains. See Cunningham, K.J. "Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26 (3) (2003), 171–95, for an analysis of trends in female terrorism across regions.

14 Hutchings, K. "Making Sense of Masculinity and War." *Men and Masculinities* 10 (4) (2008), 389–404; Yuval-Davis, N. *Gender & Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 2013).

parties to conflict, there is less information in the scholarship about how gendered realities affect and steer aid providers, such as humanitarian diplomats.

In addressing this underexplored aspect of humanitarianism, this article answers the following research question: What kind of limitations and possibilities does gender create for the UN's humanitarian diplomats? The implications of gender for aid providers have not previously been addressed in relation to humanitarian diplomacy. This is surprising, given that humanitarian diplomacy depends heavily on individuals and on the attributes, personas, and skills they bring into their professional lives. Gender in diplomacy has been a growing research field in the disciplines of international relations, political science, sociology, anthropology, and history for half a century, but the previous discussions have not extended to include humanitarian diplomacy as a sphere of activity in international politics.

The findings of this exploratory case study of gendered humanitarian diplomacy resonate with other studies in gender and diplomacy. Broadly approached, diplomacy is historically gendered to exclude women and include men.¹⁵ Despite the increasing number of women in diplomatic spheres, men still dominate as diplomats, negotiators, and mediators.¹⁶ Diplomacy is a central institution in international relations (IR), and diplomats embody its gendered configurations. Whereas feminine configurations of a diplomat can be drawn such as “non-fighter” and “relationship builder,”¹⁷ diplomacy, particularly in its state-related formulations, remains largely masculine and occupied by men. This is exemplified in the barriers that female diplomats face in cultivating professional relationships because many diplomats still prefer to interact with and include those of their own gender in diplomatic practices.¹⁸

15 Aggestam K., and A. Towns. “The Gender Turn in Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21 (1) (2019), 9–28; McCarthy, H., and J. Southern. “Women, Gender, and Diplomacy.” In *Gender and Diplomacy*, ed. J. Cassidy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 15–31; McCarthy, H. *Women of the World: The Rise of the Female Diplomat* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

16 Aggestam, K., and A. Towns. “The Gender Turn in Diplomacy”; Aggestam K., and A. Towns. *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Cassidy, J. *Gender and Diplomacy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017); Towns, A., and B. Niklasson. “Gender, International Status, and Ambassador Appointments.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 13 (3) (2017), 521–40.

17 Towns, A. “Diplomacy Is a Feminine Art’: Feminised Figurations of the Diplomat.” *Review of International Studies* 46 (5) (2020), 573–93. See also Neumann, I.B. “The Body of the Diplomat.” *European Journal of International Relations* 14 (4) (2008), 671–95.

18 Standfield, C. “Gendering the Practice Turn in Diplomacy.” *European Journal of International Relations* 26 (1_suppl.) (2020), 140–65; Standfield, C. “Caught between Art and Science: The Women, Peace and Security Agenda in United Nations Mediation

This study reveals the discrepancy between the UN's global leadership in gender equality and its struggles to achieve such a mission internally. This article examines some of the opportunities and limitations that UN practitioners as women and men¹⁹ experience due to their gender in humanitarian diplomacy. However, it does not assume that women and men as social groups absorb a rigid set of gendering lessons in humanitarian settings worldwide.²⁰ Rather, the article argues that the UN's humanitarian diplomacy takes place in environments that are inherently gendered, and humanitarian diplomats themselves as gendered representatives partake in these gendered dynamics, at times contradicting, and at times conforming to structural gender norms.

What, then, are these gender norms in humanitarian diplomacy? Local gender roles in humanitarian contexts interact with other local customs and global gender roles, blurring rigid normative lines.²¹ But some general tendencies prevail. As in many other diplomatic engagements, a preference for masculinity and homosocial tendencies²² positions men differently to women in humanitarian diplomacy. Men enjoy privileges and represent normativity through manhood and applicable notions of masculinity that are related to professional positioning, negotiations, and access during humanitarian diplomatic engagement. This arises, for example, from male dominance in state structures, leadership roles, and the causes of conflicts.²³ Particularly when looking at religious influences in conflicts, highly conservative men dominate as cultural authorities and leaders, proponing, at times, the exclusion of women from decision-making processes and an opposition to the emancipation of women.²⁴

As studies in diplomacy have found elsewhere, women and femininity are the exception to a normative masculinity in humanitarian diplomacy. Femininity can be beneficial: It can help facilitation through the assumption of

Narratives." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 22 (5) (2020), 629–51: 157; McCarthy, H. *Women of the World*.

19 Whereas gender manifests outside of the binary categories of women and men, the research interest and scope of this article has been restricted to these two categorizations.

20 See also Sylvester, C. *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

21 Connell, R.W. "Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30 (3) (2005), 1801–25.

22 Standfield, C. "Gendering the Practice Turn in Diplomacy"; McCarthy, H. *Women of the World*.

23 Al-Rasheed, M. *A Most Masculine State: Gender, Politics and Religion in Saudi Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Yuval-Davis, N. *Gender & Nation*; Hutchings, K. "Making Sense of Masculinity and War."

24 Connell, R.W. "Change among the Gatekeepers."

a traditional caregiving role as a humanitarian, and it allows culturally appropriate access to other women in humanitarian settings. However, women face more professional barriers based on their gender as humanitarian diplomats than men. For example, negotiations with non-state armed groups tend to privilege a masculine norm, in which women as humanitarian diplomats can be seen as unconventional. Furthermore, the existence of male privilege may depend on women and their professional struggles. As Cynthia Enloe argues, the construction of masculine behavior “in any culture cannot be accomplished without constructing ideals of femininity that are supportive and complementary.”²⁵ Therefore, men’s normativity in the humanitarian diplomatic realm is a construction that is sustained through the segregation of women, with tactics such as translating “gender” to mean “women,” as discussed later.

In this study, humanitarian diplomats are discussed as a group of practitioners institutionally located at the UN, who are employed in the organization to deliver humanitarian programs and advance humanitarian objectives. As a clarification: Though conceptualizing humanitarians as diplomats is a point of departure for this study, it is not a given. This article does not relegate diplomacy only to a state or territorially bounded activity. When acknowledging the transprofessional tendencies of modern diplomacy,²⁶ the functions by which humanitarians represent a humanitarian polity by diplomatic means fulfill the original meaning of diplomacy – representing one polity against another or others. Additionally, humanitarians are often forced to engage in traditional, state-related diplomacy to reach their operational aims.²⁷ Therefore, given that humanitarian diplomacy is meaningfully discussed as a discrete category, conceptualization of the humanitarian diplomat is useful in understanding who embodies this engagement.

1.1 *Methodological Note*

This data-driven article situates itself in feminist IR scholarship and applies a gender-sensitive lens to studying diplomacy. Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns invite studies that explore institutional practices that maintain gender relations and norms within diplomatic institutions,²⁸ and this article responds to

25 Enloe, C. “All the Men Are in the Militias, All the Women Are Victims: The Politics of Masculinity and Femininity in Nationalist Wars.” In *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*, 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 99–118: 107.

26 Constantinou, C.M., N. Cornago, and F. McConnell, “Transprofessional Diplomacy.” *Brill Research Perspectives in Diplomacy and Foreign Policy* 1 (4) (2016), 1–66.

27 Clements, A. *Humanitarian Negotiations with Armed Groups*; Smith, H.A., and L. Minear. *Humanitarian Diplomacy*.

28 Aggestam K., and A. Towns. “The Gender Turn in Diplomacy.”

that call with an emphasis on the UN. Expressing interest in gendered practices, practices themselves are understood as the foundations of international life.²⁹ They represent the core of global politics in the context of IR, and practice theoreticians commonly investigate themes such as diplomacy, (in)security, transnational governance, and state- and peace-building.³⁰ Given practice theory's thematic congruence with humanitarian diplomacy, this article applies an approach of it to the main coordination body of UN humanitarianism: the Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). OCHA serves as an illustrative example of the UN's humanitarian diplomacy because of its central positioning in coordinating both UN and non-UN actors in humanitarian emergencies.³¹ As an integral part of the UN and its Secretariat, OCHA also exemplifies some of the gendered dynamics of the wider organization. For this reason, the UN and OCHA are referred to interchangeably throughout, without an attempt to capture the entire spectrum of gendered practices within the organization.

Furthermore, this study is best understood as an exploratory one: A limitation of this research includes data collection, with eighteen in-depth and semi-structured interviews on humanitarian diplomacy. Whereas this sampling is one of the largest in studies of humanitarian diplomacy, it remains restricted for drawing overarching conclusions. These interviewees included nine women and nine men, who are current or former employees of OCHA. The inclusion of participants represents a random selection made through snowballing, online groups, workshop encounters, research affiliations, second degree professional contacts, and "cold calling." These interviews allowed direct engagement with practitioners and their realities as, in the context of this study, they were seen as the most suitably positioned to identify their own experiences and practices.³² However, using interviews as the primary data collection method within practice theoretical approaches remains controversial.³³ One recommendation that has been made regarding studying practices is the practitioner-turned-researcher approach.³⁴ In this case, the author draws on a background as a former UN practitioner, including as a former Gender Parity Analyst, analyzing the representation of women and men throughout

29 Adler, E., and V. Pouliot. "International Practices." *International Theory* 3 (1) (2011), 1–36.

30 Bueger, C., and F. Gadinger, *International Practice Theory*, 2nd ed. (Cham: Springer, 2018).

31 Régnier, P. "The Emerging Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy," 1220.

32 Adler, E., and V. Pouliot. "International Practices"; Turunen, S. "Humanitarian Diplomatic Practices."

33 Wiseman, G. "Diplomatic Practices at the United Nations." *Cooperation and Conflict* 50 (3) (2015), 316–33.

34 Wiseman, G. "Diplomatic Practices."

the UN system, including in peacekeeping and “deep-field” contexts. This background offers a deep contextual understanding of gender at the UN, and enables the author to speak the same institutional language as the interviewees.

Who gets to discuss and define OCHA’s and the UN’s humanitarian diplomacy is a question of power given the current unoccupied nature of its definition. Given the interviewees’ profiles as current and former staff members of OCHA, these interviews can be considered as elite interviews. The sampling did not include other actors involved in the UN’s humanitarian diplomacy, whether other UN and non-UN entities outside OCHA, beneficiaries, local stakeholders, contactors, donors, or local and national government representatives, among others.³⁵ This methodological choice was made because of the study’s interest in identifying OCHA’s gendered humanitarian diplomacy as seen and experienced by the practitioners themselves.

The interviews were made anonymous to enable current staff members to speak freely – in comparison to former staff members – but some general issues regarding the sampling are revealed here to illustrate the context of the study. The interviews were conducted online (via Microsoft Teams, Zoom, Skype, and WhatsApp) in 2020, and the categorizations of current and former staff members are based on this timeline. The respondents’ work experience with OCHA included headquarter, and regional and country levels, and was spread across 30 countries in Africa, the Middle East, Europe, North and South America, and Asia and the Pacific. While two interviewees represented equivalent categories for junior professionals (P1 and P2 levels at the UN), an unintended emphasis of the sampling ranged from technical level staff (seven interviewees were most recently located at P3 level with portfolios such as Humanitarian Affairs Officers) to high-level management (seven respondents latest at P5-D2 levels, with portfolios such as Country Directors).

The respondents represented mainly international staff categories – and, further, international humanitarianism outside their own national contexts. One interviewee had national staff experience and two had both national and international experience. The urgent need to expand the analysis of humanitarian diplomats into nationalities and ethnicities, as in national/international staff categories in the context of the UN, is regrettably outside the scope of this article. Adding this analysis would expose organizational power structures from a post-colonial stance. Nationalities and ethnicities create opportunities

35 However, some unintended verification of the collected data occurred when the interviewees reflected their other work experiences outside, but related to, OCHA, most notably from the donors’ side and as employees in other UN agencies and humanitarian NGOs coordinated by OCHA.

and limitations in humanitarian diplomacy, as reflected by many OCHA interviewees in this study, for example:

You [as an international staff member] do not have a stake in the conflict in the same way that a national staff member has – and there are certain things that you are better off asking your national staff to do. It is highly variable based on highly nuanced geography, ethnicity, history of the conflict and personality.³⁶

2 From Outward to Inward: Gendered Humanitarian Diplomats at the United Nations

There are three main deficits in the current research to which this article responds. The first two are raised by Róisín Read.³⁷ First, while humanity is gendered, gender as a central category of analysis is lacking in the humanitarian field.³⁸ Second, very little is known about how humanitarian practices are gendered, which contrasts with the claim that gender is a central programming and policy objective.³⁹ Third, as Catriona Standfield points out, “feminist research has not focused specifically on UN mediation,”⁴⁰ a concept closely related to humanitarian diplomacy. This article contributes to rectifying these deficits by examining gender in humanitarian diplomacy in the context of OCHA. OCHA’s Strategic Plan 2018–2021 states in its foreword its commitment to put “gender equality at the core of our work.”⁴¹ This is in line with the UN’s promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment, both as a diplomatic body and a humanitarian actor. However, this article reverses the often-seen *outward* gaze towards gender in the UN’s humanitarianism into an *inward* one, examining how gender equality manifests within the system, thus setting opportunities and limitations for the UN’s humanitarian diplomats.

³⁶ Current OCHA staff member, male.

³⁷ Read, R. “Embodying Difference: Reading Gender in Women’s Memoirs of Humanitarianism.” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 12 (3) (2018), 300–18.

³⁸ Read, R. “Embodying Difference,” 300.

³⁹ Read, R. “Embodying Difference,” 302.

⁴⁰ Standfield, C. “Caught between Art and Science,” 630.

⁴¹ OCHA, *OCHA Strategic Plan*. The United Nations, 2018, 3. <https://www.unocha.org/publication/strategic-framework/ocha-strategic-plan-2018-2021>, accessed March 3, 2021.

In the sphere of humanitarianism, the gender of a humanitarian negotiator impacts negotiations.⁴² When reaching agreements that reflect negotiators' interests and leverage different priorities, cognitions and biases impact the negotiators,⁴³ which are gendered constructions to begin with. As humanitarian diplomacy includes, but is not limited to, humanitarian negotiation, the same applies to humanitarian diplomacy, as reflected by OCHA interviewees:

If you have a diverse organization, you have a much richer ability to perform.⁴⁴

Gender plays a role in humanitarian diplomacy to a very high degree. It is a way to dissect humanitarian needs. You cannot identify the most needy people without applying a gender lens. Otherwise, you will become gender-blind and you certainly run the risk of not reaching those people.⁴⁵

As quoted above, gender matters internally for humanitarian aid providers despite its prominence as gendered outward gaze towards programming, beneficiaries, intervention, and policymaking. This article argues that there is a tension between the UN's promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment externally and the organization's adherence to its own standards. Further, the outward gaze on gender is related to inward aspects of the UN's gender equality. Internal gender inequalities among aid providers can hinder, for example, the implementation of gender-equal programs and outreach.

In the context of the UN, "gender" most commonly translates into "women,"⁴⁶ and it frequently indicates a view of essentialized womanhood with a single voice.⁴⁷ This type of "mainstreaming of gender" across the UN's four pillars

42 du Pasquier, F. "Gender Diversity Dynamics in Humanitarian Negotiations: The International Committee of the Red Cross as a Case Study on the Frontlines of Armed Conflicts." *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action (ATHA)* (Humanitarian Negotiation Working Paper Series Paper #1), 1–22 (2016). <https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/atha-gender-diversity-dynamics-in-humanitarian-negotiations.pdf>, accessed March 17, 2021.

43 Brett, J., and L. Thompson. "Negotiation." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 136 (2016), 68–79.

44 Current OCHA staff member, female.

45 Former OCHA staff member, male.

46 Similarly noted by Hilhorst, D., H. Porter, and R. Gordon, "Gender, Sexuality, and Violence in Humanitarian Crises." *Disasters* 42 (2018), S3–S16, in the context of women, and the peace and security agenda.

47 D'Amico, F. "Women Workers in the United Nations: From Margin to Mainstream?" In *Gender Politics in Global Governance*, eds. M. Meyer and E. Prügl (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 19–40.

(peace and security, human rights, the Rule of Law, and development) is common practice in the twenty-first century and has led to increased attention on female beneficiaries of aid. In the UN's policy frameworks, gender – women – is already famously visible in policies relating to peace and security, which overlap with humanitarian action. Examples of these are the ten UN Security Council resolutions on *Women, Peace and Security* (Security Council Resolutions 1325 [in 2000], 1820 [in 2008], 1888 [in 2009], 1889 [in 2009], 1960 [in 2010], 2106 [in 2013], 2122 [in 2013], 2242 [in 2015], 2467 [in 2019], and 2493 [in 2019], emphasis added).

Whereas the UN has been a normative agenda-setter in women's rights for a long time,⁴⁸ it has not been able to achieve a gender-equal workforce. The latest available UN System HR Statistics Report 2020⁴⁹ outlines a total of 116,388 UN staff members (with appointments for one year or more, thus excluding, for example, shorter consultancies), out of which 63,868 are men (54.9 percent) and 52,520 are women (45.1 percent). While these figures are not, perhaps, dire, looking at where women and men are located within the system tells a different story. The latest available report of the Secretary-General to the UN General Assembly on the "Improvement in the Status of Women in the United Nations System" from 2019⁵⁰ details that women's representation is highest at entry levels in the international staff category, and at upper levels in general service staff, including, for example, locally recruited administrative, secretarial, and clerical jobs. This trend is long-term.⁵¹ Men, then, dominate the most senior positions both in international and national staff categories, painting a picture of male superiors and female inferiors. This was reflected by an interviewee: "The whole UN system is made extremely for men."⁵²

Historically, the UN has been rooted in heteronormative and male-driven gender practices. In its early days, and consequently from the period of the Holocaust, the UN was institutionally committed to addressing chauvinism and promoting ideals of diversity. However, its focus was first on race rather than gender,⁵³ which effected related progress. As Francine D'Amico (1999) illustrates:

48 Krook, M.L., and J. True, "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality." *European Journal of International Relations*, 18 (1) (2012), 103–27; McCarthy, H., and J. Southern, "Women, Gender, and Diplomacy."

49 By the UN System Chief Executives Board for Coordination (CEB). <https://unsceb.org/un-system-hr-statistics-report-2020>, accessed October 26, 2021.

50 <https://undocs.org/en/A/74/220>, accessed May 18, 2021.

51 D'Amico, F. "Women Workers in the United Nations."

52 Former OCHA staff member, female.

53 Amrith, S., and G. Sluga. "New Histories of the United Nations." *Journal of World History* 19 (3) (2008), 251–74.

Women were disadvantaged by staff rules that allowed men automatic status as “head of family” for receiving benefits, while women had to be single heads of families or prove their husband was incapacitated or fully financially dependent to be eligible for these benefits, which included a children’s allowance, education grant, and higher expatriation, rental and installation allowances (United Nations Office of the Secretary-General 1950). At the General Assembly’s request, the Secretary-General revised some of the most egregious of these discriminatory practices the following year (United Nations Office of the Secretary-General 1951), but differential treatment of male and female employees in other areas, such as pensions, continued.⁵⁴

However, the first steps towards systemic change have been taken. In her study of gender equality progression in different UN agencies, Torild Skard identifies that in the UN’s top-down system of command the implementation of systematic change first needs support from the top leadership, then from middle managers.⁵⁵ The UN has increasingly invested in efforts for gender parity within the organization since António Guterres became Secretary-General in 2017 amid pressure for the selection of the first woman for the post. For example, he has launched a strategy for overall gender parity in the UN system,⁵⁶ and has achieved gender parity in his senior management cabinet appointments for the first time in UN history.⁵⁷

Yet much remains to be done. Considering that UN leadership positions are political appointments with member states’ interests at stake, their gendered constructions mirror wider gender norms and patterns in national and international politics. Kristen Haack argues that the UN replicates the patterns of gender inequality of member states in senior management positions by gendering portfolios, where women lead in “soft” and “compassionate” areas (organizations for child care, health, education, and civil rights) and men lead in “hard,” masculinized issues (security/military, foreign trade, crime, and

54 D’Amico, F. “Women Workers in the United Nations,” 24, also referencing Timothy, K. “Equality for Women in the United Nations Secretariat.” In *Women, Politics and the United Nations*, ed. A. Winslow (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 117–32.

55 Skard, T. “Gender in the Malestream – Acceptance of Women and Gender Equality in Different United Nations Organisations.” *Forum for Development Studies* 36 (1) (2009), 155–97.

56 The UN System-Wide Strategy on Gender Parity is available at <https://www.un.org/gender/content/strategy>, accessed May 18, 2021.

57 See for example <https://unfoundation.org/blog/post/milestone-un-gender-parity-un-leadership/>, accessed May 18, 2021.

taxes).⁵⁸ As another example from other staff categories, a survey conducted in 2016 among 1,672 UN staff members found that it was easier for men to progress in their careers within the UN system than for women, who were better off leaving the UN.⁵⁹ The survey also discovered that, among its respondents over the age of forty, men were better able to combine work and family life: 84.3 percent of male staff members had children in contrast with almost half, 45.7 percent, of female staff members.⁶⁰ Also, the divorce rate among female staff members was much higher than for men.⁶¹

Regarding private/family life, the survey data did not aggregate potential field and non-family duty stations, which is a particular concern in the humanitarian realm.⁶² Gendered caregiving norms, under which women perform over 75 percent of unpaid care work globally,⁶³ affect working conditions for the UN's humanitarian diplomats by dictating who is physically able to stay within humanitarian operational realms. For example, an interviewee changed UN agencies from OCHA to a non-humanitarian entity for better opportunities in terms of locations:

I had to leave OCHA because I couldn't combine family and professional lives. It is very difficult to combine these. Although I was with them for seven years, I wasn't given a choice to combine these, as the matter was always "to give." You know, [hiding] behind the phrase of "you have to be humanitarian" and then you cannot choose. Sometimes that is an unfair request.⁶⁴

2.1 *A Divided Staff: a Qualitative Questioning of the Quantitative*

Along with the above-mentioned changes in UN leadership, gender parity has been publicly tracked within the UN in terms of professional levels and

58 Haack, K. "Breaking Barriers: Women's Representation and Leadership at the United Nations." *Global Governance* 20 (2014), 37–54; and Haack, K. "Gaining Access to the 'World's Largest Men's Club': Women Leading UN Agencies." *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations* 28 (2) (2014), 217–40.

59 Ryden, H. "Are Women Paying a Higher Price for a UN Career?" In *White Papers*, ed. Impactpool (Stockholm: Intalma AB, 2017).

60 Ryden, H. "Are Women Paying a Higher Price for a UN Career?"

61 Ryden, H. "Are Women Paying a Higher Price for a UN Career?"

62 Houldey, G. "Humanitarian Response and Stress in Kenya: Gendered Problems and their Implications." *Gender & Development* 27 (2) (2019), 337–53.

63 International Labor Organization (ILO) Report, "Care Work and Care Jobs for the Future of Decent Work" (2018). https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_633135/lang-en/index.htm, accessed October 26, 2021.

64 Former OCHA staff member, female.

locations, albeit with a focus on international professionals and field/non-field locations. In October 2021, OCHA had 42 percent female and 58 percent male staff members as international professionals, locating it outside the UN gender parity pendulum of 47 to 53 percent representation.⁶⁵ At the time of writing in the fall of 2021, all of the international staff category levels were within 40 to 60 percent, excluding the leader of the organization, the Under-Secretary General, and the Acting Assistant Secretary-General, both men. However, all levels had male overrepresentation excluding a junior professional category (P2), in which women represented 55 percent.⁶⁶ Moreover, gender parity had not been achieved in OCHA's field locations, with 31 percent of women and 69 percent of men employed.⁶⁷ As reflected by an interviewee:

I am one of two international women in our field office, and in the field [women's representation] looks more like 20 percent. There needs to be more encouragement for women to serve in these kinds of locations, especially because it is so important to be able to engage with local communities because most of the people that are affected are women and children in almost any crisis. So, you need to have women, especially local women. We also have a very low percentage of local women in our national staff.⁶⁸

Whereas disaggregated quantitative data are needed and gender quotas have had a positive impact in the UN,⁶⁹ qualitative data are also relevant to an overall analysis. These include how practitioners *experience* gender as affecting their professional lives, if at all. As said by another OCHA interviewee:

Sometimes it is not about the numbers, but the activity. It is not just three [women] and three [men], but are these three given the chance to say what they want, to participate, and have their opinion and all of this.⁷⁰

During the interviews, female respondents often questioned the premise of the UN as a meritocratic institution, and viewed it rather as operating as a

65 Data from the UN Secretariat Gender Parity Dashboard, available at <https://www.un.org/gender/content/un-secretariat-gender-parity-dashboard>, accessed October 26, 2021. Gender parity measurement source: The UN System-Wide Strategy on Gender Parity, 12.

66 The UN Secretariat Gender Parity Dashboard.

67 The UN Secretariat Gender Parity Dashboard.

68 Current OCHA staff member, female.

69 Haack, K. "Gaining Access to the 'World's Largest Men's Club.'"

70 Current OCHA staff member, male.

male-preferring system, a gendered experience backed by the Impactpool survey.⁷¹ Examples of this include:

If you start with the P2 level, to get to the P3, P4 or P5 level is more difficult for a woman than it would be for a man. Men progress faster through the system from what I have observed.⁷²

It does not astonish me that up to this day the P2 level is overpopulated with highly qualified women, who probably should be maybe P4, and men in other categories, unfortunately. I think they [men] are over-evaluated by their male managers. I see us going back again. We were, at some stage, much better at the senior level in terms of women's recruitment, but we are going slowly back again to male-dominated recruitment at the highest levels, because men want to maintain power in their hands. Many high-level women have told me that they have are leaving because they have been given this position, but they are not actually facilitated to act. So, you occupy a post.⁷³

Importantly, gender as an approach should not be relegated to covering only women, nor to the division between men and women. However, a common approach at the UN often encompasses this binary,⁷⁴ as an OCHA interviewee reflected:

It is actually interesting that the UN is rather old-fashioned in that you are either male or female. That's it. It is very binary.⁷⁵

While non-binary approaches are needed, it is important to note that, in the current binary approach of the UN, much of the focus has excluded men and constructions of masculinities: an otherwise growing emphasis in humanitarian policy and practice fields.⁷⁶ Instead, men and masculinities are seen as a social norm: "not an identity, not a particularizing quality, because it is everything. Therefore, men/masculinity is no gender because it is all genders."⁷⁷

71 Ryden, H. "Are Women Paying a Higher Price for a UN Career?"

72 Current OCHA staff member, female.

73 Current OCHA staff member, female.

74 Some counter-narratives to the binary approach exist, such as a UN staff organization UN GLOBE, which represents a wider spectrum of the LGBTQI+ community. For more information, see their website at <http://www.unglobe.org/>.

75 Current OCHA staff member, male.

76 Olivius, E. "Refugee Men as Perpetrators, Allies or Troublemakers?"

77 Haywood, C., and M. Mac an Ghail, *Men and Masculinities: Theory, Research and Social Practice* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2003), 103.

Sara Ahmed illustratively compares an institution with an old garment: “it acquires the shape of those who tend to wear it, such that it becomes easier to wear if you have that shape.”⁷⁸ In the context of the UN’s humanitarian diplomacy, the shape seems to fit a male body, the somatic norm, and female bodies disturb the status quo as “matter out of place.”⁷⁹

The data collected for this exploratory study echoed several findings in the field of gender and diplomacy research regarding male normativity that cut across different issues. The seemingly non-existent gender struggle among men and the evident struggle among women was present in the interviewees’ responses. As for the men, none of those interviewed had experienced, or admitted having experienced, discrimination because of their gender. Whereas some male interviewees reflected on their own gendered positioning and its potential privileges, many perceived OCHA’s internal structure to be working relatively well from a gender perspective. This was highlighted by comments such as “gender equality is an emphasized, well-accepted and even embraced principle.” One male interviewee viewed that the integration of gender guidelines in program designs is akin to “safeguards against a gender-blind response.” Often the male respondents transferred questions about gender into questions about women, with phrases such as “we have a very good female participation” and “having women in negotiation teams can be very powerful.” Male interviewees also often discussed their female superiors or colleagues when asked to comment on gender. Making this shift – “gender” translating mainly into “women” – is an illustration of male normativity in the UN’s humanitarian diplomacy.

Female respondents also often translated “gender” into their own experiences as women – continuation of the illustration of male normativity. All but one female respondent had examples of negative personal experiences at work related to their gender.⁸⁰ Some women were fatigued at being particularized by gender, experiencing the burdens of doubt and representation, to borrow the concepts of Nirmal Puwar.⁸¹ As for the burden of doubt, “existing as anomalies in places where they are not the normative figure of authority, their capabilities are viewed suspiciously. Although they endure all the trials and tribulations involved in becoming a professional, they are still not automatically assumed

78 Ahmed, S. *Living a Feminist Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 125.

79 Puwar, N. *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies out of Place* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 10.

80 The one female respondent who did not have negative personal experiences, however, pointed out structural discrimination issues against women in the UN and exemplified, for example, the lack of adaptation of office spaces in terms of breast-feeding rooms.

81 Puwar, N. *Space Invaders*.

to have the required competencies.”⁸² Carrying the burden of representation, women know “that they are in a precarious situation and that the most minor mistakes could be taken as evidence of incompetence” and seen as representative of “the capacities of groups [female humanitarian diplomats] for which they are marked and visible *per se*.”⁸³ As OCHA interviewee illustrated:

As you know, because of the gender principle, UN agencies are obliged to prioritize women. If they have two candidates in the UN system, they have to prioritize women for the same knowledge. These started to create ridiculous thinking from the men’s side. Sometimes they make remarks such as “have you been recruited because you are a woman or because you are good?” You got my point? This rule has been very pertinent in that it has been added with the aim to favorize gender equality, but today it is creating another kind of discrimination. Because sometimes they [recruiters at the UN] tell the candidates that you have not been recruited because you are a man, and that they have to prioritize a woman. Or sometimes they tell you “do not apply because I know for sure that they will prioritize a woman.”⁸⁴

2.2 *Operational Humanitarian Diplomacy*

Representational issues, such as gender, among humanitarians affect how they are able to operate in humanitarian contexts. Importantly, gender overlaps with, for example, ethnicity, age, and the categorization of national and international staff in the UN context. Outside of the scope of this study, analyzing humanitarian diplomats through intersectionality as an analytical tool would expand understanding of collective identities in relation to gender and other categories.⁸⁵ As exemplified by an interviewee:

In my experience, an awful lot of the national staff, some of whom were in consulting contracts, tend to be women. So, you can have quite a balanced office, or I have even worked in offices that have a vast majority of women, but the international professionals, at that slightly more senior level, remain white male.⁸⁶

82 Puwar, N. *Space Invaders*, 59.

83 Puwar, N. *Space Invaders*, 62.

84 Former OCHA staff member, female.

85 Collins, P.H., and S. Bilge. *Intersectionality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2020).

86 Former OCHA staff member, male.

Considering feminist arguments regarding representation, gender affects any given individual's life experiences and perspectives. Generally speaking, men are seen as best equipped to represent, understand, and internalize the experiences and perspectives of men on personal and professional levels, and the same goes for women, as both have access only to their own gendered experiences in a gendered world.⁸⁷ These broader gendered experiences in addition to cultural understandings of gender within operational contexts have implications in humanitarian diplomacy. As discussed by OCHA interviewees:

Humanitarians exist when you are operating in a particular theatre. You exist in a context.⁸⁸

When you interact with the [local] community, sometimes we as women have more advantage compared to men. Women will open up more easily to us [other women] than to men.⁸⁹

If we talk about the field level, I would say that it is more difficult to get equal recognition from peers there. Because most of the time during crises, we are always working in context where women are less important than men. As a woman you face a lot of challenges, how to get your messages through, how to get the same credibility, those kinds of situations are still present. I do not think that with having just one senior gender advisor you can achieve exactly what you need on the ground to really empower women.⁹⁰

Also, humanitarian diplomats bring in their own gendered understandings of the world into their profession, which can vary as greatly as the backgrounds of the UN employees. Some of these interview examples included:

Sometimes the contexts and places in which we are active make it difficult for some women to be present. I mean, to accept the conditions of living et cetera.⁹¹

My new line manager is female, and she is the Head of the Access and Civil Military Unit. We met and agreed to meet some counterparts to-

87 Phillips, A. *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

88 Current OCHA staff member, male.

89 Former OCHA staff member, female.

90 Former OCHA staff member, female.

91 Current OCHA staff member, male.

gether, and the first question she asked me was “do you think they will accept me? Should I change the way I dress?” I said, “don’t worry, I will tell you before each meeting because each case is different from the other.”⁹²

An insightful idea for humanitarian diplomacy is Catriona Standfield’s concept of “gendered diplomatic practices,”⁹³ particularly that of “diplomatic intimacy.” Standfield sees this practice as the preference of men for the company of their own gender, leading to the privileging of strong homosocial ties. In the male-dominated sphere of diplomacy, the preference of men for male social contact affects both men and women in how they navigate the field. For example, women may depend on different strategies from those available to their male colleagues:

For a woman it is more difficult to go and have beers with a national counterpart [in order to network in an informal way] because it can be perceived in a very different way [as flirting/expressing romantic interest]. So that is a fact: men have more advantages and we [as women] have to work more.⁹⁴

Also, at the operational level many women interviewees perceived these gendered diplomatic practices as favoritism by men towards men. They saw it lead to, for example, career progression, the ability for meaningful interventions and contributions, and men being recognized as talented, experienced professionals. Male normativity was raised by a few male interviewees too, as in this example:

All of my managers have been white males in OCHA. A lot of my engagement has been with women of all kinds of nationalities at the operational level and headquarters. But all of the managers I have dealt with have been almost exclusively white European males.⁹⁵

Some of the interviewees saw pushing these types of gender boundaries as a normative obligation for the UN in the service of its own ideology on gender equality. Further, disturbing these types of dominant gender roles can, at times, be beneficial, in line with Kristin Lund’s experience, as she describes:

92 Current OCHA staff member, male.

93 Standfield, C. “Gendering the Practice Turn in Diplomacy,” 153–57.

94 Former OCHA staff member, female.

95 Former OCHA staff member, male.

Being the first ever [female] Force Commander of a UN Peacekeeping Force led to much curiosity not only in Cyprus, but also worldwide. This curiosity opened many doors and provided me with access to both women's organizations (which often tended to be very critical towards the military), and to traditionally male-dominated organizations.⁹⁶

However, understanding the way gender is structured in the UN's humanitarian diplomacy should precede its potential strategic employment. As in the case of UN mediation, gender is entrenched both as an area of expertise and a way to marginalize women.⁹⁷ Thereby this study has presented a dichotomy: Gender equality is integral to the UN as a standard-setting institution, but its execution in practice varies externally and internally. This finding echoes Róisín Read's claim that gender has been treated as a programming concern rather than a serious category of analysis.⁹⁸ During the interviews one area in which gender inequality among UN humanitarian diplomats was operationally particularly visible was in negotiations with non-state armed groups, a specific characteristic of humanitarian diplomacy. Whereas successful examples with women leading these types of negotiations were raised, engagements with armed groups were often deemed as a male sphere:⁹⁹

If a woman is dealing with armed groups, especially militia, it will be a sign of disrespect [to have female humanitarian diplomats], because the community views a female differently to some other country. In Yemen, it is seen that women are for soft things, working at home, not going to the conflict area and doing these things. So, when you have a woman in the field discussing with them, it means that you are disrespecting them.¹⁰⁰

To conclude this analytic section, OCHA's interview respondents exhibited some of the limitations and opportunities of gender in the UN's humanitarian diplomacy. Men, often but not always, obtained conscious and unconscious privilege and access through the field's male normativity, and women, often but not always, faced challenges and barriers through experiencing the

96 Lund, K. "Reflections from the First Female Force Commander in UN History." In *GPS Policy Brief*, PRIO Centre on Gender, Peace and Security (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo, 2020), 1: 1–4.

97 Standfield, C. "Caught between Art and Science." See also Haack, K. "Breaking Barriers" and "Gaining Access to the 'World's Largest Men's Club.'"

98 Read, R. "Embodying Difference."

99 Clements, A. *Humanitarian Negotiations with Armed Groups*.

100 Former OCHA staff member, male.

opposite. As a social construct, gendered humanitarian diplomacy remains the same when its supporting practices are left in place. Challenging this status quo would mean operationally upholding the UN's values in gender equality and women's empowerment. A disturbance to the dominant gender roles is made possible by systematic interventions, and these practices are already, at tentative stages, taking place, as exemplified by an interviewee:

If you are the expert, they [the non-state armed groups] have to accept it [regardless of gender]. And they did accept it, in my experience. In many of the issues I had some female colleagues coming with me.¹⁰¹

3 Conclusion

This article has examined the ways in which humanitarian diplomacy is gendered in the UN, with an emphasis on the institution and on the humanitarian diplomats themselves. In the context of the UN, a related humanitarian focus has been on its *outward* gaze – such as the ways it genders humanitarian beneficiaries – but gender matters also *internally* among its aid providers. Whereas the latter is less explored, this study has discussed some of the opportunities and limitations of how gender affects the UN's humanitarian diplomats. By doing so, this study also represents a novel analysis regarding gender in the research field on humanitarian diplomacy.

With an exploratory case study of OCHA exemplifying the UN's internal gendered dynamics, this article has argued that men tend to enjoy a level of privilege and neutrality, while women face particularization owing to their gender in humanitarian diplomacy. The very existence of women in this arena both contests male dominance and helps to sustain it, as male domination is defined and sustained by female subjugation.¹⁰² Gender affects, for example, practices in recruitment, retention, career progression, professionalization, influence, representation, access, and operational conduct. These findings contrast the UN's mission as a standard-setting institution for gender equality. OCHA and the UN overall are still attempting to achieve *meaningful* gender equality, not only in terms of quantity (as captured in gender parity tracking), but also in terms of quality (staff members experiencing equal opportunities and treatment regardless of their gender).

101 Current OCHA staff member, male.

102 Enloe, C. "All the Men Are in the Militias, All the Women Are Victims."

Gender as a social construct is embedded in humanitarian diplomacy, both through individual engagement and structurally. On one hand, humanitarian diplomacy is embodied by humanitarian diplomats, who unavoidably represent their genders in a gendered world. On the other, humanitarian diplomacy becomes phenomenologically gendered through the semantic fields in which it manifests: humanitarianism and diplomacy. Like humanitarian action, humanitarian diplomacy occurs in transnational contexts that involve states, affected populations, deployed personnel, donors, government officials, and others:¹⁰³ all affected by gender. Humanitarianism is also affiliated with masculinity, particularly through the driving force of most humanitarian needs, armed conflict, in which the machinery for violence is primarily in the hands of men.¹⁰⁴ As part of diplomatic culture and institutionalized protocols and norms,¹⁰⁵ humanitarian diplomacy operates within a narrow construct of gender in diplomacy in which men dominate the field.¹⁰⁶

Importantly, this study indicates that the UN's outreach is hampered by its internal struggles for gender equality. Any manifestation of gender inequality on an aid provider's side is at odds with its aim to provide gender-equal and gender-responsive humanitarian aid on the ground. As a standard-setting normative leader, or "the cornerstone of the international system and the institutional expression of multilateralism," in the words of António Guterres,¹⁰⁷ failing to fulfill the standards it expects of others is a notable shortcoming for the UN. Against its own gendered trajectory as originally a creation mainly of American male diplomats,¹⁰⁸ the UN is a product of its own history and has come relatively far since its genesis. When acknowledging that the past seven decades showed room for improvement in the organization's internal gender equality, it should be considered, as Charlotte Bunch observes, "whether to focus on [whether] the glass is half full or half empty."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Marsden, M., D. Ibañez-Tirado, and D. Henig. "Everyday Diplomacy." *Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34 (2) (2016), 2–22; Minn, P. "Toward an Anthropology of Humanitarianism." *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* 6 (2007), 1–25.

¹⁰⁴ Hutchings, K. "Making Sense of Masculinity and War"; Yuval-Davis, N. *Gender & Nation*.

¹⁰⁵ Pease, K.K. *Human Rights and Humanitarian Diplomacy*.

¹⁰⁶ Aggestam K., and A. Towns. "The Gender Turn in Diplomacy"; Cassidy, J. *Gender and Diplomacy*; Towns, A. "Diplomacy is a Feminine Art."

¹⁰⁷ Foreword in Weiss, T.G., and S. Daws. *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

¹⁰⁸ Meisler, S. *United Nations: A History* (New York: Grove Press, 2011).

¹⁰⁹ Bunch, C. "Women's Rights and Gender Integration." In *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, eds. T.G. Weiss and S. Daws (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 601–18: 614.

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